

THE POLITICS OF THE ATTACK: A DISCOURSE OF INSURRECTIONARY
COMMUNIQUÉS

by

Michael Loadenthal
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Fairfax, VA

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DEDICATION

This pursuit, in all of its endeavors, struggles, and passions is dedicated to those who have taken the path of resistance. To the innovators, dreamers, practitioners and debaters seeking a better tomorrow through confrontation with the present: Thank you.

Certainly I could abandon the venue of the library for that of the underground, swap the discourse analysis for rock throwing, but everything has its time and place. To the reactionaries who will most certainly call my efforts idle and harmful to a movement, let me suggest that battles are fought on many fronts simultaneously. The nature of networks means that those that pen histories may also sabotage the machinery of late capitalism.

To the anonymous authors of incendiary texts, the international networks of translators and distributors, and the never-ending parade of combatants, thank you. Thank you for acting. Thank you for imagining a future beyond the present. Thank you for standing up, fighting back, and staying strong despite it all.

Thank you for giving up your freedom so that others can live freer. For sacrificing life and limb to battle an enemy understood as ever-present. For not voting, not petitioning, and not *asking*. To those who resisted state coercion to inform and collaborate, we honor your name. To those that languished away in prisons and jails, who stayed true to their beliefs despite carrots and sticks, your names will always be with us. To those who were caught up in the struggle and found the temptation of cooperation and complicity too appealing to resist—to those who acted in support of the state and against your comrades—you are dead to us.

The movement for total liberation produces far too many martyrs to list. From those shot down in anonymity to the individual whose death is always recalled; this small labor of love honors your memory. While we may not agree on strategy, prefiguration, or the nature of identity, we all want greater control over our lives, more joy and less domination. More community and less state. More friends and less cops.

I have known many inspiring revolutionaries, some of which are no longer with us. To my fallen friends slain in occupied lands, though your bodies are beneath the Earth, your names are always on our breaths. To my lanky comrade who fell in battle, to his family, friends, and community, this humble effort is for you. As was said to me time and again—in the form of a modified Surah—‘Do not think of those who die in the service of victory as dead, they are living in a honored place in the future.’

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I also must thank the various members of the North American Anarchist Studies Network who helped me locate some of the more obscure historical texts from anti-state attackers of centuries past. Thank you as well to the members of the Critical Studies on Terrorism working group who provided insight at various points in this process. I also could not have completed this project without the use of a number of key institutions whose libraries I plundered for texts on linguistics, discourse analysis, poststructural philosophy and anarchist histories. Thanks to the re-shelvers at the libraries of Georgetown, George Mason University, Northern Kentucky University, University of Cincinnati, and especially Donald Russell at Provisions in Fairfax, VA. I also must thank my friends Gary Hall and Michael J. Woods who provided me with bedrooms to hide away and write, Amanda Meister who took care of the wee ones during the defense, and the Washington Metro Area Transit Authority—without your constant delays and slow service I would have never been able to get so much reading done.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Groups, Networks & Monikers

Revolutionary Organization 17 November.....	17N
<i>[Επαναστατική Οργάνωση 17 Νοέμβρη]</i>	
2 nd of June Movement.....	2JM
<i>[Bewegung 2. Juni]</i>	
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Anti-Capitalist Convergence.....	ACC
Animal Liberation Front.....	ALF
Army of God.....	AOG
Anti-Racist Action.....	ARA
Animal Rights Militia.....	ARM
Bash Back!	BB!
Back Liberation Army.....	BLA
Práxedis G. Guerrero Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution.....	CARI-PGG
<i>[Celulas Autonomas de Revolucion Inmediata–Praxedis G. Guerrero]</i>	
Fighting Communist Cells/Communist Combatant Cells.....	CCC
<i>[Cellules Communistes Combattantes]</i>	
Conspiracy of Cells of Fire/Fire Cells (aka Conspiracy of Fire Nuclei).....	CCF
<i>[Συνωμοσία των Πυρήνων της Φωτιάς]</i>	
National Confederation of Labor.....	CNT
<i>[Confederación Nacional del Trabajo]</i>	
The Direct Action 5 (aka Squamish 5, Vancouver 5).....	DA5
Earth Liberation Front.....	ELF
Evan Mecham Eco-Terrorist International Conspiracy.....	EMETIC
People’s Revolutionary Army (of Argentina).....	ERP
<i>[Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo]</i>	
Basque Homeland and Freedom.....	ETA
<i>[Euskadi Ta Askatasuna]</i>	
Zapatista Army of National Liberation.....	EZLN
<i>[Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional]</i>	
Informal Anarchist Federation.....	FAI
<i>[Federazione Anarchica Informale]</i>	
Iberian Anarchist Federation.....	F.A.I.
<i>[Federación Anarquista Ibérica]</i>	
Armed Forces of National Liberation.....	FALN
<i>[Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional]</i>	

Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia.....	FARC
<i>[Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia]</i>	
Freedom Club.....	FC
Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front.....	FMLN
<i>[Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional]</i>	
The Popular Forces of 25 April.....	FP-25
<i>[Forças Populares 25 de Abril]</i>	
Sandinista National Liberation Front.....	FSLN
<i>[Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional]</i>	
George Jackson Brigade.....	GJB
First of October Anti-Fascist Resistance Groups.....	GRAPO
<i>[Grupos de Resistencia Antifascista Primero de Octubre]</i>	
The Institute for Experimental Freedom.....	IEF
International Revolutionary Front.....	IRF
Individualists Tending Towards the Wild.....	ITS
<i>[Individualidades Tendiendo a lo Salvaje]</i>	
The Justice Department.....	JD
Left Socialist Revolutionaries.....	LSR
Tupamaros National Liberation Movement.....	MLN-T
<i>[Movimiento de Liberación Nacional-Tupamaros]</i>	
Political Movement of the New Order.....	MPON
<i>[Movimento Politico Ordine Nuovo]</i>	
Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement.....	MRTA
<i>[Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru]</i>	
19 th of April Movement.....	M-19
<i>[Movimiento 19 de Abril]</i>	
May 19 th Communist Movement/Organization.....	M19CO
26 th of July Movement.....	M-26-7
<i>[Movimiento 26 de Julio]</i>	
New World Liberation Front.....	NWLF
Obsidian Point Circle of Attack.....	OPCA
<i>[El Circulo de Ataque “Punta de Obsidiana”]</i>	
Obsidian Point Circle of Analysis.....	OPCA ⁿ
<i>[El Circulo de Análisis “Punta de Obsidiana”]</i>	
Provisional Irish Republican Army.....	PIRA
<i>[Óglaigh na hÉireann]</i>	
Red Army Faction.....	RAF
<i>[Rote Armee Fraktion]</i>	
Red Brigades (of Italy).....	RB
<i>[Brigate Rosse]</i>	
Revolutionary Cells-Animal Liberation Brigade.....	RC-ALB
Wild Reaction.....	RS
<i>[Reacción Salvaje]</i>	
The Revolution Youth Movement I.....	RYM I

Revolutionary Cells.....	RZ
<i>[Revolutionäre Zellen]</i>	
Students for a Democratic Society.....	SDS
Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty.....	SHAC
Symbionese Liberation Army.....	SLA
Socialist-Revolutionary Party.....	SR
The Invisible Committee.....	TIC
United Freedom Front.....	UFF
The Weather Underground Organization.....	WUO

Multi-National, Governmental & Corporate Bodies

Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act.....	AETA
Center for Identification and Expulsion [Italy].....	CIE
Department of Justice [US].....	DOJ
European Union.....	EU
Federal Bureau of Investigations.....	FBI
Group of Eight.....	G8
Huntingdon Life Sciences.....	HLS
The Human Rights Campaign.....	HRC
International Monetary Fund.....	IMF
North American Free Trade Agreement.....	NAFTA
National Aeronautics and Space Administration.....	NASA
United Kingdom.....	UK
National Autonomous University of Mexico.....	UNAM
<i>[Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México]</i>	
United States of America.....	US
World Bank.....	WB
World Economic Forum.....	WEF
World Trade Organization.....	WTO

Methodological Components

Critical Discourse Analysis.....	CDA
Corpus Linguistics.....	CL
Critical Security Studies.....	CSS
Critical Terrorism Studies.....	CTS
Textually (linguistically) Orientated Discourse Analysis.....	TODA

Other Abbreviations

Automated teller machine.....	ATM
Frequently asked questions.....	FAQ
Improvised explosive device.....	IED
Improvised incendiary device.....	IID
Sports utility vehicle.....	SUV
Temporary autonomous zone.....	TAZ

Quick reference: Analytical Techniques of Corpus Linguistics

Cluster Analysis: “A multivariate statistical technique that allows the production of categories by purely automatic means...In corpus linguistics various identifiable features such as case, voice or choice of preposition within a text may be clustered in order to demonstrate how such features are used across different genres or by different authors.”¹

Collocation: “The phenomenon surrounding the fact that certain words are more likely to occur in combination with other words in certain contexts. A collocate is therefore a word which occurs within the neighborhood of another word...Collocates can be useful for demonstrating the existence of bias or connotation in words”² (e.g. the strongest collocate to the word *bystander* is the word *innocent*).

Concordance: “A list of all of the occurrences of a particular search term [i.e. word(s)] in a corpus, presented within the context in which they occur—usually a few words to the left and right of the search term.”³

Frequency: [This concept] “underpins much of the analytical work that is carried out within the remit of corpus linguistics. Frequencies can be given as raw data, e.g. there are 58,860 occurrences of the word *man* in the British National Corpus; or (often more usefully) they can be given as percentages or proportions...allowing comparisons between corpora of different sizes to be made. Frequency analyses also allow for comparisons to be made between different words in a corpus [e.g. calculating that the word *man* occurs more frequently than *woman*]...Word lists compiled by frequency counts of each word in a corpus can be used to derive keyword lists. Frequency counts are also used in the calculation of collocational [data].”⁴

¹ Paul Baker, Andrew Hardie, and Tony McEnery, *A Glossary of Corpus Linguistics* (Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 34.

² *Ibid.*, 38–39.

³ *Ibid.*, 42–43.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 75–76.

ABSTRACT

THE POLITICS OF THE ATTACK: A DISCOURSE OF INSURRECTIONARY COMMUNIQUÉS

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The insurrectionary project, which rapidly internationalized around the twenty-first century, has developed an insightful analysis of systemic violence and power despite receiving scant attention in academic discussions of philosophy and clandestine political violence. From its roots in anarchism, Marxism, Queer theory and poststructuralism, the epistemology, ideology and praxis of anti-state insurrectionary attack has yet to be discursively excavated for discussion. These post-millennial assemblages reimagine resistance beyond older modes of sectarianism, Soviet socialism, and vanguardist cadres. Beginning with the decline of the anti-globalization movement, there was a corresponding rise in networked, clandestine movements adopting political violence—vandalism, sabotage, arson, explosives—for anti-capitalist and anti-state agendas. These networks rapidly deterritorialized through the exporting of moniker ‘brands.’ The decentralized networks carried out scores of attacks globally, claiming responsibility through anonymous communiqués signed with adoptable monikers. These communiqués can be understood to embody communicative, performative, and discursive ends,

functioning alongside the actions that co-constitute the texts. From this universe of social movement ephemera, a corpus of more than one thousand communiqués (i.e. claims of responsibility) was constructed and explored through both a quantitative—corpus linguistics—and qualitative investigation informed by Critical Discourse Analysis. These discursive frames are discussed through a genealogical reading of history, based around a constellation of events, texts, and figures, which coalesce to form an insurrectionary canon. While this canon is structurally different than philosophical traditions with strictly defined sets of books and treatises, this collectivity is developed through the *form* of the communiqué, and the *function* of the attack. Through this unique pairing of form and function, the rhetorical and analytical power of the communiqué is given prominence, and a new framework for its reading is offered. In sum, this approach seeks to develop an anti-securitization, critically informed method of analysis, which diverges from the orthodoxy of Terrorism Studies and Security Studies, and instead offered a method for understanding the communication of clandestine networks that is nuanced, contextually-embedded, and for the purpose of building emancipatory theory, not counterterrorism.

CHAPTER ONE

Ah hell. Prophecy's a thankless business, and history has a way of showing us what, in retrospect, are very logical solutions to awful messes...Things are certainly set up for a class war based on conveniently established lines of demarcation, and I must say that the basic assumption of the present set up is a grade A incitement to violence.⁵

-- Kurt Vonnegut, *Player Piano* [1952]

An anarchist group has claimed responsibility for an arson attack on North Avon Magistrates' Court...police are investigating the on-line claims but say they do not have the evidence to link it to other attacks carried out on buildings owned by 'establishment' bodies, including the police, the Army and various banks. In a post on the 325.nostate website, people naming themselves as the Informal Anarchist Federation, said: '10 camping gas canisters were enough to devastate the front lobby, with a homemade napalm mixture as the detonator. We chose the early hours to avoid any injuries.'⁶

--The Bristol Post, UK [2014]

When asked about anarchism's association with violence, I often reply by inquiring whether one would ask the same thing of a retail clerk, a stockbroker, a lawyer, a priest, an engineer, a taxpayer, a consumer, a liberal, a conservative—or any other identity attribute associated with mainstream society. Most assuredly, the scale of violence perpetuated by the day-to-day operations of capital and the state is grossly disproportionate to anything in the anarchist lexicon, with upwards of 100 million deaths from wars alone during the twentieth century. I daresay that the sum total of people killed or physically injured by anarchists throughout all of recorded history amounts to little more than a good weekend in the empire. So when we talk about violence, let us keep the larger frame firmly in mind. Are anarchists violent? Sometimes, but more so when they are participating in the casual, invisible, structural violence of modern life than when they are smashing its symbols of oppression.⁷

--Randal Amster, anarchist academic and Peace Studies advocate

⁵ Kurt Vonnegut, *Player Piano: A Novel* (New York: The Dial Press, 1999), chap. IX.

⁶ The Bristol Post, "Anarchist Group Claims It Carried out Court Arson on North Avon Magistrates' Court," *Bristol Post*, June 3, 2014, Online edition, sec. News, <http://www.bristolpost.co.uk/Anarchist-group-claims-carried-court-arson/story-21179058-detail/story.html>.

⁷ Randall Amster, *Anarchism Today* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2012), 43–44.

*While each of the [armed revolutionary] organizations...is deserving of in-depth study and analysis, only a scant handful have thus far received it. The matter is by no means of mere academic interest. Only through excavation of their histories in substantial detail can lessons of their much-varied experiences be extracted, their errors corrected, and a better praxis of armed struggle in the metropolises achieved.*⁸

--Ward Churchill, former professor of ethnic studies and all around rabble-rouser

⁸ Ward Churchill, "On the Necessity of Armed Struggle: Reflections on the RAF and the Question of Moving Forward," in *The Red Army Faction A Documentary History, Volume 2: Dancing With Imperialism*, by André Moncourt and J Smith, vol. 2 (Montreal, QC; Oakland, CA: Kersplebedeb Pub.; PM Press, 2009), 5.

Introduction

Throughout the past decade and a half, scholarship focused upon the study of political violence, specifically that which can clearly be labeled as *terrorism*, has rapidly increased⁹. With the obviously powerful aftereffects of the 9/11 attacks, interest in those pursuing political, social and religious objectives through violence found an obvious place in the academy. Largely this scholarship was dealt with through the fields of Terrorism Studies¹⁰, Social Movement Studies¹¹ as well as interrelated disciplines such as Criminology, Security Studies and Sociology. While these fields have often overlapped through interdisciplinary pursuits, each has its own epistemological presumptions, methodological tendencies and canonical truths.

For the study of political violence, and especially clandestine political violence which is the subject herein, one is often positioned at the cross roads between interpreting the subject as a *terrorist* or a *social movement*, and as such, is led towards those

⁹ M Ranstorp, "Introduction: Mapping Terrorism Research," in *Mapping Terrorism Research: State of the Art, Gaps, and Future Directions*, ed. M Ranstorp (London, UK: Routledge, 2007), 1–28; Andrew Silke, "Contemporary Terrorism Studies Issues in Research," in *Critical Terrorism Studies: A New Research Agenda*, ed. Richard Jackson, Marie Breen Smyth, and Jeroen Gunning (New York: Routledge, 2009), 34–48.

¹⁰ See for example: Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2006); John Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism* (London, UK: Routledge, 2012); Alex P Schmid and A. J Jongman, *Political Terrorism A New Guide to Actors and Authors, Data Bases, and Literature* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1988).

¹¹ See for example: Steven M Buechler, *Social Movements in Advanced Capitalism: The Political Economy and Cultural Construction of Social Activism* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1999); Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani, *Social Movements: An Introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2006); Roberta Garner, *Contemporary Movements and Ideologies* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1996); Doug McAdam, John D McCarthy, and Mayer Zald N, eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics (Cambridge, UK; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Ralph H Turner and Lewis M Killian, *Collective Behavior* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1987); Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics*, First Edition (Cambridge University Press, 1994); Charles Tilly, *The Politics of Collective Violence* (Cambridge University Press, 2003).

corresponding disciplines, literatures and presumptive groundings. Keeping in mind that the poststructuralist assertion that the production of knowledge, especially that which is involved in the formation of political policy, is never a neutral endeavor¹², the collection of evidence and the construction of arguments is inherently the culmination of decisions. When faced with these choices, held up against the subject of post-millennial, anti-authoritarian, insurrectionary networks, such concerns are paramount. Those who choose to pursue study through the literature of Terrorism Studies, are likely to be burdened with not only the state-centric bias of background literature, but also the field's lack of theorization and its focus on *counterterrorism*¹³ and other securitization implementations. Those who choose to examine such networks as social *movements*¹⁴, a field that bases its focus on manifestations of social protest, also face difficulties as this field has often

¹² Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977* by Michel Foucault, ed. Colin Gordon, trans. Colin Gor et al. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 98, <http://www.randomhouse.com/book/55032/powerknowledge-by-michel-foucault>.

¹³ Donatella Della Porta, *Clandestine Political Violence*, Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 282.

¹⁴ This approach is adopted frequently by scholars. For examples of this done in relation to right-wing (e.g. Neo-Nazi, white supremacist, neo-fascist) movements see: Josh Adams and Vincent J. Roscigno, "White Supremacists, Oppositional Culture and the World Wide Web," *Social Forces* 84, no. 2 (December 1, 2005): 759–78, doi:10.1353/sof.2006.0001; Anja Dalgaard-Nielsen, "Studying Violent Radicalization in Europe I: The Potential Contribution of Social Movement Theory," *Danish Institute for International Studies Working Papers*, DIIS Working Papers, 2008, no. 2 (2008), http://mercury.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/ISN/48325/ipublicationdocument_singledocument/bd6fe76b-d1ab-49e2-ab2b-8c27ee37c40b/en/WP082.pdf; Raphael S. Ezekiel, "An Ethnographer Looks at Neo-Nazi and Klan Groups The Racist Mind Revisited," *American Behavioral Scientist* 46, no. 1 (September 1, 2002): 51–71, doi:10.1177/0002764202046001005; Rory McVeigh, Daniel J. Myers, and David Sikkink, "Corn, Klansmen, and Coolidge: Structure and Framing in Social Movements," *Social Forces* 83, no. 2 (December 1, 2004): 653–90, doi:10.1353/sof.2005.0019; Travis Morris, "Networking Vehement Frames: Neo-Nazi and Violent Jihadi Demagoguery," *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 6, no. 3 (June 19, 2014): 163–82, doi:10.1080/19434472.2014.922602; Leonard Zeskind, *Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009).

remained apart from *radical* politics within *militant* and *violent* protest¹⁵, and has a corresponding theorization abyss regarding these borderlands.

Since the end of the twentieth century, an explosion of militant, anti-state networks of clandestine militancy have emerged throughout the world. Through thousands of attacks, revolutionaries have been constantly at war with the status quo, targeting localized manifestations of state and capital in an attempt to create a venue of conflict that can bring about system-level change. Though distributed globally and irregularly active, these networks attack with frequency and vigor, making them a top priority for law enforcement. In one locale, Bristol, England, a city of around one half million residents, insurrectionary anarchist networks have been responsible for “over a hundred offensives dating [from] 2010 [to December 2014]”¹⁶ according to the lead investigating officer. According to sympathetic activists, this number may be far higher as those compiling local communiqués were able to locate more than 60 attacks in a two-and-a-half year period.¹⁷ These attacks, many of which involve arson, are said to have caused approximately £20 million¹⁸ (~\$31 million) in damage. The vast majority of these attacks have been claimed via online communiqués through anonymous monikers such as the Informal Anarchist Federation (FAI). The FAI moniker has been adopted so

¹⁵ Della Porta, *Clandestine Political Violence*, 282.

¹⁶ DCI Andy Bevan, Who are Bristol’s anarchist arsonists?, interview by Paraic O’Brien, News 2 online (UK), December 29, 2014, pt. 00:44–00:50, <http://www.channel4.com/news/bristol-fire-arson-police-informal-anarchist-federation>.

¹⁷ Anonymous, *Since the Bristol Riots: Communiques from the FAI, ELF & Other Attacks (2011-2014)*, 2nd ed. (Online: Person(s) Unknown & Dark Matter Publications, 2014), chap. Introduction, p. 1, <https://interarma.info/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/Since-the-Bristol-riots-v2.compressed.pdf>.

¹⁸ Bevan, Who are Bristol’s anarchist arsonists?

frequently, that despite not having a centralized structure or ‘members’ the entity was declared to be a terrorist organization by the European Union (EU) in 2009.

In only a few years, in the city of Bristol alone, the clandestine political networks under examination were responsible for the £18 million arson of a police firearms training center, the burning of UK Border Agency vehicles¹⁹ and personal vehicles belonging to a Mayor and other local politicians²⁰, sabotage targeting local commuter rail service²¹, and the arson of industrial infrastructure, which resulted in a loss of radio and TV service to more than 80,000 homes²². Other Bristol-area targets struck in the last few years include private security company G4S²³ and the zoo. This brief look at Bristol is meant to provide insight as to the *scale* of the subject. The international, insurrectionary milieu—the subject of this study—is deserving of attention even if one only judges them on the basis of their destructive capabilities. Though modern attackers are not successfully assassinating heads of state as was somewhat commonplace in late nineteenth and early twentieth century, they are dispatching bombs to European Prime Ministers, burning down Mexican Walmarts and carrying out thousands of costly attacks targeting governmental, financial, commercial and other sites. Furthermore, since there have been very few arrests of this movement, we know relatively little about the

¹⁹ Shiv Malik, “Anarchist Group Claims It Started Blaze at Police Firearms Training Centre,” *The Guardian*, August 28, 2013, Online edition, sec. World: UK: Crime, <http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2013/aug/28/anarchist-fire-police-firearms-training>.

²⁰ Channel 4 News, “Bristol Arson Attack Linked to Anarchist Terror Network,” *Channel 4 News*, August 28, 2013, Online edition, <http://www.channel4.com/news/informal-anarchist-federation-bristol-arson-attack-anarchist>.

²¹ Shiv Malik, “Anarchists Claim Responsibility for Railway Signaling Sabotage in Bristol,” *The Guardian*, May 25, 2012, Online edition, sec. World: UK: Crime, <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2012/may/25/anarchists-claim-railway-signalling-bristol>.

²² Channel 4 News, “Bristol Arson Attack Linked to Anarchist Terror Network.”

²³ Malik, “Anarchist Group Claims It Started Blaze at Police Firearms Training Centre.”

participants. Because of this reality, in order to understand the insurrectionary arsonists, bomb makers and saboteurs, we must examine their frequent articulations of critique—the communiqué. Despite often failing to do this, the need for such forms of analysis have been expressed in mainstream press reporting, for example this article from The Bristol Post which states:

To understand why these attacks are happening, for what reason, and how these individuals identify politically, it's recommended to read their words and statements for clarity. Each attack is by a unique established group of individual/s, with a diversity of anonymous cloaks, presenting varying ideological viewpoints. The beauty of the insurrectionist movement you might say.²⁴

While these attacks, and the communiqué/claims of responsibility that accompany them, have received nominal attention in the (counter) Terrorism Studies literature, very little focus has been paid to their political ideology and socio-political critique. Moreover, the interaction between “radical social movements” and their broader contexts (e.g. social, political, ideological) is under researched²⁵.

This is Not A Program²⁶, it is a Guide

The following introductory chapter will examine a number of key issues of central importance to the proceeding study. First it will discuss the object of analysis—the political communiqué—as a method for delivering critical analysis typically reserved for more formalized texts. This approach begs the question: ‘Can one read a claim of

²⁴ The Bristol Post, “Anarchists Claim Responsibility for 60 Incidents and Attacks in the Bristol Area,” *Bristol Post*, November 16, 2014, Online edition, sec. News, <http://www.bristolpost.co.uk/Anarchists-claim-responsibility-60-incidents/story-24541906-detail/story.html>.

²⁵ Daniel Koehler, “Contrast Societies. Radical Social Movements and Their Relationships with Their Target Societies. A Theoretical Model,” *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 7, no. 1 (November 11, 2014): 2, doi:10.1080/19434472.2014.977325.

²⁶ Intentionally borrowed from the Tiqqun title.

responsibility (i.e. a communiqué) in the same formalized manner as one would read *The Communist Manifesto*²⁷ or *The Federalist Papers*²⁸? This discussion will also survey the available literature that focuses on the study of communiqués and other texts penned by violent non-state actors and identify weaknesses and necessary corrections to this reading. Secondly, this study identifies some initial problems arising from the study of these objects, specifically problems relating to verifiability, triangulation²⁹, determining authorship and credibility as well as the subjectivity of historical interpretation. Finally, this chapter discusses the limitations and scale of the study, establishing two hypotheses which are pursued throughout the remaining chapters. These hypotheses aim to guide the reader to evaluate two central claims: 1.) Modern insurrectionary networks of attack are informed by and act to constitute an ‘insurrectionary canon’—known as Hypothesis 1 (H1), and 2.) Due to the poststructural influence on the modern insurrectionary critique, the latter will resultantly carry forth an expanded understanding of structural violence and inequality—known as Hypothesis 2 (H2).

These four areas will serve to lay the groundwork for the subsequent chapters of the study. Following Chapter One, Chapter Two will historicize the insurrectionary method of attack, following such a trajectory back several hundreds years to the largely European experiment with ‘propaganda of the deed’ and other forms of anti-state,

²⁷ Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx, “Manifesto of the Communist Party” (republished by Marxist Internet Archives, 1848), <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/index.htm>.

²⁸ Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison, *The Federalist Papers*, Project Gutenberg (Online: The Independent Journal & The New York Packet (republished by Project Gutenberg, 2013), 1788), <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/1404>.

²⁹ This issue is explored at length in: Phillip M. Ayoub, Sophia J. Wallace, and Chris Zepeda-Milan, “Triangulation in Social Movement Research,” in *Methodological Practices in Social Movement Research*, ed. Donatella Della Porta, 1st ed. (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2014), 67–96.

revolutionary violence. Chapter Three will further interrogate this pre-millennial history, pivoting subtly to more specifically focus on the *strategic* and *structural* particularities of modern insurrectionary struggle. This discussion focuses around drawing connections and points of departure between the armed struggle and guerrilla movements of the twentieth century, and the twenty-first century's history of insurrectionary networks. Chapter Four begins with an exploration of the so-called *critical* turn in the study of political violence before utilizing this framework to provide a quantitative analysis of communiqué text through the use of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Corpus Linguistics (CL). Chapter Five builds on the preceding quantitative analysis and offers a discourse-based *qualitative* analysis of the same set of texts, drawing out persistent points of agreement amongst the texts and in doing so, mapping points of congruence and dissent. Finally, Chapter Six serves to conclude the study through first evaluating the original dual hypothesis. This is accomplished through an elaboration on the insurrectionary critique of structural and systemic violence, and an explanation of its epistemological roots in poststructuralism. Furthermore, in the concluding analysis this study offers an explanatory model for interpreting this rejectionist, anti-state political violence as *spectacle* and the implications this has for future study of communiqués as objects of analysis.

A Feminist Method to Studying Violence

While a more complete discussion of critical modes of methodological inquiry is pursued at the beginning of Chapter Four, a brief discussion of ethics is warranted before proceeding. A methodological positioning informed by feminist ethics permeates all of

my scholarship. The feminist methodology³⁰ adds a great deal including a reading of identity politics, standpoint theory³¹, action-orientated research, sincere participatory involvement and so on. From amongst these tendencies, my work has sought to maintain a single goal, namely that research generates a reciprocally positive impact for the subject³², and in this manner, the respondent community is not seen as a vessel containing knowledge to be taken, but rather as a partner in a collaborative endeavor to engage in knowledge building, *not* knowledge production.

Feminist methodology seeks to subvert traditional power relationships and ethical pitfalls and according to one scholar, offers challenges to four main concerns otherwise recurrent in field research:

1.) The increased salience of race/ethnicity, gender, and class in the research relationship; 2.) the objectification of research subjects; 3.) the influence of social power on who becomes a research subject; and 4.) problematic assumptions in the conventional analytic approaches³³.

³⁰ Judith A. Cook and Mary Margaret Fonow, "Knowledge and Women's Interests: Issues of Epistemology and Methodology in Feminist Sociological Research*," *Sociological Inquiry* 56, no. 1 (1986): 2–29, doi:10.1111/j.1475-682X.1986.tb00073.x; Judith A. Cook and Mary Margaret Fonow, eds., *Beyond Methodology: Feminist Scholarship as Lived Research* (Indiana University Press, 1991); Sandra Harding, ed., *Feminism and Methodology: Social Science Issues*, Readers Notes (Indiana University Press, 1988); Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (Routledge, 1991); Sandra Louise Kirby and McKenna Kate, *Experience Research Social Change: Methods from the Margins* (Garamond Press, 1989); Patti Lather, "Feminist Perspectives on Empowering Research Methodologies," *Women's Studies International Forum* 11, no. 6 (1988): 569–81, doi:10.1016/0277-5395(88)90110-0; Patricia Maguire, *Doing Participatory Research: A Feminist Approach* (UMass Center for International Education/School of Education, 1987); Maria Mies, "Towards a Methodology for Feminist Research," in *Theories of Women's Studies*, ed. Bowles Gloria, Renate Duelli Klein, and Renate Klein (London, UK: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Limited, 1983), 117–39; Shulamit Reinharz, *Feminist Methods in Social Research*, 1st ed. (Oxford University Press, USA, 1992).

³¹ Gayle Letherby, *Feminist Research in Theory and Practice*, 1st ed. (Open University Press, 2003); Joey Sprague, *Feminist Methodologies for Critical Researchers: Bridging Differences* (AltaMira Press, 2005).

³² Ann Oakley, "Interviewing Women: A Contradiction in Terms," in *Doing Feminist Research*, ed. Helen Roberts (Routledge, 1981), 30–61.

³³ Sprague, *Feminist Methodologies for Critical Researchers*, 121.

To provide a single example, the following analysis attempts to destabilize the ‘othering’³⁴ of the subject, which tends to portray the researchers’ position as in some way normative. In this manner, it becomes the task of a constructed taxonomy to position urban guerillas amongst a wider socio-political movement, and through placement within such a continuum, such “violent” actors can be understood as similarly rational actors choosing to pursue a less popular form of protest. This also means that as a researcher, one can position themselves *within the research* as not only an observer, but a participant³⁵ in the subject community. Such an approach can allow one to “understand the kind of questions that needed answering,”³⁶ as well as the process of knowledge construction for the respondent community. This approach is far from mainstream, as most often, political actors adopting counter-state and violent strategies are viewed within the exoticized lens akin to the primitive savage of the colonial, anthropological, village subject. This tendency is (as can be expected) further exaggerated in mainstream journalistic accounts of these movements, which often carry sensationalist headlines such as “Meet the Nihilist-Anarchist Network Bringing Chaos to a Town Near You.”³⁷ By de-sensationalizing the violence, and instead focusing on the movement’s political discourse, one hopes to shift the readers’ attention away from the frequency of the bombs, and towards the validity of the critiques.

³⁴ Letherby, *Feminist Research in Theory and Practice*, 20–24; Sprague, *Feminist Methodologies for Critical Researchers*, 125.

³⁵ Robert E. Cole, “Participant Observer Research: An Activist Role,” in *Participatory Action Research*, ed. William Foote Whyte (New York: SAGE Publications, Inc, 1990), 159–166; Letherby, *Feminist Research in Theory and Practice*, 8.

³⁶ Cole, “Participant Observer Research: An Activist Role,” 162.

³⁷ Jake Hanrahan, “Meet the Nihilist-Anarchist Network Bringing Chaos to a Town Near You,” *VICE*, February 13, 2013, <http://www.vice.com/read/the-fai-are-the-worlds-true-anarchists>.

Furthermore, one of the methods of subverting the pitfalls of traditionally unethical scholarship is to be found in emphasizing the subject's perspective, and allowing the knowledge holder to determine the research agenda and its analysis³⁸. This again is a contribution of post-1970s feminist methodological battles, and in terms of participant observation, interviewing, and other forms of ethnographic inquiry, a notable aspect of my methodological pursuit. Taken as a whole, a feminist methodological approach to qualitative investigation is adopted precisely because it addresses issues of power within the realm of research³⁹. It does so not in the analytical way likened to CDA, but in a practically applicable manner aimed at subversion and the development of new methods of investigation that exist as counter forces to traditionalism, knowledge banking, and the expropriation of stories from an othered subject. Therefore it is the aim of the proceeding discussion to not borrow the dynamism of insurrection to construct an engaging argument, but rather to move beyond the discussion of these networks as merely the producers of fires and explosions and instead begin to understand them as social critics, 'organic intellectuals'⁴⁰ and philosophical practitioners.

Communiqués as Political Theory

Communiqués are seen as an essential communicative component of insurrectionary attack. Following each incident of political violence—from a broken window to an assassinated nanotechnologist—the act is explained, 'infused with meaning'⁴¹ via a text

³⁸ Sprague, *Feminist Methodologies for Critical Researchers*, 141.

³⁹ Letherby, *Feminist Research in Theory and Practice*, 114.

⁴⁰ Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (New York: International Publishers Co, 1971), 9.

⁴¹ Adam Hodges, *The "War on Terror" Narrative: Discourse and Intertextuality in the Construction and Contestation of Sociopolitical Reality*, 1st ed. (Oxford University Press, USA, 2011), 5.

meant to expand the discourse on revolutionary struggle. This site, that of the communiqué, demonstrates the social construction of *both* the act (of ‘terrorism’) and the discourse (on ‘terrorism’). Both the event (i.e. the attack) and the object (i.e. the communiqué) are social constructed phenomena⁴², serving to apply meaning and context for a wider audience. These explanatory frames offered to discursively embed an act of anti-social violence have key functions within the construction of consequent discourses and the carrying out of subsequent attacks. To borrow an explanation from the bomb throwers themselves, “through the communiqués that accompany attacks we can begin an open debate on reflections and problems that, even if viewed through different lenses, are certainly focused on the same direction: revolution.”⁴³ Such “requisite revolutionary discourse...following[ing] bombings against targets that serve domination”⁴⁴ typically takes the form of a written communiqué posted and circulated through a networks of websites. These websites form a repository for the collection of communiqués and the establishment of a corpus.

Academic and popular press books dealing specifically with communiqués as subject—often reprinting entire document series—have been sparse, inter-disciplinary and seemingly on the rise. Notable examples include edited volumes such as *Voices of Terror: Manifestos, Writings and Manuals of Al Qaeda, Hamas...*⁴⁵, *Speaking Stones:*

⁴² Jacob L. Stump and Priya Dixit, *Critical Terrorism Studies: An Introduction to Research Methods*, 1st ed. (New York: Routledge, 2013), 108.

⁴³ Gerasimos Tsakalos et al., “The Sun Still Rises” (Untorelli Press, 2012), 15, http://destroybristol.files.wordpress.com/2012/02/ccf_0.pdf.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁴⁵ Walter Laqueur, ed., *Voices of Terror: Manifestos, Writings and Manuals of Al Qaeda, Hamas, and Other Terrorists from around the World and Throughout the Ages* (New York, NY: Sourcebooks, Inc., 2004).

*Communiqués from the Intifada Underground*⁴⁶, *What Does Al-Qaeda Want?*⁴⁷, *Europe's Red Terrorists: The fighting Communist Organizations*⁴⁸, *Earth Liberation Front 1997-2002*⁴⁹, *Queer Ultraviolence: a BASH BACK! Anthology*⁵⁰, *Creating a Movement with Teeth a Documentary History of the George Jackson Brigade*⁵¹, *Our Word Is Our Weapon: Selected Writings of Subcomandante Marcos*⁵², *Sing a Battle Song: The Revolutionary Poetry, Statements, and Communiqués of the Weather Underground 1970-1974*⁵³, the three volume series on the Red Army Faction, *The Red Army Faction: A Documentary History*⁵⁴, or studies utilizing communiqués comingled with other forms of texts such as *The Road to Martyrs' Square*⁵⁵ which documents Palestinian militant culture through communiqués, video transcripts, graffiti and other ephemera. In 2013, the anarchist publishing group Little Black Cart, began distributing *The Collected*

⁴⁶ Shaul Mishal and Reuben Aharoni, *Speaking Stones: Communiques from the Intifada Underground* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse Univ Press, 1994).

⁴⁷ Robert Marlin, ed., *What Does Al Qaeda Want?: Unedited Communiques*, 1st ed. (Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 2004).

⁴⁸ Yonah Alexander and Dennis A. Pluchinsky, *Europe's Red Terrorists: The Fighting Communist Organizations*, 1st ed. (London, UK: Routledge, 1992).

⁴⁹ Leslie James Pickering, *The Earth Liberation Front 1997-2002*, 2nd edition (Portland, OR: Arissa Media Group, LLC, 2007).

⁵⁰ Tegan Eanelli and Fray Baroque, eds., *Queer Ultraviolence: A Bash Back! Anthology*, 1st ed. (San Francisco, CA: Ardent Press, 2012).

⁵¹ Daniel Burton-Rose, ed., *Creating a Movement with Teeth a Documentary History of the George Jackson Brigade* (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2010).

⁵² Subcomandante Marcos, *Our Word Is Our Weapon: Selected Writings*, ed. Juana Ponce De Leon (New York, NY: Seven Stories Press, 2002).

⁵³ Bernardine Dohrn, Bill Ayers, and Jeff Jones, eds., *Sing a Battle Song: The Revolutionary Poetry, Statements, and Communiques of the Weather Underground 1970-1974* (New York, NY: Seven Stories Press, 2006).

⁵⁴ André Moncourt and J Smith, *The Red Army Faction A Documentary History, Volume 1: Projectiles for the People*, vol. 1 (Montreal, QC; Oakland, CA: Kersplebedeb Pub.; PM Press, 2009); André Moncourt and J Smith, *The Red Army Faction A Documentary History, Volume 2: Dancing With Imperialism*, vol. 2 (Montreal, QC; Oakland, CA: Kersplebedeb Pub.; PM Press, 2009).

⁵⁵ Anne Marie Oliver and Paul F. Steinberg, *The Road to Martyrs' Square: A Journey into the World of the Suicide Bomber* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2006).

*Communiqués of Individualists Tending Toward the Wild*⁵⁶, which serves as a re-printing of the lengthy texts authored by this network of anti-technology, Mexican insurrectionary cells. In one of the more comprehensive approaches to the examination of communiqués, Yonah Alexander and Dennis Pluchinsky’s overview of nine European “fighting communist organizations,” the authors admit this structural decision noting:

This book was not designed to be an all-inclusive, detailed study of the European FCOs [Fighting Communist Organizations]. To the authors’ knowledge, no such study exists. The intent was to compile a brief collection of documents (attack communiqués, ideological tracts, interviews, policy statements, etc.)...so that the reader can obtain a general understanding of how these groups think and view the world about them.⁵⁷

While the aforementioned books contain very valuable exhibitions of primary source materials, with exceedingly few exceptions, the *communiqués* are not analyzed thoroughly and are often simply *presented*. The texts are far more descriptive in nature, not analytical. Typically the volumes are nearly entirely the words of the non-state actor with a brief introductory frame written by an editor. While some are careful to discuss the texts in relation to actual events⁵⁸, the texts themselves are rarely the focus. In none of the volumes surveyed is the political critique of the non-state actor held up as legitimate theory to be evaluated. Instead, it is often showcased in an exotic manner, or in the case of Laqueur’s edited volume, as the writings of various “terrorists.”

