

Anarchist Dialogues:



A conversation with Gustavo Rodríguez

Continuing on with the series of interviews we have been publishing under the title "Anarchists Dialogues", on this occasion we present a conversation between the members of the editorial collective of *Conspiración Acrata* and the compañero (1) Gustavo Rodríguez which took place during 2012. Once more, we'd like to express our appreciation to all of those who have made this interchange of ideas and experiences possible.

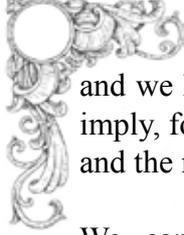
C.A: With the recent capture and imprisonment of our compañero Mario Antonio Lopez "Tripa", a chain reaction was provoked within the anarchist "movement" in Mexico, as well as a wave of solidarity which unusually achieved the articulation different tendencies of anarchist thought - even some very distant to each other (theoretically and practically speaking). Logically, severe critiques and condemnations of the prevailing model of anarchist action have also emerged from behind the curtains, blaming him - with anticipation - for a possible repressive assault against anarchism in general. To clarify, from the exterior we have only received warm messages of total support from uncountable groups and compañerxs of affinity, as well as some communiqués claiming actions in direct solidarity with Mario and Felicity, who has a search and capture order against her. Having said this, we would like you to share your opinion about the situation with us.

First of all, I want to send a big embrace full of anarchic rage to the compañero Mario and the compañera Felicity and express all of my solidarity with them in these difficult moments they are passing through. Also, I have to express my deep sorrow for Mario's imprisonment. Definitely prison is the only place where an anarchist should never end up, although

paradoxically, prisons are so often frequented by the lovers of *Acracy* (2). For anarchists, to find ourselves deprived of our liberty and at the mercy of disciplinary orders and mechanisms has many more implications than for the rest of the mortals, who are much more indoctrinated in the reverential necessities and are well mastered for the acceptance of mandates.

Undoubtedly, under the repressive logic of domination and social control - where "illegality" is persecuted and punished -, all of us "illegals" in some (bad) moment in our lives have probably visited these "correctional" facilities. However, even though we are conscious that prison is a real possibility the struggle may have in store for us; this doesn't mean that prison has to be an inevitable place for staunch anarchists. Either way, as the compañeras and compañeros of the Fire Cells Conspiracy who are imprisoned in Greece point out: "It's important that each one of us who opt to reject Power and be wolves in a society of sheep prepare ourselves for this eventuality" (3).

To be an anarchist isn't a synonym for being simple-minded, and much less for being imbeciles, as some federated libertarians would like to us to think. We don't have the vocation of becoming martyrs and we feel a strong repulsion for the heroes and their songs of devotion and sacrifice. We are all responsible



and we know the level of danger that certain actions imply, for this reason necessary precautions are taken and the most adequate methods are chosen.

We cannot a priori renounce anarchist practice arguing that under the current conditions of control imposed by domination it is impossible to develop the struggle; this would be to accept resignation and accept that anarchism be reduced to discursive charlatanism, aesthetic pose, aseptic anthropology and evolutionary predictions. Neither can we appeal to victimization, accepting the categories imposed by domination with its legal distinctions of Christian etymology: guilty or innocent. From the moment in which we call ourselves Anarchists, we are GUILTY, and with honour, before the system of domination. Guilty of fighting tirelessly against all power, guilty of pushing our transgressed gestures until the ultimate consequences, guilty of inciting subversion. Guilty of lustfully practicing irreverence and of fomenting the iconoclast, guilty – with treachery and premeditation – of parricide and guilty of taking back our lives and living them in absolute and unrestricted freedom. That is what it means to be an Anarchist. Any other meaning is simple verbiage and vulgar conceit.

In this vein, we celebrate the irreducible posture of the compañero Mario, who in a dignified manner has opted to stop cooperating with authority and their lackeys. In his second public communiqué from the month of July, the compañero Mario planted his reaffirmation of principles: *“After deep reflection during these last days, it is very possible that from this moment on I start to refuse to collaborate with the interrogations and opinions from the accusing part, something that I should have done from the beginning. Although legally this might not be a good strategy, as some people have advised me, this decision has more to do with my convictions and is the essence of my position, faced with authority and before any type of Power”* (4).

Without doubt, his words show a firm position. We applaud the bravery that our compañero is showing – we wouldn't expect any less. However we consider that the taking of these decisions has to be totally individual; for such, we respect those compañeros and compañeras who opt for the logical strategy of using all of the legal resources. Of course, this has to be without falling in the repulsive positions of those who assume the role of the victim and appeal to the moral, emotional and physical reparation of the damage, to the legal punishments of those representing law

that infringe on violations and abuses of authority or demanding economic indemnation, persuaded by the shysters representing or influencing them with the dire practices of teeming and nauseating leftism.

Although I subscribe to the antijudicial option, I have always considered that such a decision must be of personal initiative. No option can be imposed as a way of a tacit agreement, and much less assumed as the corresponding anarchist attitude. As our dear friend Stefano (5) affirms, if every time that we are detained we assume a priori the responsibility for the acts they are charging us for, today we would be cramming all of the prisons of the world. We have no reason to facilitate the repressive tasks of domination. I consider that if all of the evidence does not clearly indicate our link with the given deed beforehand, there should be no reason to assume guilt. Really, such a posture of martyrdom ends up appropriating itself as a kind of Christian moralism which is so nefarious, or falls in the juridical trap of guilty and innocent. In the past, these types of practices led many compañeros of praxis to adopt quite absurd positions, even to the point of handing themselves into the authorities after having carried out an attack or execution, which in the end made our ranks dwindle quite considerably. For this reason, we need to make sure our postures are very clear: one thing is the antijudicial position, and other other is **the Christian will of a martyr willing to let himself be fed to the lions**.

What's more, with reference to the chain reaction from within the so called anarchist movement in Mexico, the arrest of the compañero Mario and the unusual wave of solidarity which has been able to articulate different tendencies of anarchist thought, I'd just like to add some considerations which seem important for me to point out, even while running the risk of being diagnosed (once more) of a profound pathological pessimism. We mustn't overestimate these circumstantial alliances, nor adopt an unmeasured optimism in these moments of apparent unity, much less if these eventual links are founded only on written words rather than deeds. In reality, before the absence of a renovated anarchic paradigm, as Daniel Barret (Rafael Sposito) rightly emphasises, these encounters *“do nothing more than mask the deep weaknesses and the shared problems which are yet to be resolved... The circumstantial unifications- when they effectively arrive- are only the spasmodic and sudden result of an exogenous and transient force of extraterritorial protagonism; a multitudinous street demonstration in which voices and flags are reunited*

during the lapse of a few hours, a solidarity campaign with compañerxs prisoners and very little more” (6).

In this same tessitura, we have to read the “criticisms and condemnations of the prevalent model of anarchist action”. Given the absence of an anarchist paradigm, this type of libertarian eclecticism we suffer imposes itself by a priori sentencing all that which threatens its comfort and continuity. The “libertarian pluralism” which they so appeal to, offers a wide fan of poses which have the infinite capacity of “traditionalist” discourses, which from the logic of survival, deliberately obstruct the vitality of Anarchy. Undoubtedly, these libertarian poses fear chaos and disorder, because order and stability secure their existence. We can observe this recently in the snitching of the Bolivian neoplatformists who immorally denounced the consistent action of anarchist compañerxs of praxis, seemingly fearful of losing the shelter of Evo Morales’s populist government. The same reasoning avails from those attributing a possible repressive strike against anarchism in general to resolute anarchic practice. Although until now they have whispered their voices quietly, undoubtedly these babblers enshrine themselves with the immobile cynicism of the Italian Anarchist Federation and their “public accusations”, full of disqualifications and epithets against our compañeras and compañeros imprisoned in Italian dungeons and in prisons around the world (7). These nefarious postures relinquish the action of being anarchists in action, opting instead for discursive simulation and accommodating themselves to the conditions imposed by Domination.

It’s enough to simply glance at the multiple portals and blogs which give punctual cover to informal anarchist action (8) in order to verify the fact that informalism is beginning to become a “prevalent model”. However, we must be conscious that no practice, sector or tendency within the denominated “movement” has complete self-sufficiency at this moment. We cannot confuse the sectorial advances with the development of a “movement”. The possibility to maximize the “movement” goes hand in hand with the construction and development of a new anarchic paradigm. It all depends on our projection.

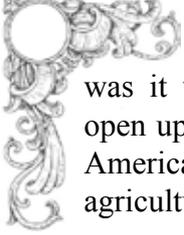
C.A.: Talk to us briefly about the projects, initiatives and publications you have participated in. Above all we’d you like to share with us and the readers a bit about your trajectory, as well as the history of anarchism which you have lived, and how you were attracted to the Acratic idea.

If we were to seriously recount the projects and anarchist initiatives I have participated in it would take us a good few pages to get through it all, and not precisely because I’ve been an example “militant” or anything of the sort, but rather for the immense amount of years which have lapsed since I first approached libertarian camps. As one of the artifices of the publication *Revival* from the Mexican Anarchist Federation (FAM) referred to me with a great sense of humour: “he is a senior-citizen anarchist”; so, logically, there are many years in between, many attempts -which have ended up being just that, and an infinity of initiatives that we could begin talking about and not finish until tomorrow.

And well, I’d prefer to begin answering this extensive query with the end part of the question, which I’d like to reiterate in the same way that I do each time I answer an interview: I arrived at the “Acratic ideal” the same way we all do- or at least for most of us- through a kind of individual reaffirmation, solidly funded in a radical critique of Power, an absolute rejection of domination and an immovable ethic of freedom. Of course, I also have to recognise the influences of my maternal grandfather *el viejo “Tinto”* who, although he never “indoctrinated” me with his ideas, on more than one occasion he did leave one or another vital book within arm’s reach; as well as making me participate in more than one of his anecdotes and be accomplice to his ferocious political estimations.

To begin numbering the distinct libertarian experiences in which I have been involved one by one would be a bit long and honestly quite boring. Roughly, trying to synthesize, I could mention some projects and initiatives which I have participate in and which, for me, have been relevant, whilst leaving others out which, although they seemed substantial in the moment, didn’t really have major transcendence within our camps. In this sense, I have to mention the constitution of the Workers Solidarity Alliance (WSA), an anarcho-syndicalist initiative which during the first few years of the 80s had its specific weight as being a dissident reference of the historical IWW (International Workers of the World). At that time the IWW had been kidnapped by liberal union leaders and infiltrated by a Leninist gang purporting “to conquer and destroy”, so those of us who felt it necessary to put a stop to these distortions began to gestate a split within the IWW. It’s worth pointing out that within the alleged “anarcho-syndicalism” in the United States of those years there really was no Latin-American or African-American presence, and if there





was it was ridiculous, thus it vitally important to open up that gap and begin collaborating with Latin American workers, the majority being migrants and agricultural labourers.

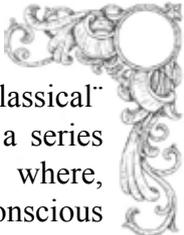
At the beginning of the 80s in the United States you could breathe the ultra conservative and rightist atmosphere, with the neo-fascist Reagan in government and the regression of the emancipatory movements (feminists, gays, indigenous, Afro-Americans etc.). The so-called "libertarian movement" was little more than a spectrum, reduced to insignificant groups lacking praxis. The mythical post sixty-eight years and the resurgence of the Acratic outlaw had remained behind. Anarchism had returned as a post-war ideological degeneration and had been converted into a type of "cult" for the initiated, conformed principally by middle class white people and divided into five "currents": the "anarcho-punks" (almost all young and more concerned with contra-culture, music, alcohol and fashion); the "libertarians" (much more liberal and pro-market than anarchists), the "rainbows" (hippies, yuppies and yuppies, heirs of the Age of Aquarius, in favour of the legalization of drugs and for sexual diversity); the "anarcho-catholics" (nuns, ex-nuns, priests and lay people, organized around the "Catholic Worker", committed to the "Christian social doctrine", involved in the organization of catholic workers, campaigns against the death penalty, and homeless shelters; and the "anarcho-syndicalists" (the majority bureaucrats, specialized technicians, professionals, teachers, office workers, "service" sector workers, small business holders, pensioners and unemployed, almost all members of, or close to, the IWW).

Despite that fact that anarcho-syndicalism's theoretical-practical gap was already known since the second half of last century, and that its contradictions had increasingly become more and more evident, in the midst of all of this fauna the anarcho-syndicalists were the closest to the "ideal", and what's more they offered a limited space for debate, contact and to coordinate with others who were more interesting and presumably implicated in putting an anarchist project without surnames into practice. In little time the WSA began to deflate and became one of the many empty abbreviations which from then on crowded under the intangible rug of the AIT (International Association of Workers), dedicated to creating fiction, and fans of the lamentable role of the "undersigned". And well, I have to mention another group which, as well as the anarcho-syndicalists, maintained themselves within the proximities of the "ideal" and also offered

a small space for debate, approach and coordination: the "social anarchists". They held a community of various colours, where the "Anarcho" Leninists predominated in all stripes (Trotskyists, Maoists, Guevarists, Titoists, Neo-Platformists and until recently, Castroists) and the "Anarcho" leftists, equally elastic with their denominations (Radicals, Liberals, Anti-war, Conscientious Objectors, Municipalists, Anarcho-Marxists, Green Socialists, Libertarian Socialists, Anarcho-Panthers, Anti-Prohibition and Abolitionists). Both groups were possessors of an ideological ménage worthy of collection, capable of supporting Castroist National Socialism or the Albanian dictatorship in the international field, while demanding the legalization of drugs or asking for the presidential vote for Reverent Jesse Jackson in the domestic field, and all the while continually calling themselves "anarchists" as fresh as lettuce. What's certain is that in the middle of those two positions (anarcho-syndicalists and anarcho-leftists) I found compañerxs of affinity, who were also fed up with pamphletary anarchism and were critics of Leninist penetration, willing to take on other initiatives which were much more conducive to Anarchy and significantly further away from coffee circles.