⁵⁶ *Individualists Tending Toward the Wild, The Collected Communiques of Individualists Tending Toward the Wild* (Berkeley, CA: Little Black Cart Books, 2013).

⁵⁷ Alexander and Pluchinsky, *Europe’s Red Terrorists: The Fighting Communist Organizations*, x.

⁵⁸ See for example: Burton-Rose, *Creating a Movement with Teeth a Documentary History of the George Jackson Brigade*; Moncourt and Smith, *The Red Army Faction A Documentary History, Volume 1: Projectiles for the People*; Moncourt and Smith, *The Red Army Faction*.

Of course other books cataloging the political writings of individual practitioners of political violence are common, such as those containing the works of Islamist figureheads Osama Bin Laden⁵⁹ of al-Qaeda and Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah⁶⁰ of Hezbollah, Marxist guerrilla leader Ernesto ‘Che’ Guevara⁶¹, the Red Army Faction’s Ulrike Meinhof⁶², ‘New Afrikan’ militants Kuwasi Balagoon⁶³, Jalil Muntaqim⁶⁴, and Russell Maroon Shoatz⁶⁵, anarcho-primitivist “Unabomber” Theodore Kaczynski⁶⁶ and Animal Liberation Front activists Walter Bond⁶⁷ and Rod Coronado⁶⁸. In these person-specific compilations, the original (and translated) works are presented with very little commentary and often no analysis. There are also frequent personal narratives, memoirs and autobiographies from individual actors that often portray life events through powerful narratives, but exclude formal political statements. Examples from the revolutionary left include those by armed North American militants Ann Hansen⁶⁹ and

⁵⁹ Osama bin Laden, *Messages to the World: The Statements of Osama Bin Laden*, ed. Bruce Lawrence, trans. James Howarth (London, UK: Verso, 2005).

⁶⁰ Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah, *Voice of Hezbollah: The Statements of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah*, ed. Nicholas Noe, Ellen Khouri, and Nicholas Blanford (London, UK: Verso, 2007).

⁶¹ Che Guevara, *Che Guevara Reader*, ed. David Deutschmann, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Ocean Press, 1997).

⁶² Ulrike Meinhof, *Everybody Talks About the Weather . . . We Don’t: The Writings of Ulrike Meinhof*, ed. Karin Bauer, trans. Luise Von Flotow, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Seven Stories Press, 2008).

⁶³ Kuwasi Balagoon, *Kuwasi Balagoon: A Soldier’s Story: Writings by a Revolutionary New Afrikan Anarchist*, 3rd ed (Montreal, QC: Kersplebedeb Publishing, 2003).

⁶⁴ Jalil Muntaqim, *We Are Our Own Liberators: Selected Prison Writings* (Toronto, ON: Abraham Guillen Press, 2002).

⁶⁵ Russell Maroon Shoatz, *Maroon the Implacable: The Collected Writings of Russell Maroon Shoatz*, ed. Quincy Saul and Fred Ho (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2013).

⁶⁶ Theodore J. Kaczynski, *Technological Slavery: The Collected Writings of Theodore J. Kaczynski, A.k.a. “The Unabomber”* (Port Townsend, WA: Feral House, 2010).

⁶⁷ Walter Bond, *Always Looking Forward* (Los Angeles, CA: NAALPO, 2011).

⁶⁸ Rod Coronado, *Flaming Arrows: Collected Writings of Animal Liberation Front Activist Rod Coronado* (Portland, OR: Wacry Communications, 2011).

⁶⁹ Ann Hansen, *Direct Action: Memoirs of an Urban Guerrilla* (Toronto, ON: AK Press, 2002).

David Gilbert⁷⁰, West German urban guerilla Bommi Baumann⁷¹, 1960s student leaders and Weathermen Mark Rudd⁷² and Bill Ayers⁷³, American Indian Movement activist and prisoner Leonard Peltier⁷⁴, the autobiographies of Palestinian airplane hijacker Lelia Khaled⁷⁵, Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) fighter María Eugenia Vásquez Perdomo⁷⁶, and Black Panther Assata Shakur⁷⁷, as well as a semi-autobiographical, first hand account from Basque ethno-nationalist militants offered in *Operation Ogro: The Execution of Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco*⁷⁸.

Communiqués as political texts are an under theorized site for critical inquiry. Despite their prominence in the ephemera of clandestine networks of political violence, their compilation, interpretation and analysis has been lacking. Some scholars have focused on the development of methodologies for interpreting the ideological predilections of political manifestos.⁷⁹ Though works like Harrison's are instructive in a general sense, their focus on *ideology* and *parties* make them ill suited for discussing

⁷⁰ David Gilbert, *Love and Struggle: My Life in SDS, the Weather Underground, and Beyond* (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2011).

⁷¹ Bommi Baumann, *How It All Began: The Personal Account of a West German Urban Guerrilla*, trans. Helen Ellenbogen (Vancouver, BC: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2002).

⁷² Mark Rudd, *Underground: My Life with SDS and the Weathermen* (New York, NY: William Morrow Paperbacks, 2010).

⁷³ Bill Ayers, *Fugitive Days: Memoirs of an Antiwar Activist*, 1st ed. (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2009).

⁷⁴ Leonard Peltier, *Prison Writings: My Life Is My Sun Dance*, ed. Harvey Arden (New York, NY: St. Martin's Griffin, 2000).

⁷⁵ Leila Khaled, *My People Shall Live: The Autobiography of a Revolutionary* (London, UK: Hodder & Stoughton Ltd, 1973).

⁷⁶ Maria Eugenia Vasquez Perdomo, *My Life as a Colombian Revolutionary: Reflections of a Former Guerrillera*, trans. Lorena Terando (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2005).

⁷⁷ Assata Shakur, *Assata: An Autobiography* (Chicago, IL: Lawrence Hill Books, 2001).

⁷⁸ Julen Agirre, *Operation Ogro: The Execution of Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco*, trans. Barbara Probst Solomon (New York, NY: Quadrangle/New York Times Book Co, 1975).

⁷⁹ See for example: Sarah Harrison, "Decoding Manifestos and Other Political Texts," in *Political Science Research Methods in Action*, ed. Michael Bruter and Martin Lodge (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 47–63.

anti-ideological, anti-political (i.e. those that reject politics as a method of social change) movements. Harrison's methodology focused on the discourse of right wing political parties. Methodologically, the researchers identified the frequency of select words and these keywords were then coded for thematic analysis.⁸⁰ Similar study has been coordinated by the Manifesto Research Group/Comparative Manifestos Project which has conducted "quantitative content analyses of parties' election programmes from more than 50 countries covering all free, democratic elections since 1945."⁸¹

Not all acts of political violence—clandestine or otherwise—are claimed via a written communication. Some are claimed via video releases, audio transmissions, telephone calls and some are unclaimed. The issuing of communiqués following acts of violence is often dependent on the modus operandi of the movement. For example, Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and Earth Liberation Front (ELF) attacks are nearly universally claimed via a written communiqué—in approximately 93% of attacks⁸²—which are then compiled and circulated by aboveground support networks such as Bite Back Magazine, the North American Animal Liberation Press Office and the international, translation and counter-information network "of the new generation [of]

⁸⁰ Ibid., 55–56.

⁸¹ Manifesto Research Group/Comparative Manifestos Project, "Manifesto Project Database: Information," *Manifesto Project Database*, 2014, <https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/information/information>.

⁸² Michael Loadenthal, "Nor Hostages, Assassinations, or Hijackings, but Sabotage, Vandalism & Fire: 'Eco-Terrorism' as Political Violence Challenging the State and Capital." (MLitt Dissertation, Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence, University of St Andrews, 2010), 89 (chart 3.3).

incendiary anarchy and global anti-civilization attack”⁸³ embodied in websites such as 325.nostate⁸⁴, War on Society and others.

In examining the post-millennial clandestine attack networks that drew inspiration, radicalization, and modeling from the anti-globalization, counter-summit protests⁸⁵, it is no surprise that the militant edges of this movement are communiqué rich sources. In a lengthy piece of strategic writing authored by anonymous individuals “somewhere in the [American] Mid-West” and affiliated with the militant direct action network Anti-Racist Action (ARA), the authors instruct:

It is important that all Black Bloc⁸⁶ actions be followed with a comprehensive communiqué, which is whenever possible composed by a large representative volunteer committee from the various affinity groups. This communiqué should discuss the action in terms of why it occurred, why specific conflicts/tactics developed and how this immediate struggle is connected with the broader Anarchist movement towards a liberated and creative world...Such communiqués are important in regards to reaching out to the broader populace, as well as in debunking the demonization of our activities as can be expected to emanate out of the corporate press (and also often from the Liberal Left and orthodox/conservative Communist press).⁸⁷

This commentary speaks to the reliance on communiqués as a speech act, and specifically as a means to self-report, spread propaganda and challenge divergent accounts from

⁸³ 325.nostate.net, “Anarchist Gathering - Libcom 2014 (Russia)” (325.nostate.net, April 9, 2014), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=10016>.

⁸⁴ This website (325.nostate.net) will be referred to throughout as simply “325.”

⁸⁵ This history is discussed in detail throughout Chapter Two and Chapter Three.

⁸⁶ “Black bloc” is a militant street formation and tactical approach used commonly by anarchists. It was first deployed in its current form by German activists in the 1980s, and imported into the anti-globalization movement in the late 1990s. Typically it involved participants dressing entirely in black, covering their faces with masks, and assembling in small affinity groups, prepared to engage in property destruction and confrontations with security forces. This tactical and strategic formulation is discussed in Chapter Two.

⁸⁷ G-MAC and People Within The ARA, “A Communiqué On Tactics And Organization To The Black Bloc (Second Amended Edition, July 2001),” in *The Black Bloc Papers*, ed. David and X, 1st ed. (Baltimore, MD: Black Clover Press, 2002), 220–221.

media and liberal/sectarian sources. What explains the underground attackers' preference for reporting via communiqués? The nature of the communiqué; the structure of the particular speech device, facilitates direct communication between a previously silenced entity (i.e. the attacker) and an often curious recipient (i.e. the public).

The Challenges of Collecting Communiqués

On a practical level, the collection of communiqués allowed for the construction of an approximated incident-based dataset: a historical recounting of the politics of direct attack as told through the broken windows, slashed tires and burnt storefronts so eloquently rationalized through the texts. The construction of such an incident-based dataset begins with the development of strict in-group/out-group rules for inclusion and exclusion. The construction of this rule set requires a more generalized familiarity with the content hosted on the website network surveyed. In discussing the analysis and mapping of “radical violence in social media,” researchers from the Swedish Defense Research Agency make the same observation, writing, “in order to develop relevant keywords that actually indicate radicalism, an in-depth knowledge of the milieu in question is required.”⁸⁸ After familiarizing myself with its content over the course of years of reading⁸⁹, broad parameters are established, tested and then refined and recorded

⁸⁸ Katie Cohen et al., “Detecting Linguistic Markers for Radical Violence in Social Media,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, no. 1 (2014): 251, doi:10.1080/09546553.2014.849948.

⁸⁹ This speaks to my own positionality vis-à-vis the subject. Prior to deciding to pursue a study of these materials, I regularly read insurrectionary and sympathetic communiqués for years through many of the websites featured here. Also, while writing my Master’s dissertation, I systematically read thousands of communiqués written by the ALF/ELF and affiliated activists and used these sources to develop a multi-variables incident database comprised of more than 27,000 attacks occurring 1972-2010.

in a decision tree⁹⁰. Only incidents that were claimed via a communiqué and posted to the surveyed hubs were included. Similarly, communiqués that did not *claim responsibility* but offered more general critique, theory or debate were excluded.

This was by no means an easy task. The nature of clandestine, decentralized and internationally-dispersed cells of attack offer methodological challenges beyond simply the frequent inability to triangulate data and reach respondents for follow up and judging validity. In their discussion of the Revolutionary Cells (RZ)—a German, moniker-based, direct action network operating 1970s-1990s—Moncourt and Smith discuss similar problems stating:

The Revolutionary Cell [RZ] seemed unstoppable in 1982, but tabulating their activity poses a methodological problem, as anybody could carry out an attack—from breaking some windows to planting a bomb—and claim it as an RZ action. Limiting the account to major actions is both arbitrary and unavoidable in a study not itself devoted to the Cells; nonetheless, readers should keep in mind that these major attacks [e.g. bombings, shootings] were accompanied by a much greater number of low-level actions [e.g. vandalism, sabotage], even if most of these are now largely forgotten.⁹¹

It is precisely because of such cautionary methodological tales of woe that this study was constructed around the communiqué object. Within these means, the presence of the primary source document equates to inclusion, not the subjectively judged ‘severity’ of the attack. Thus, while the dataset will contain discussions of bombs, bullets and Molotovs, to a larger degree it is the story of painted walls and broken windows. In this sense, the history of the modern insurrectionary attacker mirrors that of the RZ, in that

⁹⁰ This process is discussed in Chapter Four.

⁹¹ Moncourt and Smith, *The Red Army Faction*, 2:221.

the frequency of revolutionary vandalism is overshadowed by the spectacle of tactics more easily understood as *terrorism*, namely those involving fire, explosives and guns.

Furthermore, by including the entirety of attacks claimed by communiqué, and not sorting for those which are high profile, one allows the incident-based history of the movement to ‘speak more for itself,’ rather than reflect the careful manipulation of inclusion and coding methods to serve political, securitization or rhetorical ends. For example, in an analysis of 27,000 incidents of so-called “eco-terrorism” completed in 2010⁹², I discovered that the tactical coding of these incidents by state-funded and allied scholars allowed incendiary devices to be regarded as explosives, animal releases to be recoded as theft, and the frequent gluing of locks, slashing of tires, breaking of windows and sabotaging of machinery to be nearly uniformly disregarded⁹³.

Opaque Truths and Verifiability

In the deciphering of authenticity that is necessary in interpreting opaque online reports, one must acknowledge that misrepresentation, exaggeration, and outright fictitious incidents will most certainly occur. First, establishing authorship is difficult if not impossible in a variety of cases. Communiqués, letters and other forms of rhetorical text are written, published, and distributed, and those behind them are unknown. If ten texts are posted, it is difficult to determine if these are the work of a single author, ten individual authors, or possibly scores more writing collaboratively. While there are

⁹² Loadenthal, “Nor Hostages, Assassinations, or Hijackings, but Sabotage, Vandalism & Fire: ‘Eco-Terrorism’ as Political Violence Challenging the State and Capital.”

⁹³ Ibid.; Michael Loadenthal, “Eco-Terrorism? Countering Dominant Narratives of Securitisation: A Critical, Quantitative History of the Earth Liberation Front (1996-2009),” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 8, no. 3 (June 25, 2014): 16–50.

investigative linguistic techniques that can be used to identify and compare lexical features, word classes and syntax—such as the frequency of words, parts-of-speech and sentence constructions respectively—these methods are “not mature enough” and outside the intent of this study⁹⁴.

Determining authorship remains a challenge for the analysis of online and anonymously authored texts, but does not present a particular challenge for this study as establishing such points of identification are not necessary. The intent here is not to determine the identity or size of a given milieu but rather its collectively constituted universe of ideas. The linking of individual texts to individual or group authors would require extensive social network research, mapping, and triangulation, and because such an effort could easily be used by law enforcement for intelligence gathering and repression, it is avoided. Furthermore, identifying authors of anonymous communiqués disrupts the intended function of the text. The decision by an attacker to communicate via a moniker, pseudonym or remain anonymous, is a conscious decision and the result of many calculations. In this sense we can consider each new articulation of identity—from the formal “FAI” or “ALF” to the playful “some insurrectionary anarchists”—as a new author, even if the new persona is embodied in a prior writer. It can be assumed that individual authors have written under a variety of pseudonyms, and that documents seemingly representing a multitude of voices are written by a single individual.

These sorts of challenges with reliability are not confined to the postings of anti-state revolutionaries, as both traditional non-state actors (e.g. the Taliban) and state

⁹⁴ Cohen et al., “Detecting Linguistic Markers for Radical Violence in Social Media,” 252.

security forces (e.g. Department of Defense) have intentionally falsified reports. Often, official accounts of counterterrorism operations are falsified to demonstrate strength to one's opponents, weakness of the enemy, or to reframe skirmishes and otherwise muddy the waters of accurate narration. Such acts of narrative reframing can be used to retell a stone throwing demonstration against the military into a 'terrorist attack', or to reframe as 'armed clashes' the invasion of a village.⁹⁵ To cite one example, National Public Radio's Cairo correspondent Leila Fadel states that when investigating Egyptian counterterrorist operations targeting jihadi insurgents, the state was found to have misrepresented itself and engaged in outright false reporting. According to Fadel, "We found that a lot of that huge military operation was actually quite fictional. We couldn't really find evidence of these major attacks. A lot of the reports of militants being killed were really exaggerated."⁹⁶

This problem of reliability is not reserved to armies and arsonists. Consider the frequent revisions the nation was treated to in President Obama's retelling of the killing of Osama bin Laden.⁹⁷ Since the SEAL team responsible for his assassination, and the soldiers charged with dumping his body into the sea are few in numbers and discouraged from public comment, the citizenry is largely unable to access information regarding the historical event. Instead, one is forced to accept the state narrative or enter into the ill-

⁹⁵ Michael Loadenthal, "The Framing of (Counter) State Violence: Challenging the Rhetoric of Non-State Actors, Political Violence & 'terrorism,'" *Affinities: A Journal of Radical Theory, Culture, Action* 6, no. 1 (November 2013): 1–15.

⁹⁶ Jacki Lyden, "With Egypt's New Choices, The Burden Of Democracy," *All Things Considered* (Online: NPR, December 29, 2012), <http://www.npr.org/2012/12/29/168269594/with-egypts-new-choices-the-burden-of-democracy>.

⁹⁷ Michael Loadenthal, "Asymmetric Labeling of Terrorist Violence as a Matter of Statecraft Propaganda: Or, Why the United States Does Not Feel the Need to Explain the Assassination of Osama Bin Laden," *Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies* 0, no. 1 (2011): (113–39).

fated world of the ‘conspiracy theorist’. Similar problems exist in establishing fact regarding US drone strikes in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Yemen and Somalia; such accounts offer a single state-produced narrative which one is forced to accept as additional data sources are often not available. This is particularly relevant when the question is the nature of fatalities, especially their status as combatants or civilians. When civilian eyewitness and NGO data is available, their reporting often shows disagreement between state accounts and those from local media, eyewitnesses and foreign governments. For example one could examine the wildly differing accounts of an airstrike in Sudan in January 2009, targeting a truck convoy allegedly transporting weaponry to the Gaza Strip. According to media accounts, between 39-41 people were killed in the airstrike.⁹⁸ According to the Sudanese Defense Minister, Abdel Rahim Mohamed, in a speech delivered to Parliament, 119 were killed including “56 smugglers and 63 smuggled persons from Ethiopian, Somali and other nationalities”⁹⁹ Here we see once again the consumers of information, even those that attempt to triangulate and verify their sources are left with stark choices: accept one of two narratives, both of which are inaccessibly unverifiable.

This problem with data validity is additionally burdened by analysis that often accompanies reporting of acts of political violence, especially if those reports are found

⁹⁸ Amos Harel, Yossi Melman, and Barak Ravid, “IAF Airstrike in Sudan Hit Convoy of Weapons Destined for Gaza,” *Haaretz*, March 26, 2009, Online edition, sec. Print edition/news, <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/news/iaf-airstrike-in-sudan-hit-convoy-of-weapons-destined-for-gaza-1.272952>.

⁹⁹ Reuters, “State Media: Israeli Air Strike on Sudan Convoy Killed 119,” *Reuters*, May 26, 2009, Online edition, sec. Israel News, <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0%2c7340%2cL-3721574%2c00.html>; BBC, “Sudan Convoy Bombing ‘Killed 119,’” *BBC*, May 26, 2009, Online edition, sec. Africa, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8067881.stm>.

within security literature such as annual Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) reports, INTERPOL papers, or government-funded attack databases, such as the Global Terrorism Database maintained by the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, a university-affiliated research project of the Department of Homeland Security. The complexity of political violence, its various strategic and tactical tendencies, and intersecting but separate histories are far beyond the scope of what most desire in seeking to contextualize an attack. Most data consumers simply want to know if the attacker is ‘right wing’, or ‘left wing’, ‘Communist’ or ‘jihadi’, ‘anti-government’, ‘pro-militia’, etc. Surely these are truncated categories to the point of being cartoonish, but despite these limitations, contextual data surrounding political attacks against the state are often not available. When such narratives are located, they routinely are penned by either the direct producer of violence (e.g. the one sending the mail bomb) or the recipient entity (e.g. the Office of the Prime Minister). From both perspectives, inflated, bombastic and misleading description can be employed to craft simple narratives from complex events. One of the explanations for fantastical explanations for significant events—like the US’s assassination of Osama bin Laden—can be found in the study on conspiracy theories and narrative. In a 2014 study published in the *American Journal of Political Science*, Eric Oliver and Thomas J. Wood explain that Americans have:

[a] natural attraction towards melodramatic narratives as explanations for prominent events—particularly those that interpret history [in terms of] universal struggles between good and evil...For many Americans, complicated or nuanced

explanations for political events are both cognitively taxing and have limited appeal.¹⁰⁰

This sort of logic can not only explain the difficulty in distinguishing falsehoods from truths in an age of unprecedented information availability, but also the challenge of pushing discussion of political violence towards an arena of nuanced and well-informed and engaged analysis. It is much easier—and more dramatic, hence appealing—to present clandestine revolutionaries as caricatures of themselves; to reinforce old tropes of the bomb-throwing anarchist hiding around the corner.

The Masked Arsonist As Theorist

In developing political theory as derived from communiqués and other claims of responsibility, it is important to note the revolutionaries' tendency toward 'organic intellectualism.'¹⁰¹ Antonio Gramsci, the Italian Marxist, offers this concept, writing, "all men are intellectuals...but not all men have in society the function of intellectuals...Everyone at some time fries a couple of eggs or sews up a tear in a jacket, we do not necessarily say that everyone is a cook or a tailor."¹⁰² In this manner, the production of high theory through non-academic, non-traditional settings is commonplace in the activist-academic community, as well as from activists 'in the streets.' Sandra Jeppesen, an anarchist academic, speaks to this tendency writing:

Among anarchists there are many 'organic intellectuals' who produce theory and action in written and dialogical texts that are not primarily academics, including

¹⁰⁰ Tom Jacobs, "Study: Half of Americans Believe at Least 1 Conspiracy Theory," *Pacific Standard Magazine*, April 9, 2014, <http://www.psmag.com/navigation/books-and-culture/half-americans-believe-least-one-conspiracy-theory-78613/>.

¹⁰¹ Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, 9.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 9 & Footnote.

zines, blogs, workshops, teach-ins, counter-summits, Indymedia web sites, and other anarchist spaces. I would argue that this work is also informed by and important to the formation of post-structuralism. Thus, in considering post-anarchist theory, we need to extend that space that we investigate as post-anarchist or we risk seeing only a partial picture that looks neither beyond the male European classical anarchists to contemporary anarchist thinkers...[and] current social movements in which anarchists are playing agenda-setting roles.¹⁰³

This “theory and action in written and dialogical texts” is part of a larger anarchist pedagogy based in developing ephemera, theory and inter-movement histories for a variety of purposes. Another way to think of these extra-academic knowledge products is that of “guerillas texts”¹⁰⁴ described by one anarcho-theorist as “irregular non-uniform anti-authoritarian texts combating a much larger normalized authoritarian system of textual production that tends to be capitalist, patriarchal, heteronormative, racist and/or ableist.”¹⁰⁵ These “guerilla texts” are thus meant to “develop a sense of individual and collective autonomy and self-determination, and to produce cultural producers who experience liberation, joy overflowing, love without end, and other sustained outbursts towards transformative social relationships.¹⁰⁶”

Therefore the anonymously authored texts that make up the object of analysis throughout this study can be understood as not only the products of anarcho-organic intellectuals, but structurally represent texts which are in themselves “subterranean at times, like manifestos, zines or direct action communiqués, breaking out as ‘surface

¹⁰³ Sandra Jeppesen, “Things to Do with Post-Structuralism in a Life of Anarchy: Relocating the Outpost of Post-Anarchism,” in *Post-Anarchism: A Reader*, ed. Duane Rousselle and Süreyya Evren (New York: Pluto Press, 2011), 151–152.

¹⁰⁴ Sandra Jeppesen, “Creating Guerilla Texts in Rhizomatic Value-Practices on the Sliding Scale of Autonomy: Toward an Anti-Authoritarian Cultural Logic,” in *New Perspectives on Anarchism*, ed. Nathan J Jun and Shane Wahl (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010), 473.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

extensions' in many directions, like books by independent publishers or pamphlets distributed at protests."¹⁰⁷ To foreground a concept introduced in Chapter Two, this manner of representation is "rhizomatic", borrowing from critical theory's model of networked movements as rhizomes¹⁰⁸.

'Primitive Rebels' & Other Such Nonsense

While discussing the histories, action and ideas of a social movement, one inherently adapts an often unspoken framework that influences the construction of arguments and the ordering of events within a politicized logic. In other words, it is important to attempt to act transparently when discussing subjective histories and it is equally important to point out when others are not meeting this standard. There is an inherent subjectivity hidden within historical interpretation, and when one's history prejudices them against an even-handed analysis of a subject, this bias should be acknowledged. To cite but one example of a foundational, social movement text which is at odds with the present discussion, we can examine historian Eric Hobsbawm's 1959 book, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries*. In this book, Hobsbawm develops the archetype of the "primitive rebel", which he describes as a "pre-political...blind and groping"¹⁰⁹ mass of individuals struggling from poor and/or rural areas in a battle against domination. Hobsbawm speaks deplorably of these masses and their agitation, thus earning them the apolitical term *primitive* and the slightly less

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 474.

¹⁰⁸ See Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi, 1st ed. (University of Minnesota Press, 1987), chap. 1.

¹⁰⁹ Eric Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, 3rd ed. (Manchester, UK: University of Manchester - The University Press, 1971), 2.

despairing term, *rebels*. Hobsbawm speaks of “social bandits,” best understood though the Robin Hood¹¹⁰ character, who emerge from the masses to carry out illegal acts against those in power in an attempt to redistribute wealth and control to the poor and marginalized. While one may find such character portrayals admirable, Hobsbawm deplores them as having “next to no organization or ideology...totally inadaptable to modern social movements.”¹¹¹

Hobsbawm’s criticism reaches beyond his rejection of Robin Hood-styled banditry, and the *primitiveness* of unorganized mobs and appears overly despairing of a political and social framework the author found counter to his own. Hobsbawm’s portrayal of spontaneous, collective violence such as riots, has been called “anti-class struggle”¹¹², as critics accuse this bias as existing “at the heart of all his written work as a labor historian.” This is largely due to Hobsbawm’s expressed preference for social change through organized labor (i.e. union activism) and his dismissal of “the spontaneous militancy of primitive rebels, bandits and...working-class militants.”¹¹³ These later methods of contestation are seen as un-political, inherently unsuccessful and thus largely irrelevant in the historical record outside of demonstrating their unsuccessfulness.

Hobsbawm explicitly addresses anarchist militants, spending a fair bit of time on those found in Spain around the Civil War of the 1930s. Despite the establishment of

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 4, 13–27.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹¹² James D. Young, “Eric J Hobsbawm: ‘Communist’ Historian, Companion of Honour and Socialism’s Ghosts,” *New Interventions* 10/11, no. 3/4 (Spring -Autumn 2001 2001): para. 30, <http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/writers/young/hobsbawm/index.htm>.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, para. 23.

collectivized, anarchist-styled lands, trade unions, factories, social services, organizational bodies and militias which occurred in conjunction with a highly asymmetric war against the fascists of Francisco Franco, Hobsbawm laments the militants' efforts, writing "anarchism was and is helpless...Nothing is easier than illegal organization in a unanimous village...but when the millenarian frenzy of the anarchist village subsided, nothing remained but the small group of the...true believers."¹¹⁴ This portrayal stands in contrast to the findings of other scholars¹¹⁵ specifically examining the anarchist experiment in wartime/Revolutionary Catalonia. In typical accounts, scholars have concluded that the failure of Revolutionary Catalonia was not the fault of *anarchism* but rather of reformist efforts on the left, and direct repression from the right. Hobsbawm later writes, in reference to Revolutionary Catalonia, "anarchism is thus a form of peasant movement almost incapable of effective adaptation to modern conditions...thus the history of anarchism, almost alone among modern social movements, is one of unrelieved failure."¹¹⁶

Hobsbawm's prediction for mass-based organized labor and his rejection of anarchism's "spontaneous and unstable rebelliousness"¹¹⁷ is obviously influenced by his efforts in conjunction with the German Communist Party which he joined in 1931, the Communist Party of Great Britain which he joined in 1939 as a student at the University

¹¹⁴ Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, 91.

¹¹⁵ See for example: Murray Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists: The Heroic Years 1868-1936* (San Francisco, CA: AK Press, 2001); Jose Peirats, *The CNT in the Spanish Revolution: Volume 1*, ed. Chris Ealham (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2011).

¹¹⁶ Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, 92.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

of Cambridge, and his consistently vocal support for Joseph Stalin's Popular Front.¹¹⁸

Hobsbawm assumes in his method of argumentation that socialist-inspired forms of organized labor consistently led the charge for reform, and that forms of resistance from the "inarticulate"¹¹⁹ are meaningless. This stands in obvious contrast to the insurrectionary position that favors the spontaneity, anti-reformist and unorganized nature of mass revolt and struggle and rejects the glorification of 'workerism' and 'workerists.'¹²⁰ Additionally, Hobsbawm's criticism of loosely assembled, spontaneous outburst of anti-state anger (i.e. riots) as lacking merit represents one side of a debate, with insurrectionary-sympathetic writers on the other side¹²¹, often speaking of the potential strengths of these types of outburst.

This discussion of Hobsbawm is meant to partially unearth the political subjectivities that inform our collection of historical data and its interpretation. Certainly one can not escape their own subjectivity, especially in matters of historical interpretation as read through one's politics. Therefore I would be remiss to not note that my own

¹¹⁸ Young, "Eric J Hobsbawm: 'Communist' Historian, Companion of Honour and Socialism's Ghosts," para. 4.

¹¹⁹ Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, 2.

¹²⁰ See for example Bonanno's use of the term in: Alfredo M Bonanno, *A Critique of Syndicalist Methods*, trans. Jean Weir, Elephant Editions (London, UK: Elephant Editions (republished by The Anarchist Library), 1998), <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/alfredo-m-bonanno-a-critique-of-syndicalist-methods>; Alfredo M Bonanno, *From Riot to Insurrection: Analysis for an anarchist perspective against post-industrial capitalism*, trans. Jean Weir, Elephant Editions (London, UK: Elephant Editions (republished by The Anarchist Library), 1988), <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/alfredo-m-bonanno-from-riot-to-insurrection-analysis-for-an-anarchist-perspective-against-post>; The term is also found in popular anonymously-authored insurrectionary texts such as: Anonymous, "Insurrectionary Anarchy: Organising for Attack!," *Do or Die*, 2003.

¹²¹ For such an example from a scholarly text see: Doug Gilbert, *I Saw Fire: Reflections on Riots, Revolt & the Black Bloc*, 1st ed. (Institute For Experimental Freedom, 2014); Other more centrally located insurrectionary theorists speak of the utility of riots such as discussions contained in: Bonanno, *From Riot to Insurrection: Analysis for an anarchist perspective against post-industrial capitalism*; The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection* (intervention series 1: Semiotext(e), 2007).

reading of history, the reading of history contained herein, is understood through my embracing of the anarchist tradition. As Hobsbawm was in favor of large, mass-based forms of protest from organized labor, this was likely the result of his positive experience with such movements for socialism. However normal this appears, it becomes problematic when Hobsbawm uses this position to not only speak of the possibilities contained in Stalinist socialism, but the child-like sensibilities of those who operate with more fluidity and less predictability. For Hobsbawm, these rioters, peasant insurgents, social bandits and illegalists are the short-sighted, illogical, non-strategic masses, and it is only through the centralism of Communism that one can effectively wage such battles. As a result, Hobsbawm's notions of social change do not align with that of his subject and as a result, he tosses them aside. Noting the failures of Hobsbawm, the current examination of insurrectionary anarchism is not meant to inscribe this author's anarchism atop the subject; to judge its successes or failures with strategy or message and offer a complementary or critical alternative. Rather the intent here is to explore insurrectionary theory through its own framework, which while informed by anarchism at its roots, embodies a new articulation of its own ilk.

Hypothesis, Intent & Limitations

The study contained herein is designed to examine the contemporary illegalist, revolutionary milieu, and specifically, this collective's discourse of resistance and its analysis of structural and systemic violence. The study will specifically focus on post-millennial, clandestine actors, organized into networked federations, who share a politic that is anti-state and that advocates direct attack. From this point on, those inhabiting

such a milieu will be identified as “insurrectionists” and would include the FAI, International Revolutionary Front (IRF), Conspiracy of Fire Cells (CCF) and smaller cells ideologically affiliated with so-called insurrectionary tendencies. In sum, this study seeks to answer a central question: What precisely is the contemporary insurrectionary tendency, how can it be historicized, and what application does this framework offer for understanding structural conflict? In brief, I seek to argue that the insurrectionary tendency can be identified by textual signposts which develop the borders of the discourse, and that such a discourse is based around a politics of affinity towards a shared set of ethics, expanded upon at length in Chapter Five.

These two questions will be pursued through a bifurcated hypothesis (H1 and H2). The first hypothesis (H1)—the “canon hypothesis”—contends that modern insurrectionary networks of attack are informed by and act to constitute an ‘insurrectionary canon’: an indispensable body of written work that the milieu consumes, interprets and reacts to in voice and action. The second hypothesis (H2)—the “poststructuralism hypothesis”—states that because of the poststructural influence influencing the modern insurrectionary critique, the latter will resultantly carry forth an expanded understanding of structural violence and inequality. These two hypotheses will be discussed briefly at present, and evaluated for validation or refutation in Chapter Six.

The theoretical components of this inquiry center around how these “ultra leftists” develop conceptions of power, hierarchy, violence and community. Their political framework will be discussed vis-à-vis poststructural theory, as I hypothesize that the insurrectionary and poststructural theories share important components such as a

deterritorialized¹²² subject, boundless arenas of expansion, and a focus on *power and domination*, not simply their local manifestations. In seeking to draw out the theoretical traditions of this community, I hypothesize that one can construct a political framework that is no less rigorous than competing orthodoxies (e.g. Marxism, Leninism, Trotskyism, ‘classical’ anarchism, anarcho-syndicalism, primitivism, etc.) despite the community’s lack of consistent, canonical texts.

While the bounds of Marxism are easy to trace through the works of its namesake and those of Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, Antonio Gramsci and others, the contemporary insurrectionist tendency is not often viewed in such a manner. The format of the insurrectionists’ communications has inherently limited their academic consumption. In other words, as the movement has been slow to produce book-length treatises and academic journal articles, its communiqués, zines, pamphlets, posters and websites have been relegated to the trash heap of revolutionary ephemera, when in reality, they collectively form a precise theoretical cannon—that while remaining unbounded and open—has established ideological fence posts to create a well-defined in-group/out-group community of ideas. This insurrectionary community deserves our academic attention if for no other reason than its destructive capabilities. In its current form, it is most certainly the most destructively active segment of the revolutionary left witnessed in some time. The activity of these groups has led many governments to designate entire portions of the left as ‘terrorists’ and throughout their short, half-century history they have caused tens of millions of dollars in damage to property. It is precisely

¹²² Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Robert Hurley, Mark Seem, and Helen Lane (University of Minnesota Press, 1983).

this rhetorical reality that should motivate critical investigators, because if those who share some manner of affinity do not conduct such an inquiry, it will eventually become the sole purview of the state and its counterterrorism framework.

These two hypotheses were chosen for their specific applicability to developing theories concerning ideological construction, discursive formation, and structural violence. The integration of critical theory for the understanding of political violence is central. Since the violence is meant as commentary, or reaction to problems at the level of the entire society (e.g. poverty, pollution, police violence), the nature of the explanation is often based in notions of a social order. Critical theory, is meant to “isolate and critique those rationalizations of society which are advanced as self-evident truths, but which may be ideological mystifications.”¹²³ Such “evident truths”—such as the validity of the state, the wage-labor exchange system or the commodification of animals for food—can be called into question if such a critical theory is applied to insurrectionary action. Through an interrogation of the textual basis for this revolutionary tendency, one can more freely interact with the ideas presented, understood as distinct from the vehicles that delivered them. In other words, through a deep reading of insurrectionary communiqués, we can interact with the milieu’s analysis and reasoning without the burdensome rhetoric of terrorism and anti-social violence muddying the waters. Despite the fact that theory is delivered in the form of a document claiming responsibility for a criminal act, in attempting to develop a canon from these texts, we are acknowledging their legitimacy as objects of analysis, something typically denied when politics is

¹²³ Mark Hoffman, “Critical Theory and the Inter-Paradigm Debate,” *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 16, no. 2 (June 1987): 236, doi:10.1177/03058298870160022801.

delivered via violence. By suggesting that insurrectionary theory has conceptual lessons akin to those of Marxism, poststructuralism or Queer theory, the attention of the reader shifts to *what* the actors say, not through which criminal act (e.g. broken window, graffitied storefront) they chose to speak through. This dual hypothesis approach is thus designed to ‘test’ both the applicability of insurrectionary theory to central questions of conflict analysis (i.e. structural violence), as well as its discursive construction from amongst the critical tradition of poststructuralism. This hypothesis testing approach can be understood as akin to a philosopher’s test of a logical proof in more ways than it resembles a scientific hypothesis. However, the use of a hypothesis-driven framework has been adopted to retain the dual forms of inquiry: one focused upon the canon and the other, the theoretical application.

The importance and implications of this research rests in a number of key areas. First, it is essential that the theoretical and political ideas of this movement enter into the public arena of intellectual debate, and not be simply excluded on the basis of the group’s choice to adopt ‘violence’ as a means. The community’s choice to utilize non-traditional, non-state sanctioned methods is well informed by their politic and intrinsically linked to its understanding of structural reality. These theoretical contributions—which up until now have been overlooked—can serve to advance Peace and Conflict Studies through an expanded analysis of structural and systemic conflict, further helping one understand how discourse is constructed through an exchange of texts. I argue that the theoretical contributions of the insurrectionary tendency—derived from anonymously penned communiqués—can serve to advance the development of transformative strategies aimed

at confronting persistent, system-level conflicts such as those dealing with growing wealth gaps, racial inequality, patriarchy, ecological degradation and other associated ills¹²⁴.

This discussion will be limited to a difficult to define, yet demonstrably separate segment of the wider anti-state, anarchist milieu. This internationally decentralized community of autonomous cells and networked groups has been called:

The Black International...the affinity groups of anarcho-individualists and nihilists...promot[ing] informal organization, affinity between cells and the uniqueness of each individual...[an] invisible community where the desires of attack against our era, meet...[known as] New Anarchy and the Black International.”¹²⁵

This neo-insurrectionary community, the “anarcho-individualists of praxis,”¹²⁶ borrow and reinterpret a variety of previous manifestations of resistance including those advancing “propaganda of the deed” in the late 1800s, illegalist anarchists from the first half of the 1900s, the armed urban and rural guerilla warriors of the latter half of the 1900s, and the populist anti-capitalist and anti-globalization movement of the late 1990s and early 2000s. These intersectional histories will be explored in depth in Chapter Two and Chapter Three, but prior to proceeding, it is important to develop some broad groupings. The groups being discussed, while emerging from the wider anarchist milieu, are keen to differentiate themselves. Many cells have firmly declared themselves to be outside of the anarchist community, as this tendency, according to the anonymous

¹²⁴ This will be discussed as Hypothesis 2 (H2).

¹²⁵ Conspiracy of Cells of Fire FAI/IRF Imprisoned Members Cell, “Let’s become dangerous...for the diffusion of the Black International,” trans. Inter Arma (Informal Days: International Anarchist Symposium, Mexico (republished by 325.nostate), 2013), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=9490>.

¹²⁶ Giorgos Polidoros et al., “Arming Negation,” trans. Inter Arma (325.nostate.net, August 27, 2014), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=11742>.

communiqué authors, has been coopted by sectarian leftists, populist movements, and so-called “civil anarchists”¹²⁷ who seek to resist within the confines of the state’s laws.

These distinctions are made consistently throughout the literature, as a collective of imprisoned members of one insurrectionary network state:

Especially today, we believe that by simply stating that we are ‘anarchists’, in order to speak through a communiqué or an action, is inadequate and problematic. We choose to separate our positions from the ‘anarchists’ who cooperate with the leftist grassroots labor unions, use Marxist analyzes, unionize their misery, slander direct actions, fantasize workers’ communes, participate in residents’ local committees and transform anarchy into a social therapy.¹²⁸

Therefore while it is important to understand the development of these networks from within the broader anti-capitalist and anti-statist left, the insurrectionary tendency must be understood as distinct yet intersectional, complementary yet oppositional. Therefore, at its most basic level, it is essential to ask: When the term ‘insurrectionist’ or ‘insurrectionary anarchism’ is used in the subsequent discussion, what does it mean? For the purpose of discussion, one can think of insurrectionary anarchism in the following terms, provided by the influential anarchist collective known as CrimethInc.. In their radio show discussing the insurrectionary tendency within contemporary anarchism, the presenters state:

By definition, an insurrection is an act of revolting against a civil authority or government. So, an insurrectionary anarchist would be an anarchist who is in favor of revolts against civil authority or government, or more specifically, one

¹²⁷ See collection of essays published as: Anonymous, “*Anarchy – Civil or Subversive?*”: *A Collection of Texts Against Civil Anarchism*, 1st ed. (Online: Dark Matter Publications (republished by 325.nostate.net), 2013), <http://325.nostate.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/civil-anarchism-book.pdf>.

¹²⁸ Conspiracy of Cells of Fire FAI/IRF Imprisoned Members Cell, “Let’s become dangerous...for the diffusion of the Black International.”

who believes that smaller revolts against authority will lead to larger revolutions.¹²⁹

This definition is adequate to begin our exploration of the pre-modern history, while keeping in mind these broad tendencies that are recurrent throughout the milieu, namely those of un-civil rebellion against capitalism and the state.

¹²⁹ CrimethInc. Ex-Workers' Collective, "The Ex-Worker," Podcast, *No Time to Wait* (Online: CrimethInc. Ex-Workers' Collective, September 3, 2013), <http://www.crimethinc.com/podcast/9/>.

CHAPTER TWO

This is what we have done by creating an anarchist conspiracy of friendship, comradeship, attack... This is how the new anarchist urban guerrilla was born, this is how the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire continues to exist. Our attacks deliver blows to the system's officials and symbols, destroy temples of money, torch political party offices, attack private security guards and security companies, place bombs at jails, courts, detention centers, fascists, at the Parliament, police stations, churches, houses of ministers, we send explosives to embassies and heads of states, blow up military vehicles and militaristic targets, burn newspaper offices and journalists' cars, we choose to live in the lawless side of life, away from the aesthetics of money and the morality of authority, against the technological shackles of the digital world and the herd of slaves, against the culture of compromise and the civilization of animal and natural exploitation.

From the moment we chose the path of anarchist urban guerrilla, we knew in advance that there was a chance of dying in a fight or receiving a long-term prison sentence spent in captivity. But at least, even if we are prisoners of authority at the moment, we know that we didn't lead the life of a slave.

Because when the prisoner finds a way to escape, he/she would do so, while the slave will stay in his cell, even if he finds the door open.¹³⁰

-- Conspiracy of Cells of Fire, Imprisoned Members' Cell [2014]

¹³⁰ Polidoros et al., "Arming Negation."

Introducing A Past History of Insurrectionary Attack

*Insurrectionary anarchism is primarily a practice, and focuses on the organization of attack.*¹³¹

-- *Do or Die* magazine [2003]

The forces that define the insurrectionary networks under examination are based around the creation of “broad umbrella spaces”¹³²; critical frameworks which are the subject of this study. While more traditional, modern anarchism—embodied in anti-globalization activists opposing multilateral trade talks—is based around a politic of collective action, civil disobedience, direct action, and voluntary association, the illegalist-infused insurrectionary approach is based around a complementary but tangential set of features. These tendencies, appear more negative and less utopian than those strands of anarchist resistance seen in the past; borrowing from the centuries of nihilism, individualism, and freedom-centric egoism. These tendencies position themselves within a generalized spirit of aggression and revolt; the fostering of social war on all fronts.

While these individuals envision an egalitarian, communist-like future, they aim more towards tearing down than building up. The critique is boundless and aimed at any and all manifestations of domination and power including any spokes linked to religion, governance, economy and ecocide, as well as the more central hubs of capitalism and the state. Individuals’ motivations to immerse within this clandestine milieu often point to social and economic inequality and a “widely shared sense of injustice”¹³³, a common motivational feature for the production of political violence. The emphasis of the

¹³¹ Anonymous, “Insurrectionary Anarchy: Organising for Attack!”

¹³² Jeffrey Scott Juris, “Digital Age Activism: Anti-Corporate Globalization and the Cultural Politics of Transnational Networking” (PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 2004), 68.

¹³³ Della Porta, *Clandestine Political Violence*, 238.

insurrectionary, nihilist-infused anarchism is on creating war-like conditions for opposing capitalism, the state and that which perpetuates structural violence (e.g. racism, poverty, speciesism, ecocide, gender roles, etc.). The ‘insurrectionary turn’ in contemporary, revolutionary politics is largely due to a poststructuralist influence, and as such, is well suited for analyzing power and domination. The poststructural influence has allowed insurrectionary anarchism to become unlinked to the structural Marxist which birthed it, and instead, the decentralized networks of attack being seen today are boundless, ribosomal occurrences defined only by a shared banner of total liberation and a rejection of traditional populist social movements, mediation through representation and reformism.

A Genealogical Account of Discourse

The approach to history adopted in this study is informed by Michel Foucault’s notion of “genealogy”¹³⁴ which, according to poststructural anarchist philosopher Todd May, “seeks to trace the emergence of its object, be it a discourse, a practice, or a concept,”¹³⁵ in this case, insurrectionary anarchism. This genealogical history of insurrection is an assemblage of events, ideas and individuals from a broad historical record, united in a shared ethos and praxis of illegality, aggression, spontaneity, informality and clandestinity. To develop such a history is to foster a taxonomy, a set of rules for

¹³⁴ Foucault expands upon the notion of genealogy in the following works: Michel Foucault, “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History,” in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard, trans. Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon, 1st ed. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1971); Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977); Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977 by Michel Foucault*.

¹³⁵ Todd May, *The Political Philosophy of Poststructuralist Anarchism* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 90.

inclusion and exclusion, and to again borrow from Foucault, establish *knowledge* (i.e. “power/knowledge”) through acknowledgment and inclusion. In Foucault’s own words, when historicizing sexuality, he writes, “I have sketched a genealogical history of the origins of a theory and a knowledge of...the various techniques that relate to it.”¹³⁶ In the establishment of a chronological record one establishes the discursive borders of the insurrectionary tendency through retroactively labeling diverse forms of resistance through a modern framework. This historical record is thus dependent on one’s understanding of the discursive tradition, its origins and its strands of contributive thought. The resulting genealogy of insurrection “recognizes that its knowledge is value-laden and contextually situated”¹³⁷ within one’s understanding of this milieu. This is especially important as Foucault notes, “historical knowledge of struggles...[are often]...buried [and] subjugated” as illegitimate knowledge precisely because they are seen to be “hostile” to systems of power.¹³⁸ The excavation of this genealogical account is key *prior* to any nuanced discussion of tactics, strategy or ideology. It is essential to understand the history that formed a set of ideas before exploring the ideas themselves. This historical and evolutionary lens allows the reader to consider the political developments in context and within a broadly temporal ordering. Therefore, the structuring of this study is intentional: first comes history (Chapter Two), then strategy (Chapter Three), then theory (Chapter 4 & 5) and finally interpretation (Chapter 6).

The study seeks to trace the borders of this neo-insurrectionary tendency, to see

¹³⁶ Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977* by Michel Foucault, 78.

¹³⁷ May, *The Political Philosophy of Poststructuralist Anarchism*, 94.

¹³⁸ Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977* by Michel Foucault, 83.

where its adherents converge and dissent. Though this task is descriptively difficult based on the fluid and amorphous nature of such moniker-based networks, one can begin by mapping the history of these illegalist and militant tendencies prior to examining the texts generated by individual, cell-level actors claiming ideological affinity. The following historical account will trace the trajectory of illegalist anarchism and *propaganda of the deed* before arriving at the modern history of clandestine, insurrectionary guerrillaism. This history is key as it demonstrates not only the genealogy of anti-state, individualist, direct attack, but it also establishes a lineage of martyrs whose names are often invoked in the present era of Internet communiqués. From the shooting of monarchs to the placement of bombs to kill the bourgeoisie, the history of illegalist, nihilist and insurrectionary anarchism prior to the twenty-first century paves the way for the post-9/11, networks of the “Black International...anarchists of praxis.”¹³⁹

The following chapter develops a multi-century historical trajectory that arrives at the development and expansion of modern, global, insurrectionary networks. Though the vignettes may appear fractured, they collectively constitute a history of anti-statism based in the deployment of political violence. The individuals profiled are those that are most often invoked in the insurrectionary narrative. From the French bank robbers to the Italian assassins, these events form the history of direct attack against the state. Because this backgrounding temporarily suspends the study’s central goal of understanding insurrectionary violence through the object of the communiqué, it can be read as an

¹³⁹ FAI/IRF Nicola and Alfredo Cell, “Greece: ‘Green Nemesis’ Project, Sabotage against Coca-Cola and Nestle Products by FAI/IRF (24/12/2013),” *Inter Arma*, December 24, 2013, https://interarma.info/en/2013/12/25/sabotage_coca_colanestle/.

addendum, a necessary precursor to the development of ideological borderlands. In other words, in choosing to include and exclude specific individuals and events, those that were selected for inclusion reflect the tendencies carried forth from the annals of the past into the present. Following the historical account presented in this chapter, the chapter that follows traces these histories through a discussion of strategy and structure, profiling some of the same actors in order to probe the *methods* of insurrectionary violence through an understanding of its historical predecessors.

The Armed Propagandists: Spread Revolution Through Example

On October 26, 1605, a letter arrived to the Baron of Monteagle informing him that in ten days, Robert Catesby, Guy Fawkes and nine co-conspirators would attempt to blow up the House of Lords during the annual State Opening of Parliament ceremony marking the first session of congress. The bombing was to target King James and provoke a Midlands revolt against the regent. Fawkes was captured the day before the planned explosion—set to occur on the 5th of November—in the presence of 36 barrels of gunpowder to be used in the House’s bombing. Catesby was shot and killed violently resisting arrest by the Sheriff of Worcester, and eight captured conspirators, including Fawkes, were sentenced to be hanged, drawn and quartered. One man was hanged, castrated, disemboweled and then quartered. Fawkes avoided public torture by leaping from the gallows once his rope was tied, killing himself. Catesby and a second man who avoided trial were later

exhumed and decapitated, their heads displayed on spikes at the House of Lords. The attempted bombing, known as the Gunpowder (Treason) Plot, is eulogized in the late seventeenth century folk rhyme:

Remember, remember! The fifth of November,
The Gunpowder treason and plot;
I know of no reason, Why the Gunpowder treason,
Should ever be forgot!
Guy Fawkes and his companions, Did the scheme contrive,
To blow the King and Parliament
All up alive. Threescore barrels, laid below,
To prove old England's overthrow.¹⁴⁰

This short vignette is provided to position Fawkes and his co-conspirators as one of the oldest, yet contemporarily relevant actors striking unilaterally against the state. The Gunpowder Plot served as the basis for the 1980s graphic novel, *V For Vendetta*¹⁴¹, which features an insurrectionary-styled protagonist—named V—who wages an armed campaign against the state through the use of guerilla warfare. This text became a film¹⁴² in 2006, and though Fawkes (and V) was far from a self-declared insurrectionary anarchist, his example of attack without mediation, and a rejection of traditional politics, earned him a place in the insurrectionary hall of heroes.

More than two and a half centuries later, the historical precedent for the modern insurrectionary campaign of arson and explosives can be found around the eighteenth century, when anarchists carried out demonstrative acts of violence and termed it “propaganda of the deed.” This concept of demonstrative violence organized by

¹⁴⁰ This is only a portion of the rhyme written around 1870.

¹⁴¹ Alan Moore, *V for Vendetta*, New edition (New York, NY: Vertigo, 2008).

¹⁴² James McTeigue, *V for Vendetta*, DVD (Warner Brothers, 2006).

individuals or small groups as a form of performative *propaganda* is key in understanding modern insurrectionary violence. This strategy is explained in relations to one European nation:

The anarchist belief in violent direct action, formulated in the policy of ‘propaganda by the deed’ (rather than by the word), reflected the particular bitterness of these struggles. Propaganda by deed was translated into action in three forms: insurrection, assassination, and bombing. The insurrectionary method... was not tried out in France. Instead, assassination became the principal weapon of revenge against the bourgeoisie and the figureheads of the State.¹⁴³

Propaganda of the deed carries with it the presumption that “the population bearing witness to these acts would both see the fallibility of power AND would rise up to fill this void.”¹⁴⁴ This belief is rooted in anarchism’s inherent positive view of human nature (i.e. people yearn for greater freedom and oppose domination ‘naturally’) and its understanding of a progressive route from the domination of present to the liberated territory of the future. Propaganda of the deed, as a strategy, does not presume to in itself bring about radical social change. The early anarchist thinker Peter Kropotkin stated that “a few kilos of dynamite could not demolish the historical structures [of oppression] created over thousands of years,”¹⁴⁵ and thus understood these attacks as forms of propagandistic communication, not substantive methods of radical change.

¹⁴³ Richard Parry, *The Bonnot Gang: The Story of the French Illegalists* (London, UK: Rebel Press, 1987) [as quoted in The New Inquiry, “Variations on a Theme: Forgotten Terrorisms,” The New Inquiry, September 11, 2014, <http://thenewinquiry.com/features/variation-on-a-theme-forgotten-terrorisms/>.].

¹⁴⁴ Aragorn!, “Nihilism Anarchy and the 21st Century” (Self published (republished by The Anarchist Library), 2009), 25, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/aragorn-nihilism-anarchy-and-the-21st-century>.

¹⁴⁵ Kropotkin, Peter as quoted in: Alex P. Schmid and Janny de Graaf, *Violence as Communication: Insurgent Terrorism and the Western News Media* (London, UK: SAGE Publications, 1982), 14.

This global period, from approximately 1878-1901, saw knife wielding and bomb throwing anarchists assassinate a host of world leaders and local enemies¹⁴⁶. Some scholars have linked this era to contemporary discussions of political violence and terrorism, terming this period the “classic age of [anarchist] ‘lone wolf’ or leaderless terrorism.”¹⁴⁷ The most well known group of this era is often the Russian Narodnaya Volya [*The People’s Will*] (~1878-1887) who successfully assassinated Tsar Alexander II. The group, which offered a nihilist-infused anarchism, maintained cells in more than 45 cities with membership around 500 people. Between 1879-1883 more than 2,000 members of Narodnaya Volya were brought to court in a series of more than 70 trials. Notably, the concept of *propaganda of the deed* has remained salient into the contemporary, and in 2011, one group of Mexican attackers decided to label their cell the “Revolutionary Action Brigade for Propaganda by the Deed and Armed Action.”¹⁴⁸ Both the attackers of the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries acted from a nihilist position, rejecting the moral authority that opposes attacking people as part of a social contract.¹⁴⁹ In other words, a common strand throughout these nihilist attackers which separates them from more traditional, aboveground, social movement-minded anarchists is that while the former advocates the killing of its targets free from a moralizing logic, the latter tend to

¹⁴⁶ David C. Rapoport, “The Four Waves of Rebel Terror and September 11,” *Anthropoetics* 8, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2002), <http://www.anthropoetics.ucla.edu/ap0801/terror.htm>.

¹⁴⁷ Richard Bach Jensen, “The Pre-1914 Anarchist ‘Lone Wolf’ Terrorist and Governmental Responses,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, no. 1 (December 20, 2013): 86–94, doi:10.1080/09546553.2014.849919.

¹⁴⁸ FAI Artisans Cooperative of Fire and Similar (occasionally spectacular), International Revolutionary Front and FAI 20th July Brigade, International Revolutionary Front, “Do Not Say That We Are Few - Statement from the Italian FAI” (325.nostate.net, September 2011), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=3015>.

¹⁴⁹ Bursts O’Goodness, “Nihilist Anarchism,” radio4all.net Podcast, *The Final Straw* (Asheville, NC: Asheville FM, July 21, 2013), pt. 8:30–11:20, <http://www.ashevillefm.org/the-final-straw/07/2013/nihilist-anarchism>.

prioritize prefigurative politics which match the methods of struggle to one's desire for a future society including its associated morals.

During the late nineteenth century, there existed a common assertion linking anarchism to terrorism. While prior eras of propaganda of the deed and struggle helped to establish this understanding, the actions of two Russian anarchists, Sergey Nechayev (1847-1882) and Mikhail Bakunin (1815-1876) cemented these beliefs. Nechayev, often associated with anarchism's nihilist tradition, helped to inaugurate the "prototype of modern terrorism", drawing inspiration from fellow Russian Dmitry Karakozov (1840-1866) who infamously is the first Russian revolutionary to try and kill a tsar. On 4 April 1866, Karakozov fired at Tsar Alexander II in a St Petersburg park but failed to kill him. Karakozov was arrested and executed several months later. Nechayev would later write *Catechism of a Revolutionary* (possibly in conjunction with Bakunin), which advocated the formation of clandestine networks modeled after secret societies. *Catechism* has been regarded as the text that "inspire[d] the [nihilist] movement-in-waiting into a movement-with-teeth with dozens of [armed] actions against the Russian state."¹⁵⁰ The release of this influential text also served as a historical marker separating nihilism's foundational period (1860-1869) from its "revolutionary period" (1870-1881), directing nihilist thought away from pure philosophy and towards revolutionary action.¹⁵¹ This urging for revolutionaries to head underground would lead to Bakunin being expelled from the First International¹⁵² (also known as the International Workingmen's Association) by the

¹⁵⁰ Aragorn!, "Nihilism Anarchy and the 21st Century," 7.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 6-7, 11.

¹⁵² May, *The Political Philosophy of Poststructuralist Anarchism*, 46.

Marxists who accused him of fomenting a conspiratorial “secret society”¹⁵³ within the association. The echoes of *Catechism* would be felt a century later when the Black Panther Party, and leader Eldridge Cleaver in particular¹⁵⁴, studied and circulated the text, even reprinting it for sale as a pamphlet advertised in the Party’s newsletter¹⁵⁵. Though they were not the first, the secretive means through which Nechayev and Bakunin were seen to operate cast them infamously as anarchist terrorists aimed at fomenting revolution through individualistic acts of anti-state violence.

Several years before the outbreak of anarchist-led attacks against the state, Louis Auguste Blanqui, a leader of the 1871 Paris Commune, furthered a strategic framework of elite vanguardism that would be instrumental in inspiring the French illegalists such as the Bonnot Gang and other former communards-turned-illegalists¹⁵⁶. After the destruction of the Paris Commune, Marxism and anarchism began down divergent paths, leaving Blanquism to rot on the vine. Its influence however reverberated throughout the leftist discourse, though often unacknowledged. It is Blanqui’s theories that help formulate the Bolshevik-Leninist notion of an “elite Party leadership”¹⁵⁷ and subsequent

¹⁵³ Richard E. Rubenstein, *Alchemists of Revolution: Terrorism In The Modern World*, 1st ed. (London, UK: St Martins Press, 1987), 141.

¹⁵⁴ Albert Parry, *Terrorism: From Robespierre to the Weather Underground* (Chelmsford, MA: Courier Corporation, 2013), 15.

¹⁵⁵ Gaidi Faraj, *Unearthing the Underground: A Study of Radical Activism in the Black Panther Party and the Black Liberation Army* (Online: ProQuest, 2007), 34.

¹⁵⁶ Though numerous illegalist anarchists are (in)famous due to their linkages to specific acts of political violence, the tradition includes many lesser known individuals. These include French illegalists Clément Duval (1850-1935), François Claudius Koenigstein (aka Ravachol) (1859-1892), and Alexandre Jacon (aka Marius Jacon)(1879-1954). Other noted illegalists include Italians Vittorio Pini (~1860-1903), Gaetano Bresci (1869-1901) and Gino Lucetti (1900-1943), Spaniards including Buenaventura Durruti (1896-1936) and Francisco Sabaté Llopart (aka El Quico) (1915-1960) and Indian socialist-anarchist Bhagat Singh (1907-1931) who played a major role in India’s anti-colonial struggle.

¹⁵⁷ Albert Meltzer, “The Truth about the Bonnot Gang” (Coptic Press (republished by libcom.org, 2007), 1969), <http://libcom.org/library/truth-about-bonnot-gang-ezra-brett-mell>.

notions of an armed, military-styled vanguard devoid of support from the industrial proletariat. Blanquism can be summarized as the fomenting of a libertarian socialist¹⁵⁸ “coup d’état”¹⁵⁹ by small groups or highly organized, professionalized, and clandestine cooperating conspirators. In the temporary, revolutionary period, the socialists would establish a form of dictatorship, allowing for its forces to seize power and use its position to implement socialism. Once socialism was established, the dictatorship of the minority would be dissolved and power handed back to the people. In this sense, the Blanquist framework is preoccupied with the methods of revolutionary change and not post-revolutionary reconstruction. The socialist revolution and toppling of the bourgeoisie can be understood as an end in itself even prior to the formation of socialism. Blanqui, diverging from Marx, did not believe that the proletariat had a large role in the socialist revolution, nor would they naturally form a revolutionary consciousness. Moreover, Marx and Engels rejected the premise that individualistic acts of violence (e.g. terrorism as strategy) could be the fire that ignited the historically inevitable revolution.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ “Libertarian socialist” in this sense is meant to indicate a broad philosophical tendency towards socialist communitarianism without state control. Libertarian socialists in this manner are more akin to traditional anarchists than Marxists as the former critiques the state and the latter seeks to recreate it form the powerbase of the proletariat. Libertarian socialism advocates self-management, decentralization, horizontalism and federated forms of organization including assemblies, trade unions and workers’ councils). This definition includes, but is not limited to, philosophical traditions described as: anarchist, anarcho-communist, collectivist, syndicalist/anarcho-syndicalist, mutualist, autonomist, communizationist, council communist and libertarian Marxist. Libertarian socialist is not tied to the contemporary use of the label Libertarian—by individuals such as Republican Congressman Ron Paul and New Mexico Governor Gary Johnson—as someone favoring social liberties (e.g. freedom of choice) with market deregulation (i.r. laissez-faire capitalism).

¹⁵⁹ Richard Gillespie, “The Urban Guerrilla in Latin America,” in *Terrorism, Ideology, and Revolution*, ed. Noel O’Sullivan, 1st ed. (Brighton, UK: Wheatsheaf Books Ltd, 1986), 13.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 30.

Nearing the beginning of the twentieth century, anti-capitalist and otherwise revolutionary insurrections were occurring in a variety of locales. While the subsequent history will focus on the European continent, a great deal of activity was simultaneously erupting in lesser-chronicled battles. In a rarely cited example, Francisco Zalacosta—the student of Greek anarchist Plotino Constantino Rhodakanaty¹⁶¹—organized armed peasant revolts in central Mexico. Some of these orchestrated insurrections involved up to 1,500 armed fighters simultaneously, and occurred throughout several states, focusing on lands seized by railway speculators.¹⁶² According to historical accounts, this period involved “a few hundred men, sack[ing] and burn[ing] haciendas across several states for more than a year and a half.”¹⁶³ Other, more sympathetic historians describe the effort as a “running battle with government troops.”¹⁶⁴ Zalacosta’s fighters spread and took over several towns in southern Mexico. By 1871, the movement was reinvigorated when former participants of the Paris Commune arrived to assist.¹⁶⁵ In 1878 Zalacosta formed those in revolt under the *Gran Central Comunero*¹⁶⁶, spreading the peasant revolts until around 1883 when the movements were successfully repressed under the direction of President Porfirio Diaz. Zalacosta’s network would spawn 62 national sections, a journal,

¹⁶¹ David Poole, ed., *Land and Liberty: Anarchist Influences in the Mexican Revolution - Ricardo Flores Magón* (Montreal, QC: Black Rose Books Ltd., 1977), 8.

¹⁶² Colin M. MacLachlan and William H. Beezley, *Mexico’s Crucial Century, 1810-1910: An Introduction* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 130.

¹⁶³ William H. Beezley, *Mexico in World History* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2011), 82.

¹⁶⁴ Peter Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism* (PM Press, 2010), 510.

¹⁶⁵ Poole, *Land and Liberty*, 10.

¹⁶⁶ The *Comunero* (sometimes written as *Gran Comité Comunero*) would issue the *Ley del Pueblo* [law of the people] in 1879, which much like the EZLN declarations around 1994, called for the distribution of nationally-owned and privately-owned lands to landless Mexicans.

and an 1879 reunion attended by 5,000.¹⁶⁷ Zalacosta himself would be executed by the state in 1880.¹⁶⁸ The Mexican uprisings spread the logic of insurrectionary struggle through example throughout the countryside, drawing support from the widespread anger at displacement and land confiscation.

While Zalacosta was forming the *Comunero* to spread rural revolt, propaganda by example was picking up steam in Europe. In 1878, Sergei Kravchinski—later known as “Stepniak”—stabbed and killed the chief of the Russian secret police in St. Petersburg.¹⁶⁹ Stepniak later wrote a manual of guerilla warfare, and joined with Errico Malatesta and approximately 25-30 others who took to the mountains to try and organize armed revolt in the supporting Italian villages. The revolutionaries seized two southern villages, destroying symbolic capital, and called for an end to the monarchy. Similar efforts were carried out throughout the world. Two years prior, in 1876, the Berne Congress of Bakuninists “enthusiastically adopted” Malatesta’s proposal for the carrying out of “insurrection deeds as the most effective means of promoting ‘the principals of socialism.’”¹⁷⁰ Two weeks after the Congress, French socialist Paul Brousse would coin the phrase “propaganda by deed.”¹⁷¹

Returning to 1878, Giovanni Passannante (1849-1910), a 29-year-old cook, stabbed the new Italian king, Umberto I in Naples. King Umberto survived. Passanante stabbed the King with a knife that bore the inscription “long live the international

¹⁶⁷ Poole, *Land and Liberty*, 10.

¹⁶⁸ John Mason Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico: The Coming and Process of the Mexican Revolution* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 1987), 41.

¹⁶⁹ James Joll, *The Anarchists* (London, UK: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1964), 122.

¹⁷⁰ Alex Buttermorth, *The World That Never Was: A True Story of Dreamers, Schemers, Anarchists, and Secret Agents* (New York, NY: Pantheon, 2010), 125–126.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 126.

republic!”¹⁷² Also injured in the attack was the Italian Prime Minister. Supporters of the King organized a parade to celebrate the monarch’s survival, but a bomb thrown into the procession killed four and injured ten. 22 years later, a second anarchist, Gaetano Bresci would finish the job and successfully assassinate King Umberto. Following the King’s death, American anarchist James Ferdinand Morton, Jr. wrote:

All through the [American] South, men are hung, shot, tortured, and burned at the stake on the flimsiest pretexts; and the dastardly murderers invariably escape unpunished. These are only negroes. In Pennsylvania, and elsewhere in this free land, unarmed men, marching in peaceful procession on the public highway, are shot down like dogs by the hirelings of capital; and their death remains unavenged. These are only workingmen. But when the bullet or dagger strikes down one solitary man who sits on a throne, a parasite whose hands are red with the blood of his fellow-men, whose coffers are filled with the wealth wrung from the exploited and starving wage-workers, all the world cries out in horror. For he is a king.¹⁷³

Two days after the King’s parade was attacked, another bombing occurred, this time a hand thrown device in Pisa targeting a celebration of the Queen’s birthday¹⁷⁴ The attempts on King Umberto’s life came only months after similar attacks targeting the German emperor (by August Reinsdorf¹⁷⁵ the “father” of German anarchism) and the King of Spain (by Otero¹⁷⁶), all linked to illegalist anarchists of an insurrectionary tendency. In 1892, Paulino Pallás, a Spanish anarchist, attempted to kill General Martinez Campos of Catalonia by throwing a bomb into the Alcantara Theater, shouting “Long live

¹⁷² Joll, *The Anarchists*, 123.

¹⁷³ James F. Morton, Jr., “Another Blow to Royalty” (Free Society Library, no. 6 (republished by Kate Sharpley Library), September 1900), <http://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/fn3063>.

¹⁷⁴ Joll, *The Anarchists*, 124.

¹⁷⁵ Michael J. Schaack, *Anarchy and Anarchists: A History of the Red Terror and the Social Revolution in America and Europe. Communism, Socialism, and Nihilism in Doctrine and in Deed. The Chicago Haymarket Conspiracy, and the Detection and Trial of the Conspirators* (Chicago, IL: F.J. Schulte, 1889), 96–98.

¹⁷⁶ “Execution of a Would-Be Regicide.,” *The Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser*, June 8, 1880.

anarchy!”, during annual May Day celebrations. Historical accounts state that the crowd of demonstrators cheered and applauded the action, seen as an attempt to “register protest” for the death of four comrades, not kill the General.¹⁷⁷ Later, a friend of Campos’s assailant, Santiago Salvador, furthered the plan for vengeance by allegedly throwing a bomb into a Madrid theater killing 20-22 people. This bombing, and a subsequent explosion targeting a religious procession¹⁷⁸—which injured 60 and killed 12—were condemned by contemporary anarchists and believed by some to be the work of police provocateurs.¹⁷⁹ Others have argued that Jean Girault, a French anarchist who left Spain for Argentina following the attack, carried out the religious procession bombing.¹⁸⁰ One year after the attack on General Campos, in 1893, Auguste Vaillant attacked the Chamber of Deputies in Paris with a hand-thrown, shrapnel-laced, powerful explosive device. When he was captured, convicted and executed, his last words were “My death will be avenged!”¹⁸¹ Six months later (24 June 1894) French President Sadi Carnot—who had denied Vaillant leniency—was stabbed to death in Lyon by 21-year-old anarchist, Santo Geronimo Caserio (1873-1894). Within a few years, other anarchist-led assassinations targeted President William McKinley of the US¹⁸², and the Empress Elisabeth of Austria who was stabbed by Luigi Luccheni (1873-1910), an Italian. Between 1892-1894, Paris alone witnessed 11 major explosions, as well as the

¹⁷⁷ George Richard Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology and the Working-Class Movement in Spain, 1868-1898* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 1989), 185.

¹⁷⁸ This attack is detailed in: Jensen, “The Pre-1914 Anarchist ‘Lone Wolf’ Terrorist and Governmental Responses.”

¹⁷⁹ Joll, *The Anarchists*, 130.

¹⁸⁰ Jensen, “The Pre-1914 Anarchist ‘Lone Wolf’ Terrorist and Governmental Responses,” 88.

¹⁸¹ Joll, *The Anarchists*, 132.

¹⁸² This attack is explored in: Jensen, “The Pre-1914 Anarchist ‘Lone Wolf’ Terrorist and Governmental Responses,” 89–91.

assignment of President Carnot; all linked to anarchists.¹⁸³ In 1897, Italian anarchist Michele Angiolillo Lombardi (1871-1897), shot and killed the Spanish Prime Minister, Antonio Cánovas, and was executed¹⁸⁴.

Around the same time, in 1882, German anarchist Johann Most (1846-1906) arrived in the US by way of Austria and England. Most was heavily influenced by the writings of Bakunin and Blanqui and while in the US, began a German-language anarchist paper *Freiheit*. In 1885, Most published a pamphlet which would be influential within the illegalist, “propaganda of the deed”-brand of anarchists entitled “*Science of Revolutionary Warfare: A Little Handbook of Instruction in the Use and Preparation of Nitroglycerine, Dynamite, Gun-Cotton, Fulminating Mercury, Bombs, Fuses, Poisons, etc.*” As the title suggests, the pamphlet provided instruction for the manufacturing of nitroglycerine, dynamite, fuses, poisons and other weaponry. On 5 March 1886, after finding himself unable to acquire a bomb, 27-year-old anarchist Charles Gallo took prussic acid to the Bourse de Paris (Parisian stock exchange) after reaching its gallery, he threw the bottle of acid and fired three rounds from a borrowed revolver. Gallo is preserved in the annuals of revolutionary history through his closing words to the court upon sentencing:

Long live revolution!
Long live anarchism!
Death to the bourgeois judiciary!
Long live dynamite!
Bunch of idiots!¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ Joll, *The Anarchists*, 136.

¹⁸⁴ New York Times, “Angiolillo Died Bravely; Mail Advices Say He Was Collected and Spoke on the Scaffold at Vergara.,” *The New York Times*, August 22, 1897, <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=9506E3DE153DE633A25751C2A96E9C94669ED7CF>.

1886 also offered the Haymarket bombings, one of the most commonly referenced moments of anarchism's past. On 4 May 1886, anarchists organized a rally in Chicago's Haymarket Square. After a series of fiery speeches, police arrived in a large contingent and ordered the speakers to halt. As the police lines advanced on the podium, a dynamite-filled bomb was thrown, killing a police officer and wounding six others (all of which later died from their injuries). The explosion triggered an exchange of gunfire between police and demonstrators, though it is widely debated who fired first. Four demonstrators were killed in the fighting and 60 police officers were injured. The incident would usher in a stern repression of leftist and pro-labor activists (i.e. the Red Scare). This included the arrest and conviction of eight individuals said to have been involved in the attack, all who were condemned to die. One of the defendants was sentenced to 15 years¹⁸⁶, two defendants¹⁸⁷ were able to have their sentence commuted, one committed suicide¹⁸⁸, and four were hanged¹⁸⁹. The arrest, trial, and conviction of the Haymarket anarchists is an often invoked rallying cry extolling the honor bestowed amongst revolutionary martyrs. Contemporary anarchists often adopt the name, and the image of the martyrs is frequently reproduced as part of propaganda and outreach efforts.

¹⁸⁵ Stephen Duncombe, *Notes from Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture* (Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 1997), 204.

¹⁸⁶ Oscar Neebe (1850-1916)

¹⁸⁷ Samuel Fielden (1847-1922) and Michael Schwab (1853-1898)

¹⁸⁸ Louis Lingg (1864-1887) committed suicide (10 November 1887) the day prior to his scheduled execution, while in police custody. He did this by igniting a blasting cap in his mouth which had been smuggled into the prison. Four days prior, four explosive devices were discovered in his cell.

¹⁸⁹ Those executed were George Engel (1836-1887), Adolph Fischer (1858-1887), Albert Parsons (1848-1887) and August Spies (1855-1887).

Between 1892-1894, French illegalist Émile Henry (1872-1894) carried out a series of deadly attacks including the bombing of a Parisian police station, a cafe and mining company, as well as the shooting of three police officers. The café bombing is noted as a turning point in the modern history of political violence, “the day that ordinary people became the target of terrorists.”¹⁹⁰ In 1892, Auguste Vaillant (1861-1894) threw a bomb into the Chamber of Deputies in Paris¹⁹¹ and famed anarchist Alexander Berkman attempted to assassinate Henry Clay Frick in the US for his role in anti-union activity leading to the death of nine unionists. After failing to construct a working bomb, Berkman acquired a handgun and traveled to Pittsburgh to confront Frick. After bursting into Frick’s office, Berkman fired twice before being tackled, and subsequently stabbed Frick three times with a dagger contained in his pocket. Frick survived, and Berkman’s actions were condemned by a host of radical thinkers, including Most who wrote an essay entitled *Reflections on Attentats* arguing that the “propaganda of the deed” strategy—wherein anarchists carry out demonstrative violence in the hopes of inspiring additional acts—was predestined for misunderstanding in the American context. Criticism was also levied inward—showing an evolution of thought—as Berkman would comment 37 years after the shooting of Frick:

...many Anarchists who at one time believed in violence as a means of propaganda have changed their opinion about it and do not favor such methods any more. There was a time, for instance, when Anarchists advocated individual acts of violence, known as ‘propaganda by deed.’ They did not expect to change

¹⁹⁰ John Merriman, *The Dynamite Club: How a Bombing in Fin-de-Siècle Paris Ignited the Age of Modern Terror*, 1st ed. (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2009), 5.

¹⁹¹ New York Times, “The Bomb Thrower Found; Auguste Vaillant Confesses to the Dastardly Crime,” *The New York Times*, December 11, 1893, <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=9506E1DB173EEF33A25752C1A9649D94629ED7CF>.

government and capitalism into Anarchism by such acts, nor did they think that the taking off of a despot would abolish despotism. No, terrorism was considered a means of avenging a popular wrong, inspiring fear in the enemy, and also calling attention to the evil against which the act of terror was directed. But most Anarchists today do not believe any more in ‘propaganda by deed’ and do not favor acts of that nature.¹⁹²

A few years after Frick’s shooting, in 1901, propaganda of the deed once again received international attention when Leon Czolgosz (1873-1901), a man who had attended a lecture of famed anarchist Emma Goldman’s, assassinated US President William McKinley. After McKinley’s shooting, several anarchists were arrested in connection, including Goldman and Most. The killing of McKinley, in conjunction with the public’s reaction to the Wall Street bombing of 1920 which killed 30 and injured more than 140, effectively ended twenty years of illegalist, insurrectionary attacks by anarchists, and in the US, ushered a series of anti-anarchist/leftist/immigrant legislations that were rapidly passed by Congress.

The Bonnot Gang & Armed Expropriation

Across the Atlantic Ocean, the turn of the century saw similar activity throughout Europe and elsewhere. This history of illegalism is embraced by contemporary insurrectionary networks both in terms of its spirit of disregarding the state, and its focus on directly meeting the needs of revolutionary communities. Between 1911-1912, a collectivity of around 20 anarchists, known popularly as the “*La Bande à Bonnot*” [The Bonnot Gang] carried out a series of attacks in France and Belgium within the illegalist (i.e. criminal) tradition. Their criminal activities, despite pejorative portrayals, were distinctly

¹⁹² Alexander Berkman, *The ABC of Anarchism* (London, UK: Freedom Press, 1929), 6, <https://libcom.org/files/AlexanderBerkman-ABCofAnarchism.pdf>.

revolutionary as they understood their efforts as “attacking the economy through the direct individual reappropriation of wealth.”¹⁹³ Most members of the Gang were French, a few Belgian, and all frequently unemployed. The members were born during a period when France experienced an exasperation of class tensions and many were further radicalized by the suppression of the 1871 Paris Commune—led in part by Louis Blanqui—which involved the death of between 17,000-30,000 communards.¹⁹⁴ Following the offer of amnesty issued in 1880 to past communards, thousands of anarchists and other leftists returned to France from exile.

This period saw the wide expansion of anarchist groups in the country with an estimated 2,500 “active” members.¹⁹⁵ Anarchist groups adopted violence-laden and militant names including “Dynamite”, “The Sword” and “The Terror of La Cioat”¹⁹⁶ signaling what was to come in the following years of revolutionary, illegalist activity. This upsurge of offensive attacks by anarchists was seen throughout Europe. The addition of dynamite to the revolutionary arsenal saw a peak a few years prior in 1892 when more than 1,000 bombings were reported to have occurred throughout Europe.¹⁹⁷ With the Bonnot gang, explosions gave way to guns and getaway cars.

Scholars have been careful to describe the Bonnot Gang “not [as] a close-knit criminal band in the classical style, but rather a union of egoists associated for a common

¹⁹³ Doug Imrie, “The ‘Illegalists,’” *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed*, 1995 1994, <http://recollectionbooks.com/siml/library/illegalistsDougImrie.htm>.

¹⁹⁴ Parry, *The Bonnot Gang: The Story of the French Illegalists*, 9.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

purpose.”¹⁹⁸ Other historians have argued “those who grew-up with the Bonnot Gang [considered them] as some sort of modern Robin Hood and his Merrie Men.”¹⁹⁹ The individualist anarchists that formed The Gang had various connections to the anarchist periodical *L’Anarchie*²⁰⁰. The core of the Gang centered around Jules Bonnot, Raymond Callemin, Octave Garnier, Élie Monier, André Soudy and René Valet²⁰¹ who utilized automobiles and semi-automatic firearms in their attacks.²⁰² The group carried out their first attack in December 1911, a robbery targeting a Parisian bank. The robbery was the first in history to use an automobile as a getaway mechanism, and the robbers successfully got away with over 5,000 francs. The same month, the group robbed a gun store in Paris, and days later entered the home of a prominent businessman and killed him and his maid, stealing approximately 30,000 francs. Several other robberies occurred in this time period resulting in the deaths of two police officers.