So, the reactivation of the International Anarchist Black Cross began at the beginning of the 80s. A decade after the refunding of the ABC, the refractory spirit impregnated by its animators Miguel García García and Stuart Christi and inspired by the legendary Russian Black Cross of the first few years of the Soviet Revolution which was persecuted by Whites and Leninists, had evaporated. The ABC "clubs" had degenerated into a Tolstoyan sect, losing all direction of their objectives. It was then when we reorganized the United States ABC and we formed the Latin American Black Cross, setting to work in different Latin American countries and coordinating anti-authoritarian activism from within prisons in the United States, which naturally were full of Latin American and African American prisoners.

Around this time, we gave life to a bilingual (Spanish/English) editorial project, the publication "A mayor", voice-piece of the Latin American Anarchist Black Cross. From our pages we gave punctual information on the situation of anarchist prisoners around the world and supported the reappearance of Dragón Negro, an anarchist supplement written and edited by some compañerxs of affinity from within United States prisons. Also we supported the "1313 Project", another initiative within the prison walls in solidarity



with prisoners with HIV/AIDS. It's worth pointing out that around this time there was only a small number of compañerxs in prison in the United States. It was the years of the denominated "Cold War" and the financing of armed Leninist group by the USSR, the DRG and Cuba (principally), it was much more common to find militants from these armed groups in prison than anarchist compañerxs, which in turn incremented isolation and disinterest towards our own. Imprisoned anarchists were reduced to a small nucleus of individualist compañerxs, imprisoned for bank expropriations or for assassinating uniformed vermin.

Towards the middle of the 80s, the list of anarchists in prison began to increase due to the disenchantment, betrayal and critical reflection which drove many ex-Leninist prisoners away from armed groups and to evolve towards Anarchism. Examples of this are the compañerxs Kuwasi Balagon and Ojore N. Lutalo, ex-members of the Black Liberation Army, or Lorenzo Kom-boa Ervin, ex member of the Black Panther Party- the latter imprisoned in Cuba after hijacking a North American airplane in search of political asylum on the Island, then deported to Czechoslovakia where he was captured by FBI agents under quite strange circumstances and extradited to The United States where he received life in prison.

Another initiative I participated in which deserves a mention was the constitution of the Revolutionary Anarchist Network "Amor y Rabia" and the bilingual publication of the same name. This continental (USA, Canada and Mexico) project aimed to coordinate anarchist groups and collectives throughout North America, with the intention of potentiating Anarchist retort. Shortly after its founding, the Network was converted into a "continental" Federation- through a long and tedious process of discussion and an infinity of assemblies (dis-assemblies) and a couple of congresses- which provoked the split between the nourished group of compañerxs who did not commune with the "centralist" principles which subtly began to delineate under this structure of synthesis. In this context, we had begun to centre our eagerness in practices susceptible to "revolutionary transformation", emphasising the "social struggles", which in 1992 led us to limit our contacts with social organisations and subordinate ourselves to an agenda which, looking back on it now, was and is radically alien to our principles and objectives.

So in this scenery, we arrived in Chiapas. Injected with

the theoretical-practical contribution of "classical" insurrectionalism, we mistakenly identified a series of "favourable conditions" in the region where, whenever the struggle extends and its conscious participation multiplies, the opportunity could arise to take the "generalised insurrection" to its final consequences, and once there, Anarchism would have a lot to say and propose in the forging of autonomy and libertarian fulfilment. So, in 1994, in total effervescence of the neo-Zapatista uprising, we took on various initiatives in the ravines of the Lacandona jungle, within the Las Margaritas municipality. The Anti-Authoritarian school "First of May" and the "Camp of Direct Solidarity - Martyrs of Chicago" are amongst those that stand out. It's worth commenting that shortly after my theatrical expulsion decried by Subcomedian Marcos, declaring me "Persona non grata" within his dominium, the projects of the Revolutionary Anarchist Federation "Amor y Rabia" in the zone were put to an end - by the orders of the undersigned.

They were the last days of that organisation. Months later it would dissolve at its last congress as a consequence of the ruses and intrigues of a small group with centralist pretensions, which with the passing of time confessed their sympathies for "revolutionary Maoism" and which, logically, would continue on for a while as a "latch" in the control zones of the EZLN. However, there were compañerxs who continued, immersed in the distinct communitarian dynamics and inspired in a kind of "anarcho-indigenism" and/or at the orders of the hierarchy of the Zapatista Army, justifying their contradictions in conceptions of neo-platformist construction and "Popular Power".

From then on I've been involved in the formation of various anarchist groups and regional coordinations, in the United States as much as in Mexico and in a few Latin American countries. Currently, I am profoundly interested in the development of the Informal Anarchist Tendency and in contributing- within my limitations- to the necessary re-elaboration of the theoretical/practical scaffolding which justifies this, facilitating the readjustment of the anarchic insurrectional project with the new conditions imposed by the contemporary system of domination.

C.A: Currently there has been a profound debate within the insurrectional anarchist spectrum regarding different organisational questions, one of them being on the topic of anarchist informality and the diverse ways we understand this. An

infinity of perspectives have been put on the table, including those of recognised insurrectional anarchists such as Alfredo Bonanno and Constantino Cavalleri who have expressed their points of view about "informality". What's more, hundreds of compañerxs who form part of nuclei of affinity as well as active individuals around the world (including Mexico) have expressed diverse and even contrasting perspectives respect to Anarchist informality. What is your view of Anarchist Informality and/or Informal Anarchist Organisation?

Well, the preamble to this question demands us to consider various indisputably interrelated matters. In effect, "Anarchist Informality" has been put on the table and has brought new vitality to the organisational dilemma.

The controversy surrounding organisation is long standing within our camps, and we could say that it's a fairly recurrent topic of conversation. I'd dare to asseverate that the organisational debate drags on from the prehistory of Acratic ideas. The subject is the watershed of the anarchic ideal, consolidating itself with a dichotomy which, despite the failed attempts at synthesis, has separated the "movement" into two large inclinations: the Informal Anarchist Tendency and the Party Tendency. Without a doubt, it was in the remote times of the First International in 1878 when this debate intensified, with the emergence of the conception of the party, meaning "proletariat party", as an organisational formula, between followers of the older of the Marx brothers met with the Stirnerist posture of anarchic individualism. The Marxians, inspired by the economic analysis (social classes), will most likely bet on the centralised organisation of the exploited under the direction of its "vanguard" (the intellectual bourgeois elite, self elected as a conducting guide of the "proletariat cause").

It's worth pointing out that until now the Marxian "intoxication" has come to notably influence anarchists. Even our own Bakunin would be clouded for some time with the economist hypothesis and the organisation of the Vanguard Party and the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat". This phase of definitions is still used by Anarcho-Bolsheviks who insist on raising aberrations under the suggestive title of "principled Bakunism", with the objective of imposing centralised (party) organisation as the only vehicle towards "Popular Power"... And they're right: centralised organisation (a vanguardist party) is the ideal vehicle to reach

"popular power", the euphemism the Bolsheviks-Dressed-As-Anarchists use to try to camouflage the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, they are cynically lying when proclaiming their "principled bakunism" as it was precisely Bakunin who put an end to these ambiguities within Anarchism and broke the economic Marxian influences, in the end granting specific weight to anarchist thought and action.



This specificity that Bakunin and his closest collaborators offered anarchist thought and action would attain consensus in July 1881 during the London Anarchist Congress, also known as the "Congress of the Black International". There, a radical change of perspective in relation to the agreements of Saint-Imier would be registered. They noted that the so longed after "revolutionary awakening of the masses" never eventuated, leading to a replanting of anarchist tactics, abandoning organisation of the masses and opting instead for insurrection and propaganda by the deed, for which they recommended knowledge in chemistry for its great utility in the manufacture of explosive devices (9).

Lamentably, the dichotomy that has historically separated the "movement" in two large blocks (Informal Anarchist Tendency and Party Tendency), still hasn't been approached with the necessary depth within our camps, with the honourable exceptions of the "insurreccionalist" elaborations (from the late seventies and early eighties last century) and in Latin America, the punctual reflection of Rafael Spósito (Daniel Barret). For many contemporary anarchists, this problem gets reduced to a question of "preferences", leaving the issue to free choice for those interested in participating in one or another form of organisation, without looking too profoundly into the theoretical and practical implications (and contradictions) which accompany these decisions.

The dilemma of organisational forms (rigid vs. flexible/formal vs. informal), their functionality (specific permanent or temporary organisation),



really works around the dichotomy of “effectiveness vs. freedom”. Those who opt for the effectiveness of “formal” organisation (permanent and rigid) in order to “confront” the enemy (organised in a permanent, rigid and pyramidal manner) in a planned manner (through the use of a programme), in the end sacrifice freedom and effective individual autonomy. Now, here we must be more specific as this approach can be misinterpreted and used by a sector of specifism grouped to the so called “anarchism of synthesis”, brandished the IFA (International Federation of Anarchists), arguing that this perfectly exemplifies the authoritarian structures of neo-platformism with its marked emphasis on “collective responsibility”, but doesn’t apply to its federative organisational proposal, where individual freedom would be put above effectiveness. However, it is evident that “anarchism of synthesis”, with its federative organisational proposal doesn’t overcome the organisational form of the Party either.

If it really is certain that a wide heterogeneity coexists under this type of structure - differing from the proto-Leninist groups inspired in the Platform, where party discipline and unique thought when fronted with diversity are imposed— concretely, everything is reduced to semantic juggling of astronomic proportions, where, cynically, a change of vowels is opted for (instead of Party, Federation is employed; instead of Central Committee, it’s General Secretary) and disciplinary procedures are disguised, as the CNT/FAI exemplified during their collaboration with the republican government. Really, in both cases the wager is on “organisational efficiency”, only that “anarchism of synthesis” tries to accompany freedom (understood in the ordinary sense of the term) associated with liberal principles and valued in terms of “rights”. In this tendency, evidently the dichotomy of “effectiveness vs. freedom” remains unresolved, being solved only in discourse but very, very far from concrete reality.

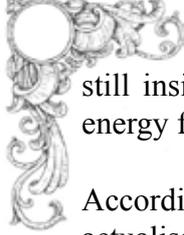
For those of us who subscribe to the postulates of the Informal Anarchist Tendency (IAF) in both thought and action, freedom and effective individual autonomy are not negotiable, and much less are they able to be sacrificed for the sake of effectiveness. The pursuit and practice of intransigent and unrestricted freedom is the compass which orientates us. Individual autonomy is the ship we embark on towards self-constitution of refractory consciousness, impelled by our own resources, capacities, energy and passion. Of course, neither round trips nor regressive itineraries are acceptable on this journey, both of which

invariably lead to immobility and frequently drive us to disembark in “far away” lands.

Until here, I’ve tried to put forth “my reading” of informal anarchist organisation. Now, despite this extensive response, I’d like to briefly go over a few of points which were referred to in the introduction of this question- as planted at the beginning- which I consider deserve to be fully tackled.

As stated in your question, compañeros Alfredo and Costa have made important contributions to the debate around organisation from the anarchist insurrectional perspective. Towards the end of the seventies (1977) and throughout the eighties, a lavish process re-actualising Anarchism began, inaugurated by a group of compañeros who were willing to confront (in the practice) the counter-power struggles and to eradicate the disastrous immobility which had made their nests in our camps. Through a deep reflexive balance of the struggles of the historical anarchist movement, and a conscious analysis of capitalism’s mutations in the contemporary era of “globalisation”, new understandings and different conceptions emerged which did not correspond to the practices and models of organisation and action which had bestowed their specific weight and defining, non transferable characteristics upon anarchism during almost a century. So, a re-contextualised, rejuvenated and law breaking anarchism came to life. This framework of proposals and considerations would be known in our camps as the “insurrectional thesis”, popularly conveyed as “insurrectionalism” and, without doubt, the compañero Alfredo María Bonanno would be its most clarified driver.

Alfredo, without abandoning anarchist practice, dedicated himself to the systemisation of the analysis and reflections of this point, producing uncountable texts which, without even noticing it, would eventually go on developing a theoretic body (still inconclusive) which results in the rigorous implementation of critique and desire. In hand with these conceptions, a new anarchic mood begins to take root, fitting perfectly within a youthful, fresh and transgressive culture. This disposition is willing to substitute the old sacrificial and circumspect model without major remorse, for a much more flexible and spontaneous one. It ultimately puts creativity, unrestraint, happiness and even the pleasure of anarchist action (“Armed Joy”) before the bureaucratic immobility and conservative stagnation which traditional organisational vessels have submerged themselves in – rigid and asphyxiating-



still insisting on insensibly absolving the necessary energy for theoretical/practical actualisation.

According to the attempts at theoretical/practical actualisations that encourage it, this new anarchic culture forged an extensive spectrum of conceptual readjustments and renovations. These relocated the external libertarian themes, replanting the old topics of the consistency between means and ends, of overthrowing the State/Capital, the Social Revolution and the construction of libertarian Socialism (superlatively tied to the theoretical/practical conceptions of the XIX Century), together with the new revaluations around the myth of "working class" centrality, the alleged expropriation of the means of production (and their immediate collectivisation as an "automatic permit" to libertarian communism), self sufficiency of the struggle, generalised insurrection and, of course, organisation.

Towards the middle of the seventies, Alfredo Bonanno wrote some supporting texts about the organisational question in his book "Self-management" (autogestion) (10). Despite the notable influences of the time (workers autonomy), it concludes that "in practice, the organisational problem presents two aspects; one real and the other imaginary" (11). The first aspect is located in direct relation to the development of the struggle and, consequently, as a scope where real "more and more precise" organisational necessities emerge. Meanwhile, the fictitious or "imaginary" aspect, characteristic of a "purely intellectual" medium, situates itself in inverse relation to the development of the struggle, "as the intensity of the conflict diminishes, the musings and theories grow" (12). And immediately he clarifies that "naturally, this isn't saying that organisation, created in relation to concrete struggle does not need adequate theoretical analysis or that it mustn't consider the results and analysis of the preceding struggles. It simply means that in periods of revolutionary "standstill", the activity of intellectuals delivering their personal reflections flourish, and these lose touch with reality" (13).

From the experience and with the passing of the years, Alfredo would go on complementing the organisation theme, to the extent that which the autonomist influences would be surpassed, ultimately deepening anarchism's theoretical/practical actualisation. In this way, he would give us (twenty years later) some exceptionally complete reflections on anarchist organisation during his talk in Cúneo in January 1995, titled "Anarchism and democracy" which really

is worth resuming, "Anarchist organisation which projects itself towards the future should be more agile. It can't present itself with the heavy characteristics, quantitatively speaking, of the structures of the past. For example it can't present itself through its dimension of synthesis as it did in the past, with its organisational structure that intended to summarise reality within its interior through specific "commissions" which were comprised of multiple problems, and which later took their decision in the annual periodic congress and delivered itself based on the thesis that probably dated back to the last century. All of this had its time, not because a whole century has passed since it was devised, but because the reality has changed" (14). In this same conference, the need to form small affinity groups that narrow contacts and coordinate through "informal organisation" was emphasised, giving way to a new thesis about anarchist organisation and the development of what we have named the Informal Anarchist Tendency.

C.A: Why do you believe the debate around organisation (or how we understand it) continues within anarchist media these days?

The fact that the discussion around anarchist organisation forms still persists within our camps only shows us the grasp of its paradigmatic deficiencies. However, it is only through the deepening of this debate that it will be possible to get the specific inputs which permit us to abandon the theoretical/practical deviation afflicting contemporary Acratic thought, and which gives way to the possibility of constructing a renovated paradigm. This has been made possible through the use of electronic media dedicated to maximising reflexive discussion within anarchist camps, but the inconvenient part of these virtual "discussion forums", beyond the effort and the stoic labour of those who manage them- is that generally they are hijacked by specific groups which, far from facilitating controversies and the incentive of the discussion, grab hold in order to safeguard by tooth and nail their ideological shrines, without even questioning whether their ossified thoughts correspond with concrete reality or not. In such a way, they continue recreating dogmas and orthodoxy. This is the logical consequence of the defeat and failure imposed by the unfavourable conditions the 20th century, brought with the boom of National Socialism first off and then with the growth and expansion of Leninism, not only as an inextricably political current linked to social democracy but also as a legitimate and hegemonic theory in academic



and scientific circles; like the progressive integration of workers in "parliamentary democracies" (with the corresponding consolidation of the benefactor states); the expectations which were awoken by the national-populist experiences in Latin America, Asia and Africa, changes in productive forms, to name only a few. A period of survival which aimed to maintain some basic theoretical references but already in an environment of dispersion and absence of paradigms, which leads the movement to disappear as an anti-systematic material force, in turn degenerating an ideology.

For this reason, we insist that the debate must go much further than the controversy surrounding methods of anarchist organisation. It must centre the axels of discussion regarding the problem of selecting the means for taking action, fronted with the new conditions imposed by contemporary structures of domination. In this sense, within insurrectionalists, there is a long history of the critique of immobility, the workerist cadaver, worn-out anarchosindicalism, specifist synthesis, "Anarcho" Bolshevism or Neoplatformism etc., and this permits us to advance onto more punctual themes. However, we can't ignore the enormous detractions that we find in the heart of insurrectional anarchism either. If we recognise the construction and development of the theoretical body of "insurrectionalism", beginning with the systemisation made by Bonanno- as pointed out in the last answer- we will find clear evidence of how these principles have been distorted between those who are held up today as advocating "insurrectionalism". But equally, we have to accept a certain "ambiguity" of origin present in insurrectionalist discourse and practice which undoubtedly has frequently blanketed divergent and even irreconcilable theoretical/practical formulations within this tendency.

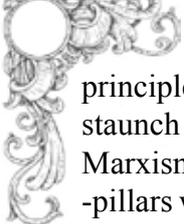
Throughout Europe- particularly in the Spanish State, Italy, England, France and Greece, and in some corners of Latin America as well, we run into sectors of self-claimed "insurrectionalists" who identify with the Neo Zapatista farce or with the Colombian guerrillas FARC. To give them the benefit of the doubt, all of these vague and clueless people who manifest multiple orgasms each time guerrilla iconography and the cult of the pistol (culto al fusil) arise probably have never taken the time to read and understand the positions of Alfredo. It is precisely he who disarms all this cult of the pistol, the "specialist" logic ("professional revolutionaries") and the guerrilla structure in a resounding manner.

However, it is worth pointing out that "classic" insurrectionalism (to name it in a way which permits us to establish differences with the contemporary insurrectionalism taking shape these days) evolved by Bonanno, Cavalleri and others, also warrants specific clarifications in order to overcome that apparent "ambiguity" that I mentioned earlier, and to synthesise it with the reality of the 21st Century, abandoning all links with "social forces" and concentrating on the development of the anarchic tension in the individual insurgency. It is for this reason that today we speak of "new insurrectional anarchism" or "new anarchic illegalism", when tackling the internal discrepancies and deepening the debate around the need for theoretical/practical actualisation.

Alfredo Bonanno has had the indisputable accomplishment of reactivating anarchism of praxis, of tuning it into the reality of the struggles towards the end of the 20th century (calling to move on from the old diagrams of organisation and action) and of taking on an enormous effort of re-elaborating theory and practice, which made it possible to locate the anarcho-sindicalist and specifist immobility. But, if we're betting for the destruction of work, the expropriation and permanent attack against the system of domination through individual insurrection and informal organisation, it doesn't abandon the idea of the "radicalisation of the struggle" aimed towards the alleged "transformatory" Social Revolution. It doesn't entirely break with all of the social conceptions despite overcoming economist analysis, the critique of the fictitious movement and handing a death certificate to the "proletariat" without hindrance.

With the incorporation of a new antagonism ("included" vs. "excluded"), Bonanno coherently articulates a conceptualisation which leaves the old Marxian logic centred in the "class struggle" behind, as the "excluded" aren't necessarily excluded corresponding to their class role when considering the means of production, the category of exploitation and the subsequent looting of the corresponding profits, but they are also excluded in their condition of being dominated and oppressed by Power.

In this context, as in many others, it is precise to recognise that the anarchist movement located its theorisation to the rear of Marxian thought for a long time, accommodating it quite offhandedly to its theoretical agenda and adopting a conceptualisation (economist/workerist) that would not be functional, and much less coherent, with its anti-authoritarian



principles. In this sense, we also need to recognise the staunch critique which Bonanno elaborated against Marxism and above all his anti-Leninist manifesto -pillars which no doubt continue being the scaffolding of the new insurrectional anarchism or what we have defined as postclassical anarchism, understood as the current period in which we try to construct and develop a new anarchic paradigm.

C.A. Recently, with the "Letter to the anarchist galaxy" (and its subsequent response), the critique of new organisational forms was put on the table again; the peculiar part of the case is that these comments come from within insurrectional anarchism's own ranks. In this occasion, it is the so-called "grandchildren of Bonanno" who launch severe questioning of informal organisation and new illegalism. What could to comment in respect to this?

Lamentably, "classic" insurrectionalism- as we talked about beforehand- was born with several congenital problems given that it presents the same base "ambiguity" which anarchism has perpetually been dragging behind. So, from the first theoretical/practical contributions, it recognises and revitalises the individualist component, making a marked emphasis on the underhand, pleasure and anti-systematic quotidian insurrection (sabotages, expropriations and attacks) separate from social conflict, which in a parallel form appeals to the "exploited" and wagers on the "radicalisation of social struggles" through diffusely insinuating the so called "revolutionary processes". It is precisely in this vein that the "Letter to the anarchist galaxy" is written and the controversy within the informal tendency appears, resuscitating old differences concerning the origin of anarchism. In other words, the eternal debate among followers of "individual insurrection" and the supporters of "social insurgence". The interesting part of all of these controversies within the Informal Anarchic Tendency is that – once we have overcome the immobility we had condemned the anarcho-syndicalist and specifist gap for – show the contradictions and invite constant reflection, putting the ideas into movement using practical experience.

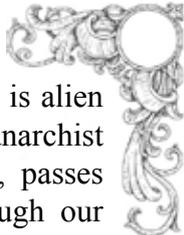
If we read the Letter to the galaxy with attention, we'll find some "vestiges" that provide some assurances about who its authors might be. The whiff of the countryside predominates and reminds us of the strategy of "exodus" or the "sucession" of Jacques Camatte and other autonomist Marxians (including

the brittle Tony Negri), that would so influence the most radical of the editorial group of Tiqqun. Although the Invisible Committee doesn't sign it, this country salad, served for the galaxy and dressed with some Situationalism, evokes its anxieties and indicates the irrefutable closeness (at least theoretically speaking) of its authors to the current sui generis of French "insurrectionalism".

In reality, the comprehension of the Letter is made enormously difficult if we read the unfortunate version in Spanish which circulates on the Internet. Despite the undeniable effort of the translators, the result is the text is made even more puzzling. However, in spite of the sorrows, the detonating causes of the adverse responses to the Letter to the Galaxy stand out: the arrogant tone with which it issues its professorship and the excessive condemnation of methods they don't agree with. Of course, its moral condemnations are much more worrying when they fall on compañerxs who are imprisoned for using these methods when putting our ideas into practice.

One unfailing example of the derogatory way which they take on topics that – if not for the use and abuse of demeaning terms- could contribute perfectly with their development to the current debate around new insurrectionalism, is the paragraph quoted below:

"Or is it about scaring the enemy? One recurring element in the claims of responsibility indicates that, apparently, there are anarchists who believe they can terrify power through expressing threats, publishing photographs with weapons or exploding small bombs (without even mentioning the despicable practice of sending letter-bombs). In comparison to the daily slaughter organized by power it seems kind of naïve, especially to those who have no illusions left concerning more sensitive leaders, more human capitalism, or more honest relationships within the system" (15) (underlining mine). As we can see, they condemn a priori, without even making the effort to offer their argument as to why the sending of letter bombs is so "despicable". Evidently, their contempt is funded in value judgements elaborated from stereotypes tied to a false Christian morality present in the social democratic ideology: *"Let them not be found innocent!" (16).* It's the hypocritical howl of the spectators of the confrontation. For anarchists of praxis, those who represent the State, their functionaries and organisms - the whole apparatus together, are objectives of the anarchic insurrection. But I insist, the suggestive part of these controversies



within the anarchic informal tendency- however vehement they may seem- is that they highlight the contradictions and in the end are an invitation to constant reflection. As we mentioned before, we "insurrectionalists" have abundant critiques of immobility, of workerist ideas, out-dated anarcho-syndicalism, the specificist synthesis, "Anarcho"-Leninism (neo-platformism) etc., which without doubt permit us to advance forward on more punctual themes, aimed towards getting rid of these theoretical/practical contradictions. In this sense, despite the arrogance and moralised condemnations, we consider that it's worth the effort to critically rethink some of the criticisms expressed in the Letter to the Anarchist Galaxy, which continue being constant themes of debate within the tendency and which, evidently, invariably continue to reappear in controversies which arise different latitudes (17).

In the same tessitura, it seems recommendable to carefully reread the final words of the letter where it manifests the possibility of dialogue: *"But we carry a history inside of us, a history that connects us to all anarchists and which will obstinately continue to refuse to be enclosed, either within the 'official' anarchist movement, or in the armed-struggle-esque reflection of it, those who continue to refuse to spread ideas separately from the ways we spread them, thus trying to exile all political mediation, including the claim, those who don't care much about who did this or that, but connect it to their own revolt, their own projectuality which expands in the only conspiracy we want: that of rebellious individualities for the subversion of the existent"* (18) (bold mine).

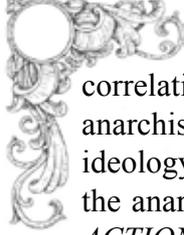
C.A: What would be your contribution to the debate around informal anarchist organisation?

Well, "my contribution" sounds a little pretentious. I don't consider that I've made any major contributions, other than the small ones we've all made in the actualisation of our theoretical/practical framework. I think that we can't remain marooned in the repetition of old diagrams of organisation and action, but instead we must catch up with our current necessities and this requires an enormous effort of re-elaboration in the fields of theory and practice. This permits us break with the immobility of the "eclectic anarchism" of today, with its thousands of different "heads", impeding the ability to coordinate. I know that I sound like a scratched record here, but I won't get tired of repeating it. Our contribution is the continual emphasis on the urgent need for theoretical/practical

re-elaboration and to abandon all that which is alien to our struggle. The urgent actualisation of anarchist ideas, in step with the century we live in, passes through this theoretical re-elaboration through our practices; this is the only coherent way to deepen the critique of domination, voluntary servitude and the society of the spectacle. Only through the construction of a unified critique will we be able to materialise these new refractory paradigms we so long for.