In March 1912, the Gang stole an automobile in Paris, killing the driver, and used the car to rob a bank, shooting three bank workers in the process. By May 1912, French police had arrested 28 members and associates of the gang while at least three of the founding members remained free. After shooting two officers and escaping an attempted arrest in on 24 April 1912, Jules Bonnot was killed on 28 April, in a police raid that

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 5.

¹⁹⁹ Meltzer, “The Truth about the Bonnot Gang,” para. 13.

²⁰⁰ Gustavo Rodriguez, “Illegal Anarchism: The False Dichotomy” (Zinelibrary.info (republished by The Anarchist Library), July 3, 2011), 8, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/gustavo-rodriguez-illegal-anarchism>.

²⁰¹ Other known members of the Bonnot Gang include Jeanne Belardi, David Belonie, Jean De Boe, Édouard Carouy, Eugène Dieudonné, Anna Dondon, Antoine Gauzy, Pierre Jourdan, Berbe Leclech, Henriette Maîtrejean, Marius Metdge/Medge, Charles Reinart/Renard, Victor Kibalchich (aka Victor Serge), Alphonse Rodriguez, and Marie Vuillemin.

²⁰² Parry, *The Bonnot Gang: The Story of the French Illegalists*, 5.

involved nearly 500 officers and the eventual dynamiting of the building. On 14 May 1912, two other members—Garnier and Valet—were killed in a similar raid, this time involving 300 police and 800 soldiers and a similar use of explosives. In February 1913, 14 Bonnot Gang members were tried. Ten were convicted. Following the trial some members were imprisoned, Édouard Carouy committed suicide, and Raymond Caillemin, Antoine Monnier and André Soudy were executed. Four individuals were found not guilty. Following the disassembling of the Bonnot Gang, French police led a series of anti-leftist raids similar to those organized by the FBI (i.e. The Palmer Raids) less than a decade later.

Of course the Bonnot Gang did not comprise the entirety of the illegalist tendency of the time, and even limited to the French state, other illegalists were quite active. Around 1900, Marius Jacob organized anarchists in Paris explicitly for criminal activity, calling his group the “workers of the night.”²⁰³ The illegalists operated in France, Italy and Belgium and carried out highly successful burglaries and subsequent sale of stolen goods. As Jacob had a radical, anarchist politic that predated his criminality, the group focused its theft on bourgeoisie and government-affiliated individuals, and some members, on Jacob’s urging, donated ten percent of their criminal earnings.²⁰⁴ The group avoided the violence typically associated with armed robberies and instead functioned quietly through prowess not force. According to contemporary illegalist anarchist Gustavo Rodriguez, in a talk given in a Mexican squat, the ‘workers of the night’ had a code:

²⁰³ Rodriguez, “Illegal Anarchism: The False Dichotomy,” 7.

²⁰⁴ Imrie, “The ‘Illegalists.’”

...only use the weapons to protect our life and our freedom from the police, only steal from those considered social parasites; entrepreneurs, bankers, judges, soldiers, nobles and clergy, but never to those who do noble and useful professions; teachers, doctors, artists, artisans, workers and so on. And set aside a percentage of the money recuperated for propaganda of the anarchist cause.²⁰⁵

Jacob may have been involved in up to 150 burglaries²⁰⁶, though by his own account, he was only a part of 106, earning 5 million francs.²⁰⁷ 29 members of this network were arrested in 1903, and after a trial, 16 were convicted including Jacob. Ten of the accused, including Jacob's mother, were acquitted. The Bonnot Gang accordingly occupy a special place of heroic martyrdom in the pre-modern insurrectionary history as their example serves to inspire those seeking direct confrontation with the forces of state and capital.

The Galleanists

*Italian apostles of Anarchism have been in this country [of the United States]: F. S. Merlino, the pioneer; Pietro Gori, the poet, Errico Malatesta, Guiseppe Ciancabilla, impressing characters all of them, clear minds and pure consciences. But their activity here, however intense, was more or less of a short duration. Galleani's on the contrary, spread over most of twenty years and was marked by the continuous progress of his mind and of the revolutionary movement as well.*²⁰⁸

Italian anarchist Luigi Galleani (1861-1931) was trained as a lawyer but never practiced, instead choosing to organize amongst anarchists, including involving himself in campaigns to resist Italian colonization in Ethiopia. He was imprisoned in Italy in the 1890s but later escaped. While traveling through France, Switzerland, Egypt and England he was imprisoned several times, deported twice, and though unsuccessful, was the

²⁰⁵ Rodriguez, "Illegal Anarchism: The False Dichotomy," 8.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Imrie, "The 'Illegalists.'"

²⁰⁸ Raffaele Schiavina, "A Fragment Of Luigi Galleani's Life," in *Man! An Anthology of Anarchist Ideas*, ed. Marcus Graham (Orkney, UK: Cienfuegos Press Ltd (republished by Kate Sharpley Library), 1974), para. 2, <http://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/d51cvp>.

subject of an attempted extradition by Egypt to face criminal charges in Italy. Galleani arrived in the US in 1901 and lived in Patterson, New Jersey and Barre, Vermont, both areas with large Italian immigration, and active militant anarchist scenes. Galleani was active in the US and eventually deported back to Italy in 1919. Galleani argued that individual acts of violence—including expropriation²⁰⁹—against the state and capital constituted “‘a necessity and inevitable medium’ by which a just society might be achieved”,²¹⁰ and from approximately 1914-1931 *Galleanist* anarchists²¹¹ carried out a series of assassinations and bombing attacks targeting government, business and religious sites. In his work as editor and propagandist, Galleani used his platform to defend and explain the actions of illegalist anarchists such as Czolgoz (McKinley’s assassin) and Bresci, the second assassin to target Italian King Umberto. Galleani saw Umberto’s assassination at the hands of Bresci as a global event awakening a revolutionary moment.²¹²

Four years after arriving in the US, in 1905, Galleani published a pamphlet—*La Salute è in Voi* [The Health is Within You]—that instructed anarchists in the manufacturing of explosives. Such methods of spreading information were used by Johann Most, who in 1885 published *Science of Revolutionary Warfare*, also a pamphlet-

²⁰⁹ Luigi Galleani, “The End of Anarchism?,” trans. Max Sartin and Robert D’Attilio (Cienfuego Press (republished by The Anarchist Library), 1925), 23–25, 30, 63, 77–79, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/luigi-galleani-the-end-of-anarchism>.

²¹⁰ Steve J. Shone, *American Anarchism*, 1st ed. (Leiden, NL: Brill, 2013), 200.

²¹¹ Galleanist anarchists of the time include Frank Abarno, Pietro Angelo, Gabriella Segata Antolini, Luigi Bacchetti, Mario Buda, Carmine Carbone, Andrea Ciofalo, Ferruccio Coacci, Emilio Coda, Alfredo Conti, Nestor Dondoglio (aka Jean Crones), Roberto Elia, Alfonso Fagotti, Luigi Falzini, Frank Mandese, Riccardo Orciani, Nicola Recchi, Nicola Sacco, Andrea Salsedo, Giuseppe Sberna, Raffaele Schiavina, Carlo Valdinoci and Bartolomeo Vanzetti.

²¹² Shone, *American Anarchism*, 201–202.

length anarchist how to manual dealing with explosives and poisons. Similar tactical manuals were uncovered in police raids in 1911 targeting future members of the Bonnot Gang. In one such police search, two manuals were discovered—*How to Use the Blowtorch*, used to break into safes, and *Revolutionary Manual for the Manufacture of Bombs*—along with counterfeit money, binoculars, maps, nitroglycerine, and various surveying, chemistry, drafting and mechanical tools.²¹³ Galleani's pamphlet was utilized by those who bombed the home of John D. Rockefeller on 4 July 1914 in retaliation for the industrialist's role in the repression of miners in Colorado.²¹⁴ Galleani's manual was also found in the home of anarchists attempting to bomb St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York who were arrested when undercover police agents embedded in their group emerged.²¹⁵

In 1916, Galleanist Nestor Dondoglio, in his role as a chef, added arsenic to the soup of 100 guests attending a banquet in honor of an Archbishop. The attendees, who were leading figures in business, industry and government, all survived with the help of a doctor who was on site attending the event. The same year, Galleanist Alfonso Fagotti stabbed a police officer during a demonstration-tuned riot in Boston, and the day after, Fagotti or an associate detonated a bomb in a city police station. Though it could never be conclusively linked to Galleani or his network, on 22 July 1916, as the city of San Francisco held a parade for Preparedness Day, a bomb concealed in a suitcase detonated, killing ten and wounding 40. The bomb's construction, particularly its use of metal

²¹³ Parry, *The Bonnot Gang: The Story of the French Illegalists*, 71.

²¹⁴ Susan Tejada, *In Search of Sacco & Vanzetti: Double Lives, Troubled Times, & the Massachusetts Murder Case That Shook the World* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 2012), 103.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

shrapnel additives, resembled previous and future devices used by Galleanists and is thought to have been built by Mario Buda. Buda is also thought to have built the explosive device that detonated on 24 November 1917 at a police station in Milwaukee, Wisconsin killing nine officers and one civilian. The bomb had originally been placed in a church, assumingly to target Reverend August Giuliani who was involved in activities seen as anti-anarchist. On 30 December 1918, a series of at least three bombs detonated in Philadelphia targeting the homes of a judge, the Acting Police Superintendent, and the President of the Chamber of Commerce. Each bombing was accompanied by anarchist flyers left on site. Two months later, in February 1919, four Galleanists were killed while attempting to place a bomb at the American Woolen Company whose workers were on strike.

Galleani's 1919 deportation back to Italy occurred at a time when the US was witness to frequent bombings by leftists. In April of 1919 alone, thirty-six dynamite bombs in the US were mailed to government officials, servants of the court and prominent businessmen, and on 2 June 1919, nine shrapnel-packed pipe bombs exploded nearly simultaneously across seven US cities—New York, Boston, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Patterson, D.C. and Philadelphia.²¹⁶ Like previous Galleanist bombings, flyers were left at the scene speaking of class war, violence and retaliatory justice. The June 1919 bombings targeted, amongst other sites, the home of US Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, a man who would later lead the anti-anarchist “Palmer Raids”, and aid the

²¹⁶ Shone, *American Anarchism*, 203; Federal Bureau of Investigation Philadelphia Division, “1919 Bombings,” *FBI*, n.d., <http://www.fbi.gov/philadelphia/about-us/history/famous-cases/famous-cases-1919-bombings>.

creation of the FBI's counterintelligence program targeting leftists. Palmer's bomber, who was killed in the attack, was identified as Carlo Valdinoci, an associate of Galleani. When Galleani was deported several weeks later, the newly formed FBI/Department of Justice's General Intelligence Unit—ran by future FBI innovator J. Edger Hoover—linked Galleani as central to the attacks.

Following Galleani's deportation, possibly the most (in)famous case of anarchist history unfolded in the US state of Massachusetts. On 15 April 1920, a factory worker was robbed and murdered. The crime was blamed on two Italian anarchists, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. While it is likely that Sacco and Vanzetti were followers of Galleani²¹⁷ and committed anarchist militants, it is unlikely that either was involved in the robbery-murder. Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested, tried and executed and their death became a rallying cry for anarchists further enraged by a miscarriage of justice linked to the state's fear of revolutionary change and its discrimination of Italian immigrants. Numerous attacks were carried out in the two martyrs' names. For instance, days after their arrest, an unknown assailant, thought possibly to be Mario Buda, a colleague of the two arrestees and known Galleanist, placed a bomb outside of the J.P. Morgan building on Wall Street. The bomb killed at least 33 people.

Other prominent illegalist anarchists of the time include Giuseppe Ciancabilla (1872–1904) who immigrated to the US in 1898 with Galleani and settled in Patterson with other Italian anarchists. He worked as an editor of numerous anarchist publications

²¹⁷ Paul Avrich, *Sacco and Vanzetti* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996); Bruce Watson, *Sacco and Vanzetti: The Men, the Murders, and the Judgment of Mankind*, Reprint edition (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2008).

including those affiliated with poet Pietro Gori and Malatesta, also working to translate the works of prominent anarchists including Peter Kropotkin. Ciancabilla is routed squarely in the modern insurrectionary tradition and paves the way for such tendencies in his essay “Against Organization” writing:

...we don't want tactical programs, and consequently we don't want organization. Having established the aim, the goal to which we hold, we leave every anarchist free to choose from the means that his sense, his education, his temperament, his fighting spirit suggest to him as best. We don't form fixed programs and we don't form small or great parties. But we come together spontaneously, and not with permanent criteria, according to momentary affinities for a specific purpose, and we constantly change these groups as soon as the purpose for which we had associated ceases to be, and other aims and needs arise and develop in us and push us to seek new collaborators, people who think as we do in the specific circumstance.²¹⁸

This rejection of programs and emphasis on free, temporary, and informal association would eventually mark the insurrectionary networks that proliferated in the twenty-first century.

This manner of practice embraced individualism, while coordinating collective, militant action. Individualists of this ilk included Abele Rizieri Ferrari, who wrote under the nom de plume Renzo Novatore. Novatore was a famed Italian poet and philosopher of the illegalist school, inspired by individualist Max Stirner. Both Novatore and Stirner continue until the present to inspire insurrectionary, nihilist and individualist tendencies found in anarchism, and sympathetic leftist presses frequently publish their works.²¹⁹ In

²¹⁸ Giuseppe Ciancabilla, “Against Organisation” (The Anarchist Library, 1890), <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/giuseppe-ciancabilla-against-organisation.pdf>.

²¹⁹ Anarchist press Little Black Cart, distributes numerous such publications including: Renzo Novatore, *Novatore: The Collected Writings of Renzo Novatore*, trans. Wolfi Landstreicher (San Francisco, CA: Ardent Press, 2012); Renzo Novatore, *Toward the Creative Nothing*, Pamphlet (Oakland, CA: Venomous Butterfly,

1920, Novatore wrote his famed essay “My Iconoclastic Individualism”, wherein he writes:

...Individualism is neither a school nor a party, it cannot be ‘unique’, but it is truer still that Unique ones are individualists. And I leap as a unique one onto the battlefield, draw my sword and defend my personal ideas as an extreme individualist, as an indisputable Unique one, since we can be as skeptical and indifferent, ironic and sardonic as we desire and are able to be. But when we are condemned to hear socialists more or less theorizing in order to impudently and ignorantly state that there is no incompatibility between Individualist and collectivist ideas...when we hear someone try to make an invincible and unsurpassable iconoclast like Max Stirner out to be some tool for the use of frantic proponents of communism, then we may certainly have an ironic smirk on our lips. But then it is necessary to resolutely rise up to defend ourselves and to attack, since anyone who feels that he is truly individualist in principle, means and ends cannot tolerate being at all confused with the unconscious mobs of a morbid, bleating flock...Individualism, as I feel, understand and mean it, has neither socialism, nor communism, nor humanity for an end. Individualism is its own end.²²⁰

Other prominent illegalist, insurrectionary forbearers of the time include Bruno Filippi (1900-1919), an Italian individualist anarchist inspired by Stirner, and publisher of *Iconoclasta* together with Novatore. Filippi was involved in the Italian Red Biennium, a two-year post-war period (1919-1920) of social protest involving mass strikes, workers demonstrations, factory occupations, the creation of workers’ councils, and guerrilla warfare in cities and the countryside. Bruno died during this revolutionary period while attempting to detonate a bomb targeting the city’s elite during a reunion. Comrade Renzo

2000); Max Stirner and Jason McQuinn, *Stirner’s Critics*, trans. Wolfi Landstreicher, 1st ed. (Berkeley, CA: Little Black Cart Books, 2012).

²²⁰ Renzo Novatore, “My Iconoclastic Individualism” (The Anarchist Library, republished in 2010 1920), http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/Renzo_Novatore__My_Iconoclastic_Individualism.html.

Novatore eulogized him in an article speaking of the slain anarchist in a “fruitful embrace with death because he madly loved life.”²²¹

Also from Italy was Severino Di Giovanni (1901-1931), who resided in Argentina after Mussolini’s rise to power caused him to leave Europe. In Argentina, Giovanni organized against fascism and in support of Sacco and Vanzetti. In 1925 he founded *Culmine*²²², an anarchist periodical advocating propaganda of the deed through direct action. Giovanni carried out a series of bombings including targeting the US embassy in Buenos Aires hours after Sacco and Vanzetti were sentenced. Other bomb attacks targeted a statue of George Washington, the Ford Motor Company, a tobacco company who had proposed selling a Sacco and Vanzetti cigarette, the headquarters of Citibank and the Bank of Boston, and the Italian consulate. The consulate bombing killed nine Italian fascists and injured 34, making it the deadliest bombing ever to occur in Argentina. Giovanni was also involved in several assassinations and attempted assassinations targeting a member of Mussolini’s secret police, a federal police officer in charge of investigating bomb attacks, the president of the Fascist Committee of La Boca, and US President Herbert Hoover. After the bomber targeting Hoover was arrested, Giovanni entered a period of inactivity, returning his attention to *Culmine*. While evading arrest at a printing shop, Giovanni shot and killed a cop and injured a second. In a

²²¹ Renzo Novatore, “In The Circle of Life: In Memory of Bruno Filippi,” in *The Rebel’s Dark Laughter: The Writings of Bruno Filippi*, by Bruno Filippi, trans. Wolfi Landstreicher, Online (Online: www.omnipresence.mahost.org (republished by The Anarchist Library, 2012), 1916), 8, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/bruno-filippi-the-rebel-s-dark-laughter-the-writings-of-bruno-filippi.pdf>.

²²² In the modern internet age of internationally-distributed insurrectionary communiqués, one of the main Italian language hubs for such material is similarly named *Culmine* and is available at <https://culmine.noblogs.org/>.

subsequent gun battle in which two anarchists were killed, Giovanni was arrested. He was tried by a military tribunal and executed by firing squad. He shouted, “Long live Anarchy!” before being shot eight times by high-powered rifles. Giovanni embodied the insurrectionary illegalist tradition of direct attack, propaganda of the deed and direct action. He believed in retaliatory violence, symbolic violence and violence as a form of warfare.

One of the most famed period of militant anarchism also occurred in this time between the end of World War I and the start of its predecessor. Towards the end of the 1930s, the Civil War in Spain was ending. Throughout the conflict between the Spanish Republicans and the fascist forces of General Francisco Franco, anarchist activity was in large part managed via the *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* [National Confederation of Labour] (CNT), an anarcho-syndicalist union active since 1910. The CNT would eventually form an alliance with the *Frente Popular* [Popular Front]—a collation of Marxist-Stalinist factions—which would foster dissention amongst the anarchists. Within the CNT was a second organization, the *Federación Anarquista Ibérica* [Iberian Anarchist Federation], which similar to the modern network, adopted the moniker F.A.I.²²³ The F.A.I. is the clearest pre-model for the *affinity group*, wherein small groupings of comrades freely assemble for a temporary basis when their interests align. The F.A.I. began in secret in 1927 in response to the CNT’s push towards trade unionism and libertarian communism and away from militant agitation and anarchism. Though it was still young, by the early 1930s the F.A.I. was exerting significant influence over the

²²³ For the purposes of differentiating the Informal Anarchist Federation from the Iberian Anarchist Federation, the former will be written as “FAI” and the latter as “F.A.I.”

larger CNT. This caused some rifts within the CNT with more moderate factions breaking away eventually forming the Catalan *Partit Sindicalista*²²⁴ [Syndicalist Party] or joining other factions within the Popular Front such as the *Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista* [Workers' Party of Marxist Unification] (POUM).

The militant revolutionary spirit of the F.A.I. adopted familiar methods including armed expropriations, organizing general strikes and direct attacks against the fascist forces. The disagreement between the CNT and the F.A.I. can thus be understood to embody several forms: one in terms of structure (e.g. mass-based, formalized syndicalist trade unionism v. clandestine anarchist militant affinity groups), and the other in terms of spirit (e.g. labor-centric unionism v. anti-state illegalism). This disagreement between those in favor of large, horizontal organizations and those advocating underground networks of aggressive militants foreshadowed the rifts that would be highlighted later between so called 'classical' anarchists and those advocating insurrection. Importantly, when the fascists defeated the Spanish Republicans in 1940, the Franco regime went on to execute up to 200,000 dissidents, and many CNT-F.A.I. members fled internationally. Some, such as Francisco Sabaté Llopart (aka El Quico or simply Sabaté) (1915-1960), fled to France and aided the French Resistance to Nazi occupation. After Sabaté and others finished fighting in France, many would return to Spain under Franco and carry out anti-state attacks including assassinations, prisoner releases, and armed expropriations to fund revolutionary activities. These methods were drawn from past experiences with militant guerrillaism and would prefigure decades of inspired anarchist

²²⁴ *Partido Sindicalista* in Spanish.

attack. In other countries, such as Italy and Chile, similar fights against authoritarian regime would help to form networks of anarchist militants, some of which would later constitute the insurrectionary milieus.

Following the close of the post-war period, and prior to the start of World War II, global anarchist violence seemed to decline, ending the so-called “first wave of terrorism” (~1880-1920), often termed the “anarchist wave.”²²⁵ While this broadly defined post-World War I, pre-millennial century saw anarchists take up arms against Franco in Spain, anti-statism ceased to be the predominant source of global non-state, political violence. While anarchist influence was widely seen in terrorism’s third wave—the “New Left” wave²²⁶ embodied in the Weather Underground and other opponents of the Vietnam War—it would cease for a time to be explicitly affiliated with militant attacks against the centers of power. Anarchism remained a potent social force throughout the twentieth century, entering its ‘classical period’ of thought marked by collectivist thinkers such as Emma Goldman (1869-1940), however its armed tendencies, especially those prioritizing networks of armed attackers, would lay largely dormant until the eve of the twenty-first century.

The 21st Century: From Chiapas to 9/11

The postindustrial shifts in the economy, the globalization of markets, the decline of a large industrial working class in core capitalist nations, and the questioning of modern forms of culture all set the stage for new types of social movements...[these movements] that emerged there in the 1970s and 1980s were prototypes of such movements...[These movements] did not have a clear-cut class base, as had large working-class socialist movements. They organized in the

²²⁵ Rapoport, “The Four Waves of Rebel Terror and September 11.”

²²⁶ Ibid.

*name of the public...or the marginalized, as well as women and youth...activists included educated middle-class young people as well as more marginal people...Together they provided a support base for some of the new social movements and the increasingly decentralized forms of critical resistance...The new social movements did not seek to capture the state or use it to carry out reforms; rather, they harassed it, sniped at it with local actions, worked around it, and showed their contempt for it...the new movements were self-consciously local, decentralized, antibureaucratic, and antihierarchical.*²²⁷

Indians and Elves

On 1 January 1994, the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN), made up of only 3,000 revolutionary, indigenous fighters, led an uprising against the Mexican state, while freeing prisoners and destroying military and police property. Following their surge, the Mexican army counterattacked EZLN forces, and fighting lasted for ten days. The EZLN's armed insurrection was timed to coincide with activation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and through subsequent, lengthy texts, the movement expressed an anarchistic rejection of neoliberalism, "free trade" and capitalism at large.²²⁸ This action brought an anti-globalization, anti-capitalist sentiment to an international audience in a violent outburst not seen from anti-statists in decades. With lightning speed, a relatively unknown non-state actor successfully took control over Mexican territory—the state of Chiapas—establishing counter-institutional infrastructure and preventing Mexican incursion. The Zapatistas set up 38 autonomous municipalities—local forms of decentralized, horizontal, participatory democracy with distinct anarchist, Marxist and libertarian-socialist influences. They established hospitals, and schools, factories and

²²⁷ Garner, *Contemporary Movements and Ideologies*, 99–100.

²²⁸ See for example: Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos, "Fourth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle" (Indigenous Clandestine Revolutionary Committee General Command of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation Mexico, January 1, 1996), <http://www.struggle.ws/mexico/ezln/jung4.html>; Marcos, *Our Word Is Our Weapon*.

militias. The EZLN spoke for the rights of the marginalized; the indigenous, the poor and the citizens of the 'global south' resisting neoliberalism and transnational capital accumulation.

The final years of the twentieth century saw the explosion of new networks of attack directly confronting state and capital. Zapatismo, the 'ideology' of the EZLN, served to inform anti-capitalists internationally who in turn informed the EZLN through exchanges of ideas and shared experiences. This cross-pollination and the physical proximity provided by foreign activists' forays into Chiapas served to incorporate the Zapatistas into a global discourse of justice and anti-capitalism. Two years after the EZLN uprising, on Columbus Day, the first act of the ELF is claimed in the United States. Though the network had briefly emerged in the UK in 1992 as a splinter faction from the Earth First! network²²⁹, on the night of 14 October 1996, clandestine ELF activists carried out three simultaneous acts of sabotage targeting a Chevron gas station, a public relations office and a McDonald's restaurant.²³⁰ The targets had their locks glued shut and their walls defaced with political messages including the three-letter calling card moniker: "E.L.F." The ELF emerged during a roughly ten-year period (1994-2004) of global anti-capitalist and anti-globalization demonstrations and direct actions and would invigorate and heavily influence the organizational tendencies of many to follow. The ELF, like its parent 'movement' the ALF, utilize decentralized activists (in cells and as

²²⁹ Paul Joosse, "Leaderless Resistance and Ideological Inclusion: The Case of the Earth Liberation Front," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19, no. 3 (2007): 354, doi:10.1080/09546550701424042.

²³⁰ Noel Molland, "A Spark That Ignited a Flame: The Evolution of the Earth Liberation Front," in *Igniting a Revolution: Voices in Defense of the Earth*, ed. Steven Best and Anthony Nocella (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2006), 55.

individuals) carrying out thousands of acts of property destruction to economically sabotage targets and industries. These attacks on property have at least two broad purposes as explained by Peace Studies advocate and anarchist Randall Amster, who explains: “The basic premise [of the ELF] is that economic sabotage can educate the public by highlighting unjust enterpriseism while at the same time conveying a spirit of empowered resistance through direct action.”²³¹

Both the ELF/ALF and Zapatistas are modeled around antiauthoritarian principals and are prominently anti-state and anti-capitalist. They represent a new wave of movements, which while *philosophically* rooted in the Marxism of the 1970s, have since abandoned the red concept of historical materialism, and its tendencies towards vanguardism, centralism and hierarchical command structures. These movements did not agree with Marx who contended that although capitalism must be confronted—precisely why Marx along with Bakunin founded the First International—the system naturally contained within itself the contradictions that would lead to its demise. Rather these post-Marxists understood that capitalism must to be confronted and destabilized, establishing alternative forms of organization as demonstrated through radical praxis. It was partially due to their confrontational, anti-reformist, anti-politics approach that led to the ELF/ALF networks being labeled “the most active criminal extremist element in the United States”²³² and the “number one domestic terrorist threat.”²³³ In developing this

²³¹ Amster, *Anarchism Today*, 76.

²³² John Lewis, “Animal Rights Extremism and Ecoterrorism” (FBI/Senate Judiciary Committee, May 18, 2004), <http://www.fbi.gov/news/testimony/animal-rights-extremism-and-ecoterrorism>.

²³³ Henry Schuster, “Domestic Terror: Who’s Most Dangerous?,” *CNN*, August 24, 2005, <http://www.cnn.com/2005/US/08/24/schuster.column/index.html>.

history of contemporary, clandestine networks, it is important to understand the evolution and internationalization of the ELF/ALF, as their tactics, strategies and Internet-aided, moniker-based communication style would mark the new era of insurrectionary struggle.

The “Anti-Globalization” Movement & the Black Bloc

The rising tide of anti-capitalist anti-authoritarianism reached another global crest when in late November, 1999, between 50,000-75,000 demonstrators marched in downtown Seattle, Washington against the third ministerial of the World Trade Organization (WTO). Following the first day of marches, direct actions, and rioting, more than 600 demonstrators were arrested. The protestors were so disruptive, and the police response so violently-disorientating to the city’s operation, that the opening trade talks were postponed. When the talks resumed as activists continued to demonstrate outside, they quickly collapsed on their own, and the three-day ministerial was concluded two days early. In response, the demonstrators declared victory. The so called “Battle of Seattle” gave international attention to black masked anarchists defacing and damaging corporate property, and a multitude of diverse global justice activists engaged in pitched street battles with heavily armed, quasi-militarized police.

While movement historians are careful to point out that the majority of demonstrators assembled did *not* identify as anarchists per se²³⁴, “anarchist values and methods in fact played an integral part in the highly drilled non-violent demonstrations

²³⁴ For example the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) assembled between 25,000-50,000 street demonstrators against the WTO, probably few of whom identified as anti-authoritarian or anarchist.

that shut down the WTO Seattle meeting.”²³⁵ The demonstrations, which came to be known in the activist vernacular as “N30,” ushered in a multi-year global movement of mass convergences coinciding with meetings of multilateral organizations. In the US alone, large-scale demonstrations were held opposing and disrupting meetings of the WTO, World Bank (WB), International Monetary Fund (IMF), Group of Eight (G8), Organization of American States (OAS), World Economic Forum (WEF) and others. These convergences were unique not only in their mass, but also their focus on prefiguration, and organizational practices derived from a larger anti-authoritarian praxis (i.e. horizontality) with a focus on participatory decision-making²³⁶ and direct action.

For years following N30, nearly every such global meeting was met with thousands of demonstrators, including large section of ‘militants’, anarchists and others willing to engage in direct action including property destruction. This era saw the importation and rapid adoption of the black bloc tactic²³⁷ wherein large groups of demonstrators dress all in black covering their faces with masks, and protect their bodies in order to remain a homogenous, opaque mass.²³⁸ This cohesive and mobile grouping

²³⁵ Clive Gabay, “What Did the Anarchists Ever Do For Us? Anarchy, Decentralization, and Autonomy at the Seattle Anti-WTO Protests,” in *New Perspectives on Anarchism*, ed. Nathan J Jun and Shane Wahl (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010), 121.

²³⁶ Anna Feigenbaum, Fabian Frenzel, and Patrick McCurdy, *Protest Camps*, 1st ed. (London, UK: Zed Books Ltd., 2013), 153.

²³⁷ Conservatively, between November 1999 and September 2001, there were black bloc actions in Seattle, WA (Nov 1999), Washington, DC (April 2000, January 2001), London, England (1999), New York, NY (May 2000), Windsor, Ontario (June 2000), Philadelphia, PA (Aug 2000), Los Angeles, CA (Aug 2000), Prague, Czech Republic (Sept 2000) Boston, MA (Oct 2000), St Louis, MO (Oct 2000), Montreal, Quebec (Oct 2000), Cincinnati, OH (Nov 2000), Quebec City, Quebec (April 2001), Gothenburg, Sweden (June 2001) and Genoa, Italy (July 2001).

²³⁸ For further exploration the history of black bloc, and its use as tactic and strategy see: Claudio Albertani, “Paint It Black: Black Blocs, Tute Bianche and Zapatistas in the Anti-Globalization Movement,” *New Political Science* 24, no. 4 (December 2002): 579–95, doi:10.1080/0739314022000025408; Amster, *Anarchism Today*; Edward Avery-Natale, “‘We’re Here, We’re Queer, We’re Anarchists’: The Nature of

provides cover and escape allowing individuals from within the crowd to attack property and police, and then return to the relative safety of a sea of similarly-dressed individuals. Interestingly, the black bloc finds its historic roots in the *Autonomen* movement of West Germany²³⁹ that stood in defense of political squatters, in opposition to neo-Nazis, and in support of urban guerrillaism such as that of the Red Army Faction (RAF) and RZ. This *Autonomen* movement rose in visibility in conjunction with similar movements contesting space in other European (and non-European) locales such as Denmark which also witnessed a post-Soviet Union rise in movements to occupy and hold vacant spaces (i.e. squats)²⁴⁰. *Autonomen* ‘ideology’ embraced an intersecting patchwork of influences

Identification and Subjectivity Among Black Blocs,” *Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies* 1, no. 1 (2010): 22; Lawrence J. Cushnie, “Dissent Through Destruction: American Political Activism and the Utilization of Property Disruption as Protest” (PhD dissertation, University of Washington, 2014), chap. 5; David Van Deusen and Xavier Massot, eds., *The Black Bloc Papers*, 2nd ed. (Shawnee Mission, KS: Breaking Glass Press/Alternative Media Project, 2010); Francis Dupuis-Déri, “The Black Blocs Ten Years after Seattle: Anarchism, Direct Action, and Deliberative Practices,” *Journal for the Study of Radicalism* 4, no. 2 (2010): 45–82, doi:10.1353/jsr.2010.0005; Francis Dupuis-Déri, *Who’s Afraid of the Black Blocs?: Anarchy in Action around the World*, trans. Lazer Lederhendler (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2014); Uri Gordon, *Anarchy Alive! Anti-Authoritarian Politics from Practice to Theory* (London; Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2008), <http://site.ebrary.com/id/10479927>; David Graeber, *Direct Action: An Ethnography* (AK Press, 2009); Jeffrey S. Juris, “Performing Politics Image, Embodiment, and Affective Solidarity during Anti-Corporate Globalization Protests,” *Ethnography* 9, no. 1 (March 1, 2008): 61–97, doi:10.1177/1466138108088949; Jeffrey S. Juris, “Violence Performed and Imagined Militant Action, the Black Bloc and the Mass Media in Genoa,” *Critique of Anthropology* 25, no. 4 (December 1, 2005): 413–32, doi:10.1177/0308275X05058657; Jeffrey Paris, “The Black Bloc’s Ungovernable Protest,” *Peace Review* 15, no. 3 (September 1, 2003): 317–22, doi:10.1080/1040265032000130913; Jeff Shantz, *Active Anarchy: Political Practice in Contemporary Movements* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2011), chap. 2; Graham St John, “Protestival: Global Days of Action and Carnivalized Politics in the Present,” *Social Movement Studies* 7, no. 2 (August 26, 2008): 167–90, doi:10.1080/14742830802283550; Amory Starr, “‘... (Excepting Barricades Erected to Prevent Us from Peacefully Assembling)’: So-Called ‘Violence’ in the Global North Alterglobalization Movement,” *Social Movement Studies* 5, no. 1 (May 2006): 61–81, doi:10.1080/14742830600621233; A. K. Thompson, *Black Bloc, White Riot: Antiglobalization and the Genealogy of Dissent*, First Edition (AK Press, 2010); José Pedro Zúquete, “Men in Black: Dynamics, Violence, and Lone Wolf Potential,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, no. 1 (December 20, 2013): 95–109, doi:10.1080/09546553.2014.849920.

²³⁹ Dupuis-Déri, *Who’s Afraid of the Black Blocs?*, 24.

²⁴⁰ Rene´ Karpantschov, “Violence That Matters! Radicalization and de-Radicalization of Leftist, Urban Movements – Denmark 1981–2011,” *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 7, no. 1 (2014): 35–52, doi:10.1080/19434472.2014.977330.

including anarchism, Marxism, radical feminism and an environmental, workers' rights framework.²⁴¹ At pro-RAF assemblies, marchers would wear black leather jackets, motorcycle helmets and black facemasks.²⁴² They would arm themselves with clubs and protect their lines with wide banners. Correspondingly, there has been a consistent association between militant black bloc anarchists and the insurrectionary tendencies of thinkers such as Alfredo Bonanno, The Invisible Committee (TIC) and Tiqqun.²⁴³

From 1999 until late 2001 the global wave of mass demonstrations continued. What began in the US as opposition to multinational trade talks saw the diffusion of these social networks and political projects into other areas. The 2000 Republican and Democratic National Conventions, and the inauguration of President George W. Bush saw similar mass convergences, similar uses of direct action street confrontations, and similar black blocs. In April 2001, demonstrations against the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) in Quebec City, saw 75,000-100,000 demonstrators assemble. In the first two days of actions, up to 20,000 militants, largely anarchists, attacked the security perimeter of the conference, tearing down hundreds of feet of fencing and barriers. Affinity groups of black bloc anarchists were able to smash bank windows and confront riot police lines with projectiles and charges. In their recounting of the demonstrations in Quebec City, known as "A20," veteran black bloc activists and authors of *The Black Bloc Papers* write:

²⁴¹ Dupuis-Déri, *Who's Afraid of the Black Blocs?*, 24.

²⁴² Francis Dupuis-Déri, A history of the black bloc - Part 1, interview by subMedia.tv, April 2014, <http://www.submedia.tv/stimulator/2014/04/08/a-history-of-the-black-bloc/>.

²⁴³ Dupuis-Déri, *Who's Afraid of the Black Blocs?*, 60.

All and all Quebec marked a turning point. Although it did not have the immediate psychological impact on the general North American population as did Seattle, it did result in the further militant radicalization of the actively involved social protest population... In the days of protests more than 450 were arrested. A good percentage of them taking place on the night of the 21st. All told, there were 75-100,000 social protesters pitted against approximately 10,000 Provincial and Federal police, primarily stationed behind a protective barrier. In the clashes at least one cop was seriously injured with another 71 treated in hospitals. On our side at least 100 required medical attention. In all the State fired 5,000 tear gas canisters in order to repress the voice of the people.²⁴⁴

A20 truly did mark a turning point for this global wave of anti-capitalist, anarchist movement. Five months after the demonstrations, a non-state actor of a different nature changed the trajectory of global politics in ways still reverberating more than a decade later.

From the EZLN in Chiapas, through the clandestine saboteurs of the ELF, up through the “summit hopping” black blocs, all of the warriors wore masks. All opposed the state and capitalism as core principals of their philosophical, organization and political frameworks. Thus both the EZLN, ELF, and the more generalized anti-globalization movement are reacting to similar tendencies under neoliberalism, namely “the command and control character of everyday life under globalization: its standardization, routinization, constant surveillance, performativity, and military style discipline.”²⁴⁵ These shared rejectionist positions allowed a multitude of influences to co-constitute the post-millennial insurrectionary tendency, which drew a great deal from these autonomous networks of anti-capitalist collectivities.

²⁴⁴ Van Deusen and Massot, *The Black Bloc Papers*, 131.

²⁴⁵ Michael Becker, “Rhizomatic Resistance: The Zapatistas and the Earth Liberation Front,” *Green Theory and Praxis Journal* 2, no. 2 (2006): 24.

The Al-Qaeda Effect & The Diffusion of the Rioters

On 11 September 2001, three airplanes were hijacked and flown in suicide missions into targets inside the United States. The 9/11 attacks would rapidly lead to the US initiating two foreign wars and a similarly rapid decline in the global counter-summit protests. The post-9/11 discontinuation of the anti-globalization movement can be encapsulated in the events of 29 September 2001. Following the 9/11 attacks, the fall IMF/WB meetings, which were to be held in Washington, DC, were canceled. In response to the canceled meetings and out of 'respect' for the victims of the attacks, most liberal and progressive social movement bodies canceled their planned protests of the economic summit. While this cancelation severely restricted the number of attendees, unpermitted, anarchist-organized marches and direct actions organized by the Anti-Capitalist Convergence (ACC) carried on while other groups hosted a permitted rally. This march was in response to the ACC's revised "Call to Action", distributed only nine days after the 9/11 attacks. This document called for a "march against the growing capitalist war" and invited "all those interested in creating a world free from terror, hate, racism, poverty and war to demonstrate our unity and vision for a better world."²⁴⁶ The day of the march, the front banner read, "No War But The Class War", and through careful messaging, the group reframed their protest to oppose not only the policies of neoliberalism embodied in the IMF/WB, but also nationalism, militarism and war. This forced reframing and the

²⁴⁶ Anti-Capitalist Convergence DC, "Anti-Capitalist Convergence Issues New Call to Action" (Urbana-Champaign Independent Media Center Site Archive, September 20, 2001), <http://archive.ucimc.org/127.0.0.1/newswire/display/2126/index.html>.

poorly attended street demonstrations functioned as a clear indication that the era of anarchist-led, militant summit hopping was over.