As anarchists, it is necessary for us to constantly repeat this conversation, beginning with the question "what is anarchism?" As anarchists we always have to examine this question in order to sincerely and reflexively be able to ask ourselves "what does it mean to be an anarchist?" This is important because, as Bonanno points out, *"anarchism isn't an immovable definition that, once conceived, can be enclosed in a safe, conserved intact and considered patrimony or heritage to be taken left or right. To be an anarchist isn't to wake up one day and say "There it is, finally, from this instant, I'm in possession of the truth, I AM AN ANARCHIST and, as such, at least from an ideas point of view, I am privileged". Whoever reasons like this is an anarchist of lip service. He or she who questions him or herself, as an anarchist, as a person, and asks "what is my life in relation to what I do and in relation to that which I think? What relations do I maintain daily between doing and thinking?", is really an anarchist"* (19).

That, rightly, is the difference between being ("SER") and being ("ESTAR") anarchists. [NFT: This refers to the difference in the verb TO BE in Spanish. Unlike English, in Spanish there are two forms of the verb TO BE, one is SER, which refers to the essence of something or someone, for example an occupation or identity – *ser doctor (to be a doctor), ser mujer (to be a woman)*, while the other form is ESTAR, which refers to the verb as an action, as a changing state, as doing – *estar listo/lista (to be ready), está caliente (it's hot – right now, in this moment, but later it will get cold)*. Hence, to be an anarchist in the SER sense, refers to being an anarchist as an identity or occupation, while to be an anarchist in the ESTAR sense refers to acting as such, of doing, changing, of living in action as an anarchist]. We have proven that one can be ("SER") an anarchist in respect to the role, meaning as a noun, or reducing the concept to the quality of an adjective. But to be ("ESTAR") anarchist is the assume the verb, meaning to act as such, and this implicates praxis, which goes hand in hand with action. Practical and theoretical - theory and practice, in constant



correlation. That is to consistently be ("ESTAR") an anarchist. As our Gabriel (20) says in his "Diary and ideology of a criminal (unnecessary considerations for the anarchic revolt)": *"It's not enough to talk about ACTION, we have to be ACTION! It's not enough to dream about Anarchy, we have to be the expression of that Anarchy!"* (21).

And so, retaking the positions of the *compañero* Alfredo Bonanno, we are sure that, true to his words, "anarchism isn't an immovable definition". I am plainly convinced of the certainty of his position, for this I appeal to the need to actualise the insurrectional thesis, to take the step to a new insurrectional anarchism, to a new "illegalism" which has been materialising and articulating in practice around the planet. We have seen this being ("ESTAR") anarchist on a major or minor scale in Argentina, Germany, Belarus, Bolivia, Chile, the Spanish State, the United States, France, Indonesia, England, Italy, Greece, Mexico, Peru, Russia, Switzerland, Uruguay and many other corners of the globe. This is what we are attempting with the consolidation of the Informal Anarchist Tendency (IAT).

Many *compañerxs*, including well-intentioned ones, do not identify this abysmal difference between being ("SER") and being ("ESTAR") anarchists, nor do they recognise the urgent need for theoretical/practical actualisation. They think and act in a different way because they are victims of the banalities of the dominant ideas and have let themselves be trapped by illusions and fiction, overwhelmed with the Law of Numbers, and in the end becoming slaves of Hope. Along the way, the ideas have become distorted; "contaminated" by positivism and liberalism, infected with bourgeois influences, social democratic thoughts, economism and workerism. And when I affirm that the ideas have become distorted, this doesn't only refer to what has been named libertarianism or to that aberration named "Anarcho-capitalism", but also the Marxian-Leninist infection. This Marxian-Leninist infection goes hand in hand with economism and all of its productivist bullshit of progressive and other leftist concepts, which, taking on the sweetened discourse of "citizenism", the "politically correct", "democratic plurality" and "tolerance", has driven us postpone the moment of direct confrontation with the system of domination. The demand for "conditions" and the constant appeal to Hope, are the pointed rocks of the philosophy of domination; we must keep this in mind. For this reason our struggle has to be against all Hope. When fronted with optimism and unreal

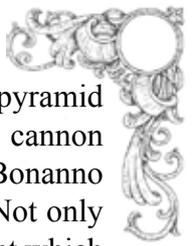
triumphalism, we have to develop refractory pessimism.

C.A: On various occasions, some nuclei of anarchist action, collectives and individualities – including ourselves (CA) - have mentioned the Informal Anarchist Tendency. As you are amongst the principle drivers of this thesis together with Gabriel Pombo da Silva and other European and Latin American *compañerxs*, could you specify a little more about what the Informal Anarchist Tendency is? What do you refer to concretely with the TIA and what are its proposals?

The Informal Anarchist Tendency (TIA) is the way in which the informal anarchists in Mexico and other regions of the world- Chile and Italy as examples- assume contemporary anarchic praxis, emphasising individual autonomy, minimal organisation and coherent anti-systemic practice. All of this is founded on direct action and permanent conflictivity against the existent, with marked emphasis on Anarchy's destructive spirit and its nature to reject the existent. Within its principle preoccupations are the necessary theoretical/practical actualisation of anarchism in correspondence with the concrete conditions that the current system of techno-industrial domination imposes, the urgent need to "abandon everything else" (Christian/liberal/social democratic influences) to be able to re-found anarchic principles and materialise the international coordination of networks of anarchic affinity as a preparatory phase of the Black International.

Within this growing Tendency, a wide spectrum of theoretical pronouncements can be identified, ranging from new insurrectionalism or new "illegalism" and Acratic individualism to anarchic nihilism, as well as the anti civilisation position and anti technology groups (22), all coinciding in a practical proposal of frontal struggle against the system of techno-industrial domination with all its extensions. Without doubt, the common denominator uniting us is the individualist vision centred in individual responsibility and fundamental autonomy.

For this reason we insist that the IAT isn't a solution for the "social problems"- nor does this interest us. Neither is it a new article on offer in the market of ideologies focused on attracting followers, nor is putting a handful of pre-canned ideas into practice its end. The IAT doesn't struggle for a "better world" nor to reach an "ideal society" - be it Communist, Anarchist



or however you want to call it. We don't believe in miracles, much less in "utopian societies", and for this we won't tire ourselves in "bettering" our image for public consumption, of the intangible product called "Utopia". We're not convinced that an "anarchist society" will be appear tomorrow morning. What's more, we are almost certain that this will probably never happen at all. And this doesn't worry us too much. As Bonanno says "Anarchism is a tension, not a realisation". However, this doesn't mean that Anarchy isn't possible here and now. For us Anarchy isn't only possible, it already exists in an ephemeral way each time that a successful expropriation is carried out, it is founded in those brief moments when the night is lit up with refractory fire, confirmed in every prison escape and verified with the physical elimination of our enemies. The moments, the places, the precise social locations, are relatively indifferent for Anarchist approaches and anarchic piracy. Anarchy is the constant advance towards the unattainable horizon. It is the ceaseless search for unrestricted Freedom. It is the conscious development of Chaos and its consequences.

We don't bet on the revolutionary idea because we have paid attention to history and we know how ALL revolutions have ended up. We are conscious that when we speak of Revolution today, not only are we evoking the past, but also we take on a concept which results to be as far off as religious mythology, whatever name it might have. From the French Revolution until the revolutions of our times, the only thing that has been born from these changes of Power has been messianic dictatorships and new castes, without exception! The Revolution is the repressed desire to change the world in the image of the French Revolution, as Aragorn reminds us "*The good news: heads will roll. The Bad news: in the end the bureaucrats always win*" (23). Before such a reflexion there is no other alternative that to jettison the revolutionary idea once and for all.

The Revolution has been the bourgeois vehicle par excellence for changing places, meaning, to carry out the transfer of authority via the taking of power, leaving the institutions of the State and the relations of power intact, as well as reinforcing and imposing them in an ultra authoritarian manner. For this reason, the bourgeois has historically used the "masses" - this multitude of voluntary serfs who are always ready to be moulded to the tastes of the "vanguards" - to develop their visceral struggles.

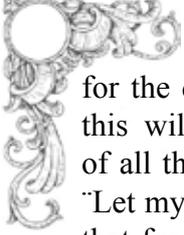
The voluntary servitude has to change master each time that new perks are offered (bread, circuses,

vengeance, elevated positions within the pyramid of oppression) and for this, is willing to be cannon fodder to the service of any illuminist. Bonanno himself questioned the "revolutionary" fact. Not only does he warn us that the Revolution is an event which may or may not ever become a reality, but also that we mustn't put our expectations on it. Much less must we wait until the "objective and subjective conditions" are ripe in order to make the move to insurrectional action - understanding this as a direct attack against the system of domination, putting permanent conflictivity into practice and, above all, selecting the least risky objectives.

However, we have to make it clear that when we affirm that we have to throw away Revolution and the strategy of "change" and "social transformation" which has historically been purported by social democracy (liberal and leninoides), we aren't calling to renounce anti-systemic violence. We aren't saying we should simply cross our arms and abandon the struggle, nor are we declaring the end of oppression. Much less are we attempting to confer that domination does not exist. We are simply abandoning an alien conceptualisation, and acknowledging that history has proven its dysfunction to us, as well as its lack of coherence in agreement with our fundamental principles.

We aren't fighting to "transform" the world, or to make it "more just", or for power to change hands. We struggle to destroy Power and we won't conform with any less. This doesn't mean that we don't know how to take advantage of the opportunities provided by different junctures. Whatever rebellion or attempted rebellion, be it a timorous protest or a "revolutionary process", these situations always offer us the opportunity to extend the struggle against domination and to spread Chaos and Anarchy. Of course, we're not going to become allies with those who struggle for the taking of power in order to achieve this - we are very conscious of who our enemies are - but we will use all the apertures that present themselves in order to extend the struggle and drive these instants of Chaos and Anarchy to their ultimate consequences.

In conclusion, we can affirm that the Informal Anarchist Tendency is the contemporary Acratic praxis. Its objective is to confront power in the practice and not in the abstraction of ideas, as unfortunately an important section of that fiction which insists on calling itself the "anarchist movement" so often does. We want the destruction of Power. We are anxious



for the demolition of the system of domination and this will only be possible through the destruction of all that which dominates us. As Bakunin affirms: "Let my friends construct. I have no thirst other than that for destruction, because I am convinced that to construct with some rotten materials over a carrion is work lost, and only through great destruction can new living elements appear, and together with them, new elements...". This is the neuralgic difference between anarchism of praxis and idyllic anarchism.

C.A: Many sceptics insist that the new anarchic insurrection, originated by the informal tendency, is a suicidal folly apt only for "imbeciles", which does not correspond to the current "objective, and subjective conditions" of the struggles, and that it has driven many compañerxs to prison or death. There are even those who affirm that the insurrectional anarchic proposals are a counter-revolutionary "ideology" which "negates the revolutionary programme". How do you interpret the proliferation of these disqualifications?

First we have to contextualise these attacks and disqualifications. Without doubt, despite the imposition of the "ideology of the citizen" and the globalisation of capital – the 21st Century with its new and particular physiognomy, far from what it was in the 19th and 20th Century, offers unedited opportunities for anarchists of praxis. Above all to be able to recognise ourselves as the only ones still holding on to a struggle which is not just for the cosmetic transformation of oppression, as touted by the populist regimes of Latin America (Cuba, Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua), hand in hand with international social democracy with its worn-out slogan "Another capitalism is possible". Instead we wish to carry out the definitive destruction of the system of domination.

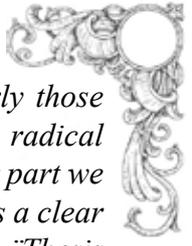
In this frontal struggle for total liberation, we also count on a punctual critical balance that has permitted us to learn from our past errors and which helps us not to repeat them. Today we know – from our own historical experience – that we cannot establish "alliances" that hopelessly conduce to financing the system of domination, meaning, the strengthening of the State and the consolidation of capitalism. We are also conscious of the way social democracy constantly takes hold of different struggles, for which the worn-out recipe for taking over the means of production – the one still being cooked for self consumption in our camps nowadays - has nothing to contribute today

except for securing the restructuring of Power and the continuity of capitalism. But, despite the timely lessons and the "favourable" conditions of the era, the projection or the definitive collapse of anarchism continues relapsing in the historicity of a certain paradigm - to all appearances obsolete. It continues in the tenacity and the momentum that impregnates the struggle under our absolute responsibility.

Once the context has been planted we can continue with the "interpretations". The proliferation of attacks and disqualifications against the proposals of the new anarchic insurrection is only one more indicator of the informal tendency's notable prevalence, and of the beginning of a new anarchic paradigm which has begun to move the foundations of old organic structures and stagnant schemes of operation. In the same vein we see the perverse campaign of the CNT towards the end of the 90s against the compañerxs who were imprisoned for a failed expropriation in Cordoba; the cowardly attacks of the Italian Anarchist Federation which we mentioned earlier, and the corridor agreements of the recent carnival of St. Immier (24). Further mention for those who affirm that the insurrectional anarchic proposals are a counter-revolutionary "ideology" which "rejects the revolutionary programme".

Recently a "revolutionary book" came on the market, under the title of "Critique of the insurrectionalist ideology", a text "signed" by one of the many regional names the Internationalist Communist Group (ICG) adopts. On this occasion they call themselves Internationalist Proletariats, and have the goal of exacerbating the attacks against insurrectional anarchism, new anarchic illegalism in particular, disguised as "constructive criticism" and of "*intransigent struggle against all weaknesses, against all the ideologies that seek to dominate us*" (25). Of course, when they critique the insurrectional methods and attempt to present them as a new "ideology", endless semantic juggling and dialectical pirouettes persist, attempting to argue that their attacks are not against the compañerxs who "carry out sabotage under this ideology", nor against sabotage in itself, but instead they are "assuming the struggle while displaying a critique of the material force that represents the ideology, attempting to frame that expression of struggle" (26).

In the introduction of the text "Critique of the insurrectionalist ideology", this front of the ICG recognises that "*throughout the decade of the 80s,*



*diverse sectors of anarchist militancy brought about a process of reflection and balance of the revolutionary struggles which ended up being defeated in the late 70s, as well as the “new” conditions that capital was imposing in all ambits of life”. Despite this, it concludes by affirming that “all of this process will be aimed towards the consolidation of a series of conceptions that make up the **ideological body** of that which is called insurrectionalism” (bold mine). Its defamatory intention is evident. They attempt to equate what are obviously tactical questions with an “ideology” to be treasured on the shelves of “plural” postmodernism (awaiting future consumers), and inspired by new fundamentalist sects.*

It's worth pointing out our total contempt for Ideologies, including the “anarchist ideology”. From here, our constant questioning of those who claim themselves to be “anarchists” and conceive anarchism as a creed, and as such, keep it as part of their collection. This distorted (ideologised) vision of anarchism, as we have insisted on repeated occasions, is only fed by the dogmatists who confuse the ideal with an immutable bible to be resorted to each time that uncertainty invades. They appear to feel appetised by consoling themselves, or the need to clear up whatever circumstance that presents itself, repeating their sacred phrases as penitence instead of fronting the concrete reality and readjusting the sense of our struggle.

Although it really is true that the ICG has carried out a commendable theoretical labour, from the revolutionary Marxian perspective – rescuing documents and reflections of outstanding libertarian fighters and tirelessly denouncing the spade work and the detours of social democracy (Leninism- including all of its presentations- syndicalism, populism, citizenism etc.), employing, in the majority of cases, a language close to that of our critics (27). We have absolutely no doubt that this campaign to discredit anarchic insurrection in in response to its own agenda.

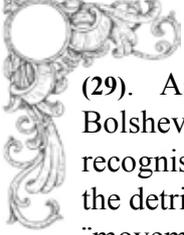
Evidently, we're not going to fall into the conspiracy-paranoid psychosis of the Leninist sects (Troskyists and Stalinists) which pain to compromise the origin of the “vast economic recourses with which the ICG strangely operates in more than fifteen languages”- obscene insinuations trying to attribute strange links with the CIA and similar deliriums. Neither are we going to echo the condemnations of other revolutionary Marxian groups who try to compete with them and accuse them of having “cheated many elements in

the search for political positions, particularly those influenced by anarchism, with its ultra radical phrases and its exaltation to violence. On our part we have maintained for some time that the ICF is a clear expression of the political parasitism (see “Thesis about parasitism” in Revista Internacional number 94), a group whose true reason for being is to play a destructive role respect to authentic revolutionary organisations [...] For us there is no doubt whatsoever that, more and more clearly, they are doing the work of the bourgeois, be it manipulated by State forces or not” (28).

No. And a thousand times more: no! We don't subscribe to these defamations and we spit on this methodology of the dirty engineering of the enemy with all of our rage. We know the ICG from many centuries ago and we know – despite the abysmal discrepancies – that all of these “accusations” are vile calumnies of social democracy that won't forgive even one of their critiques nor the constant calls to struggle against all the demagogic shit of the true parasites of “revolution” (from the Bolsheviks to the Castroists). It would be dishonest and cowardly to join in with this litany of infamies instead of fronting our divergences and the confrontation of positions. Without doubt, it is the easiest path in order to “neutralise” them and also the most improper one. It is quite clear that the ICG isn't one of the many fronts of the CIA which are so frequently occupied in leftist camps. Likewise, we recognise that the ICG is not “doing the work of the bourgeois” nor is it “manipulated by the forces of the State”.

For us the ICG is something else. It is about an entelechy - half church and half party - that has lost all contact with reality after being left stranded in the workerist ideology. On not accepting the reality of the proletariat's defeat, disgrace and liquidation, what used to be the most critical expression of Marxism has ultimately remained trapped in a fictitious perspective under the deforming lens of ideology. It has degenerated into a sect of worn-out lunatics, incapable of extending and radicalising the struggle against the contemporary system of domination, and refused to recognise themselves as being stuck in workerism and the formulations of this ideology.

It's worth remembering the reiterated flattery the ICG gave us towards the end of last century and during the first days of this millennium. They were rapt with our “ruptures with diverse aspects of social democracy, as a defence of revolutionary violence against pacifism”



(29). As with the now disappeared Circle of Anti-Bolshevik Communists, the ICG pained itself in recognising the anarchic praxis of insurrectionalism in the detriment of the immobile sectors of the so-called "movement" of the time. However, this "flirting" was only responding to the aged Maquiavealian strategy of "divide and conquer", in a frustrated attempt to recruit for its party within insurrectionalist affinity groups .

Definitely – to make a small parenthesis – a certain partial "success" must be registered in their strategy within the so-called "disenchanted" of the anarchic insurrection, particularly in the Spanish State. Here a profound theoretical confusion was generated around insurrectionalism due to the state repression and imprisonment of various compañerxs. It only takes reading the *mea culpa* by *Los Tigres de Sutullena* (30) to get a shallow idea of this lamentable episode.

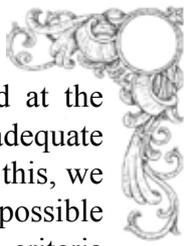
However, who has begun to cement links with the ICG is the specificist sector, in particular in the neo-platformism area. It's certain that despite the notable coincidences between both formations in all things referent to the "class struggle", the absence of a centralising Party of the struggles, and the necessity of a "transitory stage" (read: "dictatorship of the proletariat"); the divorce is imminent. Evidently, these proto-Leninist groups which insist on disguising themselves as "anarchists" fit into the social-democratic logic and the ideas of that party on conceiving this rotten world and, above all, in the moment of facing its detrimental destruction. It's enough to take just a shallow look at their "thesis" on Popular Power and the constant defence of the Latin American populist bureaucrats in order to corroborate this. As such, these "approaches" will soon be reduced to the worn-out strategy of proselytising recruitment and the most devoted disciples of "What to do?", those who refuse to abandon the Leninist stances, will be reduced to dust.

Lamentably, this competitive mood can also be confirmed in the assiduous confrontations within the tendency and the so called "movements". In this sense, let me again quote extensively the compañero Rafael Spósito (Daniel Barret) to address these incidents in a categorical manner: *"This elemental recognition makes the situations of rivalry and fractional competition appear like dedicate suicide and as an unconscious and sectarian gloating that can only cipher its expectations in the disappearance of the "adversary" and in the honeys of a moderate*

proselyte "recruitment" within the ranks of orphans and helpless that this results in. Thus the path of the movement doesn't seem to be that of the "colonisation" of some for the other; in the very hypothetical case that in some place there were conditions to produce such extravagant phenomenon. As such, in the way that they assume the necessities of construction, implantation and development of a new illuminated centre of gravity and then the reduction to power and vestiges of those bodies to those that are conceived as peripheral. Nothing permits us to conclude, in these moments, that the traditional forms which historically assumed in the moment – paradigmatic and quasi-paradigmatic; anarcho-syndicalism and "specificism" respectively – can today incorporate and absorb the motley constellation of new and heterodox expressions that have development in the last three decades. Neither does anything permit us the supposition that largely settled organic structures make an automatic, vertiginous and enthusiastic act of conversion and recycling which assimilates them anymore to the expectations of the most recent generational groups" (31.)

C.A.: A little while ago, a new debate arose from a few communiqués of the imprisoned compañerxs of the Conspiracy Cells of Fire (CCF) in Greece that, without the slightest intention to harm them morally – (we can underline that C.A are very close to their positions)- we must say that their texts caused a certain annoyance for some compañerxs. The fact of having recurred to one of Mao's authoritarian quotes and mentioning the so called "popular tribunals" or "revolutionary courts" (which, without doubt, are a clearly Marxist-Leninist symbol, located light years from the Acratic ideal) in one of their communiqués, raised no end of commentaries in the contra-informative media. What could you comment about this controversy?

Well, in reality it's not so much about a "controversy" in the strict sense of the word. We could rather speak of an epistolary interchange between compañerxs interested in the development of the Informal Anarchist Tendency and concerned with unifying certain criteria and clearing up misunderstandings and confusions. It is certain that due to the communiqués of the imprisoned compañerxs of the CCF in Greece being translated (to Italian/Spanish/English), where effectively Mao was quoted and the "revolutionary courts" were referred to, some very punctual comments were made by some Italian, Chilean and Mexican compañerxs, but



this did not remain in purely coarse questioning. That was the detonator which originated a fructiferous dialogue between the imprisoned compañeras and compañeros of the CCF in Greece, our Gabriel Pombo, various Italian compañerxs and some of us here who concern ourselves with these developments. Logically, this type of feedback was rather tortuous given the conditions of control and isolation in which the Greek compas as well as Gabriel find themselves in, but the result was very rewarding, as an infinity of topics were raised and conceptual terms such as "Armed Struggle", "Guerrilla", "Front", "Federation", "Revolution" etc. were reevaluated. It is unfortunate that it wasn't possible for this exercise to carry on longer, for these same circumstances. But I insist, it was a very helpful interchange which permitted us to consolidate definitions and clear up some concepts which could create discrepancies and confusion if not appropriately handled. Of course, all of this epistolary approach was going much further than the narrow limits of simple interchanging of ideas, and also it betted on (and bets on) the international articulations of the anarchic affinity groups, retaking the foundational principles of anarchism of praxis. It is worth underlining the important role that the compañerxs of the blog Culmine, in particular our compañero Stefano Fosco, played in this process of dialogue between affinities.

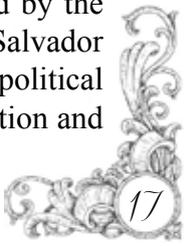
For Gabriel as well as for myself, the Greek compañerxs of the CCF's commitment to the Acratic struggle is very clear for the direct language and the sincerity with which they write. However, the use of "alien" concepts within the "anarchic lexicon" had begun to provoke reservations for some compañerxs of affinity, and it was worth the effort to attend to these commentaries before misunderstandings developed. The use of "ambiguous" terms such as "armed struggle", "guerrilla", "class struggle", "Revolutionary Front", and the unfortunate mention of the "revolutionary popular council" (alluding to the "revolutionary tribunals") that "tomorrow will judge the judges who are in charge of our processes today", awoke misgivings and generated a certain discomposure within compañerxs implicated in the new insurrectional anarchist project.

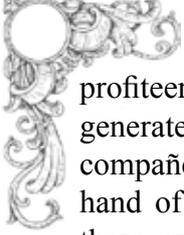
Both Gabriel and I were convinced that this presumed nonsense was a product of a type of theoretical confusion, of the lack of internal debate and of an irrefutable freshness, and not a consequence of some sort of "attempted Bolshevik manipulation" or anything of the sort. Also it was very probable that

some of these confusions were exacerbated at the moment of translation, given the scarcity of adequate terms in most common dictionaries. Despite this, we consider it vitally important to clear up all possible misunderstandings and reach consensus on criteria that doesn't create this type of unnecessary fuss. It seems to us that after all of the responses generated in wide sectors of anarchist action at an international level, and of the enormous efforts of articulation which have been materialising since the call of the Fire Cells Conspiracy, we must be very careful and not merely dispose of everything that has been achieved until this moment.

With the intention of consolidating unitary critique and informal coordination at an international level, we considered that it was primordial to elaborate a historical balance permitting us to sharpen the anti-systemic discourse of the 21st Century, emphasising individual autonomy, minimal organisation and consequent practice. Approaches such as the conformation of the Informal Anarchist Federation (FAI) – despite the use and abuse of the word "Federation" within traditional Anarchism, particularly by the specificist tendency, result in the contradiction the Informal Anarchist Tendency's principles of minimal organisation. We must remember that the "emergence" of the Informal Anarchist Federation in Italy during last century, was not a call to federative organisation, but instead a good joke- with a tremendous sense of humour- by the Italian insurrectionalist compas.

Given the constant attacks by the official FAI (Italian Anarchist Federation) accusing the insurrectionalist compañerxs of being "provocateurs", "police agents" and "terrorists", these compas decided- as a way of a joke- to use the same abbreviation (FAI/IAF) to "sign" its claims of responsibility and communiqués. The fact of using the abbreviation of the immobile FAI is already a provocation in itself that obliges them to disassociate and position themselves. For this, it is logical in the Italian context; however, when the Greek compas launch it as an organisational proposal with international projection, it seems little fortunate, as it can be interpreted as a call to organisation of synthesis through a rigid federative proposal. Now, without even speaking of the call out to conform the "International Revolutionary Front" which, without doubt, evokes the "Popular Fronts" of Stalinist inspiration or the dirty "frentistas" developed by the Leninists in Nicaragua (FSLN) and in El Salvador (FMLN), today converted into electoral political parties, submerged in the most vulgar corruption and





profiteering. Thus, the conformation of this "front", generates concerns and suspicion on the part of many compañerxs of affinity that wrongly sensed the black hand of anarcho-leninism (neo-platformism) behind these calls for international coordination. However, the proposal to extend the international struggle under the suggestive title of the Fire Cells Conspiracy seems totally plausible and attractive- one hundred per cent coherent- as much as the magnificent call out to conform the Black International, integrated by all of the informal groups of anarchist action which desire so around the world.