Beyond the impact on oppositional social movements, the September attacks also had wide reaching effects on US foreign and domestic policy. Following the attacks, policing and intelligence forces such as the FBI shifted their domestic policy aims from one of 'policing' to 'national security'²⁴⁷, accompanying a newly invigorated rhetoric of (counter) terrorism-dominated media and political discourses. Militant activists fighting police in masks suddenly and irrevocably were reframed from engaging in revolutionary struggle to plotting dangerous, extremist, terrorism. Of course a global movement did not simply stop on a dime. Demonstrations, including those with large militant components, continued on irregularly for several years eventually finding a new central focus with the university occupations and Occupy Wall Street movements of the next decade.

What is undeniable is that tens of thousands of people who for months prior had been involved in campaigns of semi-regular protest gatherings had now ceased to assemble for mass marches, convergences and 'summit hopping'. There existed a certain surplus of labor from all segments of the diverse resistance movements. This included street medics, Indymedia journalists, communications and tech specialists, action organizers and trainers, previous and future participants in black blocs, and collectives penning theory. If 75,000 marched in Seattle, and 100,000 in Quebec City, did this mass movement's committed and interlinked participants simply abandon radical politics? It is likely that the wave of clandestine networks of anti-capitalist attack that occurred

²⁴⁷ John Hudson, "FBI Drops Law Enforcement as 'Primary' Mission," *Foreign Policy Blogs*, January 5, 2014, http://thecable.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2014/01/05/fbi_drops_law_enforcement_as_primary_mission.

throughout Europe, Asia and the Americas following 9/11 were populated by individuals and networks developed during these prior waves of summit protests and mass convergences.

Maybe a large portion of ELF activists and insurrectionary attack cells are made up of seasoned activists who were disheartened with the experiment seen in the anti-globalization, global justice movement? Certainly this theory has been proposed, by amongst others, the anonymous authors of *The Coming Insurrection*, who spoke of the post-summit period writing: “In all the affinity groups they spawned and left in their wake, we glimpsed the conditions that allow social movements to become a locus for the emergence of new communes.”²⁴⁸ This possibility has been supported, by at least some anecdotal accounts given by members of ‘the family’, the largest ELF cell ever exposed. Through interviews and police accounts, it is reported that four of the ten group members²⁴⁹ participated in the Seattle WTO black bloc²⁵⁰ and planned acts of property destruction to coincide²⁵¹ with the trade summit. Some of the 200,000 activists who were witness to violent confrontations surrounding the 2001 anti-G8 demonstrations in Genoa likely had connections to past and future ‘members’ of the FAI which rapidly expanded a few years later. Years later in 2008, when Greece underwent widespread social upheaval

²⁴⁸ The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection*, 121.

²⁴⁹ According to a government sentencing memorandum, Nathan Block, Joyanna Zacher, Suzanne Savoie and Daniel McGowan participated in the N30 black bloc.

²⁵⁰ This is discussed by one former ELF cell member in the film: Marshall Curry, *If A Tree Falls: A Story of the Earth Liberation Front*, DVD (Oscilloscope Laboratories, 2011).

²⁵¹ Karin J. Immergut et al., “Government’s Sentencing Memorandum in the United States District Court for the District of Oregon [case Numbers CR 06-60069-AA, CR 06-60070-AA, CR 06-60071-AA, CR 06-60078-AA, CR 06-60079-AA, CR 06-60080-AA, CR 06-60120-AA, 06-60122-AA, 06-60123-AA, 06-60124-AA, 06-60125-AA, 06-60126-AA]” (United States District Court for the District of Oregon, May 4, 2007), 100, 110, 116, 124.

with mass anarchist involvement, international activists frustrated with the failures of the previous decade traveled to Athens and other cities to network, organize and act. After the police's killing of a teenage boy, riots erupted in several Greek cities which included direct attacks on police and frequent destruction of property. The throwing of stones and Molotovs was broadcast from Greece to sympathizers globally, and (often-militant) solidarity demonstrations occurred in more than 70 cities around the world. This series of events once again captured the attention of North American anarchists as "activists [who] once drew inspiration from the Zapatistas of Chiapas...now drew it from the student rebels of Athens...the common link, to be sure, is a pervasive spiriting of taking charge, of acting as if one were already free, of rebellion and insurrection."²⁵² This pre-9/11 period was also a key time for cross-fertilization amongst a variety of struggles around the world²⁵³, including within the North American continent. While the targets of the various movements varied, they remained (to varying degrees) critical of state power and sought to "transform the social experience."²⁵⁴

9/11 had the effect of derailing the cascading crowds of increasingly well-practiced networks mobilized to resist global capitalism. When the mass convergences ceased, a vacuum was created for former summit-hoppers, local organizers and newly inspired and radicalized leftists to fight the state. Just as the tactics of the black bloc had migrated from German Autonomes and deterritorialized throughout the broad left, so too

²⁵² Leonard Williams and Brad Thomson, "The Allure of Insurrection," *Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies* 1 (2011): 266.

²⁵³ Dimitris Papadopoulos, Niamh Stephenson, and Vassillis Tsianos, *Escape Routes: Control and Subversion in the Twenty-First Century*, 1st ed. (Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2008), 71.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

would the methods of the ELF/ALF intersect and cross-pollinate with new, previously unheard of clandestine networks. Groups such as the Greek CCF would emerge in one country to attack, and, soon after, strike in other locations. In this way, the new social movements of decentralized saboteurs, arsonists and vandals would for some resemble the images of al-Qaeda, the Islamist non-state actor which claimed responsibility for 9/11. In a poignant enacting of postmodernism, while nations were made to fear hidden cells of Islamist suicide bombers plotting to kill civilians, similarly hidden cells of insurrectionary anarchists were conspiring to bring down capitalism and the state through an old form of war. While al-Qaeda chose the path of terrorism for the recreation of an Islamic empire, the insurrectionists chose urban guerilla warfare as a path to freedom, autonomy and liberation.

The EZLN, ELF, FAI, CCF and anti-capitalist networks that spontaneously sprang up around the world to block streets shared a great deal in term of politics and form. All emerged during the period marked as ‘postmodern’ and in this sense, were interpreted by some through such a lens. Borrowing from Deleuze and Guattari and their opus *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*:

The EZLN, suddenly emerging to occupy town, their infiltrators just as suddenly disappearing and dissolving Mexican army units, and then fading into their jungle redoubts are rhizomes...the anonymous and autonomous cells of the ELF erupting in sudden arson attacks across the United States and as rapidly disappearing are rhizomes...Rhizomes threaten an established order; they often operate unseen; they are irrepressible and cannot be eradicated as their root stem allows for proliferation at each of its nodes.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁵ Becker, “Rhizomatic Resistance: The Zapatistas and the Earth Liberation Front,” 6.

The rhizome, as described by Deleuze and Guattari²⁵⁶ represent “a spreading, underground, decentered network of roots that appear aboveground as sprouts and thickets like blackberry bushes or bamboo.”²⁵⁷ According to the rhizomatic interpretation²⁵⁸, these new emergent networks of resistance are easily multiplied, difficult to isolate, and decapitate, and their “irreducibility...to any ultimate organizing principle.”²⁵⁹ In this manner, even if a spokesperson, cell, collectivity of cells or other segment of a network is compromised, captured, killed or otherwise neutralized, the remaining portion “shoots off in other directions continuing to proliferate.”²⁶⁰ Therefore, while the post-NAFTA movements against neoliberalism and state power have shared a great deal which is observable and pronounced, it is likely that what they most intimately share is their reproductive logic; the organically-evolved, situational methods by which they emerge, exist, expand, die and repopulate. For the EZLN, while a specific physical site such as a mountaintop autonomous municipality may fail, another site expands as the mass of Indians simply reallocate their presence. In the rare instances when ELF cells have been penetrated, disrupted and captured, network energies shift in new directions, a portion of which rallies to support the captured comrades. In this sense one of the most distinguishable features of these networks is their fluidity, their leaderlessness, and their rapid adaptability.

²⁵⁶ See Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, chap. 1, pp. 3–25.

²⁵⁷ Jeppesen, “Creating Guerilla Texts in Rhizomatic Value-Practices on the Sliding Scale of Autonomy: Toward an Anti-Authoritarian Cultural Logic,” 474.

²⁵⁸ This approach is used to describe, amongst others, the EZLN. For example, see: Alex Khasnabish, *Zapatismo Beyond Borders: New Imaginations of Political Possibility* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division, 2008), 19–20.

²⁵⁹ Becker, “Rhizomatic Resistance: The Zapatistas and the Earth Liberation Front,” 8.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

A Modern History of Insurrectionary Attack: From the Greece to Mexico

Revolt needs everything: paper and books, arms and explosives, reflection and swearing, poison, daggers and arson. The only interesting question is how to combine them.²⁶¹

-- Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn...*²⁶² [2001]

The following historical accounts will attempt to develop the record of a social movement that is still in a formative stage. Because this author is denied the luxury of historical hindsight, this account will inherently be incomplete. Combatants written about in the present tense may be captured or killed before these words reach the reader.

Buildings will burn, laws will be passed, and fighters will be jailed. All of these events collectively constitute the history of modern insurrectionary warfare, and while one aims to present the most complete historical account possible, as networks are in constant flux and the conflict is ongoing, one must proceed with an acknowledgement that despite best efforts, much of this history is yet to be written. In order to connect the various configurations of post-millennial, insurrectionary violence, we will explore three of its most identifiable components, the FAI, the CCF, and the emergent networks of Mexico. Following these network-specific histories this chapter will explore a case study of an internationalized call to action. In exploring this single campaign, one can begin to understand the process through which monikers deterritorialize, expand and diffuse.

The Informal Anarchist Federation

²⁶¹ Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics*, trans. Jean Weir, John Moore, and Leigh Straccross, Zine (London, UK: Elephant Editions, 2001), 29.

²⁶² Because the name of this title is so long, and because it is discussed frequently, the remaining words of the title (...with the existent, its defenders and its false critics) is excluded throughout.

*One becomes part of FAI-IRF only at the very moment he/she acts and strikes claiming as FAI, then everyone returns to their own projects, their own individual perspective, within a black international that includes a variety of practices, all aggressive and violent.*²⁶³

-- Alfredo Cospito, "Olga Cell" of the FAI-IRF [2014]

Though a variety of direct attack networks, monikers, and individual cells have emerged since the post-millennial reinvigoration of the urban guerilla, the strategy and momentum of direct, anti-state attack was carried forth most notably by the Informal Anarchist Federation [*Federazione Anarchica Informale*] (FAI). The FAI has been linked to attacks as early as 1999, but its current, internationalized, adoptable-moniker form, emerged around 2004 in the Italian city of Bologna. In 1999, the network sent mail bombs to the Greek embassy in Italy, a tourism office in Madrid, Spain and a branch of Citibank in Barcelona, Spain²⁶⁴. Subsequently, pre-2003 FAI bombs targeted newspapers, churches, courts, police, prisons and other targets located in Western Europe, largely in Spain and Italy.

In the final days of 2003 (29 December 2003), two letter bombs were mailed to Europol—a Europe-wide police data center—headquarters in The Hague, and the head of the European Central Bank, Jean-Claude Trichet as part of the FAI's "Operation Santa Claus." Technicians defused the Europol bomb, and German police discovered the improvised explosive device (IED) sent to Trichet in the bank's mailroom. Both bombs were postmarked in Bologna. One day prior (28 December 2003), a third mail bomb exploded at the Bologna home of Romano Prodi, the head of the European Commission,

²⁶³ Alfredo Cospito, Interview by CCF – Imprisoned Members Cell with Alfredo Cospito (Greece, Italy), interview by CCF - Imprisoned Members Cell, Online, trans. Nihil Admirari, December 1, 2014, <http://325.nostate.net/?p=13394>.

²⁶⁴ Hanrahan, "Meet the Nihilist-Anarchist Network Bringing Chaos to a Town Near You."

and former Prime Minister (1996-1998, 2006-2008). According to communiqués from the FAI, this was the third bomb to target Prodi that week.²⁶⁵ Two previous explosions occurred in trash receptacles, and the third IED, the one delivered with the mail, was assembled inside of a book and addressed to Prodi's wife.²⁶⁶ The book bomb, according to Prodi, "[produced] a big flame but without an explosion."²⁶⁷

The day following the two letter bombs, a fourth letter bomb was mailed, this time to the headquarters of Eurojust, a European policing agency. The IED did not explode and according to officials, was the work of the same network who had dispatched the previous three.²⁶⁸ Additional IEDs, also originating in Bologna, were sent to the president and vice-president of the European People's Party, as well as Gary Titley, leader of UK Labour and British member of European Parliament. Titley called the bombings an unjustified "attack on democracy...[likely] from an Italian anarchist group."²⁶⁹ In response to the six mailed devices, the Italian city of Bologna halted the delivery of parcels from the region to European institutions such as EU administrative bodies.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁵ BBC, "Letter Bombs Sent to EU Figures," *BBC*, December 29, 2003, Online edition, sec. Europe, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3355521.stm>.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁷ BBC, "Prodi Survives Parcel Bomb Attack," *BBC*, December 28, 2003, Online edition, sec. Europe, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3351697.stm>.

²⁶⁸ BBC, "New Letter Bomb Reaches EU Target," *BBC*, December 30, 2003, Online edition, sec. Europe, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3357063.stm>.

²⁶⁹ BBC, "Letter Bomb Explodes at MEP's Office," *BBC*, January 5, 2004, Online edition, sec. Manchester, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/england/manchester/3370213.stm.

²⁷⁰ BBC, "Bologna Mail Blocked after Bombs," *BBC*, December 31, 2003, Online edition, sec. Europe, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3359281.stm>.

The FAI explained their motivation in a communiqué entitled “Open Letter to the Anarchist and Anti-Authoritarian Movement.”²⁷¹ This document serves to announce the FAI to the world, to begin to develop its methodology for attack, and to communicate with sympathetic allies in the producing of future attacks. According to some historical accounts²⁷², the letter is a sign post marking the real emergence of the FAI global network. In the text, the network claims responsibility for the attacks, calling their targets the “repressive apparatus that plays the democratic farce and that will bring the main characters and institutions to the new European order.”²⁷³ The attackers quantify their enemy as “the various police departments... a prison system... bureaucrats and politicians”, proclaiming:

Attack and destroy the responsible for repression and exploitation!
Attack and destroy prisons, banks, courts and police stations!
Revolt is contagious and can be reproduced!
Social war against capital and the State!²⁷⁴

The FAI describe their network as “a federation formed either by groups of action or by single individuals, in order to go beyond the limits implied in single projects and to experiment the real potentialities of informal organization.”²⁷⁵ The communiqué goes on to describe the network’s interpretation of “informal”, “anarchist” and “federation” and discusses strategy, organization and other questions of practicality.

²⁷¹ Informal Anarchist Federation, “Open Letter to the Anarchist and Anti-Authoritarian Movement,” in *Escalation: Some Texts Concerning the Informal Anarchist Federation (FAI) and the Insurrectionist Project*, 1st ed. (Bologna, IT: 325.nostate.net, 2003), 3–4, <http://325.nostate.net/library/escalation1.pdf>.

²⁷² Cospito, Interview by CCF – Imprisoned Members Cell with Alfredo Cospito (Greece, Italy).

²⁷³ Informal Anarchist Federation, “Open Letter to the Anarchist and Anti-Authoritarian Movement.”

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

Following the Bologna-based bombing campaign, the FAI expanded, forming components such the “Armed Cells for International Solidarity Brigade” which continued to mail explosives (2 April 2004, 10-11 December 2004), the “Metropolitan Cells” which detonated IEDs in Milan (29 October 2004), and numerous joint formations, such as the FAI/“July 20 Brigade”, and the FAI/“Crafts and Fire Cooperative”, which detonated IEDs targeting police and prisons (3 March 2005). These cells operated in the Italian cities of Bologna, Genoa, Rome and Milan, and were responsible for at least 16 explosive attacks, with security sources estimating the network’s composition to be 50-250 individuals.²⁷⁶ According to pro-FAI movement historians, between December 2003-December 2006, the network carried out “7 revolutionary campaigns...[and] 30 incendiary and explosive attacks on things and people.”²⁷⁷ These bombs targeted courts, police buildings and individual officials such as Mayors and corporate directors.

Years later, the FAI would prove to be long-lasting, sending additional parcel bombs including:

- 15 December 2009: Director of Center for Identification and Expulsion (CIE), a immigration detention center, in Gradisca d’Isonzo, Italy.
- 16 December 2009: Bocconi University in Milan, Italy.
- ~28 March 2010: Headquarters of the Northern League (Lega Nord), a right-wing political party in Milan. The device injured a postal worker.
- 23 December 2010: Embassy of Greece in Paris, France.
- 23 December 2010: Embassies of Chile and Switzerland in Rome, Italy. These devices injured two.

²⁷⁶ Francesco Marone, “A Profile of the Informal Anarchist Federation in Italy” (Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, March 26, 2014), <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/a-profile-of-the-informal-anarchist-federation-in-italy>.

²⁷⁷ Anonymous, “Four Years.....Dec. 2006,” in *Escalation: Some Texts Concerning the Informal Anarchist Federation (FAI) and the Insurrectionist Project*, Online (325.nostate.net, 2006), 4–9, <http://325.nostate.net/library/escalation1.pdf>.

- 30 March 2011: Nuclear company Swissnuclear in Olten, Switzerland. This device injured two.
- 31 March 2011: Barracks of Italian paratroopers deploying to Afghanistan located in Livorno, Italy. This attack injured one soldier severely.
- 7 December 2011: The Chief Executive of Deutsche Bank. The device was intercepted in Frankfurt, Germany.
- ~9 December 2011: Josef Ackermann, director of Equitalia state tax collection agency in Rome. This attack serious injured Ackerman.
- 9 April 2013: La Stampa newspaper in Turin, Italy.
- 10 April 2013: Europol offices in Brescia, Italy.

Of its scores of attacks, the most infamous is likely that which occurred on 7 May 2012.

On this date, a cell of the FAI was responsible for the non-fatal shooting (i.e.

“kneecapping”²⁷⁸) of Roberto Adinolfi, the 56-year-old chief executive of Ansaldo

Nucleare, an Italian nuclear company affiliated with defense/aerospace firm

Finmeccanica. The masked attackers fired three times, shooting Adinolfi in the knees

from atop a motorcycle, as the target left his Genoa home. The shooting of Adinolfi was

claimed via a four-page communiqué²⁷⁹—as the “Olga”²⁸⁰ Nucleus” cell of the FAI—

received 11 May 2012 by an Italian newspaper. A year after the shooting, the FAI named

the attack as part of “Operation Hunt the Spy”²⁸¹ linking it to the bombing of La Stampa

(9 April 2013), and that of Europol (10 April 2013). The three attacks were rhetorically

linked in the communiqué, noting:

²⁷⁸ The use of “kneecapping”, (*gambizzazioni* in Italian), was common amongst the Red Brigades active in 1970-1980s Italy.

²⁷⁹ Olga Cell: Informal Anarchist Federation/International Revolutionary Front, “Italy: Claim of Responsibility for the Armed Attack against Roberto Adinolfi of Ansaldo Nuclear (corrected)” (culmine.noblogs.org via waronsociety.noblogs.org/, May 14, 2012), <http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=4610>.

²⁸⁰ The “Olga” namesake is a tribute to Olga Ikonomidou, an imprisoned member of the CCF network in Greece.

²⁸¹ Catherine Hornby and Sara Rossi, “Anarchists Claim Parcel Bombs Sent to Italy Newspaper and Agency,” *Reuters*, April 12, 2013, Online edition, sec. World News, <http://mobile.reuters.com/article/worldNews/idUSBRE93B0M120130412?feedType=RSS&feedName=worldNews>.

[Europol] provides the forces of order with equipment such as microchips, micro-cameras and other technological wickedness...[and] 'La Stampa' [is] always ready to corroborate the frame-ups of the carabinieri [Italian military police] and police, especially when they strike those who are at war against the state.²⁸²

In September 2012, two male individuals, 35-year-old Nicola Gai and 46-year-old Alfredo Cospito were arrested in Turin and linked to the crime via surveillance footage, wiretaps and textual analysis of the communiqué. The two individuals were convicted and imprisoned for a combined sentence of twenty years. Their sentence was assigned a “*finalità di terrorismo*” [purpose of terrorism] condition due to the anti-state politics of the shooting.

With similar regularity to its explosive devices, FAI cells have used timed incendiaries such as the ones that ignited under the cars of Lord Mayor of Bristol, Geoff Gollop, and Tory Councillor, Kevin Quartley (7 November 2011), claimed by the FAI’s “Class Terror” cell.²⁸³ Despite being conservative functionaries within the British state, the two men expressed shock that they were targeted. Lord Gollop stated, “I am at a total loss why anyone would want to do this. I have got absolutely no idea what the motive could possibly be.”²⁸⁴ Councillor Quartley expressed similar sentiments stating, “I’ve got no idea why this has happened.”²⁸⁵

²⁸² FAI/IRF Damiano Bolano Cell, “‘Damiano Bolano’ FAI/FRI cell claim the parcel bombs sent to the daily La Stampa of Turin and the private investigation agency Europol of Brescia,” trans. 325.nostate.net (325.nostate.net, April 20, 2013), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=7697>.

²⁸³ Class Terror/FAI, “Attacks against Vehicles of Lord Mayor & Tory Councillor in Bristol” (UK Indymedia (republished by 325.nostate.net), November 7, 2011), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=3517>.

²⁸⁴ The Bristol Post, “Bristol Councillors’ Cars Torched in Late-Night Arson Attacks,” *The Bristol Post*, November 8, 2011, Online edition, sec. News, <http://www.bristolpost.co.uk/Bristol-councillors-cars-torched-late-night-arson/story-13787504-detail/story.html>.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

While the FAI was established in Italy, like other moniker-based networks, it quickly was exported as a model internationally. In June 2012, police arrested eight individuals in Italy, one in Switzerland and one in Germany, all accused of affiliation with the FAI/IRF. In at least one case, an Italian judge issuing warrants, charged the accused with “subversion, terrorist conspiracy and international terrorism.”²⁸⁶ State officials noted presumed links between the arrested FAI members and the Greek CCF. As the imprisoned members of the Greek network stated in their letter to the Italian FAI, “The Informal Anarchist Federation travels over borders and cities, carrying with it the momentum of a lasting anarchist insurrection.”²⁸⁷ By 2014, cells of the FAI had claimed attacks in a variety of countries beyond Italy including Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Greece, Indonesia, Mexico, the Netherlands, Peru, Russia, Spain, the UK and the US. Also, while the FAI name would be combined in endless combinations with the CCF, IRF and others, it also was regularly used in conjunction with the ALF/ELF monikers, such as an attack in Moscow, Russia (~21 February 2012) where a group ignited two improvised *incendiary* devices (IIDs) to burn cellular phone towers in an area popular with hunters.

Around September 2011 two Italian FAI nodes operating since 2004—the “Artisans Cooperative of Fire and Similar (occasionally spectacular)” cell and the “20th July Brigade”—released a lengthy statement entitled, “Do Not Say That We Are

²⁸⁶ John Hooper, “Italian Police Arrest Leftwing Terror Suspects,” *The Guardian*, June 13, 2012, Online edition, sec. World news, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jun/13/italian-police-arrest-terror-suspects>.

²⁸⁷ Olga Ekonomidou et al., “CCF-Bullets of words for the bullets of the FAI/FRI,” trans. contra-info (Athens Indymedia (republished by contra-info), May 14, 2012), <http://en.contrainfo.espiv.net/2012/05/14/greece-ccf-bullets-of-words-for-the-bullets-of-faifri/>.

Few.”²⁸⁸ In this document—termed a “contribution to discussing communication, organization and armed struggle at the dawn of a new era”²⁸⁹—the authors claim responsibility for several mail bombs, express solidarity with the CCF, and discuss an international campaign of insurrectionary direct action. The anonymous authors speak of the deterritorialization of their network writing:

Many things have happened since we launched the proposal for an ‘Informal Anarchist Federation’. Today, thanks to the sisters and brothers of the ‘Conspiracy of Cells of Fire’, who have re-launched it, the ‘FAI/International Revolutionary Front’, the ‘FAI/Global Network’, the ‘International Network of Action and Solidarity’, the ‘Informal Anarchist Federation–Global Network’ has become reality with their one thousand names. A reality that needs to grow up especially now through the instrument of informal organization on a worldly level and thanks to a federation of action groups. Dozens and dozens of cells, nuclei, movements, individual comrades, united by a clear and strong horizontal and widespread pact of mutual aid, wage war on the existent in a chaotic and destructive way.²⁹⁰

Following this, the statement details the names and national locations of 36 cells spread across nine countries²⁹¹.

Following the shooting of Adinolfi, and in response to repeated attacks targeting Equitalia—the Italian tax collection agency—the Italian Ministry of the Interior reassigned 18,000 officers to “security detail”²⁹² and carried out a series of police raids, arresting eight, and serving warrants to already imprisoned (and infamous) anarchist

²⁸⁸ FAI Artisans Cooperative of Fire and Similar (occasionally spectacular), International Revolutionary Front and FAI 20th July Brigade, International Revolutionary Front, “Do Not Say That We Are Few - Statement from the Italian FAI.”

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Italy (12 cells), Mexico (9 cells), Greece (8 cells), Chile (2 cells) and 1 cell each in Indonesia, Russia, Peru, the Netherlands and England.

²⁹² Sarah Delaney, “Fearing Anarchist Attacks, Italy Tightens Security,” *LA Times Blogs*, May 17, 2012, http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/world_now/2012/05/fearing-anarchist-attacks-italy-tightens-security.html.

militants Gabriel Pombo Da Silva²⁹³ and Marco Camenisch²⁹⁴. Since its emergence, there have been several individuals arrested in connection to FAI attacks, though in general, the network has been resistant to disruption²⁹⁵. Because the FAI's attacks have tended to avoid injury, the network's actions have been consistently "underestimated"²⁹⁶ by both police and academics. In a report to the Italian parliament by the Ministry of the Interior, the FAI is described as the "most dangerous form of domestic non-jihadist terrorism in the country"²⁹⁷, yet Muslim non-state actors still receive far more 'focused intensity'²⁹⁸ from police. Nonetheless, according to Europol, "attacks by far-left and anarchist militant groups jumped 43 percent in 2009 [compared to 2008]", and have doubled since 2007.²⁹⁹

The Conspiracy of Cells of Fire

In 2008, there were very few people in the United States who read the communiqués from the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire. At the time, communiqués for low level vandalism, sabotage and a few arsons had just started being issued from

²⁹³ Gabriel Pombo Da Silva is an anarchist militant who was involved in revolutionary bank expropriations since age 15. After being imprisoned in Spain, he escaped from Spanish prison in 2004. While trying to flee to Germany, he was discovered at a border crossing and exchanged fire with German security forces. No one was injured in the shooting but Da Silva was arrested and convicted of attempted murder and kidnapping. He is currently serving 13 years.

²⁹⁴ Marco Camenisch is an anarchist militant currently imprisoned for murder. Camenisch was involved in radical environmental movement prior to his arrest and had served time for industrial sabotage and other direct actions targeting power stations. After being arrested in 1980 for sabotaging a Northeast Swiss Power Station, he was sentenced to 10 years in prison. He escaped prison in 1981 along with five other prisoners. During the escape, a prison guard was shot and killed and a second guard was injured. From 1981-1991, Camenisch went underground and on 5 November 1991, Italian security forces arrested him. Upon capture, Camenisch opened fire wounding one soldier, and was shot and injured in the process. In 1992, he was sentenced to 12 years for the shooting and the sabotage, serving 9 years in solitary confinement. In 2002 he was extradited to Switzerland, and in 2004, sentenced to 17 years in prison for the alleged killing of a Swiss border guard (Kurt Moser) in 1989.

²⁹⁵ A brief chronology of arrested related to the FAI is included in the appendix.

²⁹⁶ Marone, "A Profile of the Informal Anarchist Federation in Italy."

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Nicole Winfield and Derek Gatopoulos, "European Anarchists Grow More Violent, Coordinated," *The Huffington Post*, December 28, 2010, Online edition, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2010/12/29/european-anarchists-grow-_n_802277.html.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

various parts of North America and these were only disseminated through a few sources on the internet. But while the gringos were busy burning some trucks against the Olympics or paint bombing some condos, something else was transpiring across the Atlantic, at the end of the Mediterranean. A group of people, large in number, chaotic in nature and diffuse in scope, began to increase their attacks against capitalism, its police and its military. They had a proclivity for using fire and explosives in their actions. They loved fire so much that they referred to themselves as the singular group called the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire.³⁰⁰

-- Conspiracy of Cells of Fire [2008]

Rivaling the prominence of the FAI, the Greek network known as the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire³⁰¹ [Συνωμοσία των Πυρήνων της Φωτιάς] (CCF), has paved the way for an era of insurrectionary attack.³⁰² Though the FAI has older roots, the near celebrity status of the CCF have allowed the insurrectionary-nihilist network to rapidly internationalize.

Besides obvious ideological, organizational, tactical, and strategic similarities, the FAI and CCF have also been linked via police investigations. For example, in June 2012, Italian police investigating FAI bombings included at least six Greek members of the CCF, calling the CCF-FAI link a “proven connection.”³⁰³

The CCF emerged 21 January 2008³⁰⁴, when cell members carried out near simultaneous arson attacks targeting “4 cars at a Porsche dealership, 3 Eurobanks, 16 cars and a motorcycle at a car exhibition, a Piraeus bank, a Citibank, a PV Motors dealership,

³⁰⁰ Conspiracy of Cells of Fire, “We Do Not Forget Any Imprisoned Comrade: CCF 2008” (Anarchistinternational.org, 2011), 2, <http://anarchistinternational.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/CCF.pdf>.

³⁰¹ The network’s name is occasionally recorded as Conspiracy of Fire Cells or Conspiracy of Fire Nuclei.

³⁰² A.G. Schwarz, “A Contextualization of Conspiracy Cells of Fire” (Anarchistnews.org, November 25, 2011), <http://anarchistnews.org/node/19500>.

³⁰³ Marone, “A Profile of the Informal Anarchist Federation in Italy.”

³⁰⁴ This is the same day of the year that the FAI began their campaign and an obvious show of solidarity between the two networks.

and a public power company crane vehicle.”³⁰⁵ The IIDs were built from gas canisters, a method that CCF cells would repeat throughout the years. The origins of the CCF align with the more generalized rise in leftist militancy seen in Greece following the shooting death of Alexandros Grigoropoulos (6 December 2008) by police which led to a wave of “rioting, street violence and small-scale terrorism.”³⁰⁶ The police’s killing of 15-year-old Grigoropoulos sparked weeks of rioting, occurring in conjunction with increased police repression focused on Athens’s Exarchia neighborhood³⁰⁷. Nationally, the state also experienced a steep economic downturn that led to a more popularized opposition to the state which was seen as “[serving] the interests only of the rich.”³⁰⁸

Moreover, with the rise of explicitly right-wing, fascistic parties such as Golden Dawn, renewed violence between such groups and leftist movements has become commonplace. For example two members of Golden Dawn were shot (1 November 2013) and killed, and a third man injured, while standing outside of a party office in Athens³⁰⁹. They were shot by two assailants who arrived on a motorcycle, dismounted, left their helmets on and then opened fire, releasing at least twelve rounds from a semi-automatic

³⁰⁵ Conspiracy of Cells of Fire, “We Do Not Forget Any Imprisoned Comrade: CCF 2008,” 4.

³⁰⁶ George Kassimeris, “Explaining the Persistence of Political Terrorism in Greece,” *Political Studies Association UK: Political Insight*, October 25, 2013, <http://www.psa.ac.uk/insight-plus/blog/explaining-persistence-political-terrorism-greece>.

³⁰⁷ Exarchia is a semi-autonomous neighborhood in Athens managed within the ethics of revolutionary anarchism. The area is made up of a variety of squats, social centers, and political projects and is known to be extremely hostile to police presence. It is the site of widespread graffiti/murals, wheat pastes and other forms of political street art/speech, a great deal of which is in support of anarchist guerrillaism.

³⁰⁸ Renee Maltezou and Deepa Babington, “Special Report: Inside Greece’s Violent New Anarchist Groups,” *Reuters*, August 14, 2013, Online edition, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/08/14/us-greece-anarchists-specialreport-idUSBRE97D0AK20130814>.

³⁰⁹ Ekathimerini, “Police Suspect Urban Guerrillas behind Murder of Golden Dawn Members,” *Kathimerini/International New York Times*, November 2, 2013, English Edition Online edition, http://www.ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/_w_articles_ws1_1_02/11/2013_525979.

pistol and hitting the three men in the chest and head. The attack was assumed to have been carried out by leftist urban guerillas including Revolutionary Struggle, the Sect of Revolutionaries and the CCF. It is important to note that in 2002, the Greek revolutionary network known as the 17 November group (17N), was declared dead and its members imprisoned, after 27 years of attacks on the state.

One month after the initial attacks (20 February 2008), an IED detonated at the law firm of former Minister of Justice Anastasios Papaligouras injuring one employee. That evening (21 February 2008), cell members carried out a series of separate attacks throughout the Attica region. These attacks targeted eight banks, four luxury vehicles and an insurance company. A few weeks later, cell members in Thessaloniki set fire to a government building and three security vehicles (19 March 2008). In April (9 April 2008), in solidarity with prisoners of the Italian FAI, CCF cells in two cities attacked an Italian educational institution and an Italian car exposition, destroying 35 cars. In July 2008, CCF carried out a series of attacks targeting police motorcycles (9 July 2008), diplomatic vehicles of the Moroccan embassy (10 July), three banks (10 July) and an office of New Democracy (15 July).

In mid-September (13 September 2008), at least fifteen members of the CCF in a rare semi-public action, attacked a Thessaloniki police station. The guerillas threw IEDs (Molotov cocktails) from their motorcycles, igniting two police cars, 20 police motorcycles and portions of the station's exterior. No CCF members were arrested in the attack. Later that month (25 September 2008), CCF cells used gas canister IEDs to set fire to diplomatic vehicles of belonging to the Czech Republic and Italy as well as luxury

cars, private business and three banks. Between 2008-2010 regular attacks would continue to utilize IIDs and IEDs to target government buildings and other property, banks, the homes of current and former officials, press offices, car dealerships and vehicles, and a variety of private businesses. While many attacks struck functional property of the state (e.g. police vehicles, embassies) and capital (e.g. bank ATMs, car dealerships) other attacks focused on more symbolic targets.

In November 2010, CCF deployed a series of 14 mail bombs targeting state officials. Packages were sent to the Mexican Embassy in Athens and Eurojust—and EU-wide cooperative policing agency—in the Netherlands. The embassy package reached its target and injured an employee while the Eurojust package was located and destroyed by police. Two men—Panagiotis Argyros, 22-years-old and Gerasimos Tsakalos, 24-years-old—were arrested in connection with the packages. When detained, the men were found to be in possession of two additional mail bombs addressed to French President Sarkozy and the Belgian Embassy. The suspects were wearing wigs and 9mm pistols. One of the men was also wearing a bulletproof vest.

The day after their arrest, another wave of mail bombs was discovered. Two bombs exploded outside of the Swiss Embassy and the Russian Embassy. A third IED was located and destroyed en route to an office of Europol. Three additional IEDs were also destroyed after being dispatched to the embassies of Chile, Germany and Bulgaria. Two more IEDs were located and destroyed. One device reached the offices of Italian Prime Minister Berlusconi and another reached the offices of German Chancellor Merkel.

The devices caused no injuries. The Greek response to the wave of attacks was to suspend all international airmail for 48 hours (3-4 November 2010).

In late December 2010, a month after the international mail bomb campaign, CCF cells in Athens returned to action and detonated an IED attached to a motorcycle, damaging a courthouse. The device caused no injuries after the bomber made a warning call to police who evacuated the area. Less than five months after the motorcycle attack, in May 2011, Athenian police attempted to arrest suspected members of the CCF. Upon confrontation, the two suspects opened fire and injured two officers.

In mid-2010, the CCF saw its methods and name exported from Greece to the Netherlands in a series of attacks targeting Rabobank, a Dutch, multinational banking and financial service company. According to a communiqué claiming responsibility for three arsons, the authors state that Rabobank was chosen due to its connections to the weapons industry. The authors align themselves with an international campaign of clandestine direct action targeting arms military-linked companies such as Royal Dutch Shell, ING Group, ABN AMRO Bank N.V. and Randstad Holding NV. In the communiqué for the Dutch arsons, the authors dedicate the fires to “our brothers of the prisoner’s cell of the members of Conspiracy of Cells of Fire and the oppressed people of the world.” In the text, the authors claim responsibility for three arsons (June 2010-February 2011) of Rabobank high-rise offices in the Netherlands and the hacking of a corporate website. The communiqué is signed, “Conspiracy of Cells of Fire, Dutch Cell.”³¹⁰ In the self-

³¹⁰ Conspiracy of Cells of Fire, Dutch Cell, “Attacks against Rabobank in Utrecht, by Conspiracy of Cells of Fire: Dutch Cell” (325.nostate.net, February 25, 2011), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=1790>.

assessment zine authored by imprisoned members of the CCF, the collective notes this adopted name stating:

...any comrade who agrees...with the [aforementioned] three key points...can...use the name Fire Cells Conspiracy in connection with the autonomous cell she is a part of. Just like the Dutch comrades who, without us knowing one another personally but within the framework of consistency between discourse and practice, attacked the infrastructure of domination (arson and cyber attacks against Rabobank) and claimed responsibility as the Fire Cells Conspiracy (Dutch Cell).³¹¹

Back in Greece, on 7 June 2013, a one kilogram, dynamite-based IED exploded from underneath the BMW of Maria Stefi, director of an Athenian prison where CCF comrades were detained. The CCF claimed the bombing the following day. Earlier in 2013, the various Grecian cells of the CCF claimed responsibility for the bombing of a shopping mall, additional bombings targeting homes and offices of government and media officials, as well as the drive-by shooting of an office of Prime Minister Antonis Samaras. According to one police study, there were 527 bombings in 2012, and 254 during the first six months of 2013. The source attributes the majority of these attacks to “anarchist or leftist ‘anti-establishment’ groups.”³¹² Though not all of these bombings are explicitly linked to the CCF network of cells, according to police, the network has carried out about 150 “criminal acts” 2009-2013³¹³, typified by small IEDs built inside of pressure cookers. During this time, at least 30 individuals have been arrested in connection to CCF activity. According to one deploring account of the perpetrators, the activists are described as

³¹¹ Tsakalos et al., “The Sun Still Rises,” 14.

³¹² Maltezou and Babington, “Special Report.”

³¹³ Ibid.

breaking from the traditional utopianism of Marxism, and instead are “educated, disaffected...’ nihilist[s]’ ...[who] care little about ideology.”³¹⁴

During a brief period (2012-2014), the various formations of the CCF have been involved in at least four trials, linking them to particular crimes. The first case, known as the Halandri Case, was instrumental in altering the method of attack employed by clandestine guerillas as explained by imprisoned members of the CCF who write:

The ‘Halandri Case’ as it’s been dubbed by the mass media, represents a decisive point in the trajectory of the new urban guerrilla war...About two years had passed since the appearance of the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire and—more generally—the new anarchist urban guerrilla warfare...anarchist groups engaged in propaganda by the deed were collaborating with one another in some cases, coordinating arson rampages on a national level. In many of the texts/communiqués accompanying those attacks, a new perception was being documented, settling the crosshairs of its critique on social inertia, people’s passivity, and the complicit silence that allowed power to define our lives.

In parallel, and for the first time in Greece, words and concepts like anarcho-individualism, nihilism, and antisocial anarchy were escaping the immobility of theoretical texts and seeking their place within the communiqués of practice...Meanwhile, the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire shifted from arsons to the strategy of placing explosive devices in churches, politicians’ homes, and ministries.³¹⁵

Following the Halandri case, three CCF ‘members’³¹⁶ were tried for sending explosive packages. Later, other conspirators were connected to “250 attacks”³¹⁷ and tried. Lastly, in July 2013, Andreas Tsavdaridis was tried for a mail bomb attack targeting Dimitris

³¹⁴ Ibid.

³¹⁵ Olga Economidou et al., “Imprisoned Fire Cells Conspiracy Members: Political Statement Regarding Second Halandri Case Trial” (Athens Indymedia (republished by This Is Our Job and 325.nostate), January 20, 2012), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=3978>.

³¹⁶ Gerasimos Tsakalos, Panagiotis Argyrou and Harris Hatzimichelakis

³¹⁷ The imprisoned comrades of the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire FAI/IRF, “Statement by Conspiracy of Cells of Fire about Being Charged with 250 Attacks” (325.nostate.net, August 2, 2013), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=8428>.

Horianopoulos³¹⁸, former commander anti-terrorist division commander in Greece, as part of the “Phoenix Project” campaign.

From prison, many CCF members have continued to remain active, frequently issuing theoretical, strategic and organizational texts, often as a so-called ‘imprisoned members cell.’³¹⁹ In once such communication issued May 2012 and entitled “Bullets of words for the bullets of the FAI/IRF”, ten imprisoned guerillas³²⁰ used the text to praise the shooting of Adinolfi, whom they call “a high priest of the new totalitarianism of science and technology imperatives.”³²¹ The authors speak of expanding the practice of armed struggle and state, “The practice of armed attacks was, is and will be an integral part of the new anarchist urban guerrilla warfare.”³²²

³¹⁸ Commando Mauricio Morales/FAI-IRF, “‘Commando Mauricio Morales / FAI-IRF’ Takes Responsibility for the Sending of a Parcelbomb to Dimitris Horianopoulos, Scumbag Former Commander of the Anti-Terrorist Division,” trans. boubourAs (Act for Freedom Now! (republished by 325.nostate.net), July 14, 2013), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=8334>.

³¹⁹ For example see: Panayiotis Argyrou et al., “International Proposal from the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire (Greece)” (325.nostate.net, September 26, 2011), 325.nostate.net/?p=3120; Ekonomidou et al., “CCF- Bullets of words for the bullets of the FAI/FRI”; Ekonomidou et al., “Imprisoned Fire Cells Conspiracy Members: Political Statement Regarding Second Halandri Case Trial”; Conspiracy of Cells of Fire FAI/IRF Imprisoned Members Cell, “‘Fear first nests in our souls and then raises the walls of its prisons’ – A communique by CCF about prisons,” trans. Inter Arma (Inter Arma, March 4, 2014), <https://interarma.info/en/2014/04/12/o-fovos-fwliazei-stis-psyxes-mas-spf/>; Conspiracy of Cells of Fire FAI/IRF Imprisoned Members Cell, “‘Giroshin Sha’ – An Anarchist-Illegalist Cell, Formed in Japan in the Early 20th Century,” trans. Inter Arma (325.nostate.net, April 29, 2014), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=10192>; Conspiracy of Cells of Fire FAI/IRF Imprisoned Members Cell, “Let’s become dangerous...for the diffusion of the Black International”; Conspiracy of Cells of Fire FAI/IRF Imprisoned Members Cell, “Lone Wolves Are Not Alone...,” 325, no. 10 (November 2012): 41–43; Polidoros et al., “Arming Negation”; Tsakalos et al., “The Sun Still Rises.”

³²⁰ CCF members Olga Ekonomidou, Giorgos Polidoros, Gerasimos Tsakalos, Panagiotis Argirou, Christos Tsakalos, Damiano Bolano, Michalis Nikolopoulos, Giorgos Nikolopoulos, Haris Hadjimihelakis and associated non-CCF anarchist Theofilos Mavropoulos.

³²¹ Ekonomidou et al., “CCF-Bullets of words for the bullets of the FAI/FRI.”

³²² Ibid.

The CCF has been integral in furthering the conversational, call-and-response nature of the global insurrectionary network. For example, in a CCF communiqué the authors write:

We do not share our choices only by speaking and writing texts against the state and its society but also when we offer each other possible practical ways, to make our theory practice. This is why we propose to the comrades of the FAI-IRF that we proceed to the publication of manuals which describe i.e. the way to construct an explosive mechanism, the wiring of a time bomb, the assembling of a parcel bomb, the use of a home-made system of time-delaying in incendiary attacks, the strengthening of the destructive power of a molotov, the synthesis and mixtures of ingredients for the creation of explosive materials... also our “work” in the chaotic arts of sabotage can open its thematology from the destruction of cameras, the blocking of ATMs and the construction of home-made smoke bombs up to burgling and stealing cars and motorbikes and the conservation and use of weapons.³²³

In response to this call, a group calling itself “Conspiracy of Cells of Fire - FAI/IRF International sector for spreading heretical arts (occasionally spectacular) of sabotage” published a seven page manual detailing the construction of parcel bombs from easily available materials, addressing the manual to “all anarchists of praxis, nihilists, anarchists individualists, anticivilization.”³²⁴ Prior to this, another collective, described as “siblings unknown to us who share the mutiny of FAI/IRF comrades”³²⁵ had published another guide to IIDs/IEDs in response to the CCF call.

The example of the CCF and its internationalization is meant to highlight the network’s success in expanding the scope of its struggle. Its ability to successfully produce attacks, avoid mass arrest, and maintain an international discourse of resistance

³²³ Conspiracy of Cells of Fire FAI/IRF Imprisoned Members Cell, “Lone Wolves Are Not Alone...,” 43.

³²⁴ Conspiracy of Cells of Fire - FAI/IRF International sector for spreading heretical arts (occasionally spectacular) of sabotage, “Chaotic Manuals of Sabotage” (325.nostate.net, September 2014), <http://325.nostate.net/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/pb.pdf>.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.

has a wide impact on all of the cells and networks that followed. Not only are the arrested members of CCF held up high as martyrs, but their continued involvement with the international insurrectionary network (largely through letters penned in prison) has furthered the development of an insurrectionary strategy and method that is still ongoing. The announcement of CCF cells in Mexico, the Netherlands and other locales carried forth the FAI's encouragement for local groupings to join the battle, and through the CCF's sustained propaganda, adherents are able to include even imprisoned members in the development and spreading of the so-called Black International.

The Mexican networks: Uncle Ted meets CCF

Beginning around 2010, a sudden surge of insurrectionary-styled, clandestine guerilla networks emerged in Mexico and launched a series of attacks on the state and capital. While a complete chronology and historical accounting of this movement is beyond the scope of this study, a brief review is warranted. Within Mexico, attacks have been claimed under a variety of the commonly occurring monikers including CCF, ELF, FAI and so on. To trace a single example of internationalizing monikers, we turn towards the emergence of a Mexican tendency linking CCF and the FAI. According to an inter-movement, self-narrative account authored by the "Mexican Fire Cells Conspiracy/Informal Anarchist Federation (CCF/FAI)", "[On] September 15 [2011] The Fire Cells Conspiracy (CCF) faction of the Mexican Informal Anarchist Federation (FAI-M) is formed by affinity groups and like-minded people in several Mexican states.³²⁶"

³²⁶ Mexican Fire Cells Conspiracy/Informal Anarchist Federation (CCF/FAI), "Chronology of Mexican Fire Cells Conspiracy/Informal Anarchist Federation actions," trans. This Is Our Job (Culmine (republished by

The following day (16 September 2011), the CCF/FAI-M “carries out three simultaneous arsons...Liberatory fire destroys merchandise, as flames consume Textiles Suburbia, CV Directo, and TF Victor.”³²⁷ From there the network engaged in frequent arson attacks and in less than two months set fire to sites including a warehouse, an airport staff training school, two Walmarts, a shopping mall, a lumber warehouse and at least four other businesses. From the CCF’s Greek roots and those of the FAI found in Italy, it is notable that such a formation occurred so far away, and in such a culturally different venue as Mexico. The development of this new network is reflective of national tendencies, wherein Mexico becomes a site for a renewal of militant actions and the fostering of newly lethal tendencies.

Beyond the rapid expansion of CCF/FAI-M, Mexico also saw the development of nationally-restricted networks, two of which will be examined below. This is not to discount the actions of a variety of other clandestine attackers, but rather to discuss in greater detail, two such networks that display interesting rhetoric, strategies and methods. The following accounting of history will focus on two district networks, that of the Práxedes G. Guerrero Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution (CARI-PGG), and Individualists Tending Towards the Wild (ITS). While ideologically, the former mirrors the more traditional approach of Western European anarcho-guerillas such as CCF and FAI, the ITS network resembles a newly emergent praxis borrowing from anarchism’s primitivist and anti-technology tendencies, exacted through an atypically violent pattern

This Is Our Job), October 27, 2011), <http://thisisourjob.noblogs.org/post/2011/10/27/chronology-of-mexican-fire-cells-conspiracyinformal-anarchist-federation-actions/>.

³²⁷ Ibid.

of attack. ITS and CARI-PGG's predominant deployment of explosives make them an apt network to study as their tactical and strategic patterns fall well outside of those seen in other insurrectionary networks. In short, these networks' goals are to kill and maim individuals associated with targeted institutions, while typical insurrectionary attack aims to destroy symbolic property while avoiding individual targeting of persons for injury and death.

Práxedes G. Guerrero Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution



Figure 2.1: CARI-PGG's logo as included in their communiqués

CARI-PGG are quick to state their willingness and desire to carryout lethal violence, not simply the destruction of property or the intimidation of individuals. The network makes this aim quite explicit in November 2011, writing:

The Sole-Baleno insurgent cell of the CARI-PGG declare that...a package bomb was mailed addressed to the general offices of the PGR [Federal Attorney General], to be explicit the package was addressed to the attorney general Miguel Mancera. Although our objective was to wound the heads or apparent heads of the police system, being that the package apparently 'originated' from the general

offices of Telmex, specifically from the person in Telmex responsible for the Secure City project...the package would have been returned to him if it did not reach its destination. The package bomb was composed of a galvanized metal pipe, dynamite, a 2.5 volt source, matches, cable, a 9 volt battery, and shrapnel.

Here one can observe the network's lethal aims, to "wound" either an individual associated with the PGR or another associated with Telmex. CARI-PGG emerged in late 2010. In the early months of that year, a series of communiqués were circulated on the traditional, English-language network hubs claiming responsibility for the machine gunning of police vehicles, the erection of flaming street barricades, Molotov cocktails thrown at banks and the bombing of a McDonalds. By October 2010, the first stable, repeated moniker appears, CARI-PGG, though the group was active for years prior.

According to one of their communiqués:

CARI-PGG are coordinated cells who began acting in 2008 without transmitting any claim of responsibility for our actions, and it wasn't until 2009 that a claim appeared for an action against a Renault auto company... We do not have vanguardist ideas, nor much less militarist ones, we are groups of anarchist action and we base ourselves on informality; we have often questioned ourselves on the use of signatures, but we reached the conclusion that they are only necessary as part of a strategy and nothing more. We do not pretend to bring anybody to insurrection—insurrections are spontaneous and collective, we take up the conflict in the first person.³²⁸

CARI-PGG follows the generalized insurrectionary rejection of systems of control and governance targeting "the police as an institution, their computers, their surveillance systems, their patrols, their criminologists, their experts" who work for "the interests of those who have power, for the protection of the 'social order.'"³²⁹ Furthermore, CARI-

³²⁸ Praxedis G. Guerrero Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution, "Communique for Direct Actions in Solidarity with Mario González," trans. War on Society (Contra Info (republished by War on Society), December 11, 2013), <http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=8630>.

³²⁹ Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution – Praxedis G. Guerrero, FAI, "The Sole-Baleno insurgent cell of the CARI-PGG claims the package bomb sent to the attorney general," trans. War on Society

PGG has at times claimed attacks as part of the FAI³³⁰ and in discussing the shooting of an Italian nuclear executive they write, “we are totally in accordance with the action of the Olga Cell of the FAI in having shot in the legs that bastard of nuclear energy in Italy.”³³¹ Similar to other networks, CARI-PGG regularly expresses solidarity with CCF and prominent political prisoners involved in the insurrectionary model of attack. The network’s targeting selection is not surprising and includes IEDs targeting police vehicles, banks, Starbucks, the homes of politicians’ and prison directors, the Chilean and Italian embassies, the Mexican ambassador to Greece, the Attorney General, the Federal Electricity Commission, the Mexican head of Monsanto, and the Mexican Archbishop. Between January 2010-December 2013, the moniker was used to claim responsibility for 22 bombings and at least one arson³³².

(Culmine (republished by War On Society), November 25, 2011),
<http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=2010>.

³³⁰ See for example: Ibid.; Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution – Praxedis G. Guerrero, Gabriella Segata Antolini cell and Informal Anarchist Federation/International Revolutionary Front, “Gabriella Segata Antolini cell of CARI-PGG claims package bomb to the Archbishop of Mexico,” trans. War on Society (Culmine (republished by War On Society), November 28, 2011),
<http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=2051>.

³³¹ Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution – Praxedis G. Guerrero, Cell of revolutionary action for the destruction of the State, “Cell of Revolutionary Action for the Destruction of the State – Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution – Praxedis G. Guerrero claim responsibility for sending 2 explosive packages to the Greek embassy,” trans. War on Society (Liberación Total (republished by 325.nostate), June 16, 2012), 325.nostate.net/?p=5601.

³³² A complete chronology of these attacks is included in the appendix.

Individualists Tending Toward the Wild



Figure 2.2: Image circulated with “First communiqué of Wild Reaction (RS)”³³³

Following the example of CARI-PGG, around April 2011, the next movement to emerge and utilize the international counter-information and translation service of the so-called ‘black international’ (i.e. nihilist anarchists³³⁴ of praxis), was Individualists Tending Toward the Wild [*Individualidades Tendiendo a lo Salvaje*] (ITS). According to a rare interview the group describes its purpose:

[ITS] deemed it necessary to carry out the direct attack against the Technoindustrial System. We think that the struggle against this is not only a

³³³ contra-info, “México: Primer Comunicado de Reacción Salvaje (RS),” *Contra-Info*, August 19, 2014, <http://es.contrainfo.espiv.net/2014/08/19/mexico-primer-comunicado-de-reaccion-salvaje-rs/>.

³³⁴ Though ITS shares a great deal with other anarchist-identified networks, it often contests this labeling, such as in section IV of their 7th communiqué.

stance of wanting to abandon Civilization, regressing to Nature, or in refuting the system's values, without also, attacking it.³³⁵

ITS has received international attention after repeatedly targeting scientists and researchers with lethal force. ITS has stood out from other bombers due to their lengthy, academic communiqués and direct attacks on individuals from outside the typical target set: heads of state and corporations, officials in law enforcement, jailing, etc. As previously stated, ITS is unique in its repeated, stated objective which aims to *kill* as well as their specific, tech-related target set. In the 2014 interview, cell members explain:

Our immediate objectives are very clear: injure or kill scientists and researchers (by the means of whatever violent act) who ensure the Technoindustrial System continues its course. As we have declared on various occasions, our concrete objective is not the destruction of the Technoindustrial system, it is the attack with all the necessary resources, lashing out at this system which threatens to close off all paths to the reaching of our Individual Freedom, putting into practice our defensive instinct...ITS has from the beginning proposed the attack against the system as the objective, striving to make these kinds of ideas spread around the globe through extreme acts, in defense of Wild Nature, as we have done.³³⁶

According to their own historical account offered in a 2014, communiqué, the group began in 2011, experimenting with “known and attempted arson attacks on cars and construction machinery, companies and institutions...until we decided to focus on terrorism and not sabotage.”³³⁷ From 2011-2014, ITS has deployed at least 13 mail bombs, issued two written threats packaged with bullets, and assassinated Méndez Salinas, a biotechnologist with the Institute of Bio-Technology hosted at the National

³³⁵ contra-info and Individualists Tending Toward the Wild, “Interview with Individualists Tending toward the Wild,” trans. War on Society (Contra Info (republished by War on Society), January 24, 2014), <http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=8802>.

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ Individualists Tending Toward the Wild, “Eighth Communique of Individualists Tending Toward the Wild” (Dark Nights #40 (republished by War on Society), April 9, 2014), <http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=8913>.

Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM). Salinas shot in the head, and according to ITS, was killed by “the most violent cell of ITS in Morelos, being already familiar with the purchase and use of firearms, decided to implement the act.”³³⁸

Through their various communiqués and interviews ITS has claimed responsibility for a series of attacks, many of which were claimed under other monikers and later linked to the ITS network. For example, in September 2014, ITS declared the formation of Wild Reaction (RS):

After a little more than three years of criminal-terrorist activity, the group ‘Individualists Tending toward the Wild’ (ITS), begins a new phase in this open war against the Technoindustrial System...we want to explain that during all of 2012 and 2013, various groups of a terrorist and sabotage stripe were uniting themselves with the group ITS, so that now, after a long silence and for purely strategic reasons, we publicly claim [10 attacks from newly affiliated networks]... All of these have now fused with the ITS groups in Morelos, Mexico City, Guanajuato, Hidalgo, Coahuila and Veracruz...Due to this union, the extravagant and little-practical pseudonym of ‘Individualists Tending toward the Wild’ (ITS) ceases to exist, and from now on the attacks against technology and civilization will be signed with the new name of ‘Wild Reaction’ (RS).

Prior to this in April 2014, a group calling itself Obsidian Point Circle of *Analysis* (OPCA), after publishing three commentaries³³⁹ on ITS and becoming tired of simply writing, activated a new clandestine cell (which would later be absorbed into RS) called Obsidian Point Circle of *Attack* (OPCA). In its opening declaration OPCA writes:

It has been some time since we started writing about some situations that had arisen in Mexico concerning the terrorist group ITS; we published a total of three analyses, in which we have publicly demonstrated our support of the group ITS,

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ “Obsidian Point” Circle of Analysis, “On the latest communique from ITS,” trans. War on Society (Material Anarquista (republished by War on Society), February 19, 2013), <http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=7353>; “Obsidian Point” Circle of Analysis, “El figón, la prensa y los terroristas. México” (Liberación Total, March 14, 2013), <http://liberaciontotal.lahaine.org/?p=5015>; “Obsidian Point” Circle of Analysis, “Bomb Threat: An immediate response to all the infamy” (Liberación Total (republished by War on Society), April 5, 2013), <https://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=7702>.

in their actions as much as their position. Until now we have decided to solely be those who comfortably spread and highlighted the group's communiques and actions, but that is over. The violent advance of the techno-industrial system, the degradation that civilization leaves in its wake and the oblivion they are forcing us toward, ceasing to be natural humans to the point of turning into humanoids: there must be a convincing response.

We abandon words and analyses in order to begin with our war, the war against what kills us and consumes us, against the invincible megamachine which only wild nature or its very own technology can collapse. We do not seek victories, triumphs or results from what we do or have done, we are not revolutionaries, platformists or anarchists.

We only seek confrontation with the system, the sharpening of the conflict against it. From this day we publicly put aside the word 'analysis,' in order to become The Obsidian Point Circle of Attack.³⁴⁰

In other words, according to their own narrative, ITS inspired public commentary and critique by OPCAn, and in September 2014, when ITS became RS, it was announced that RS included OPCA as well. In the first declaration by RS, the authors explain, "during this year, 2014, two more terroristic groups have united with us who have put the development of the Technoindustrial System in their sights...The 'Obsidian Point Circle of Attack'...[and]...The 'Atlatl Group.'" Therefore, a complete history of ITS's actions³⁴¹, includes both attacks claimed under their name, those claimed under the OPCA and RS names, as well as smaller groupings merged under the network's banner. According to a chronology assembled from the networks' communications, one can identify at least 27 distinct actions including 22 IED attacks (mostly mail and

³⁴⁰ Obsidian Point Circle of Attack, "Communique for Package Bomb Sent to the Rector of UNAM" (War on Society, April 14, 2014), <http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=8967>.

³⁴¹ A complete chronology of these attacks is included in the appendix.

package/parcel bombs), the issuing of three written threats, several arsons of property, one animal release, and one fatal shooting.

ITS's bombs have targeted civilian, seemingly 'non-political' scientists, professors, technical experts, researchers and technocrats and within a politic most closely described as Kaczynskian anarcho-primitivism. This method of argumentation, targeting and explosives was popularized in the 1980s by famed "Unabomber" Ted Kaczynski. Kaczynski's 17-year (1978-1995) bombing campaign involved 16 bombs, which killed three people and injured 23. Following the publication of *Industrial Society and its Future*³⁴²—popularly known as the "Unabomber manifesto" and released five months after his final attack³⁴³—Kaczynski's spirit has been carried forth by ITS and a few similar networks.

A comparison between the critique, tactics and rhetoric of ITS and Kaczynski has been made in an overwhelming majority of press accounts of ITS's activity³⁴⁴. The tendency for scholars, reporters and commentators to make such comparisons may have

³⁴² David Skrbina, "Introduction," in *Technological Slavery: The Collected Writings of Theodore J. Kaczynski, A.k.a. "The Unabomber,"* ed. David Skrbina (Los Angeles, CA: Feral House, 2010), 17–34.

³⁴³ Kaczynski, *Technological Slavery*, 25.

³⁴⁴ For example see: Jamie Bartlett, "As Technology Swamps Our Lives, the next Unabombers Are Waiting for Their Moment," *UK Telegraph Blog*, May 13, 2014, <http://blogs.telegraph.co.uk/technology/jamiebartlett/100013504/as-technology-swamps-our-lives-the-next-unabombers-are-waiting-for-their-moment/>; Gerardo Herrera Corral, "Stand up against the Anti-Technology Terrorists," *Nature News* 476, no. 7361 (August 22, 2011): 373–373, doi:10.1038/476373a; Geoffrey Ingersoll, "Mexican Anarchists Are Blowing Up Scientists And The Government Is Freaked," *Business Insider*, March 8, 2013, <http://www.businessinsider.com/anarchists-bomb-scientists-like-ted-2013-3>; Scarlet Sable, "Fear Under a Microscope: ITS & the Conflict With Nanotechnology," *The Peak Magazine* 53, no. 3 (January 15, 2014): 9; Mark Stevenson, "'Individuals Tending To Savagery' Anti-Technology Group Sent Bomb To Monterrey Technological Institute Professors," *Huffington Post*, August 10, 2011, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/08/10/individuals-tending-to-sa_n_923030.html; Arturo Ángel, "Van por 'ala terrorista' de anarquistas," trans. Liberación Total (Liberación Total (republished by War on Society), March 6, 2013), <http://www.24-horas.mx/van-por-ala-terrorista-de-anarquistas/waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=7444>.

led ITS to specifically address their relationship to Kaczynski in their fourth communiqué wherein they write:

Have *ITS* copied Ted Kaczynski? The million-dollar question.

Without a doubt, we see this person an individual who with his profound rational analysis contributed greatly to the advance of anti-technological ideas; his simple way of living in a manner strictly away from Civilization and the persecution of his Freedom in an optimal environment make him a worthy individual who due to a family betrayal is serving multiple life sentences in the United States.

Although there are notable discrepancies with his discourse, *ITS* do not consider it as very distant from what motivates us to keep attacking those intellectually responsible for the imposition of artificial life.

If we cite [Max] Stirner, [Ayn] Rand, [Theodore] Kaczynski, [Friedrich] Nietzsche, [George] Orwell, some scientists and other people in our communiqués they are only for references, we do not have reason to be in agreement with all their lines and positions.

It has been said that we imitate the Unabomber; perhaps we have seen as strategic the action of [Kaczynski's moniker] the Freedom Club [FC] against scientific personalities in the United States in the 70's, 80's and 90's, and we have adopted this, but let it be clear that we have not imitated all his discourse in its totality, since as we said above, there are points that are plainly contrary to the positions of the FC.³⁴⁵

In their sixth communiqué, ITS notes that their early writings (comprised of their first³⁴⁶ and second³⁴⁷ communiqués) did in fact borrow from Kaczynski, but that after reflecting on their “poor interpretations” the group has “discarded [Kaczynski's ideas] and now for

³⁴⁵ Individualists Tending Toward the Wild, “Fourth Communiqué from Individualists Tending toward the Wild” (War on Society, September 21, 2011), <http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=2913> [Emphasis included in original].

³⁴⁶ Individualists Tending Toward the Wild, “Explosive Package Sent to the Head of the Division of Nanotechnology Engineering, Universidad Politécnica, Valle de Mexico,” trans. War on Society (Culmine (republished by War On Society), April 27, 2011), <http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=614>.

³⁴⁷ Individualists Tending Toward the Wild, “Second Communiqué from Individualists Tending toward the Wild” (War on Society, May 22, 2011), <http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=3093>.

us they have no validity.”³⁴⁸ Despite what many regard as similarities in critique, and despite ITS occasionally quoting Kaczynski directly³⁴⁹, in its later communiqués, ITS explicitly denies ideological connections. In ITS’s first communiqué as the newly named “Wild Reaction, ‘Kill or Die’ Group” (RS) the group writes:

We deny being followers of Ted Kaczynski... we have indeed learned many things from reading Industrial Society and Its Future, the texts after this and the letters before this text signed by ‘Freedom Club’ (FC), but that does not mean that we are his followers. In fact our position clashes with Kaczynski’s, FC’s, his disciple Último Reducto and others, since we do not consider ourselves revolutionaries, we do not want to form an ‘anti-technological movement’ that encourages the ‘total overthrow of the system,’ we do not see it as viable, we do not want victory, we do not pretend to win or lose, this is an individual fight against the mega-machine; we don’t care about getting something positive from this, since we are simply guided by our instincts of defense and survival.³⁵⁰

Here one can witness RS’s declared revolutionary intent, to ‘bring it all crashing down’ while avoiding the trapping of movement building and conceiving of the conflict in terms of winners and losers. In this communiqué, after the group changed its name, RS goes on to further declare their ideological independence from the prominent critics of technology (e.g. primitivists) as well as the global anarcho-insurrectional milieu through which their communications are circulated and consumed. In their proclamation of non-affiliation, RS states:

Thus neither Kaczynski, Último Reducto, [John] Zerzan, Derrick Jensen, or any other with the (supposed) “primitivist” stamp represents RS. Nor do the Informal Anarchist Federation (FAI), the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire (CCF), Feral Faun, or any other with the ‘ecoanarchist’ or ‘anti-civilization cell of...’ stamp. RS and its groups only represent themselves.

³⁴⁸ Individualists Tending Toward the Wild, “Sixth Communiqué from Individualists Tending toward the Wild” (War on Society, January 29, 2012), <http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=3162>.

³⁴⁹ Individualists Tending Toward the Wild, “8th Communiqué.”

³⁵⁰ Wild Reaction, “Kill or Die” Group, “First communiqué of Wild Reaction (RS),” trans. War on Society (War on Society, August 14, 2014), <https://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=9225> [Emphasis in original].

Despite ITS/RS's insistence to the contrary, prominent anarcho-primitivist thinker John Zerzen, often spoken of as the 'father' of the movement, notes that "ITS group is real slavish to Ted Kaczynski."³⁵¹ Zerzen goes on to say that he does not believe ITS's methods will prove successful and that he is "turn[ed] off" by their usage of mailed explosives and their cavalier dismissal of human casualties.³⁵²

Case Study: Internationalizing Campaigns of Attack

...we make a call for multiplication of direct attack actions. We do it without arrogance, but with the knowledge that anarchist proposal of autonomous attack by groups of related comrades horizontally organized, is possible, real, ever-present and necessary.

*We also claim this action as a part of...[FAI/IRF]...sharing the objectives it raises: **ANARCHIST AUTONOMOUS ATTACK**, always on offensive, without hierarchies and without specializations. **INTERNATIONALISM**, as the anti-authoritarian praxis knows no bounds, states or nations, connecting with other insurgent wills around the world. And **SOLIDARITY**, because we do not forget about our comrades inside the enemy's prisons.*

*Also we claim this action as Phoenix Project, to give new impetus to the anti-authoritarian violent action in this area dominated by the Chilean State, as a way of facing repression and show that the anarchist attack is still alive and it will not surrender.*³⁵³

-- Arsonist Anarchist Attack, "Fire and Consciousness" Cell (FAI/IRF) [2015]

The insurrectionary movement, as it is being defined throughout this study, is organized through a decentralized model drawn from the larger anarchist praxis. The roles played

³⁵¹ Roc Morin, "The Anarcho-Primitivist Who Wants Us All to Give Up Technology," *VICE Magazine*, June 25, 2014, sec. VICE Stuff, <http://www.vice.com/print/john-zerzan-wants-us-to-give-up-all-of-our-technology>.

³⁵² Ibid.

³⁵³ Arsonist Anarchist Attack. "Fire and Consciousness" Cell (FAI-IRF) - Chile, "Phoenix Project 2015: Attack against Animal Exploitation Company by 'Arsonist Anarchist Attack – Fire and Consciousness Cell – FAI/IRF,'" trans. Idioma Negro (325.nostate.net, April 15, 2015), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=15926> [emphasis/capitalization in original].

by anti-authoritarian, horizontalist politics in the molding of leftist networks has been the subject of much scholarship. Anarchist theorist Uri Gordon described the generalized anarchist milieu as "network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations...on the basis of a shared collective identity"³⁵⁴. Gordon goes on to state that this 'movement's architecture' is "a decentralized global network of communication, coordination and mutual support among countless autonomous nodes of social struggle, overwhelmingly lacking formal membership or fixed boundaries."³⁵⁵ Such a description is applicable to the insurrectionary milieu, which can be understood as a subset or a derivative of the larger anarchist movement or political tendency. For the insurrectionists, international campaigns of attack are coordinated through a diverse, virtual exchange of ideas played out via the texts of communiqués and claims of responsibility.

In attempting to accurately portray this organizational tendency through a modern insurrectionary example, we can examine the "Phoenix" campaign that occurred in 2013-2015³⁵⁶. The campaign began 7 June 2013, when a cell identifying with the CCF-FAI/IRF moniker claimed responsibility for a bomb attack in Athens.³⁵⁷ The targeted vehicle belonged to Maria Stefi, the director of the prison where members of the CCF

³⁵⁴ Gordon, *Anarchy Alive! Anti-Authoritarian Politics from Practice to Theory*, 14.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ At the time of writing, the last attack to be carried out as part of the Phoenix Project occurred 7 April 2015 in Chile. The history of these attacks is detailed in the appendix.

³⁵⁷ This first attack of the Phoenix campaign, as well as attacks #3 and #4 have been linked to Andreas Tsavdaridis and Spyros Mandylas as well as already imprisoned member of the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire (CCF). As of May 2014, the defendants were awaiting trial pending changes including the attempted murder of the target, Dimitris Chorianopoulos. This is detailed in the article "Update on the 'Phoenix' Project Trial (Greece)" written by Inter Arma and republished by 325.nostate.net, on May 8, 2014. This is available at: <http://325.nostate.net/?p=10297>.

were being held. The attackers were quick to claim the attack “as a display of genuine solidarity with our ten imprisoned brothers and sisters.”³⁵⁸ Interestingly, the bomb attack disrupted a period of inactivity for the CCF, as the authors write:

After almost two years of silence throughout the Greek territory, the CCF returns. Maintaining a common front with the...FAI cells (‘Antifascist Front’, ‘Unscathed Cell of Vengeance’, ‘Lone Wolf Cell’, etc.)... we support and strengthen the international conspiracy of the Informal Anarchist Federation/International Revolutionary Front.³⁵⁹

The reemergence of the CCF moniker and the reinvigoration of this network, was portrayed as the rising of the phoenix. The attackers called the bombing part of the “Phoenix Project” implying that the incident was not a single occurrence.

Then, less than two weeks later, the second attack of the Phoenix Project occurred, the bombing of a car belonging to a “hated prison guard in Argos, Greece.”³⁶⁰ The attack was claimed by the “International Conspiracy for Revenge/FAI,” a newly coined moniker. A few days later, in what the attackers called “Phoenix Project – Act Two”, the third in a series of attacks in Greece occurred, similarly targeting the vehicle of a prison worker. Around 22 June 22 2013, the “FAI-International Conspiracy for Revenge” (the same moniker which claimed the second Phoenix attack), blew up the car of a prison guard whom they accuse of abuse, intimidation and bullying, writing that “the

³⁵⁸ Conspiracy of Cells of Fire-FAI/IRF, Consciousness Gangs-FAI/IRF, and Sole-Baleno Cell, “Responsibility Claim for Explosive Attack on Vehicle of the Koridallos Prisons Director, in the District of Dafni,” trans. contra-info (Athens Indymedia (republished by 325.nostate.net), June 11, 2013), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=8080>.

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

³⁶⁰ International Conspiracy for Revenge/FAI, “Explosion Destroys the Personal Car of a Prison Guard – ICR / FAI Take Responsibility as Part of Phoenix Project” (Athens Indymedia (republished by 325.nostate.net), June 21, 2013), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=8149>.

enemies of freedom have names and addresses.”³⁶¹ The communiqué addresses the issue of prison abuse and uses the text to further expand on the internationalist network

writing:

The new anarchist urban guerrilla is not a means of struggle, it is our existence itself. All the rest which does not promote the continuous anarchist insurrection is ideological cowardice.

FAI (Informal Anarchist Federation) in cooperation with the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire aims to create a diffuse network of direct action cell in the Greek territory which will strike where the enemy does not expect it. Small autonomous flexible armed cells watch, collect info, sometimes cooperate sometimes not and choose the moment of sudden attack. Only in the attack is there life. We are anarchists of action, chaotic, nihilist, egoists, godless, we are the carriers of the black flags of anarcho-nihilism.³⁶²

A few days after this communiqué was issued, expanding on and articulating the networked reality of the FAI, the Phoenix Project internationalized.

On 26 June 2013, insurrectionists in Jakarta, Indonesia carried out an arson attack targeting the Sheraton Hotel. The arsonists label their attack “Phoenix Project – Part 3” and note that their decision to act is “[their] decision to respond to the call from our Greek comrades.”³⁶³ In their closing remarks, authors encourage further continuation of the campaign writing “Let’s make the Phoenix project as an international project for revenge!”³⁶⁴, signing the communiqué the “Anger Unit of the International Conspiracy for Revenge/FAI-IRF,” once again utilizing that shared moniker and adding a new

³⁶¹ International Conspiracy for Revenge/FAI, “International Conspiracy for Revenge / FAI Take Responsibility for Blowing up the Vehicle of Argiris Gelbouras, Navplio Prison Screw,” trans. boubourAs (Act for Freedom Now! (republished by 325.nostate.net), June 22, 2013), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=8174>.

³⁶² Ibid.

³⁶³ International Conspiracy for Revenge/FAI-IRF and Anger Unit, “Anger Unit / ICR-FAI-IRF Burn down the Third Floor of Former Sheraton Hotel, ‘The Media Hotel and Tower’” (325.nostate.net, June 26, 2013), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=8227>.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

service unit. After the attack in Jakarta, at least ten more attacks would occur, totaling 14 “Phoenix Project” attacks as of Summer 2014.³⁶⁵ Following one such attack, the authors summarize the intent of the campaign writing:

[The] Project Phoenix is a punch in the gut. A punch in the gut because the new anarchist urban guerrilla is here and tears down the desires of all these worms to terminate our actions. Old groups are activated and new are created, with the promise to give life to the nightmares of authority and its subjects.³⁶⁶

From the brief history of the Phoenix Project, one can see the deployment of adoptable network monikers used to claim cell-level responsibility for an attack while simultaneously demonstrating coordination and ideological affinity within a larger movement-level initiative. We see monikers deterritorialize, adapt, grow and change. From one initial challenge and call to action, cells around the world attack and in doing so, develop a decentralized campaign of sorts. Gordon, in his description of anarchist organization, likens such moniker networks to the concept of a “rhizome”—a terminology borrowed from the work of Deleuze and Guattari³⁶⁷.

Borrowing from the work of anthropologist Jeff Juris³⁶⁸, Gordon points out that anarchist networks display a uniqueness, seeking not traditional social movement “recruitment” but instead the reproduction of networks through a “horizontal expansion and enhanced ‘connectivity.’”³⁶⁹ For example, in describing the structuring and strategy of

³⁶⁵ A complete chronology of the “Phoenix Project” attacks is included in the appendix.

³⁶⁶ Commando Mauricio Morales/FAI-IRF, “‘Commando Mauricio Morales / FAI-IRF’ Takes Responsibility for the Sending of a Parcelbomb to Dimitris Horianopoulos, Scumbag Former Commander of the Anti-Terrorist Division.”

³⁶⁷ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*.

³⁶⁸ Juris, “Digital Age Activism.”

³⁶⁹ Gordon, *Anarchy Alive! Anti-Authoritarian Politics from Practice to Theory*, 15.

the global network of attack, an anonymous author(s)³⁷⁰ describes these horizontally-connected networks and states:

...with the bombing against the director of Koridallios prisons, we coordinate our attacks through the FAI/IRF international network...FAI/IRF is an international conspiracy of anarchists of praxis that sets fire on the defense positions of reformist societist (sic) anarchists. It gets rid of the smell of mold that has settled in anarchy seen at amphitheaters, and fills the air with the smell of gunpowder, black anarchy, nighttime, explosions, gunshots, sabotages. This explains why the International Revolutionary Front of FAI and Conspiracy is on top of the anarchist dangers list as cited in recent Europol reports.

Diffusion and informal organizing within the new anarchy into autonomous cells of direct action are what really scare the police of the whole world. Therefore, the State and the enemies of anarchy do not easily forget the anarchist militants who are held captive under their prisons' authority.³⁷¹

This 'coordinated attacks through the FAI/IRF international network' has been the method originated in Italy, and rapidly spread to Greece, Mexico and scores of other countries. Nearly two years after the initiation of the Phoenix Project (in June 2013), combatant cells were still carrying the model forward. In a communiqué issued April 2015, the author(s) state that their IID attack targeting an office of Microsoft was carried out as a "contribution to the comrades of Czech FAI/IRF suggestion, who burned a police car and suggested the creation of an international action project with the name ' , modeled on the 'Phoenix' Project."³⁷² A few days later, yet another Phoenix Project-linked attack was claimed, this time the arson of a meat company's office in Chile. Clearly the notion

³⁷⁰ Throughout these pages, determining precisely how many authors wrote a particular work is nearly impossible. Often times, this difficulty is noted within the text by writing the sentence subject in the singular, and parenthetically noting the plural (e.g. author(s)). Monikers are typically referred to in the plural as well, such as, "The ALF broke a window. *They* did it with a rock."

³⁷¹ Conspiracy of Cells of Fire-FAI/IRF, Consciousness Gangs-FAI/IRF, and Sole-Baleno Cell, "Responsibility Claim for Explosive Attack on Vehicle of the Koridallios Prisons Director, in the District of Dafni."

³⁷² Combative Anarchy, FAI-IRF, "Incendiary attack against the central offices of Microsoft by 'Combative Anarchy – FAI/IRF,'" trans. Inter Arma (Inter Arma (republished by 325.nostate.net), April 9, 2015), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=15815>.

of carrying forth campaigns of attack initiated by one cell and furthered by others will only continue. The example of the Phoenix Project was presented to show one such expansion, but a growing list would fill page after page. Since the emergence of the FAI, CCF and others in the dawn of the millennium, the expansion of clandestine insurrectionary attack has been swift. The preceding history has attempted to trace this history, not only from its nineteenth century ideological roots, but also from its more modern organizational genesis. In the following chapters, this history will be built upon in terms of a historicized strategy, and the contemporary discourse which allows the masked attackers to develop refine and disseminate a growing body of theory, analysis and critique.

Conclusion

This history of struggle is meant to develop a genealogy of insurrection based around the most often-invoked characters and periods. While there is not a chronologically-direct lineage from Fawkes to Bakunin and onwards to the CCF, these pre-modern actors, movements and events constitute the foundational precursors to the present period. Most, if not all of the individuals mentioned in this history are unearthed in the propaganda and theory offered through insurrectionary communiqués. Ideas are adopted and stolen without attribution and names of the fallen are summoned from centuries past to inspire and incite. To cite one example, in the April 2014 OPCA communiqué emanating from Mexico which was previous discussed, the author(s) state, “We abandon words and analyses in order to begin with our war”, a notion reminiscent of Nechayev’s recommendation that those conspiring for attack to “prove himself (sic) not by words but

by deeds.”³⁷³ More famous, is the modern insurrectionary text, *How is it to be done?*³⁷⁴, which borrows its title from Lenin’s 1917 article *Just How Is it To Be Done?*³⁷⁵ without attribution. These are but two examples of the carrying forth of aged ideas without harkening back. In this manner, in the construction of an insurrectionary pre-history, one must examine the actions of attackers as well as their theories as the latter is often presented as ahistorical; operating independent of obvious precursors. In the chapter that follows this history of insurrection will be discussed in light of its shared and divergent characteristics with the modern movement. Therefore, while keeping this previously unearthed history in mind, the proceeding chapter will build upon this history, and apply it to the formation of post-millennial networks.

³⁷³ Sergey Nechayev, “The Revolutionary Catechism” (Marxist Internet Archive, 1869), sec. 12, <https://www.marxists.org/subject/anarchism/nechayev/catechism.htm>.