In this sense, I consider that the strong answers by the imprisoned compañerxs of the CCF in Greece in the interview that you did with them recently clears up any doubts that may have existed, especially when they clarified their real positions in a convincing way *"We don't have the slightest attachment to words. Communication at an international level involves new forms and possibilities of the struggle which perhaps require new words to express ourselves. We are willing to play with words, with the only condition being that we agree with their meanings"* (32).

Departing from this point then, let's re-evaluate conceptual terms such as "Armed struggle", "Guerrilla", "Front", "Federation", "Revolution" and, why not, the use and abuse of the common slogan "For the extension of the social war!" - a badly disguised euphemism which does nothing more than call for a worn-out "class struggle". Compañerxs: let's call a spade a spade, and abandon once and for all the use of ambiguous terms and slogans. Our call is none other than for Chaos and Anarchy, and we'll fight tooth and nail for it.

C.A: Continuing with this same context, we'd like to connect this last question to another theme. Some anarchist groups in Mexico and Greece have concretely defined themselves as "anarchist guerrillas". For us, even having in mind that the first manual of urban guerrilla was written by Spanish anarchist Abraham Guillén, exiled in Uruguay, it seems a little uncomfortable to use the term, since we don't share the modus operandi or the organisational schemes of a guerrilla. Better said, we understand that it is necessary to only take from this what is functional for the attack, without falling into absolute specialisation or vanguardism. What is your perspective on informal anarchist organisation in contraposition with the urban or rural guerrilla? Do you consider it "adequate" to

define a nucleus of anarchist action as an "anarchist guerrilla" or do you think that anarchist action must come from another perspective?

First of all, we need to point out that what we are witnessing is an essentially youthful anarchist "movement", lacking organisational and action models. One that continues being tied to a considerably lagging theoretical elaboration with respect to our current needs, which logically has generated the state of confusion we are discussing today. Of course, without wanting to look for "guilty" parties, we have to recognise that the monumental confusion which we find ourselves immersed in is the direct responsibility of the more retrograde sectors of anarchism which have opted to maintain the traditional schemes of anarchism and immobile action, showing off the conservatism of the reformist postures which characterise specifist and libertarian/sindicalist circles.

Clarifying this, I'd like to share some reflections around the denominated "anarchist guerrilla". I consider that a nucleus of anarchist action does not have to recur to archaic practices and formulations that can even be alien to our ends- which are to put everyday insurrection and permanent conflictivity into practice. Conversely, it would have to come from a splendid display of creativity and discovery, emphasising our will to live when fronted with the imperium of death. For this, we must channel forces for the destruction of the existent, far from mechanic repetition and ideological distortions, and focus on concrete reality with no other horizon than that which ruthlessly critiques Power and which encompasses a plentiful ethic of freedom. If otherwise, it runs the risk of deviating the objective and falling into superlative theoretical/practical contradictions which do not help at all in the development of a new anarchic paradigm and its consequent projection.

The scope of the every day insurrection and permanent conflict can not appraise itself through armed confrontation, but instead through the rhythm and intensity of the extension of chaos, and the concretisation of Anarchy (the incineration of trade, destruction of centres of production, economic paralysis, desertion of social roles, the end of obligations, the succession of every day life, the term "normality"). No guerrilla - for the most anarchist and effective that it may be - could ever give us this certainty. In the same way, the theme of the "anarchist guerrilla" indirectly fits into the same tessitura of the



retrograde visions we have criticised, of the sectors of the “movement” anchored to the past, which refuse to modernise their critique and to elaborate new theoretical/practical scaffolding.

Of course, we also have to point out the militaristic origin of the term. The “guerrilla” is an efficient instrument of war, constituted by miniscule parties of combatants, conceived to strike at the State in an asymmetric conflagration through “constant hostility”. For this, the guerrilla employs the “element of surprise” in the attack, “mobility” which grants the displacement of irregular detachments, and permanent “improvisation”. The sum of these four factors (hostility, element of surprise, mobility and improvisation) recompenses for the numerical inferiority and weaponry weakness, due to the guerrilla’s capacity to act when fronted with an enemy which is well girted but immobilised by slow displacement of military units with a great density of troops and heavy armoury.

The military tactic known as “guerrilla warfare” originated in Spain in the 19th century, as a successful method of struggle used to repel the invasion of the Napoleonic troops, however some historians locate the first guerrilla skirmishes in the remote takeover of Canaán by the Jews, and in the hostilities of the Persian tribes towards the invading troops of Alejandro Magno. During the anticolonial or independence struggles around the American continent guerrilla warfare was also employed. The use of guerrillas supported by France and Spain would have a determining role in the North American Revolution, which concluded with the independence of the United States from British imperialism. Likewise, this tactic was used again throughout the 20th century, being practiced as a harassment method against the troops of General Franco by anarchist groups dedicated to armed resistance. Equally, during the Nazi-Fascist occupation of Europe, countless Partisan groups were created, aided by England, in order to combat the enemy on its terrain.

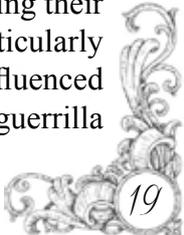
The sparks generated by the triumph of the nationalist movement commanded by the Castro brothers throughout the majority of the Antilles, meant that “guerrilla warfare” as a method of struggle would be put back in vogue towards the end of the fifties. The theory of the “foco guerrillero”, popularly known as “foquismo”, was developed by Ernesto Che Guevara (“Guerrilla Warfare” 1960) from the systemisation of the denominated “Cuban experience”. This served

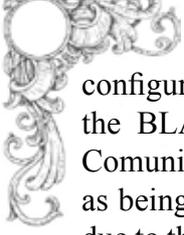
as political/military scaffolding for the movements of national liberation throughout Latin America and the anti-colonial struggles in Afro-Asiatic territories, leading to the independence from European colonialism in the region and the birth of new national States.

However, on labelling the “guerrilla” as being “alien” (obviously in reference to our principles and objectives) we aren’t only speaking about the militaristic origin of the term and its implications. Its estrangement is evident, including in the developments within our own camps. Such is the case of the reflection of Abraham Guillén. If we read the reflections of the tireless anarcho-syndicalist today, not only we will perceive the natural allusion of his considerations- located in the emergence of the second half of the 20th century, in the midst of the “cold war”, but we will also find the typical contaminations which distinguish this era, marked by the imposition of a determinist and final agenda asserted by the “triumph of socialism over the face of the Earth”.

Years later Guillén himself would end up recognising these “contaminations”. On more than one occasion he shared with me his consternation at the tragic trajectory of these contagions. Evidently, the influences of the social-democratic ideology- with its conceptualisations (“revolutionary nationalism”, “anti-imperialism”, “social justice”, “progressive sectors of society”, “united democratic front”, “the liberation of the working people”, “popular power” etc.) – have also dented our camps (and continue to do so). This confusion is not only present in the works of Guillén but also in the reflection of the *Grupo Primero de Mayo* (33) from last century. Of course, we cannot take these experiences out of context, much less tackle the theme with a moralizing critique. The ideological “contamination” of this time was the unquestionable product of the practical learning of a dynamic sector of anarchism, determined in body and soul for the definitive liquidation of the lethargic immobility within our camps since the defeat of anarcho-syndicalism.

Without doubt, these ideological “contaminations” were verified on all sides implicated in the armed critique, which in its time would confer a devastating attack from the most recalcitrant Marxians, to the armed Guevarist groups which were developing their guerrilla activity in metropolitan areas, particularly in Europe, Canada and the United States, influenced by the reflections of Guillén. Known urban guerrilla





configurations like the Weathermen, the SLA, the BLA, the RAF, and here in Mexico the Liga Comunista (Communist League), were diagnosed as being "sick", porters of the "Anarchist syndrome", due to their propensity towards confrontation with the police-bureaucratic apparatuses of the State.

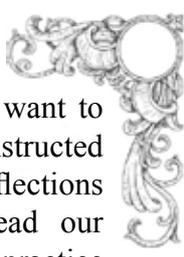
"Strategy of the Urban Guerrilla"(1966), "The military error of the leftists", "Evaluation of the Uruguayan Tupamaros", "Lesson of the Latin-American guerrilla" and an endless lists of texts elaborated by Guillén are today held as indisputable lessons to capitalise on. Read in perspective, we are given an infinite list of inputs which permit us to fully comprehend the different social, political and economic scenarios of the conflicts and conflagrations where guerrilla warfare is developed as a combat strategy. Equally, it offers us the opportunity to recognise errors at the moment of carrying out our immanent inventory, which are well worth taking into account. Likewise, it gives us punctual critiques of Castroism and Guevarism, which we must recognise for their undeniable farsightedness. However if we read it with attention, we will identify the presence of continuist and recuperating conceptions, that of "transitional anarchism" which characterised those years of ravings and ramblings, which these days have nothing to contribute.

To exemplify this, affirmations such as *"We have to take charge of society without the bourgeois or bureaucracy, but through showing that it can achieve more productivity and freedom, that the scientific/ technological revolution be impelled forward, the mechanisation and electrification of agriculture, the industrial integration for grand units and specialities of production assimilate thousands of engineers and computers, put popular culture and economic and technological development to service, the conquest of cosmic space, the integral exploitation of atomic energy, the healing of the environment infected by the industrial capitalist looking for immediate earnings, the creation of a self sufficient socialism in which the people will be the subject of history, without false redeemers to keep the profits"* (34). Or the call to conform a "Wide but revolutionary front", where it is advised that *"the Latin American revolution must encase a wide front of oppressed classes, pushed along by an armed vanguard of armed rural and armed guerrillas, until the active minority converts itself into the party of the insurgent majority. A popular united front which gives coverage to the guerrillas must go from priests and rebellious Catholics to the anarchists,*

with the end of having the guerrilla count on the help of eighty per cent of the Latin American population, which will give it the military victory over the armies of minions and also over the possible intervention of the generals of the Pentagon [...] Non-bourgeois and anti-imperialist Catholicism can construct a fundamental base for the Latin American revolution, uniting religious reform and the continental revolution, so that the profane and the divine can plainly unify. The priests must be specialists, scientists, useful men linked to cooperative self-sufficient communities, and in their leisure time can administer their churches and preach their doctrines freely. It is necessary that the church gets close to the people, as in the times of Christ, but without bureaucracy or hierarchy" (35). This only reveals the enormous desperation and the level of frustration which was characteristic of this era. However, we have to clarify that Guillén, in his own historical mark, can only inspire admiration and recognition, much further than the theoretical/practical debacle which the practice of this hardly original variation/correction of "Guerrilla Warfare" may have provoked.

And this is without even mentioning the erroneous thesis which certified that *"the revolutionary is not self-elected or an improvisation, but a man (sic) who can not escape the accomplishment of his revolutionary destiny; with the strategy of a Napoleon, the soul of a Christ, the mental capacity of a Marx and the revolutionary spirit of a Bakunin. It will be said that it is difficult for a man to unify that capacity, but great crises create men; revolutions make miracles. The character is the end of the history as the expression of a people"* (36). Today, these assertions not only show us its anachronism but also emphasise the "alien" condition of the discourse with respect to our principles and ends.

From our rupturist vision, which invites us to think of a post-classical anarchism capable of offering new itineraries – committed to the absolute destruction of the system of domination and for total liberation-, the nefarious ideology of the "armed struggle" can only drive us towards the dictatorship of its vanguard and the most elemental gregariousness. This creates our natural distancing and pertinacious distinction between "armed path" and "armed struggle". Further than embracing refractory violence as the only feasible way to confront the systematic violence, the "armed path" offers us the auspicious possibility to take aim against ideologies, including the ideology of the "armed struggle". The "armed struggle" is a



strategy of war historically used by an endless list of political projects, generally directed towards taking Power. The use of arms in itself does not imply the character or ideological representation of said project. Uncountable political organisations, hand in hand with the social democratic program, continue employing the guerrilla strategy today. Put simply, they use military abilities as a technique of coercion in order to sustain their demands. Politics can also be achieved through the use of arms. Without doubt, this axiom revalidates the maxim of the Prussian general Carl Von Clausewitz: "War is the continuation of politics by other means". But, unlike this once director of the Prussian Military Academy of Berlin, we anarchists are apolitical - we are not interested in pursuing politics by any means.

Social democracy presents "armed struggle" as the superior form of social conflagrations (or, to be more precise, let's inscribe it in Marxian code: "civil war is the maximum expression of class struggle"). However, these considerations only apply to those interested in forming an armed party, with the immutable decision to take the power of the State, which explains the presence of the sadly famous "people's prisons" and the so called "popular tribunals". The usurping of functions proves to be the real objective of the struggle: the substitution of one State for another.

The insurrectional rupture cannot be reduced simply to "armed struggle", unless it wishes to limit the vast field of belligerences and contingencies offered by the liberation of all of our passions, restricting it to the constrained use of tools which would invariably lead to a obstreperous stagnation of our aspirations.



C.A: What would your critique be towards the insurrectionalist anarchist spectrum in Mexico? According to your criteria, what has impeded us to advance in the "qualitative" aspect?