³⁷⁴ Tiqqun, “How Is It To Be Done?,” trans. Tiqqunista (Tiqqun, Spring 2001), https://tiqqunista.jottit.com/how_is_it_to_be_done%3F.

³⁷⁵ V. I. Lenin, “Just How Is It to Be Done?,” *Pravda*, No. 95 (republished by Marxists Internet Archive), June 13, 1917, Online edition, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1917/jul/13a.htm>.

CHAPTER THREE

I believe that the action of these specific incendiary groups contributed to the unstoppable course of anarchist insurrection. Incendiary attacks are an inseparable part of the struggle because they are easy to carry out by new comrades, keep the fire of belligerent hostilities burning and contribute to the spreading of anarchist violence. They add their own pebbles to the continuation of the anarchist urban guerilla and cause trouble to the smooth running of the system. Of course arsons must occur in relation with all the expressions of anarchist violence (bomb attacks, political executions, violent mass clashes, raiding excursions), in order to create a common uncontrollable and dangerous front for action, which sets the total destruction of the existent as its only limit.³⁷⁶

-- Nikos Romanos, anarchist militant and member of "FAI-Fires on the Horizon," "FAI-Unit Fire to the Galleys" & "Flaming Shadows and Militant Minority" [2014]

³⁷⁶ Nikos Romanos, "Letter from Nikos Romanos – 'The question of dignity,'" trans. Act for Freedom Now! (325.nostate.net, May 2014), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=10496>.

The Structuring of Social War

The preceding chapter sought to examine a genealogical mapping of the insurrectionary tendency, linking it to not only past fighters whose names are carried on into the present, but also those in struggle whose methods and aims coincided with that of the modern networks of attack. With this historical record in mind, the present chapter seeks to interrogate these past eras of struggle and to examine them in light of the modernist tendency. In other words, this chapter is not simply a continuation of the historical record offered in Chapter Two, but rather a distinct pursuit that seeks to frame the *strategic* and *structural* influences embraced by insurrectionary networks. In this pursuit, this chapter will seek to differentiate post-millennial armed struggle from armed movements for liberation located in the past. In doing so, these efforts serve to provide an interpretation of the historical account; specifically focusing on those issues that can best improve our understanding of insurrectionism. This approach is necessary to provide an analytical component to the aforementioned historical account. In this progression, Chapter Two's history provides the background and framework for Chapter Three's discussion. These chapters collectively aim to familiarize the reader with the movement, its history, and its methods, which are necessary to understand prior to the discussion of communiqués offered in the final three chapters.

The preceding history (Chapter Two) detailed the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries before skipping abruptly forward from the 1930s to the 2000s. In doing so, one misses a discussion of one of the most active periods of modern asymmetric conflict between the masses and the state: the era of the Vietnam War. The chapter that follows

corrects for this by directing detailed examination towards the era of armed struggle that arose after World War II and declined by the 1980s. The following discussion will first examine the modern insurrectionary *strategy* as an intentional (yet often unacknowledged) adaptation of guerilla warfare strategies embodied in leftist, ethno-nationalist and separatist movements of the 1970s. In reading insurrection as a form of warfare on par with that of Latin American paramilitaries, one is able to compare and contrast these methods of combat in terms of locale, scale, tactics and strategy.

Secondly, following the discussion of insurrection as warfare, one will examine the embracing of illegalist expropriation (i.e. robbery and theft) and the key ‘question of terrorism,’ in other words, do insurrectionary methods constitute a form of terrorism. One will ask the question: How does this milieu interact with the post-9/11 rhetoric of terrorism, both in a rejection of its trappings and an embracing of its rhetorical power. Thirdly, the chapter will explore the intellectual and experiential history of *rural* guerrilla warfare of the Marxists—embodied in Latin American focalism—and explore its adaptation into a form of urbanized warfare by the modern insurrectionaries. Forth, one will focus on the revolutionary’s identity as either a ‘full time’ or ‘part time’ fighter, before further exploring structure through an analysis of the genealogical connections between the affinity group model popularized in the 1990s and those of the modern insurrectionary network. This history relies upon the historical narrative developed in the previous chapter, especially the ‘anti-globalization’ period occurring between the passage of NAFTA in 1994, and the dawn of the millennium six years later.

Finally, the chapter will explore the question of claiming authorship for attacks. It will compare and contrast the ways through which clandestine, networks negotiate ‘guidelines’ for group inclusion/exclusion, and explore ongoing debates concerning the utility of claiming attacks via monikers versus leaving strikes unattributed. These questions must be understood as key to the development of an insurrectionary *method*, a way of understanding combat and practicing resistance. How one structures a network, how one linguistically positions itself vis-à-vis the notion of terrorism, how one determines group identity, and how a group claims ownership over attacks—these decisions collectively determine group identity in key ways and are therefore necessary to explore prior to a further interrogation of modern insurrectionary combat.

Insurrection: Strategy, Structure and Form

Insurrectionary struggle must be understood as more than the sum of its communiqués. To understand it only in these regards is reductionist and misses important occurrences such as frequent street-level confrontations, marches, building occupations, riots, blockades, and clandestine attacks. A defender of insurrectionary strategy commented in an anarchist message board, trying to succinctly explain this strategy and framework, writing:

The insurrection purposed by many contemporary anarchists is an informal non-military non-non-violent communication or egoist campaign. An insurrection is the actualization of our desires that go against the ruling order. An insurrection spread cracks in the spectacle of social peace. The anarchist insurrection is the

riot, the social war, the blockade, the strike, the gang, the commune, and so much more.³⁷⁷

The insurrectionary strategy, or rather the strategy proposed by insurrectionists is a multi-faceted initiative based around building autonomous spaces³⁷⁸ (e.g. squats, communes, police-free neighborhoods, zones of opacity³⁷⁹, temporary autonomous zones³⁸⁰), fostering conflict to expose inequality (i.e. making social war), and directly attacking forms of domination through informal, individualist, illegal action including property destruction, sabotage, propaganda, expropriation and strikes at individuals.

Unlike Marxism and other revolutionary frameworks, insurrectionary anarchism is not rooted in a specific theory of change (e.g. historical materialism) but is rather a theory of critique and action, not prefiguration. In his discussion of guerrilla warfare and terrorism, conflict theorist Richard Rubenstein points to a two stage understanding advocated by Vietnamese leader and military strategist General Vo Nguyen Giap who divided the conflict into two stages, beginning with guerrilla war before moving into more conventional forms of warfare³⁸¹. General Giap understood the role played by guerrilla violence, stating:

At the price of their hard-won experiences, our compatriots in the South realized that the fundamental trend of imperialism and its lackeys is violence and war; that is why *the most correct path to be followed by the peoples to liberate themselves*

³⁷⁷ Anonymous, "I Guess I'll Give It a Shot", in Response to 'Anarchist Logistics: Sustaining Resistance Beyond Activism and Insurrection (by Jeff Shantz)', Comment, *Anarchistnews.org*, (October 12, 2014), <http://anarchistnews.org/comment/53648#comment-53648>.

³⁷⁸ The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection*, 101–116.

³⁷⁹ The Institute for Experimental Freedom, *Between Predicates, War: Theses On Contemporary Struggle*, ePub (The Institute for Experimental Freedom, 2013), 50; The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection*, 107–108.

³⁸⁰ Hakim Bey, *T.A.Z. the Temporary Autonomous Zone, Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism* (Autonomedia, 1991).

³⁸¹ Rubenstein, *Alchemists of Revolution*, 29–30.

is revolutionary violence and revolutionary war. This path conforms strictly to the ethics and the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism on class struggle, on the state and the revolution. Only by revolutionary violence can the masses defeat aggressive imperialism and its lackeys and overthrow the reactionary administration to take power.³⁸²

While the guerrilla warfare resembles the strategies and tactics of the insurrectionists, it is in this second stage, where one move into a phase of more regular combat, that the comparison breaks down. While the Marxist and nationalist struggles of this era were defined by the desire to foster a “mass-based guerrilla army” in order to “move from large-scale rebellion to revolution,”³⁸³ the insurrectionary perspective lacks this prescriptive chronology and sees only the moment of the attack, the resulting rupture, and the attacks that follow. These do not necessarily culminate—in terms of scale and mass—in a revolution in the traditional Marxist sense, but there is a presumption that attacks lead to more attacks, which in some way lead to structural change.

The insurrectionary milieu has a tactical and strategic understanding, and while many individuals quite obviously possess a clearly demarcated theory of change, the movement on the whole is not based in this predictive reality. While not advocating a shared theory of social change, the insurrectionary milieu shares a “violence framing” which speaks to a “set of culturally salient violent practices through which to understand it contextualize a political situation...or a proposed course of action.”³⁸⁴ This shared “violence framing” is prevalent despite the lack of a clearly established, and often

³⁸² Vo Nguyen Giap, *The South Vietnam People Will Win* (Honolulu, HI: University Press of the Pacific, 1965), 52 [Emphasis in original].

³⁸³ Rubenstein, *Alchemists of Revolution*, 30.

³⁸⁴ Gilbert Ramsey and Donald Holbrook, “The Representation of Violence by Insurgent Political Actors: The ‘violent’ Part of ‘violent Extremism’?,” *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 7, no. 1 (2014): 86–87.

repeated, long-term, prescriptive vision. It could be argued that this represents a “global framing” wherein the milieu “[utilizes] international symbols to frame domestic issues for the purpose of mobilizing support,”³⁸⁵ but as these networks actively ignore nation-state boundaries, such transnational distinctions become less relevant and meaningful. For example, insurrectionary attackers are extremely unlikely to call for the revolutionary overthrow of specific nation-states but instead advocate a totalized war wherein *all* beings are emancipated from *all* forms of domination.

Instead of predicting the forms of change, the movement is focused on the production of attacks—what social movement theorist Donnatella della Porta calls “the logic of [material] damage”³⁸⁶—making these attacks larger and more frequent. While these attacks have a variety of aims, one central goal is to ‘interrupt the flow of commodities.’³⁸⁷ This is achieved when a bank is unable to open after having its windows smashed, a fleet of police cars needs to be replaced and is unable to patrol for a period, or a multinational office is forced to lockdown after receiving an explosive package or threat. These strikes against state and capital which seek to ‘interrupt the flow’ are not centrally directed, yet follow a basic guiding logic, as explained by the anonymous authors of *The Coming Insurrection* who instruct, “As for methods, let’s adopt the following principle from sabotage: a minimum of risk in taking the action, a minimum of time, and maximum damage.”³⁸⁸ The strategy is thus simultaneously aimed at tearing down (the

³⁸⁵ David Drissel, “Reframing the Taliban Insurgency in Afghanistan: New Communication and Mobilization Strategies for the Twitter Generation,” *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 7, no. 2 (December 6, 2014): 3, doi:10.1080/19434472.2014.986496.

³⁸⁶ Della Porta and Diani, *Social Movements*, sec. 7.3.2.

³⁸⁷ The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection*, 119.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 111.

state) and building up (the commune). As one anonymous writer states, “The commune is the basic unit of partisan reality. An insurrectional surge may be nothing more than a multiplication of communes, their coming into contact and forming of ties.”³⁸⁹ This strategy offered by TIC seeks to replace “the institutions of society: family, school, union, sport club” with counter formations, based in an anti-authoritarian structure that meet the “material and moral” needs³⁹⁰. To ‘build the commune’ one seeks to create counter-bodies which sap power from the institutions of the society one seeks to destroy. It is the expansion, and multiplication of ungovernable zones, and communities of resistance based around mutual aid, solidarity, self-sufficiency and resistance to domination.

TIC slyly lays out their macro strategy in the chapter headings of *The Coming Insurrection*. While the beginning of the book describes and critiques the society at large (modeled after Dante Alighieri’s ‘nine circles of Hell’), the final four chapters lay out a method which brings one from the moment of the present, constrained by domination, to a future which is more free. The authors describe these stages as:

Get Going!
Find Each Other
Get Organized
Insurrection³⁹¹

This is the broadly defined insurrectionary proscriptio for action. The insurrectionary action advocated in *The Coming Insurrection* is one of building up communities of

³⁸⁹ Ibid., 117.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., 102.

³⁹¹ Ibid., 7.

resistance, and fostering conflict and direct confrontation with the state through organized networks.

These forms of insurrectionary action and resistance are integrated into daily existence and reject some aspects of the 1960s-era guerrillaism. While the ethics of armed struggle are maintained from these predecessors, forms of daily resistance become makers alongside isolated armed attacks as “the urban guerilla figure of the previous decades collapses into the average city dweller who doesn’t pay for the subway.”³⁹² The goal of an insurrectionary strategy is to “widen the breach between politics and the political”³⁹³, to bring about radical social change through initiating conflict. Arson, explosives, graffiti, animal release and various forms of vandalism comprise a wide tactical array that is often patterned nationally or within networks. For example, while Mexico, Greece and Chile, Italy and Spain have frequent bombings, the US, Canada and Germany rarely see this tactic. Greece has had frequent armed expropriations from banks, while Chile has seen frequent armed clashes with police at universities and in city streets. In Mexico and Italy, mail bombs have been used to target officials, political leaders, technocrats and scientists. These differing realities are likely the results of cultural and historical conditions outside the scope of the current discussion. For example, is it merely a coincidence that the nations experiencing active bombings campaign such as Chile, Greece, Italy and Spain all have recent national experiences with fascism?

³⁹² The Institute for Experimental Freedom, *Between Predicates, War: Theses On Contemporary Struggle*, 46.

³⁹³ The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection*, 25.

This study focuses its attention on attacks recorded in the public registry through the issuing of a communiqué through online channels. It is limited in this regard. Though these websites' communiqué repositories are extensive, and utilized frequently to communicate attacks, it is certainly not the entirety of insurrectionary activity. Street actions such as confrontational marches and riots, building and university occupations, demonstrations outside and within prisons, provoked clashes with security forces, spontaneous road blockades and other insurrectionary-aligned occurrences, while essential, fall outside of the scope of this discussion. The following discussion will explore the macro strategy of insurrectionary action as a strategy and form of warfare. It will explore the means, strategy and organization of political violence, which are necessary to historically encapsulate modern conflict.

Reinterpreting Urban Guerilla Warfare

I stand here as your declared and unrepentant enemy, I do not beg for your lenience, I do not seek to engage in dialogue with you and your peers. My values are at war with yours, so that every phrase I come out with against you is a razor scoring the masks of your hypocrisy and making clear the position and the role of each of us...The simple laws of physics dictate, that reaction is the consequence of action. Outside this courtroom on free lands, there are rebellious people, comrades for me, terrorists for you, who don't intend to tolerate our extermination, without making you and your political supervisors bleed first. You can take this as a threat if you like. I believe, that this is the cynical reality. Each option has its own cost. I guess, that, as judges and servants of the law, you would agree with me on this.³⁹⁴

-- Nikos Romanos [2014]

The new assemblage of clandestine attackers has borrowed from many previous incarnations of anti-state and counter-hegemonic resistance movements. While the tactics

³⁹⁴ Nikos Romanos, "Statement by Nikos Romanos at the trial which started on 03/02/2014" (Inter Arma, March 2, 2014), <https://interarma.info/2014/02/05/dilwsi-rwmanou-sto-dikastirio/?lang=en>.

have ranged from the vandalism of property (private, corporate and state) to the outright targeting of individuals with explosives and firearms, this tactical continuum has been deployed within a framework of asymmetric, protracted, urban guerilla warfare, with practitioners frequently referring to themselves as “urban guerillas”³⁹⁵, “armed guerillas”³⁹⁶ or “anarchist urban guerillas”³⁹⁷. Though there is no insurrectionary consensus on strategy or organization, there are fluid, constantly reinterpreted guiding principals. In a 2014 interview, a Canadian, self-described insurrectionary anarchist outlines three points of broad-based affinity in an interview, stating:

The part of the anarchist movement I come out of is very influenced by the insurrectionary anarchist practices that was theorized in Italy in the [19]70’s, the principal points that are applicable to our struggle are:

A) a break from the traditional worker’s movements in favour of more fluid organizing, less tied to our roles in the economy.

B) an emphasis on attacking the enemy in small easily reproducible ways, that allow more possibilities for these tactics to spread across the social terrain, and avoid some of the traps that the urban guerillas of previous generations fell into.

C) Most important of all, is informal organizing, this means that we do not want to create organizations that waste energy on keeping themselves alive, just for the sake of it, and instead to work on projects on a basis of affinity, whether that means a lived affinity with others who do not share our anarchist identity, or an

³⁹⁵ CCF-FAI/IRF, “Parcel bomb sent to the police precinct of Itea,” trans. Inter Arma (Inter Arma (republished by 325.nostate.net), April 29, 2014), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=10250>.

³⁹⁶ CCF-FAI/IRF and Ryo Cell, “Phoenix Project #6: Parcel Bomb Arrives for Dimitris Mokkas, Chief Prosecutor in the CCF Case,” trans. Conspiracy of Cells of Fire FAI/IRF Imprisoned Members Cell (325.nostate.net, October 8, 2013), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=9066>; Conspiracy of Cells of Fire FAI/IRF Imprisoned Members Cell, “‘Fear first nests in our souls and then raises the walls of its prisons’ – A communique by CCF about prisons.”

³⁹⁷ Romanos, “Letter from Nikos Romanos – ‘The question of dignity’”; 325.nostate.net, “Police Investigating the Incendiary Anarchist Minority Raid Bristol IMC, Who Shut down Their Project (UK)” (325.nostate.net, August 28, 2014), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=11746>.

affinity with others such as indigenous rebels who also desire the destruction of the Canadian state.³⁹⁸

Here we see basic insurrectionary ethics such as the avoidance of populist movements, fluid, temporary and informal organizations based on networks of affinity, and an emphasis on direct confrontation and attack through simple, “easily reproducible” means. While the target set is vague, this reflects the totalized conflict position of those at war with society at large, and the state-capital nexus more centrally. This modeling is at contrast with the forms of urban guerrillaism, which peaked in the 1970s. The differences and similarities between these two articulations of armed struggle are key and will be explored throughout this chapter.

The fluidly-defined yet ever-present nature of the systems of domination create a veritable smorgasbord of available targets for attackers; targets they can consider and weigh based on symbolism, feasibility, opportunity, etc. It is in this manner that the asymmetric nature of the state v. non-state relationship benefits the latter. For the attacker, they can strike when the means and opportunity avail themselves, but for the state, they must defend all capital at all times. The insurrectionary vandal can set out to burn a police car, find it well guarded and set fire to an adjacent bank; all within the same logic and rhetoric. This is especially true in urban environments.³⁹⁹ Furthermore, with the technologization, automation and dispersal of capital, the targets multiply. As one

³⁹⁸ Anonymous, “Insurrectionary Anarchists, Indigenous People, and Pipelines,” *Anarchistnews.org*, September 10, 2014, <http://anarchistnews.org/content/insurrectionary-anarchists-indigenous-people-and-pipelines>.

³⁹⁹ Håkon Wiberg, “Are Urban Guerillas Possible?,” in *Urban Guerilla: Studies on the Theory, Strategy and Practice of Political Violence in Modern Societies*, ed. Johan Niezing, Proceedings of the 1st international working conference on violence and non-violent action in industrialized societies, vol. 4 (Brussels, BE: Rotterdam University Press/Polemological Centre of the Free University of Brussels, 1974), 14–15.

anonymous, insurrectionary theorist writes, “the spreading of production and control that the new technologies allow makes sabotage easier.”⁴⁰⁰ In so-called “city terrorism...the government must, since it is the government, protect everywhere the interests of property owners; the *guerrilleros* don’t have to protect anything anywhere.”⁴⁰¹ This is part of the revisioning of the *urban* guerilla embedded within a locale with endless targets all interwoven through a single revolutionary narrative; from a slaughterhouse to a police cruiser, all manifestations of domination, politics and power are fair game.

Though this revisioning is unique in some regards, in others, it preforms with patterned regularity when compared to other matters of political violence. For example, when examining what sorts of *targets* attackers chose to strike, a great deal of similarity exists between the insurrectionary milieu and other non-state attackers. To drawl this comparison, one can examine a single national locale, in this case the US. In a 2014 study of ‘domestic terrorism’ occurring in the US (1940-2012), the authors conclude that while 84 attacks caused 134 fatalities, none were the product of attacks by “left-wing extremists.”⁴⁰² Scholarship specifically focused on “white leftist groups” of the late 1960s-early 1970s notes that during this period, while European leftists and anti-colonial movements directed a large portion of their attacks at people, in the US this was not the case⁴⁰³. According to the study, this was an adaptive process through which leftist groups

⁴⁰⁰ Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics*, 21.

⁴⁰¹ Régis Debray, *Revolution in the Revolution? Armed Struggle and Political Struggle in Latin America*, trans. Bobbye Ortiz, English translation (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1967), 75 [emphasis in original].

⁴⁰² Michael Becker, “Explaining Lone Wolf Target Selection in the United States,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 37, no. 11 (August 15, 2014): 966, doi:10.1080/1057610X.2014.952261.

⁴⁰³ Luca Falcicola, “A Bloodless Guerrilla Warfare: Why U.S. White Leftists Renounced Violence Against People During the 1970s,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 27, no. 2 (2015): 1–2, doi:10.1080/09546553.2014.982862.

reigned one another in through inter-movement critique and criticism, and breaking ties with those that transgressed the questions of violence against people⁴⁰⁴. Despite its infrequency in the US, a great deal of modern publications seemingly fixate on preparing for armed struggle in Western metropolises through strategic discussions⁴⁰⁵ as well as practical guides in military matters⁴⁰⁶ (e.g. weapons assembly/maintenance, maneuvers, training) adapted for revolutionary movements.

The context through which anti-state violence is created is context-specific and may require the examination of difficult questions dealing with notions of legitimacy, labeling, power and structural violence. *Why* a particular site was attacked and what social critique this was meant to highlight draws attention to the underbelly of the social order. For example, an attack targeting a slaughterhouse will likely speak to issues of speciesism and capitalist commodification, while the arson of a police station speaks to a

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., 17.

⁴⁰⁵ For example see: Anonymous, *The Politics of Bombs, Armed Struggle in Canada: Direct Action Wimmen's Fire Brigade Vancouver Five*, Print zine (Self published, n.d.); Joelle Aubron, Nathalie Menigon, and Jean-Marc Rouillan, *Resistance Is a Duty!: And Other Essays by Comrades from Action Directe*, trans. J. Smith, Print (Montreal, QC: Kersplebedeb Publishing, 2009); Marilyn Buck, David Gilbert, and Laura Whitehorn, *Enemies of the State*, Print (New York, NY: Resistance in Brooklyn/Kersplebedeb, 2003); Baumann, *How It All Began*; Alfredo M Bonanno, *Armed Joy [La gioia armata]*, trans. Jean Weir (London, UK: Elephant Editions, 1977), <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/alfredo-m-bonanno-armed-joy.pdf>; Burton-Rose, *Creating a Movement with Teeth a Documentary History of the George Jackson Brigade*; Churchill, "On the Necessity of Armed Struggle: Reflections on the RAF and the Question of Moving Forward"; Ann Hansen and Julie Belmas, "This Is Not A Love Story: Armed Struggle Against The Institutions of Patriarchy" (Disorderly Conduct #5 (Republished by The Anarchist Library), 2009), <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/ann-hansen-julie-belmas-this-is-not-a-love-story-armed-struggle-against-the-institutions-of-pat>; Derrick Jensen, Aric McBay, and Lierre Keith, *Deep Green Resistance: Strategy to Save the Planet* (New York, NY: Seven Stories Press, 2011); Ed Mead, *The Theory and Practice of Armed Struggle in the Northwest*, Print (Montreal, QC: Kersplebedeb Publishing, 2007).

⁴⁰⁶ For example see: Anonymous, *Revolutionary Armed Struggle*, Print (Montreal, QC: Abraham Guillen Press & Arm the Spirit, 2002); N, D, and S, *Desire Armed!: A Basic Guide to Armed Resistance and Revolution*, Print (Lawrence, KS: Kansas Mutual Aid, 2004); North Carolina Piece Corps, *Piece Now Peace Later: An Anarchist Introduction to Firearms*, Online (Carrboro, NC: NC Piece Corps, n.d), <https://tucsonabc.files.wordpress.com/2013/10/piece-now-peace-later.pdf>.

discourse surround the legitimacy of law enforcement at large. In her work examining the poststructuralist approach to the study of terrorism, Harmonie Toros speaks of the need to “resituate terrorist violence within its context” and to ask these questions:

A bomb exploding in a square does not make sense unless one can situate it. For this, there are more direct questions that all scholars ask: Where is the square? Who did the bomb aim to kill? Who did it aim to impact? Who claimed responsibility and/or to which group was it attributed?...What are the power structures and balances at play—locally, regionally, nationally and internationally? What preceded the explosion and what succeeded it? What are the aims of those who claim responsibility...What are the struggles—political, social, economic—that surround the violence?⁴⁰⁷

I would add to list *was* the bomb intended to kill. Since most insurrectionary bombings target property (similar to the ALF, ELF and other contemporaries), and that those aimed directly at human targets (e.g. ITS, Kaczynski) have often been small in size, it is essential to question the notion of intent in terms of lethality. Nonetheless, Toros encourages us to focus critical attention towards matters of context, specially that which can help to explain why a particular target and method was chosen. Therefore when an insurrectionary cell sets fire to a cellular tower (as has been done frequently), this must be understood not as an isolated, anti-social act of meaningless rebellion, but a contextually-situated attack emanating from a socio-political critique of alienation, anti-capitalism and an anger finding a target in the infrastructure of corporate interests. A similar, if not more meaningful self-reflection would follow the intentional targeting of a person with, for example, an IED sent through the mail. In this case, *why* that person was chosen from amongst a much larger community of contemporaries must be understood in both micro,

⁴⁰⁷ Harmonie Toros, *Terrorism, Talking and Transformation: A Critical Approach*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2012), 29.

community-level terms as well as global discourses critical of, for example, nanotechnology, nuclear science or certain corporate interests.

This tendency to target property and not people mirrors the insurrectionary history where property damage is substantial and human/animal casualties are nonexistent. Furthermore, “terrorists” tended to target “easily accessible, familiar, unhardened targets...with easily attainable weapons [e.g. IIDs, rocks, glue].”⁴⁰⁸ The study posits that attackers often target “nodes, paths and edges”⁴⁰⁹: sites that are already integrated into their daily reality such as those which occur near their residence or places of frequent activity. Though there is no evidence to assert for the insurrectionary milieu, it may account for the seemingly mundane nature of the networks’ targets such as bank branches (not headquarters or corporate offices), ATMs, phone booths, automobiles and other civilian (i.e. non-government, non-military) manifestations of their criticism peppered throughout daily life. In general, through both the traditional studies of violent non-state actors and the observation of insurrectionary attack, both groupings seem to choose “targets that were congruent with their stated political ideology, but they mainly confined their target selection to areas with which they, verifiably, had familiarity based on their daily routines.”⁴¹⁰ Though it may seem like a presumption, it bears mentioning that research supports the assumption that attacks by non-state actors correspond to ideological posturings thus selecting deserving, “enemy” targets from a functionally

⁴⁰⁸ Becker, “Explaining Lone Wolf Target Selection in the United States,” 967.

⁴⁰⁹ Patricia L. Brantingham and Paul J. Brantingham, “Nodes, Paths and Edges: Considerations on the Complexity of Crime and the Physical Environment,” *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 13, no. 1 (March 1993): 3–28, doi:10.1016/S0272-4944(05)80212-9.

⁴¹⁰ Becker, “Explaining Lone Wolf Target Selection in the United States,” 968.

unlimited pool of potentials.⁴¹¹ This strategy of attack increases the cost of doing business for the movement's opponents, and while isolated attack alone is not sufficient to cause mass social upheaval, it is the wedge driven deeper by insurrectionists that seeks to damage the enemy, inspire the ally and put into practice forms of resistance that are ends in themselves.

Throughout the insurrectionary literature, there is a consistent warning regarding the dependence or fetishism of the underground, armed guerilla, the vanguardist armed struggle, and the "mythology of clandestinity and combat organisations."⁴¹² From anonymously penned texts, potential fighters argue that as a *strategy*, the use of guerilla warfare is devoid of politics and can be adopted by any radical actor from reformist to sectarian communists.

'Armed struggle' is a strategy that could be put at the service of *any* project. The guerilla is still used today by organizations whose programmes are substantially social democratic; they simply support their demands with military practice. Politics can also be done with arms.⁴¹³

While such cautionary warnings exist, modern insurrectionary warfare can certainly be classified as a branch rooted in the tree of asymmetric, guerilla strategy. To historicize this evolution of thought, one can examine earlier proponents of guerilla warfare strategy, including Ernesto "Che" Guevara, Mao Tse-tung and Vo Nguyen Giap⁴¹⁴ —the senior

⁴¹¹ Ibid., 962.

⁴¹² Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics*, 30.

⁴¹³ Ibid., 31.

⁴¹⁴ It should be noted that such a listing is quite cursory. Other famed proponents of guerilla warfare and insurrectionary methods include: Sun Tzu (544-496 BCE), Maha Thiha Thura (~1720-1782), Teingya Minkhaung (~1750s), Michael Dwyer (1772-1825), Carl von Clausewitz (1780-1831), Omar Mukhtar (1858-1931), Izz ad-Din al-Qassam (1882-1935), Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi (1882-1963), Yousef Borahil al-Msmare (1886-1931), Nestor Makhno (1888-1934), Thomas Edward Lawrence (1888-1935), Michael Collins (1890-1922), Ho Chi Minh (1890-1969), Alberto Bayo y Giroud (1892-1967), Albert Levy

military commander of the Vietnamese National Liberation Front. These past warfare theorists contended that such wars of asymmetry must be fought in the countryside⁴¹⁵ by militarily-trained units, not dispersed networks of part-time activist-turned-guerillas, based in cities.

The insurrectionary anarchist strategy is descendent from an urbanized form of guerilla warfare. It is an asymmetric war of attrition wherein the dispersed network temporarily assembles to strike the ever-present, near enemy—the state and capital—and then retreats into safety. This approach acknowledges the power imbalance between the clandestine networks and the state’s armories, and seeks to avoid protracted, military-styled engagement, as the authors of *The Coming Insurrection* explain in the conclusion to their treatise:

From a strategic point of view, indirect, asymmetrical action seems the most effective kind, the one best suited to our time: you don’t attack an occupying army frontally. That said, the prospect of Iraq-style urban guerilla warfare, dragging on with no possibility of taking the offensive, is more feared than to be desired. The *militarization* of civil war is the defeat of insurrection.⁴¹⁶

Traditional guerilla warfare campaigns, whether urban or rural, have relied on fighters immersing themselves into full time underground living⁴¹⁷. This follows the advice of

(1897-1965), Tom Barry (1897-1980), Georgios Grivas (1898-1974), Orde Wingate (1903-1944), Lin Biao (1907-1971), Abraham Guillén (1913-1993), Hoàng Văn Thái (1915-1986), Hans von Dach (1927-2003), Jonas Savimbi (1934-2002), Edén Pastora (b. 1937), Hugo Spadafora (1940-1985) and Ahmad Shah Massoud (1953-2001). This diverse list of fighters waged armed guerilla campaigns in the name of the IRA, Afghan anti-Soviet jihad, Zionist and Palestinian brigades against the British and a variety of national and regional conflicts throughout Asia, Africa, and the Americas.

⁴¹⁵ John B. Wolf, *Fear of Fear: A Survey of Terrorist Operations and Controls in Open Societies* (New York, NY: Plenum Press, 1981), 20–21.

⁴¹⁶ The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection*, 129.

⁴¹⁷ This requirement for total commitment to struggle (i.e. ‘full time revolutionaries’) is repeated in Nechaev’s *Catechism of a Revolutionist* where adherents are told that they must be completely

theorists who argued that “the armed unit...is organically separate from the civilian population.”⁴¹⁸ This dependence on full time forces is standard amongst a variety of armed non-state actors including the FARC, the Basque Fatherland and Liberty Party (ETA), the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) and ongoing anti-occupation insurgencies in locales such as Iraq, Afghanistan and Palestine.

When speaking of the more famed armed conflicts—such as those occurring in Ireland, Palestine, Colombia and the Basque region—one must account for the existence of armed cadres in conjunction with broader-based, mass uprisings. Rubenstein argues that a key strategic distinction exists between situations where guerrilla warfare acts to support ongoing mass uprisings, and others where guerrillaism acts as a driving force to *encourage* such uprisings. In relation to these methods, termed “terrorism” in Rubenstein’s discussion, the author states, “Guerrilla fighters may be terrorists, but terrorism, properly defined, is exemplary small-group violence. Its function is to *create* the mass movement.”⁴¹⁹ Certainly there are cases where this occurs, such as Ho Chi Minh’s experience in Vietnam where the North Vietnamese leader was able to “convert...a small guerrilla band into a mass-based people’s army.”⁴²⁰ Rubenstein also points to the resistance to French colonialism in 1950s Algeria⁴²¹. In this case, as Rubenstein explains, acts of violence by the Algerian paramilitaries did not succeed in expelling the French, but the resistance’s use of small-group violence forced the hand of

commitment to creating revolution and that this aim must dictate every manner of life including desires and friendships, the latter of which was meant to be judge by potential allies’ commitments to revolution.

⁴¹⁸ Debray, *Revolution in the Revolution? Armed Struggle and Political Struggle in Latin America*, 29.

⁴¹⁹ Rubenstein, *Alchemists of Revolution*, 196.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*, 197.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*, 201.

the French occupation authorizes, and they were forced to repress the population in the name of counterinsurgency. This forcing of the state's hand towards retaliatory violence aids in the construction of 'us v. them' narratives offered by the broader segments of the anti-colonial struggle. This strategy of striking the enemy, forcing the enemy to respond and then using that response to further recruit and mobilize supporters is common in asymmetric conflicts, and can certainly be seen in the insurrectionary method as well. In Rubenstein's understanding of history, acts of small scale violence have never "mobilized the masses" but they have been successful in "disrupt[ing] normal life, incit[ing] the authorities to excesses of indiscriminate violence, and generat[ing] states of political emergency."⁴²² Such discussion of "small-group" versus mass-based violence are typically reserved for conflicts in rural areas, especially those with large agricultural and other laboring constituencies. In these rural venues, individuals typically termed "militants," "guerillas," "combatants" or simply "terrorists" engage in a lifestyle of 24-hour activity. When an individual is not engaged in active preparation or commission of an act of violence, they are living a subterranean existence as their activities are known to the security forces and thus normal, day-to-day living is altered in the cat and mouse game of attacker versus defender.

This is of course not to claim that guerilla warfare as a strategy began with Algeria or Vietnam—nor with Guevara or Mao—rather the *strategy* dates back to at least the Maccabean Revolt (167-160 BCE) where the Judean people fought the state through guerilla warfare after Antiochus IV Epiphanes forbid them to practice their religion.

⁴²² Ibid.

Other early examples include the Numidians' war against Rome⁴²³ (100 BCE) and the Spartacan Slave Revolt⁴²⁴ against the Roman Republic (70 BCE). The term *guerrilla warfare* also appears during the Spanish fight against Napoleonic occupation occurring around 1810 CE.⁴²⁵ Other historical usages of note include the French Revolution of the 1790s, which saw peasants attack regimented armies⁴²⁶ with some degree of success, the Second Sino-Japanese War of the 1940s which involved a guerilla campaign led by Chinese military commander Chaing Kai-shek against Emperor Hirohito's Japan, or the Dutch resistance to Nazi occupation during World War II. Although these examples span centuries, continents and a range of political ideologies they share a tactical and strategic framework of guerrillaism that involves asymmetry, mobility, and the exploitation of the enemy's weaknesses.

In a well-known and 'classical' revolutionary guerilla movements such as Republican Northern Ireland, PIRA fighters struck at British interests wherever present and available for attack. Strikes were targets of opportunity carried out with lengthy planning. In this way, contemporary insurrectionary attacks operate within a similar strategy; striking at the representatives of the near enemy when able, and then retreating

⁴²³ Wiberg, "Are Urban Guerillas Possible?," 12.

⁴²⁴ Charles J. Reid, "Reflection on the Failure of the Spartaca Slave Revolt," in *Urban Guerilla: Studies on the Theory, Strategy and Practice of Political Violence in Modern Societies*, ed. Johan Niezing, Proceedings of the 1st international working conference on violence and non-violent action in industrialized societies, vol. 4 (Brussels, BE: Rotterdam University Press/Polemological Centre of the Free University of Brussels, 1974), 94.

⁴²⁵ Wiberg, "Are Urban Guerillas Possible?," 12; G Teitler, "The Urban Guerilla, as a Revolutionary Phenomenon and as a Recruiting Problem," in *Urban Guerilla: Studies on the Theory, Strategy and Practice of Political Violence in Modern Societies*, ed. Johan Niezing, Proceedings of the 1st international working conference on violence and non-violent action in industrialized societies, vol. 4 (Brussels, BE: Rotterdam University Press/Polemological Centre of the Free University of Brussels, 1974), 111.

⁴²⁶ Teitler, "The Urban Guerilla, as a Revolutionary Phenomenon and as a Recruiting Problem," 111.

into the masses. The aim is to make system maintenance more costly, to provoke the violent actions of the security apparatus, and to promote ‘propaganda of the deed’ and the dissemination of radical, critical theory through propaganda. For those operating in an urban setting, the goal is likely not to seize power through controlling large areas of physical territory. Instead as urban movements tend to be numerically smaller, their war is one of attrition rather than outright victory. In discussing the strategic differences between urban and rural armed movements, John Wolf writes:

Urban-based terrorists at best can only hope to raise the cost of governing for the incumbent so that he abdicates...the destruction of an enemy involves breaking either his ability or his will to resist...force is employed to demoralize the enemy more than defeat him...Consequently, the use of terror entails more than the impairment of the enemy’s will to fight. It seeks to build the morale both of the insurgent forces and of the wider masses, by demonstrating through daring acts that the incumbent is not unassailable.⁴²⁷

The goal throughout guerilla struggle—urban or rural—remains the same: to tire and frustrate the enemy, create zones of ungovernability, and compete for popular support in the public sphere. Insurrectionary attack seeks to create rupture—temporary ‘breaks’ or spaces within otherwise occupied zones of control—which can demonstrate alternative modes of existence, temporary sites of counter-systemic living. Through the use of revolutionary, anti-statist and anti-capitalist violence, attackers hope to demonstrate that not only is actualized, visible opposition possible, but that the creation of such tension with one’s opponent is a victory in itself. For the insurrectionists, when a bank is set ablaze and painted with revolutionary messages, that bank’s function within the socio-political arena of structural control is disrupted and its function temporarily changes from

⁴²⁷ Wolf, *Fear of Fear*, 22–23.

that of structural maintainer to symbol of resistance⁴²⁸. Such a transformation of property from a manifestation of capital to one of utility and resistance is a continuation of the anarchist social movements that spiked in prominence just before the emergence of the post-millennial insurrectionists.

Tactical Vignette: Illegalist Expropriation

When examining the methods and strategies of the modern networks, it is instructive to trace tactical traditions throughout the ages to determine how these methods have been continued and modified as new configurations adopt old means. To this end, a brief examination of the politics of expropriation is warranted, to provide a single example of how a tactic and strategy that is less commonly understood can persist within the modern active imagination of the insurrectionary milieu. Before the Greek insurrectionary networks were carrying out revolutionary, anti-capitalist bank robberies, or Mexican cells were attacking and burning armored cars, illegalists were stealing from the coffers of capitalism to fund the system's destruction.

The actions of the Bonnot Gang (and other French illegalists) most closely prefigured future campaigns by armed anarchist networks in Argentina⁴²⁹, Spain⁴³⁰ and other parts of Western Europe⁴³¹. Between 1920-1935 in these locales, anarchist affinity

⁴²⁸ ACME Collective, "N30 Black Bloc Communiqué" (No Compromise Magazine, December 4, 1999), <http://www.nocompromise.org/news/991204a.html>.

⁴²⁹ Individuals within this Argentinian tradition include Miguel Arcángel Roscigna (1891-1936) and Severino Di Giovanni (1901-1931).