First of all, as pointed out by some Chilean compañerxs, I consider that "only an action can critique another

action- the rest is just words". With this I want to make it clear that our critiques mustn't be constructed from mere observance and from abstract reflections of some libertarian pen-pusher, but instead our critique has to always be elaborated through practice and the interpretation of that practice. It is through direct action, permanent conflictivity, expropriation, anti-systematic attack and direct solidarity with our compañerxs who have fallen prisoner, that our critique must be constructed and strengthened, through debate and discussion between compañerxs of affinity.

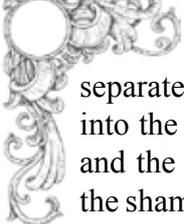
Having said that, from our part we must highlight that there is no specific "critique" of the insurrectional anarchic practice in Mexico, instead all the possible critiques of this particular action come from the same observations we have towards the whole tendency, emphasising its multiform development. In the "Mexican case" as well as in the rest of the world, weaknesses in the qualitative advancement have to be located in these before-mentioned "congenital" problems, which continue causing the same "ambiguity" which has trailed anarchism during centuries. In other words, this type of "bipolarity" which insists on combining the individualist component, with a marked emphasis on pleasure and everyday anti-systematic insurrection detached from all social conflict, with the perennial appeal to awake from voluntary servitude and the "radicalisation of the social struggles". Or similarly, the permanent gap between the followers of "individual insurrection" and the supporters of "social insurgency".

In this sense, as much in Mexico as in the rest of Latin America, we must understand the real dimension taken by the ideological contamination and influences of the enemy. Electoral Social Democracy and Armed Social Democracy have infected wide sectors of the struggle with all of its leftist, nationalist and populist nonsense, using us directly and indirectly as cannon fodder for its ends - diametrically opposed to our objectives of definitive destruction and total liberation. Our immediate task is to free ourselves from all of these weaknesses in order to qualitatively advance and secure the anarchic projection.

C.A: What is your opinion on the call made by the Greek and Italian compañerxs to form an Anarchist International which joins all of anarchic individuals of praxis and informal action groups: the Black International?

I think it is an excellent initiative as long as it doesn't





separate itself from anarchic praxis and degenerate into the congress syndrome which we are so used to, and the bureaucratic immobility which characterised the shameful "anarchist" Internationals which we have known of (perhaps it is necessary to put quotation marks around "Internationals" as well). An Anarchic International has no other use than to become a practical coordinational tool between anarchists of praxis, offering the necessary mechanisms to materialise direct solidarity and strengthen and extend anarchic attacks throughout the world. In this sense, I energetically applaud this initiative.

It seems extremely important for me to establish a much narrower coordination between anarchic individuals and the different nuclei of anarchist action, which really contributes tangible elements to anarchic projection. And, of course, I also celebrate the proposal of the name- what better tribute to our compañerxs of praxis who once dedicated their lives to anarchic combat in the fight for the total destruction of domination and for unrestricted freedom than by relighting the flame of the Black International in the spirit of the London Congress of 1881! Without doubt it is the best way to promote anarchism of praxis, which had been purposely silenced, unscrupulously vilified and condemned to be forgotten by those digging the graves of freedom, who paradoxically claim themselves to be children of Anarchy and posing as libertarians.

C.A: At the end of last year a wave of attacks against you and some anti-authoritarian groups of anti-systemic action in Mexico was launched by some obscure personalities on the left, coming from within the so-called "alternative media", including even some supposed "anarchists" joining in with these defamation attempts. Fortunately, from various countries where we find anarchist action, a campaign of solidarity arose which opportunely responded to these attacks, ultimately silencing the slander. What can you comment in respect to this?

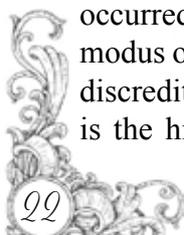
I feel like taking on this theme would be to give too much importance to all of this social democratic scum and to open a door for them to lash out again with their series of calumnies and insults. However, I do appreciate the opportunity to elucidate between compañerxs of affinity about why these attacks occurred, which is intrinsically associated with the modus operandi of this party - predestined to confuse, discredit and create obstacles to our itinerary. This is the historical role of the left. For this, I reiterate

that these exchanges must be within compañerxs of affinity. We have NOTHING to debate, and much less to explain to our enemies. To fall into these perverse games only drives us to exhaustion and exposes us to repression.

In reality, if we place ourselves in perspective while analysing the facts, we can prove that this ridiculous attack is just one of the billion attacks against anarchism. Keeping the due distances, this new social-democratic attack reminds us of the cowardly accusations against our Severino Di Giovanni, accusing him of being an "agent" of the dictatorship of Mussolini; or the disgraceful accusations against Emma Goldman asserting that the legendary anarchist had received 30 thousand dollars to write her testimony about the atrocities of the Bolshevik dictatorship; the defamations against Nestor Makhno which assured that the Ukrainian anarchist acted "in service of imperialist interests"; the calumnies against Renzo Novatore accusing him of being a fascist; the constant reproaches and disqualifications against Cuban anarchists for denouncing Castroist absolutism; or the persistent infamies against Alfredo Bonanno, trying to present him as a gangster. If we were to take of all this seriously then each of our best compañerxs would be "spies" and "sepoys", and those who have contributed so greatly to Anarchy would be nothing more than a gang of "traitors", unworthy of our respect and appreciation. And well, about that same tenor we have to put the current attacks and disqualifications, taking into account, of course, that I am an insignificant "shit-eater" - as they would say in my neighbourhood - without the least pretension of making history nor of emulating the giant efforts of the before mentioned.

Exactly one year ago, the filming of this "new" zombies vs cowboys movie began. It was in September last year, with the application of my expulsion as "contributor" from the electronic portal *Kaos en la red* (37), by a pen-pusher and extreme defender of the tricks of the Castro brother in the Caribbean island, who accused me of maintaining links with terrorist groups "maintained by the CIA and USAID which attempt to destabilize Cuba". In few words, this dark personality persisted with the tedious saga- written and directed by the highest hierarchies of La Habana-, signalling all those who confront this type of banana national socialism as an "agent of imperialism" and denounces them before the tribunes.

Up until that point, it was only the typical drizzle



raining on a puddle: the customary accusations of "worm", "counter-revolutionary", "anti-Castro", "CIA agent", "imperialist lackey", "mercenary of the Cuban-American mafia" and some more epithets of the same calibre. However, they continued fleshing out the nonsense and putting their verbiage into writing, and then one fine day, they began to transmit it from "Noticias de la Rebelión". And so, one morning in December last year, a "communiqué" was published under the name Colectivo Noticias de la Rebelión, but evidently written by an unfortunate mono-neuronal being who signs their toxic quesadillas under the creative pseudonym of Checa García, where they cowardly affirmed: *"we believe that people like Gustavo Rodriguez are marking a tendency within some insurrectionalist and eco-anarchist organisations and that this tendency does not help the anarchist movement at all, much less the fight against the State and Capital"* (38).

Evidently, they were trying to inaugurate a campaign to discredit the nuclei of insurrectional anarchic action and eco-anarchist groups which undertake their radical originality above all the leftist pestilence, identifying themselves as informal anarchists of praxis. With this end, Noticias de la Rebelión, sent its calumnies to all of the anarchist contra-information media, and to their surprise the echoes of their infamies were only heard from the websites La Haine, A las barricadas and one or other satellite entelechies from the Anarcho-leninist orbit. All of the anarchist portals of praxis literally told them to get lost, and they forthrightly refused to publish the reproaches and immediately began to denounce this miserable campaign. Such was the case with Liberacion Total, Rojosuro, Viva la Anarquía, Material Anarquista, Culmine and a long list more.

What really was comforting and animating in the middle of all of this comedy was the effusive and exuberant displays of solidarity expressed from all around the world. Anarchist groups in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Spain, Greece, Italy, Indonesia, Venezuela and even from within Cuba itself (despite all of the controls and impediments to the access of internet on the island) publically manifested their solidarity. What's more, our endearing Gabriel Pombo and other brothers and sisters in prison, did not even let the walls, wires and bars quieten their positive solidarity when fronted with such ignominy.

Definitely, what was truly stimulating is being able to verify the imminent undoing of the left and the

progressive loss of credibility in its discourse. If in the 60s, 70s and 80s the social-democratic hegemony was becoming evident, as well as the accentuated penetration of the Leninist discourse, within our camps— through the simulation of consensus, inexistent alliances and the imposition of its agenda, these ideologies today shatter against the insatiability and voracity of anarchic realisation. For this, its injurious words fall into a bottomless pit. They lose themselves within the cybernetic sewers without leaving a trace. They dilute without reaching the shore in a sea of speculations. They are recognised as strategies of power and are to be answered as such. Being so, the levels of frustration accumulated by these characters today translate to our joy.

Today the anarchim of praxis is recuperating its actuality, regaining its natural transgressive talent and locating its itinerary much further than any conspiracy, alliance or compromise - as a radical rebuttel to all of the forms of domination. It sets itself up as a refractory response to all the known models of social organisation. It stands up as an insubmissive answer to all Power.

C.A.: In the midst of the electoral circus, a predominately student "movement" began within leftist circles, composed of fractions of the "Otra campaña", Leninist groups and organisations, and young sympathisers of MORENA (Movement of national regeneration). Instead of calling for conscious absenteeism against the electoral circus, this movement convoked electoral participation and, in a veiled manner, evoked followers to vote in favour of Andres Manuel López Obrador. What do you think about this "movement" Yo Soy 132 (I am 132)? How do you see the surprising turn shown by La Otra Campaña and its call to step up to the so-called "struggle against the imposition"?

Well, without any doubts whatsoever the show has been good. Now they really haven't held themselves back. The pyrotechnical spectacle is worthy of collection. They even brought the rock-star of Chilean Leninism Camilla Vallejo - we weren't aware if her invitation was from the UAM-Xochimilco or if, as murmured, it was Encinas who paid for her trip. What's certain is that social democracy never ceases with its distracting proposals. Its recuperative work never rests either. Eternally at the service of domination: confusing, creating obstacles, detouring, pacifying, domesticating, neutralising, institutionalising, anaesthetising, civilising, citizenising... Always



willing to walk the worn-out paths, ready to promote circular voyages and rerun the anodyne paths of false consciousness.

My opinion about the Yo soy 132 "movement" necessarily inscribes to the critique of "citizenism". Meaning, I consider that any critique we may make of Yo Soy 132 has to be made from a much wider overall view, within the analysis of this new "look" of international social democracy. Evidently, the new public face of this recuperative entity of the struggles is the citizenist ideology. And, logically, its domestic supporters also incorporate themselves in the renovation that today extends to all of the capital cities of the world under the advertising-like slogan of "Occupy!"



Around the month of June last year we were sharing some reflexions around the true ends of the citizenist ideology and we were establishing the analogy between the "indignation" of the 15m movement- put onto the scene through the occupation of plazas in Spain- and the "we're sick of all this" ("estamos hasta la madre") movement of the autochthonous citizenism- which had been manifesting here until Yo Soy 132 began. Our conclusion was that: *"The "indignados" (indignant) camps in Spain and the marches and caravanas of the Creolle "estamos hasta la madre" movement, are the cherished cementing of the new bridges of dialogue with power. The citizenisation of protest brings its limits as being something implied. The weighted "citizenism" is the domestic mass; a mass subordinated to the State. For this reason the citizen protests do not look to confront the system of domination, much less do they attempt to destroy it, they only try to collaborate in its actualisation and re-accommodation, and from there on, its obsessive insistence in "participation" and reforms. What it really wants is to make over the system of domination, to help change face, to give it a more "human" face. "Democracy now" is the cosmetic*

transformation of the "really existent democracy", the "estamos hasta la madre" movement is the aesthetic mutation of the spectacle which prolongs simulation. "Civil society" is the great architect of this farce. It imposes democratic submission. Now it won't be necessary to destroy the State/Capital but instead it will be succoured with the participation of all, always when this promise returns to the longed after benefactor State [...] To shorten the path towards more capitalism, and towards the all powerful State, Leftism will take care of it- for this it counts with the blessing of Negri-ism and unconditional support of Chomskymania- sponsoring the triumphalist Chimera through dialogue, participation and asking for the self-sufficiency of oppression" (39).

One year later, our commentaries have taken shape. Leftism has taken care of bridging the gap towards more capitalism and prepares itself to consolidate the all powerful State through the cosmetic transformation of really existent democracy. However, the truly worrying part about the advances of social democracy and the imposition of its citizenist ideology, is the level of penetration which "citizenism" has reached within our camps. This is not only true of Mexico, with its constant flirting with the so-called "organised anarchism" with those impelling such manoeuvres, but it is also present in Europe- principally in Spain, and also in the United States. Unfortunately, these libertarian sectors have decided to run the errands of the State and engage in competition with the Church, NGOs and other charitable associations. Without doubt, this "anarchism" leaves a lot to be desired and acts excessively conservative in regards to joining in with the overwhelming flow of anarchist destruction.

Again, the presence of these "two anarchisms" is clear. One, focused on putting an end to domination and its regime of death with only "thirst for destruction", and the other, interested in the transformation of the system of domination, persuaded by power "to construct using rotten material above the carrion a more just society" (or a more human capitalism?) This fork in the road, which now grows bigger, was already evident last century- although its origins, as we have pointed out, are as old as anarchism itself. Some will take the route of reaffirmation of anarchic praxis. Others will lose track of the compass and will narrow their trails until it makes the path to total liberation impossible. The former will continue widening their tracks and pulling weeds in its path; like this, they affirm themselves proud to be indomitable children of Acracy. The second, will remain bogged down and

will begin to manifest their immobility; opting for the change of coats and accommodating themselves more to the term "libertarian" than "anarchist".

Regarding the Otra Campaña's "swerve" and its call to unite with the so-called "struggle against the imposition", I'd only like to narrow in on a few points. In the first place, this call launched by the Otra Campaña to unite to the "citizenist" grievances (and its implicit acceptance of the rules of the representative democratic game), axiomatically contradicts its reason for being, meaning its aspirations to become a binding entity of extra-parliamentary forces which refuse to participate in the electoral circus. However, definitely we can't register it as a swerve in the course of this political entelechy, but instead as a part of its natural development. It isn't the first time that we have pointed out the political-ideological detours of the EZLN. Neither are we the only ones from within anarchism to conceive their strategy as being within the ordinance of "armed" social democracy. As such, there's no reason for us to be surprised with its new adjustments. It was seen coming with the "vote of silence" of the Subcomedian and the absence of critiques of the "candidate of the lefts", despite being the same filthy character who for years has been accused of being corrupt, authoritarian and demagogue, selling "the interests of the powerful". This change in the script put forward the tragic suicide of the Other Campaign, in a similar way to how the late Zapatista Front would end its final days, and made the role of distractor and the recuperating labour of this political alienation obvious once more.



C.A.: How do you visualise the post-electoral scenario in Mexico, and what do you consider the reaction of anarchist action groups should be with respect to this?

It's a stifling scenario, with mobs of Leninists holding black flags in the demonstrations of the "struggle against the imposition" and the presence of "anarchists"

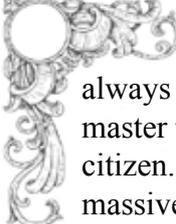
in whichever social democratic circus arises- from the denominated "Revolutionary Alliance" to the delirious "Convention against the imposition".

Any novice anarchist knows that democracy is precisely that: the imposition of the majorities, granting power to a minority by the grace of the Constitution. That is the dictatorship of the ballot. Bakunin expressed it in an insuperable manner: "Universal suffrage is the most adequate manner to make the masses collaborate in the construction of their own prisons". Then, what on Earth are anarchists doing in this new multifaceted circus which social democracy is mounting? They could only accept the role of clowns. And well, it seems that some have already begun to shine their big shoes, rehearse make up, dust off the wig and squeeze the little red ball that their noses will hide behind.

In reality, the only possible reaction of anarchist action groups and anarchists of praxis before such a surrealist comedy is to implore Saint Ravachol, Saint Henri and Saint Severino with devotion and frenzy, begging them to make all of this crap end soon for once and for all, and for the end of the pyrotechnic ensemble as a strategy of distraction. In this scenario I imagine no other reaction from anarchist action groups and compañerxs of affinity.

It's clear that we also could admonish attack, the physical elimination of the ex candidate of the so-called "progressive movement" with the clear intention to provoke his followers, leading to a "generalised insurrection". Then we would have a lot to do, not because we perceive "revolutionary possibilities" or because we have expectations in the hyped "changes" and "transformations" which social democracy so proclaims, but because we would have the marvellous possibility to extend Chaos and materialise those fleeting moments provided by Anarchy. We could expropriate thousands of banks, burn hundreds of factories, warehouses, supermarkets, churches, shopping centres, dynamite police stations, courts, ministries and other public buildings. We could tear down walls, fences and wires, we could destroy prisons and mental institutions. We could let our passions go and devote ourselves to the joy of unrestricted freedom. It doesn't matter how long it lasts, what really concerns us is to make it happen.

Naturally, we know that this actuation of the "masses" is not very probable. Voluntary servitude is well mastered and it knows that a Rey Muerto, Rey Puesto, and the only thing that really interests the "multitude"-



always installed in its clientele logic- is having a new master to bow before and to recognise one as subject/citizen. For this, even in the hypothetical case of a massive revolt, we must be conscious that it would be the voluntary serfs who would immediately constitute the militias serving as cannon fodder if necessary, with the aim of re-establishing order and asphyxiating Freedom in order to safeguard the sacrosanct Power forever. The tyrants are the product of the slaves and only grow leafy in the terrain of voluntary servitude.

I remember that a few years ago we proposed in a derisive tone to Subcomedian Marcos to begin something similar, with the aim of materialising the extension of the struggle: to execute the priest Samuel Ruis in order to provoke the wrathful uprising of his adorers, to which the guerrilla chief responded roughing out a brief and forced smile. Undoubtedly, no leader likes musings regarding possible attacks or potential assassinations, however subversive they assume themselves to be.

C.A.: Are you currently involved in any editorial projects?

We could say so. Although both projects are still inconclusive and I still have nothing in concrete with any publisher of affinity, but there are compañerxs who have been managing the edition of a couple of texts which are probably going to be published in Spain towards the end of this year or during 2013. The first is a type of compilation titled "Light up the night! Refractionaries until the ultimate consequences". It is a set of virtual interviews with different anti-systemic action groups in Mexico undergone during last year and this year, and a selection of their communiqués and a chronology of action. The other "The explosion of rage: Anarchist sedition in the XXI century", is a bit more tedious as I venture to capture some personal and collective reflection in an attempt to contemplate (and rethink) Anarchy in this century. We'll see how that goes.

C.A.: Would you like to add anything more?

Definitely not. I think my answers have been extremely long and your questions very exhaustive. The only thing left is to congratulate you for continuing with *Conspiración Ácrata*, always proposing debate between compañerxs of affinity and giving space to new theoretical/practical contributions. Of course, I'd also like to take advantage of this occasion to send a rabidly anarchic greeting to all of the compañerxs of

praxis around the world and an embrace and a kiss of solidarity to all of our brothers and sisters in prison.

Health and Anarchy!

San Luis Potosí, Mexico, 7th of September 2012.

NOTES:

(1) Compañero (masc.) / compañera (fem.) / compañerxs (plu.) refer to the Spanish word which is a mixture of companion, comrade, friend.

(2) Acracy = Anarchy

(3) *Conspiración Ácrata*, "Una conversación entre anarquistas", taken from <http://liberaciontotal.lahaine.org/?p=4478>

(4) Letter by Mario López "Tripa" written from prison, México, available at: <http://liberaciontotal.lahaine.org/?p=4408>

(5) Stefano Gabriel Fosco is an individualist anarchist of praxis, part of the editorial collective of the blog *Culmine*. From the 13th of June 2013 he was kidnapped by the Italian state in the prison of Pisa, accused of "subversive association" (for his presumed belonging to the FAI) and of being the author of a series of sabotages and attacks which took place between December 2009 and November 2011, as part of the police montage known as "Operation Ardire".

(6) Daniel Barret (Rafael Spósito), "Los sediciosos despertares de la anarquía", p. 77; *Libros de Anarres*, Buenos Aires, 2011.

(7) Vid, F.A.I., "Della lotta armata e di alcuni imbecilli", declaration from the National Conference, available at: <http://federazioneanarchica.org>

And our response: *Epístola a los inmóviles: De la "lucha" anclada y otros discursos caducos.*, available at: <http://liberaciontotal.lahaine.org/?p=4390>

(8) The list of references would be endless, but as an example, some of the most outstanding portals and blogs: *Liberación Total* (<http://liberaciontotal.lahaine.org/>); *Culmine* (<http://culmine.noblogs.org/>); *Rojoscuro* (<http://rojoscuro.blogspot.mx/>); *Parole Armate* (<http://parolearmate.noblogs.org/>); *Viva la Anarquía* (<http://vivalaanarquia.espivblogs.net/>); *Hommodolars* (<http://www.hommodolars.org/>); *Material Anarquista* (<http://www.hommodolars.org/>); *Sabotagemedia* (<http://www.sabotagemedia.anarkhia.org/>); *Fear to sleep* (<http://fearertosleep.espivblogs.net/>); *Direct Action* (<https://directactionde.ucrony.net/de/>); entre otros.

(9) In this sense, the participation of the Mexican delegation of the confress is pointed out, the North American anarchist Nathan Ganz, editor of the *Anarchist Socialist Revolutionary Review* of Boston and author of the controversial text "War against the authorities by various methods and means".

(10) There is a version in Castellano of this text by Alfredo Maria Bonanno, published in October 1977 in Madrid, Spain, by the defunct Publisher *Campo Abierto Editores*. Despite the difficulties of a somewhat poor translation, about the organisational theme, the 4th chapter ("Autogestión anarquista"), and in particular "The organisational problem" (Pág. 141).

(11) *Ibid*, P. 142

(12) *Id*.

(13) *Id*.

(14) "Anarchism and Democracy", talk by Alfredo Maria Bonanno, on the 28th of January 1995 in the Liceo G. Peano, in Cúneo, Italia. The transcription of this conference was published for the first time in Spanish in March 1997 by Editorial *Arsénico*, under the title "The Anarchist Tention", available at: http://flag.blackened.net/pdg/textos/textos/tension_anarquista.html

- (15) Vid. "Letter to the Anarchist galaxy", available at: <http://nosotros.incontrolados.over-blog.com/article-lettre-ouverte-a-la-galaxie-anarchiste-96947404.html>
- (16) «Innocent», from the Latin *Innocens*, -entis. adjective and noun. It applies to he or she who is free of guilt of sin: "Adam and Eve were innocent before the fall". It applies to she or he who has not committed a crime: "To have hands clean of blood".
- (17) As such, for example, the case of Chile, Indonesia, Italy and Greece.
- (18) Op. Quote. "Letter to the Anarchist Galaxy"
- (19) Op. Quote. "Anarchism and Democracy", talk by Alfredo Maria Bonanno
- (20) Gabriel Pombo Da Silva, individualist anarchist committed to the development of the Informal Anarchist Tendency's thesis, currently prisoner in Spain.
- (21) From the electronic portal of the Ateneo Libertario de Besós: <http://www.nodo50.org/albesos/2n.php?sec=articulos&id=16&t=Insurreccionalismo>
- (22) Perhaps it is entirely evident, but when I refer to anti-civilization and anti-technology groups, I do so considering the theoretical/practical work of the Grey Wolves, the contribution of our compañero Marco Camenisch and the ponderings of the infamous Ted Kaczynski and not in relation to the "sectionist" opinions, inviting us to join in the self sufficiency of pumpkin production, nor the primitivist divulgations of professor Zerzan.
- (23) Aragorn, "Anarchy and Nihilism: Consequences", available at: <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/aragorn-anarchy-and-nihilism-consequences>
- (24) For a small sample of these developments it is useful to recur to –for general information- the Cronical of the anarchist gathering of St. Immier: <http://grupolibertarioacciondirecta.wordpress.com/2012/08/25/cronica-encuentro-anarquista-stimmier-2012/#more-1405>.
- (25) "Contra las falsificaciones de Rojosuro (respuesta a toda la mierda que mandasteis)", bitter response of the Proletarios Internacionalistas to the compañeros of the electronic anarchist portal Rojosuro, motivated by the explicit rejection of these compañeros to the attempts to public the book in question.
- (26) Id.
- (27) In respect to this it is necessary to clarify that with saying "a language close to that of our critics" I am talking about analysis and positions as a whole concerning concrete facts that approach the way in which we generally take them on and the way in which we conceive them. Naturally, this does not include the any allusions of the "dictator of the proletariat" nor the insistent calls to construct the "World Communist Party" and much less, the spiritualist invocation of the defunct "working class".
- (28) Vid. "El Grupo Comunista Internacionalista escupe sobre el internacionalismo proletario", available at : <http://es.internationalism.org/book/export/html/1101>
- (29) Introduction of the "Critique of the Insurreccionalist ideology", mimeo.
- (30) Los Tigres de Sutullena, "La epidemia de rabia en España (1996-2007)", available at: <http://reflexionrevuelta.wordpress.com/2011/01/08/los-tigres-de-sutullena-la-epidemia-de-rabia-en-espana-1996-2007/>
- (31) Op. Quote, Daniel Barret (Rafael Spósito), P. 78-79.
- (32) Op. Quote., Conspiración Ácrata
- (33) IRSM/1St. of May Group, Towards a Citizens's Militia: Anarchist alternatives to Nato & The Warsaw Pact, Cienfuegos Press, Orkney, UK, s/n.
- (34) Guillén, Abraham, Lessons of the Latin American guerrilla, at: Hodges Donald C. y Guillén, Abraham, "Re-evaluation of the urban guerrilla", Ediciones El Caballito, México, D.F., 1977, p.100.
- (35) Idem. Págs. 128-129.
- (36) VV.AA, Guerrilla 1, Ediciones Ricou (Hacer), Barcelona, 1978, p. 95.
- (37) Vid, with relation to this theme "Sobre la expulsión de Gustavo Rodríguez: Una rectificación y una disculpa", available at: <http://old.kaosenlared.net/noticia/sobre-expulsion-gustavo-rodriguez-rectificacion-disculpa> Véase también, Rodríguez, Gustavo, "Cogito ergo impidió", available at: <http://old.kaosenlared.net/noticia/cogito-ergo-impidio>
- (38) Colectivo Noticias de la Rebelión, "A los anarquistas, a los medios de comunicación libres e independientes", available at: <http://www.noticiasdelarebelion.info/?p=6027>
- (39) Rodríguez, Gustavo, "Hartazgo e indignación: Límites de la protesta ciudadana", available at: <http://reflexionrevuelta.wordpress.com/2011/08/14/gustavo-rodriguez-hartazgo-e-indignacion-limites-de-la-protesta-ciudadana/>