⁴³⁰ Individuals within this Spanish tradition, many of which fought with the CNT-FAI in the Civil War, include Buenaventura Durruti (1896-1936), Francisco Ascaso (1901-1936), and Lucio Urtubia Jiménez (b. 1931)

⁴³¹ gusselsprouts, "Towards a Modern Expropriative Strategy," *The Expropriationist*, August 13, 2013, <http://theexpropriationist.org/2013/08/13/towards-a-modern-expropriative-strategy/>.

groups engaged in campaigns involving theft, robbery and counterfeiting to finance revolutionary actions. These ‘expropriative anarchists’ differed from the Bonnot Gang as the former’s criminality was largely pragmatic politics and the latter’s more tied into an illegalist lifestyle. The past actions of illegalist anarchist have not escaped the consciousness of contemporary anarcho-guerillas and clandestine attackers. Their names are often invoked and their memories summoned to pay homage. In one collectively penned communiqué, authored by the Imprisoned Members’ Cell of the CCF, the authors write:

Our refusal to apologize to the judges [in our ongoing trial] is not, certainly, an isolated moment, but a part of the insurrectionary history of the anarcho-individualists of praxis. The experience of the previous eras brings us today close to comrades from the past, Emile Henry, Ravachol, Clement Duval, Marius Jacob, Vaillant, Severino di Giovanni and tens more eternally insurgent souls.

Back then those comrades were using the court’s stand to make the voice of insurrection heard and to break the fear for the authority. Their ‘apologies’ inverted the terms of the defeat of captivity and transformed into an “indictment” against the judges, the priests and the authority of that time. At the same time their scornful smile in front of the guillotine carved an indelible scar of negation and disobedience in the world of submission.⁴³²

In the 1920s, anarchist illegalist collectivities were organized in Asia, an often disregarded region in the insurrectionary history. In 1922, *Giroshin Sha* [Guillotine Society] was established in Japan and utilized revolutionary expropriation from banks to fund social protest.⁴³³ The group carried out two attempted assassinations of General Masatara Fukuda, a member of the security forces linked to the killing of a prominent

⁴³² Polidoros et al., “Arming Negation.”

⁴³³ Conspiracy of Cells of Fire FAI/IRF Imprisoned Members Cell, “‘Giroshin Sha’ – An Anarchist-Illegalist Cell, Formed in Japan in the Early 20th Century.”

anarchist writer, Osugi Sakae.⁴³⁴ Other attacks occurred 1922-1925 when two *Giroshin Sha* members were arrested and executed; accused of anti-governmental activities including bank robberies and conspiring to assassinate Hirohito. Like so many captured anarcho-attackers, once sentenced to life in prison *Giroshin Sha* fighter Kyuaro Wada took his own life while in custody.

Revolutionary expropriations (i.e. robberies and thefts) like those undertaken by *Giroshin Sha* and the Bonnot Gang have a lengthy history within the libertarian tradition including the 1907 Yerevan Square bank robbery in modern day Tbilisi, Georgia. In this action, Bolshevik militants, organized by Lenin, Stalin and others used firearms and hand thrown explosives to rob a stagecoach transporting funds from the post office to the State Bank of the Russian Empire (predecessor to the Central Bank of the Russian Federation). The robbery led to the deaths of 40 individuals, with at least 50 others injured. The Bolsheviks escaped with approximately \$3.4 million. The expropriation of capital for explicitly political ends has been an oft cited reason for bank robberies and has been advocated by, amongst other, Carlos Marighella in his *Mini Manual of the Urban Guerilla*⁴³⁵, and has been actualized by the George Jackson Brigade⁴³⁶ (GJB), the Black

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

⁴³⁵ Carlos Marighella, *Minimanual of the Urban Guerilla* (Brazil: (republished by Marxist Internet Archive), 1969), chap. 3.

⁴³⁶ This would include the Brigade's attempted armed robbery of \$43,000 from the Pacific National Bank of Washington (23 January 1976), the armed robbery of \$1,300 from Newport Hills state liquor store (21 May 1977), the armed robbery of \$4,200 from the Rainier National Bank (20 June 1977), the armed robbery of \$1,100 from the Old National Bank (8 September 1977) and the armed robbery of \$8,200 from the People's National Bank (19 September 1977). An explanation of the use of such "armed expropriations" as an element of revolutionary guerrilla struggle is included in the Brigade's Fall 1977 communiqué entitled "Summer Solstice", as well as their pamphlet-length statement "The Power of the People is the Force of Life: Political Statement of the George Jackson Brigade" issued November 1977.

Liberation Army⁴³⁷ (BLA), the Symbionese Liberation Army⁴³⁸ (SLA) and the RAF⁴³⁹.

Within the insurrectionary milieu, similar rhetoric has been adopted for unarmed expropriations. For example, on 11 April 2014, Greek anarchists issued a communiqué signed “poor but dishonest”, claiming responsibility for stealing items from a “big supermarket”⁴⁴⁰. The anonymous authors noted that after the theft, they: “left some of the items we took from the supermarket at the local unemployment office as a gesture of class solidarity towards other workers and unemployed.”⁴⁴¹ Other supermarket expropriations—where masked groups of individuals fill their carts before leaving en masse without paying to distribute the foodstuffs to the community—have been seen in Spain as a response to austerity measures (e.g. around what is known as the Spanish financial crisis, or the Great Recession of Spain), and in France in support of the ongoing

⁴³⁷ The BLA has a long history of its members engaging in armed expropriations to finance revolutionary activity. In 1971 the BLA attempted to rob the Triple O nightclub (June 5), and successfully robbed one bank in New York City, NY (June 18), another in Queens, NY (August 23) and one in Atlanta, GA (October 7). In 1973, BLA members are involved in a robbery of a Brooklyn, NY club (January 2), a Bronx, NY bank (February 9), a Brooklyn, NY supermarket (March 27), a Queens, NY bank (April 10), a Bronx, NY bank (July 18). In 1974 the BLA carried out at least two additional bank robberies. Both occurred in the Spring, one in Berkeley, CA and the other in New Haven, CT. In the Connecticut robbery, a police officer was critically wounded. On 20 October 1981, 6 members of the BLA in conjunction with 4 additional comrades (from the WUO and May 19 Communist Organization) carried out the armed robbery of a Brink's armored car at the Nanuet Mall in Nanuet, NY. The attackers managed to steal \$1.6 million and also killed two police officers and a private security guard employed by Brink's.

⁴³⁸ The SLA gained international attention when on 15 April 1974 they robbed the Hibernia Bank in San Francisco with the help of newly recruited heiress-turned-guerilla Patty Hearst. In the robbery, the SLA stole \$10,000 and shot two civilians. One year later, on 28 April 1975 members of the SLA robbed the Crocker National Bank in Carmichael, CA. This robbery resulted in the death of a bank customer. Patty Hearst claims to have acted as a getaway driver in this robbery.

⁴³⁹ On 29 September 1970, West German guerillas carry out three simultaneous bank robberies. The robbers are carried out by members of the RAF and the 2nd of June Movement (2JM). Nine years later, on 19 November 1979, four RAF members rob a Zurich bank, stealing approximately 548,000 Swiss francs. The robbery results in the shooting of two police and one civilian. A ricocheting bullet kills a second civilian. Finally, on 26 March 1984, the RAF robs a bank in Würzburg, Germany, stealing 171,000 DM.

⁴⁴⁰ “poor but dishonest,” “Supermarket Expropriated in the District of Vryonas as a Minimum Act of Resistance” (Contra Info, April 13, 2014), <http://en.contrainfo.espiv.net/2014/04/13/athens-supermarket-expropriated-in-the-district-of-vryonas-as-a-minimum-act-of-resistance/>.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*

land occupation (2009-present) known as the Zone À Défendre (ZAD) [*Zone to be Defended*], where thousands of activists have bravely fought police to resist the Aéroport du Grand Ouest Project which aims to replace the Nantes Atlantique Airport with a newly constructed facility. Similar expropriative approaches have been seen in the anarchist-led, community level response⁴⁴² to Hurricane Sandy, a storm that devastated US east coast cities in October 2012. In one such communiqué, the anonymous authors write:

Over the past two weeks, a group of concerned New Yorkers has been expropriating thousands of dollars worth of tools and materials from luxury residential developments across Manhattan and delivering them to neighborhoods devastated by Superstorm Sandy...Liberated from their role in building multimillion-dollar pieds-à-terre for wealthy CEOs and Hollywood celebrities, these tools are now in the collective hands of some of the hardest-hit communities in the city where they are now being allocated and shared among the people who need them most. These expropriations will continue as long as the demand for them exists.⁴⁴³

While the logic of the 1970s guerillas was to expropriate money and other resources to fund revolutionary activities, in the two modern examples located, the thefts are distributed altruistically to communities seen to be in need; the poor and those affected by a flood respectively. This shift in discourse and strategy is reflective of a larger shift in the methods of social protest seen since the disbanding of the urban guerillas of the 1970s.

⁴⁴² These networks represented, anarchist-organized, prefigurative solidarity networks wherein activist social networks and labor was coordinated to provide emergency relief to victims of the storm. This follows similar efforts by anarchists to provide 'solidarity not charity' to those affected by Hurricane Katrina; the most famous of these projects being Common Ground Relief which began in 2005.

⁴⁴³ Anonymous, "Construction Materials Expropriated from Luxury Developments in Manhattan, Delivered to Victims of Sandy" (Anarchistnews.org, November 26, 2012), <http://anarchistnews.org/content/construction-materials-expropriated-luxury-developments-manhattan-delivered-victims-sandy>.

In the modernist insurrectionary milieu, the expropriation of money from banks—often through armed robberies—has once again resurfaced as a legitimate form of struggle. A central theorist in the insurrectionary tendency, Alfredo Bonanno of Italy, was arrested in 2003 and 2009 for involvement in robberies of jewelry stores and banks in Italy and Greece. Further, insurrectionary Greek anarchist militant Giannis Dimitrakis who was shot by police while leaving an Athens bank robbery in 2006, explained his motivation, writing (from prison):

...taking me into consideration who wanting to resist on a personal level...my future yoke, to determine [for] myself the conditions and quality of my life, to put into practice my refusal to 'work' and also to play the role of yet another productive unit, of yet another wheel in the wagon, wanting to attack the monstrosity that is called a bank (however at the same time having no illusions that I'll inflict any major blows to this economic institution), choosing to mark a course of dignity in my life I decided to rob a bank. An act which I consider, amongst many others, as revolutionary and which claims deservingly its own place as such.⁴⁴⁴

Dimitrakis's argument is an articulation of a purist praxis; the desire to actualize his rejection of capitalist wage labor, and to steal from the system instead. As Dimitrakis explains, he believes it to be a revolutionary act to steal from capitalism in order to avoid selling one's labor to the same system in exchange for sustenance. This logic is similar to the justifications offered by armed guerilla units of decades past such as the GJB who stated:

[There is a] need to expropriate banks as a means of furthering specific political goals...There can be no revolution without money—for weapons, explosives, survival, organizing, printing, etc. The people are poor. We will make the ruling

⁴⁴⁴ Giannis Dimitrakis, "A Letter from Anarchist Giannis Dimitrakis Published in 'pontiki' Newspaper" (Pontiki (republished by Act for Freedom Now!), June 15, 2010), <http://actforfreedomnow.blogspot.com/2010/06/letter-from-anarchist-giannis.html>.

class pay for its own destruction by expropriating our funds from them and their banks.⁴⁴⁵

The insurrectionary rejection of state authority, and its corresponding laws is linked to the milieu's abhorrence of capitalism to formulate a circular justification for armed expropriation: if one must steal to survive, why is this more ethical to steal one's own life through waged labor than to directly steal funds from the state? This argument embraces the confrontation of state authority seen in illegalism, furthering these ends through the actualization of armed, anti-capitalist resistance.

The Question of 'Terrorism' & 'Violence'

*Perhaps the dominant mainstream perception of anarchism is its equation with violence, disorder 'bomb throwing,' and—even more odiously, in today's parlance—terrorism... The negotiation of the 'violence versus non-violence' terrain is one of the many dichotomies presented by anarchist praxis, and it further represents something of a political litmus test of movement culture.*⁴⁴⁶
-- Randall Amster, anarchist and Peace Studies advocate

*Terrorists are simply the members of their societies who are the most optimistic about the usefulness of violence for achieving goals that many, and often most, support.*⁴⁴⁷
-- Robert Pape, author of *Dying To Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*

How various armed formations have responded to the post-9/11 rhetoric of terrorism is telling when seeking to understand their internal logic. Before examining the specific networks' interaction with this term, one can examine the insurrectionary milieu through foundational readings of social movement taxonomies, such as the work of theorist Roberta Garner. The structuring of a movement will have great ramifications for its

⁴⁴⁵ George Jackson Brigade, "International Women's Day/Text of Brigade Communique," *Post-Intelligencer* (republished in *Creating a Movement With Teeth*, Pp. 90-94), March 31, 1976.

⁴⁴⁶ Amster, *Anarchism Today*, 43.

⁴⁴⁷ Robert Anthony Pape, *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (New York: Random House, 2005), 8.

strategic functioning. In her widely cited social movement theory book, Garner examines these structural realities, applying them to past movements. For the insurrectionary movement, several of Garner's typologies⁴⁴⁸ apply. The broad insurrectionary milieu utilizes "clandestine organizations", "armed insurgencies" and employs strategies akin to "destabilization" and "terrorism." Garner explains that the development of clandestine organization is the product of a political system that fails to allow for an open space for movement participation thus forcing activists underground into cell structures.⁴⁴⁹ While the result (e.g. underground cells) can be seen in the insurrectionary networks, the cause identified—lack of political opportunity—fails to adequately describe the contemporary actors. Similarly, Garner's "armed insurgency" typology is the result of a state that is too repressive.⁴⁵⁰ While insurrectionary networks certainly do attempt to foment insurgency against the state through the use of armed action, this is not the result of political repression as insurrectionary networks thrive in liberal democracies of Western nations. Once again, while the organizational tendency is present, the cause is not.

More applicable than her organizational models are the strategies outlined. Garner explains the strategy of destabilization in a manner far closer to the insurrectionary model. "The movement takes action that polarizes the society, weakens support for the incumbent government, and suggest to the public that the state is no longer in control."⁴⁵¹ While Garner links this to paramilitaries who then attempt to fill the power vacuum (something completely counter to an anti-authoritarian objective), the strategy of

⁴⁴⁸ Garner, *Contemporary Movements and Ideologies*, 28–30.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 28–29.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 29–30.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 30.

polarizing, weakening and creating zones of ungovernability is certainly present. It would be difficult to argue that modern insurrectionary methods have accomplished this (e.g. polarizing society, weaken state support and image of control) though the movement maintains these markers as a goal.

Terrorism, according to traditional understandings, is essentially an act that aids in the “creation of ideological politics”⁴⁵², something key to the insurrectional project and its deployment of violence. The insurrectionary strategy is firmly committed to widening and exasperating the polarization of class antagonisms—damaging the population’s image of the state—though their efforts thus far have only made slight inroads in this regard. In another, more abstracted sense, insurrectionary attack has succeeded in damaging the population’s image of the market, showing its vulnerability to crisis and attack and the state’s wedded nature through corporate bailouts and other acts of protectionism. Perhaps the best example was the decentralized Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC) campaign (1999-2014) against Huntingdon Life Sciences (HLS)⁴⁵³, an animal testing and breeding company. This campaign which included the use of insurrectionary-styled tactics, successfully isolated HLS, forcing the British state to

⁴⁵² Gillespie, “The Urban Guerrilla in Latin America,” 5.

⁴⁵³ For more information in the SHAC campaign see: 109th Congress, 1st Session, “Eco-Terrorism Specifically Examining Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (‘SHAC’)” (United States Senate Committee on Environmental and Public Works, October 26, 2005), <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CHRG-109shrg39521/html/CHRG-109shrg39521.htm>; Ret Marut, “The SHAC Model,” *CrimethInc. Far East Blog*, March 28, 2009, <http://www.crimethinc.com/texts/rollingthunder/shac.php>; Josh Harper, “SHAC Revisited,” *The Talon Conspiracy*, July 2, 2012, <http://thetalonconspiracy.com/2012/07/shac-revisited/>; Jennifer Grubbs, “Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty: A Queer Critique of the AETA,” in *The Terrorization of Dissent: Corporate Repression, Legal Corruption and the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act*, ed. Jason Del Gandio and Anthony Nocella (New York: Lantern Books, 2014), https://www.academia.edu/1449301/_2013_The_Green_Scare_and_Eco-Terrorism_The_Development_of_US_Counter-Terrorism_Strategy_Targeting_Direct_Action_Activists.

support the besieged company economically when other potential financial backers broke ranks in light of protests.

Garner states that “terrorism” is used as a means towards destabilization, adding that it serves the cause of polarization and demonstrating weak state control. Building upon this understanding, scholars have argued that *terrorism* can be separated from other forms of anti-social violence by its political orientation focused on influencing the public, state or the social structures at large.⁴⁵⁴ Though *typically*, practitioners of political violence do *not* self-identify with the terrorist label—instead posturing as “highly symbolic and moral”⁴⁵⁵—some insurrectionary networks have embraced it. Modern insurrectionary groups self-identifying with “terror” include the “Terrorist Cells for Direct Action- Anti-Civilization Faction”⁴⁵⁶, a Mexican, anti-civilization, primitivist network responsible for several bombings. The word *terror* is also seen in the monikers of several contemporary cell-level formations identifying as elements of the FAI-IRF and CCF such as:

- **IRF:** “Terrorist Complicity Warriors of the Abyss Severino Di Giovanni Commando”⁴⁵⁷, the “Deviant Behaviors for the Spreading of Revolutionary Terrorism, Cell of Anarchist Action”⁴⁵⁸, and the “Anarchist Revolutionary Front:

⁴⁵⁴ Anthony Quinton, “Reflections on Terrorism and Violence,” in *Terrorism, Protest and Power*, ed. Martin Warner and Roger Crisp, 1st ed. (Brookfield, VT: Edward Elgar Publishing Company, 1990), 35–36.

⁴⁵⁵ Robert L. Heath and H. Dan O’Hair, “Terrorism From the Eyes of the Beholder,” in *Terrorism: Communication and Rhetorical Perspectives*, ed. H. Dan O’Hair et al. (Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 2008), 18.

⁴⁵⁶ Terrorist Cells for the Direct Attack – Anticivilization Faction, “Claim of responsibility for two bombing attacks and contributions to the development of praxis against the industrial-technological system and civilization,” trans. War on Society (Liberación Total (republished by War on Society), November 12, 2011), <http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=1869>.

⁴⁵⁷ FAI Artisans Cooperative of Fire and Similar (occasionally spectacular), International Revolutionary Front and FAI 20th July Brigade, International Revolutionary Front, “Do Not Say That We Are Few - Statement from the Italian FAI.”

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

- Deviant Behaviors for the Spreading of Revolutionary Terrorism, Cell of Reflective Attack”⁴⁵⁹
- **CCF:** “Breath of Terror Commando”⁴⁶⁰, and the “Terrorist Guerilla Unit”⁴⁶¹
 - **IRF/CCF:** “Revolutionary Groups for the Spreading of Terror – Nucleus of vandals”⁴⁶² and the “Revolutionary Groups for the Spreading of Terror, Cell Abnormal –Heretics”⁴⁶³
 - **FAI-IRF/CCF:** “Revolutionary Groups of Terror Dispersion”⁴⁶⁴

Beyond the FAI/IRF/CCF networks, there are separate yet ideologically aligned groups which have self-identified as “terrorist” such as clandestine animal liberation cells who have chosen to not identify with the ALF moniker but have at times taken similar, terrorist-affiliated names such as “Columna Terrorista de lxs⁴⁶⁵ Revolucionarios de Negro”⁴⁶⁶ [Terrorist Column of the Black Revolutionaries] operating in Mexico. This trend is far from new as early proponents of property destruction in favor of the environment self-labeled as “Evan Mecham Eco-Terrorist International Conspiracy”

⁴⁵⁹ Deviant Behaviours for the Spread of Revolutionary Terrorism, Cell of Reflective Attack – IRF, “International Revolutionary Front- Deviant Behaviors for the Spread of Revolutionary Terrorism Cell of Reflective Attack -We Take Responsibility for the Arsons Of...,” trans. Act for Freedom Now! (Athens Indymedia (republished by Act for Freedom Now!), February 10, 2011), <http://actforfreedomnow.blogspot.com/2011/02/international-revolutionary-front.html>.

⁴⁶⁰ Tsakalos et al., “The Sun Still Rises,” 4.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid.

⁴⁶² FAI Artisans Cooperative of Fire and Similar (occasionally spectacular), International Revolutionary Front and FAI 20th July Brigade, International Revolutionary Front, “Do Not Say That We Are Few - Statement from the Italian FAI.”

⁴⁶³ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁴ Revolutionary Groups of Terror, “Responsibility claim for incendiary attacks by the Revolutionary Groups of Terror Dispersion,” trans. contra-info (Contra Info, June 17, 2012), <http://en.contrainfo.espiv.net/2012/06/17/athens-responsibility-claim-for-incendiary-attacks-by-the-revolutionary-groups-of-terror-dispersion-ccffai-irf/>.

⁴⁶⁵ This is an intentional misspelling, provided by the communiqué author, to de-gender the word. This tendency is explored in greater detail later.

⁴⁶⁶ Columna Terrorista de lxs Revolucionarios de Negro [Terrorist Column of the Black Revolutionaries], “News May 18 2010,” trans. Bite Back (Liberaction Total (republished by Bite Back Magazine), May 18, 2010), http://www.directaction.info/news_may18_10.htm.

(EMETIC)⁴⁶⁷, naming themselves after the then-Governor of Arizona where the attacks were carried out. EMETIC can be seen as a precursor to the ELF as both utilized spectacularly dynamic forms of property destruction to economically damage targets seen to be damaging the Earth, afterwards announcing their acts and intent via a communiqué. According to government sources⁴⁶⁸, the EMETIC group carried out five attacks in Arizona (1987-1989), using acetylene torches to down several ski lifts, as well as energy infrastructure powering a uranium mine and an electrical substation.

While numerous groups have incorporated the value-laden term into their names, others have consciously utilized such means, even commenting on such tactical considerations. For example, the Mexican eco-insurrectionary network ITS which has focused its attacks on nanotechnologists and other researchers, wrote in 2014:

...in 2011 the (newly formed) ITS was testing various modus operandi (from known and attempted arson attacks on cars and construction machinery, companies and institutions in Coahuila, Guanajuato, and Veracruz State of Mexico, until we decided to focus on terrorism and not sabotage), some were successful and some not, the most violent cell of ITS in Morelos, being already familiar with the purchase and use of firearms, decided to implement the act by then.⁴⁶⁹

ITS acknowledged several times in a single communiqué that they are consciously employing *terrorism* as a strategic model. In their eighth communiqué which claims responsibility for several parcel bombs sent to scientific researchers, the anonymous cell

⁴⁶⁷ EMETIC is an understudied piece of radical history. Few historical accounts of the group's activity exist. For one example see: Leslie James Pickering, *The Evan Mecham Eco Terrorist International Conspiracy*, 1st ed. (Buffalo, NY: Burning Books, 2013).

⁴⁶⁸ National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, *Evan Mecham Eco-Terrorist International Conspiracy (EMETIC)*, Incidents over time (University of Maryland, College Park, MD: Global Terrorism Database, 2015), <http://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?perpetrator=10060>.

⁴⁶⁹ Individualists Tending Toward the Wild, "8th Communiqué."

states: “With this statement we do not intend, in the least, that technologists give us their academic acceptance...because obviously that will never happen, as they will never accept terrorism against them.”⁴⁷⁰ Less than one month after ITS issued their communiqué, self-identifying their strategy to include *terrorism*, a newly emerged group calling itself Obsidian Point Circle of Attack (OPCA), claimed a parcel bomb. In OPCA’s communiqué, they speak in support of ITS, yet identify them as “the terrorist group ITS.”⁴⁷¹ The new faction/cell writes, “we published a total of three analyses...in which we have publicly demonstrated our support of the group ITS, in their actions as much as their position,”⁴⁷² providing footnoted references to the documents.

Member of the CCF’s Imprisoned Members Cell have reflected in a similar fashion, embracing the identification with *terrorism*. In a 2014 communiqué written from within Greece’s Korydallos Prison, the imprisoned authors write:

The authority says ‘those that I cannot befool, at least I will intimidate...’ So fear rules. The Conspiracy of Cells of Fire have made our intentions clear. **To terror you respond with terror.** The only way to dissipate fear and its tyranny is to transfer it in the enemy’s yard. The **anarchist armed guerilla** through autonomous affinity cells that sometimes meet inside the **FAI** informal network and sometimes they don’t is our response to the authority.⁴⁷³

Of course this is not a completely new phenomenon. Possibly one of the first groups to embrace the term, to proudly self-label, was also a group formed around a nihilist-infused form of anarchism. In the mid 1800s, Nechayev, the Russian anarcho-nihilist, labeled his

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁷¹ Obsidian Point Circle of Attack, “Communique for Package Bomb Sent to the Rector of UNAM.”

⁴⁷² Ibid.

⁴⁷³ Conspiracy of Cells of Fire FAI/IRF Imprisoned Members Cell, “‘Fear first nests in our souls and then raises the walls of its prisons’ – A communique by CCF about prisons” [emphasis in original].

actions, and that of his group, People's Retribution⁴⁷⁴, as *terrorism*.⁴⁷⁵ One hundred years later, counterculture Yippie hero Jerry Rubin—described as “the fighting man’s version of Abbie Hoffman”⁴⁷⁶—stated to a House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) committee “Here we were, terrorists, anarchists and freaks.”⁴⁷⁷ In other self-referential pearls from Rubin, he terms himself a “hippie guerilla” and a “one-man international revolution, a walking conspiracy.”⁴⁷⁸

A great deal of political violence is labeled terrorism; typically dependent on who is deploying the violence and who is the recipient. If the perpetrator is a non-state actor, and the recipient the state, this act will be declared terrorism with near universal regularity. Activists are aware of this discursive and rhetorical shift, and some have explicitly addressed in when discussing their tactical decision-making. In one example, ALF militant Walter Bond, convicted of three arsons, notes that since the state is in control of this rhetorical process, he may as well aim for tactical effectiveness since any action will likely be labeled as ‘terrorism.’ Bond writes:

The first thing I knew was that I would work alone...The next thing I knew was that I wanted to go big. With the current government crackdown on any kind of effective...campaign, I might as well go for it. If they're gonna try to catch me and call me a terrorist for breaking a McDonald's window, I might as well think much bigger.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁴ This is sometimes translated as “People’s Reprisal.”

⁴⁷⁵ Martha Crenshaw, ed., *Terrorism in Context* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 77.

⁴⁷⁶ Jay Acton, Alan LeMond, and Parker Hodges, *Mug Shots; Who’s Who in the New Earth* (New York, NY: World Publishing, 1972), 187.

⁴⁷⁷ Jerry Rubin, *Do It! Scenarios of the Revolution*. (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1970), 204.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 202.

⁴⁷⁹ Walter Bond, “I Am the ALF ‘Lone Wolf’” (North American Animal Liberation Front Press Office, December 10, 2010), <https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/2010/12/10/i-am-the-alf-lone-wolf-by-walter-bond/>.

In a sense, Bond embraces the state's rhetoric and uses it to justify his own tactical choices, since to meter one's actions, according to Bond, would not avoid such a labeling anyway. This embracing of the rhetoric of terrorism is also not restricted to the actions of revolutionary anti-statists and has been employed by members of the right, such as anti-abortion militant Clayton Waager. In a series of communications posted online on 2001, Waager directly threatens clinic workers with assassination, and reflects on his terrorism labeling. In once such letter circulated by the clandestine, anti-abortion network known as The Army of God (AOG), Waager writes:

The government of the most powerful country in the world considers me a terrorist. That label set me aback at first. Then it struck me: They're right. I am a terrorist. To be sure, I'm a terrorist to a very narrow group of people, but a terrorist just the same...I'll drop you [targeted clinic workers] a note and we'll get this terrorism thing started in earnest.⁴⁸⁰

Despite Waagner's embracing of the label, many social movement activists—including those who reject and embrace militant means—have sought to challenge this framing.

Certainly such an asymmetric labeling of political violence is deserving of challenge.⁴⁸¹ Anarchist and revolutionary leftist scholarship on theories of violence—both that directed against property as well as direct/physical and structural forms—has

⁴⁸⁰ Clayton Waagner, "Clayton Waagner's Message to the United States" (Clayton Waagner Message Board/The Army of God, June 18, 2001), n.p., <http://www.armyofgod.com/Claytonsmesssage.html>.

⁴⁸¹ My work has attempted to challenge such assertions, see for example: Loadenthal, "Nor Hostages, Assassinations, or Hijackings, but Sabotage, Vandalism & Fire: 'Eco-Terrorism' as Political Violence Challenging the State and Capital."; Loadenthal, "Asymmetric Labeling of Terrorist Violence as a Matter of Statecraft Propaganda"; Michael Loadenthal, "Deconstructing 'eco-Terrorism': Rhetoric, Framing and Statecraft as Seen through the Insight Approach," *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 6, no. 1 (April 2013), doi:10.1080/17539153.2013.765702; Michael Loadenthal, "'The Green Scare' & 'Eco-Terrorism': The Development of US Counter-Terrorism Strategy Targeting Direct Action Activists," in *The Terrorization of Dissent: Corporate Repression, Legal Corruption and the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act*, ed. Jason Del Gandio and Anthony Nocella (New York: Lantern Books, 2014); Loadenthal, "The Framing of (Counter) State Violence: Challenging the Rhetoric of Non-State Actors, Political Violence & 'terrorism.'"

been a mainstay of theory since scholars put pen to paper.⁴⁸² Furthermore, as Randall Amster points out⁴⁸³, a great deal of anarchist scholarship dealing with an explicit endorsement of pacifism is present including works by Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862), Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910), Ammon Hennacy (1893-1970), Dorothy Day (1897-

⁴⁸² For example: Amster, *Anarchism Today*, chap. 3; ACME Collective, “N30 Black Bloc Communiqué”; Hannah Arendt, *On Violence* (New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1970); Ashen Ruins, *Against the Corpse Machine: Defining A Post-Leftist Anarchist Critique of Violence*, 1st ed. (Online: Infoshop.org (republished by The Anarchist Library), 2002); Alfredo M Bonanno, *Revolution, Violence, Anti-Authoritarianism - A Few Notes*, trans. Jean Weir, Digital Elephant (Online: Digital Elephant, 1974), <http://digitalelephant.blogspot.com/2010/08/revolution-violence-anti.html>; Bonanno, *Armed Joy [La gioia armata]*; Noam Chomsky et al., “The Legitimacy of Violence as a Political Act? - Noam Chomsky Debates with Hannah Arendt, Susan Sontag, et Al.” (Chomsky.info, December 15, 1967), <http://www.chomsky.info/debates/19671215.htm>; Churchill, “On the Necessity of Armed Struggle: Reflections on the RAF and the Question of Moving Forward”; Ward Churchill and Mike Ryan, *Pacifism as Pathology: Reflections on the Role of Armed Struggle in North America* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2007); CrimethInc. Ex-Workers’ Collective, *Expect Resistance: A CrimethInc. Field Manual* (CrimethInc. Workers’ Collective, 2007); CrimethInc. Ex-Workers’ Collective, “The Illegitimacy of Violence, the Violence of Legitimacy” (CrimethInc., March 2012), <http://www.crimethinc.com/texts/recentfeatures/violence.php>; Eanelli and Baroque, *Queer Ultraviolence: A Bash Back! Anthology*; Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Grove Press, 1963); Peter Gelderloos, *How Nonviolence Protects the State* (Cambridge, Mass.: South End Press, 2007); Derrick Jensen, *Endgame, Vol. 2: Resistance* (New York, NY: Seven Stories Press, 2006); Derrick Jensen, “Introduction,” in *Pacifism as Pathology: Reflections on the Role of Armed Struggle in North America*, by Ward Churchill (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2007); Jensen, McBay, and Keith, *Deep Green Resistance*; Kaczynski, *Technological Slavery*; V. I. Lenin, “The State and Revolution,” in *Collected Works*, ed. Stepan Apresyan and Jim Riordan, vol. 25 (London, UK: Lawrence & Wishart, 1932), 381–492; V. I. Lenin, “What Is to Be Done?,” in *Lenin’s Selected Works*, trans. Joe Fineberg and George Hanna, Lenin Internet Archive (1999), vol. 1 (Marxist Internet Archive, 1902), 119–271, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1901/witbd/>; Libertarian Socialist Organisation, *You Can’t Blow up a Social Relationship*, 1st ed. (Queensland, Australia: Libertarian Socialist Organisation (republished by The Anarchist Library), 1979), <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/libertarian-socialist-organisation-you-can-t-blow-up-a-social-relationship>; William Meyers, *Nonviolence and Its Violent Consequences* (Gualala, CA: III Publishing, 2000); Tom Regan, “How to Justify Violence,” in *Terrorists or Freedom Fighters?: Reflections on the Liberation of Animals*, ed. Anthony Nocella and Steven Best (New York: Lantern Books, 2004); Craig Rosebraugh, *The Logic of Political Violence: Lessons in Reform and Revolution* (Portland, OR: Arissa Media Group, 2004), <http://public.eblib.com/EBLPublic/PublicView.do?ptilID=655683>; Texas F. Slim, *Hot Lead IS MEDICINE (excerpts): Thoughts on Whiteness, Privilege and Violence*, Print (Southeast: Institute For Experimental Freedom, southeast, 2005); Georges Sorel, *Reflections on Violence* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1908); Thompson, *Black Bloc, White Riot*; Slavoj Žižek, *Violence: Six Sideways Reflections* (London, UK: Macmillan, 2008).

⁴⁸³ Amster, *Anarchism Today*, 58.

1980), Paul Goodman (1911-1972) and Alex Comfort (1920-2000). To that list I would add contemporary peace educator and anarchist Colman McCarthy (b. 1938).

Contemporary anarchist theory has tended to problematize the state's labeling of acts as 'violent' or 'nonviolent', arguing that *non*violence can insulate the state from effective modes of resistance. For example, Peter Gelderloos argues that democratic forms of statecraft are predicated upon the government encouraging its citizenry to express dissent through legalistic means, such as voting, dialogue, and lobbying elected representatives⁴⁸⁴. While some have argued that the violence/non-violence binary is a limiting frame for the analysis of social movements⁴⁸⁵, others such as Gelderloos have based their work precisely at this point of distinction. Gelderloos argues that the state's position—that all social conflict can be resolved through legalistic means—is an essential aspect of maintaining social order in democratic societies, serving to insulate the state from revolutionary violence⁴⁸⁶. On the other hand, the insurrectionary critique argues that the fostering of social tensions acts to demonstrate the state's oppositional relationship to the citizenry, showing that the former is in constant conflict with the latter. Therefore, for the insurrectionists, an atmosphere of sustained social warfare is counter to more traditionally leftist calls to maintain nonviolence.

Both Gelderloos and the insurrectionists represent a rejection of pacifism, arguing that its deployment to dissuade revolutionary violence is a strategic usage by the state as

⁴⁸⁴ Gelderloos, *How Nonviolence Protects the State*; Peter Gelderloos, *The Failure of Nonviolence: From the Arab Spring to Occupy*, 1st ed. (St. Louis, MO: Left Bank Books, 2013).

⁴⁸⁵ For example see: Sara Regina Mitcho, "The Problem of Nonviolence: Women's Protest in the United States, Post-Civil War to Post-9/11" (George Mason University, 2014), <http://mars.gmu.edu/handle/1920/8847>.

⁴⁸⁶ Gelderloos, *The Failure of Nonviolence: From the Arab Spring to Occupy*.

a means for control. Other anarchist scholars have similarly argued that not only is violent resistance permissible, but that it has been a mainstay in all social struggles. This argument is made by modern (i.e. twenty-first century) authors as well as ‘classical’ (i.e. twentieth century) anarchists such as Alexander Berkman. For Berkman, he argues in his foundational work *The ABC of Anarchism* that not only do anarchists not dominate the deployment of political violence, but that such methods are an inherent part of social movements. To this end he writes:

You see, then, that anarchist have no monopoly on political violence. The number of such acts by anarchists is infinitesimal as compared with those committed by persons of other political persuasions. The truth is that in every country, in every social movement violence has been a part of the struggle from time immemorial.⁴⁸⁷

In the modern era, many activists focusing on political violence agree with such an assertion. One such scholar, Craig Rosebraugh, who has served as a spokesmen for the ALF/ELF, argues that to isolate so-called nonviolence from more militant forms of resistance is a historical impossibility, and that the portrayal of social movements as nonviolent (e.g. the US Civil Rights movement) is a form of historical erasure of more militant strands of protest⁴⁸⁸. Rosebraugh argues that a great many social struggles historically understood as nonviolent were in actuality a symbiosis between those avoiding violence on ethical and moral grounds and those embracing it for tactical and strategic ends. Now while some who choose to adopt more militant methods do so while embracing a discourse that separates themselves from ‘terrorists,’ other evolutionary actors have worn this disparaging title as a mark of distinction.

⁴⁸⁷ Berkman, *The ABC of Anarchism*, 5.

⁴⁸⁸ Rosebraugh, *The Logic of Political Violence: Lessons in Reform and Revolution*.

While some insurrectionary actors have toyed with self-identifying as *terrorists*, typically awareness of such trappings have led to post-9/11 movements to markedly dis-identify with those that hijack planes and bomb buses. Though often militant, violent and clandestine, the nature of insurrectionary warfare is that it is not directed outwards at the masses, to terrorize and coerce; it is directed upwards at power. Not only does this allow for a more sincere, non-delegated articulation of strife, but it does not create a combatant/civilian, revolutionary/non-revolutionary duality. To de-fetishize the insurrectionary cell is to blend it seamlessly into a more distributed dissent. As one anonymous author(s) states:

For its part, the State has every interest in reducing the revolutionary threat to a few combat organizations in order to transform subversion into a clash between two armies: the institutions on the one hand, the armed party on the other. What power fears most in anonymous, generalized rebellion. The media image of the ‘terrorist’ works hand in hand with the police in defense of social peace.⁴⁸⁹

Part of this awareness of powerful state labeling is a product of the post-9/11 state reliance on a newly invigorated boogey man to follow that of fascism and Soviet communism. Following the attacks of 2001, *terrorism* could be mobilized to rally patriotism, nationalism and jingoism.

The early Marxist Leon Trotsky (1879-1940) cautioned against the dependency on terrorist-styled methods of attack. In his aptly named essay, “Why Marxists Oppose Individual Terrorism,” he argues that such a strategy “belittles the role of the masses in their own consciousness” falsely offering a “great avenger” to lead a revolutionary

⁴⁸⁹ Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics*, 32.

path⁴⁹⁰. Trotsky argues that while these individualist methods of insurrectionary attack are thought to raise a revolutionary consciousness, their effectiveness disincentives the masses and those targeted are easily replaced. He writes:

The anarchist prophets of the ‘propaganda of the deed’ can argue all they want about the elevating and stimulating influence of terrorist acts on the masses. Theoretical considerations and political experience prove otherwise. The more ‘effective’ the terrorist acts, the greater their impact, the more they reduce the interest of the masses in self-organization and self-education. But the smoke from the confusion clears away, the panic disappears, the successor of the murdered minister makes his appearance, life again settles into the old rut, the wheel of capitalist exploitation turns as before; only the police repression grows more savage and brazen. And as a result, in place of the kindled hopes and artificially aroused excitement comes disillusionment and apathy.⁴⁹¹

For Trotsky, it is not a moral objection to political violence but a strategic argument about its effect on the revolutionary program. Trotsky asserts that terrorist acts do not aid in organizing the masses for collective revolt but rather resigns them to “spectators” of the act, and that their outsider observation will eventually lead to a desire for enforcement of order⁴⁹².

Others on the anti-capitalist left have made similar arguments against individualistic modes of direct attack (e.g. terrorism) such as the 1979 essay, “You Can’t Blow Up A Social Relationship,”⁴⁹³ written in response to the Sydney Hilton Bombing (13 February 1978), which killed two garbage collectors and a police officer. In a similarly reactionary manner, following the assassination of Italian King Umberto I in

⁴⁹⁰ Leon Trotsky, “Why Marxists Oppose Individual Terrorism,” trans. Marxists’ Internet Archive (Der Kampf, November 1911), para. 10, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1911/11/tia09.htm>.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.

⁴⁹² Rubenstein, *Alchemists of Revolution*, 108–109.

⁴⁹³ Libertarian Socialist Organisation, *You Can’t Blow up a Social Relationship*.

1900, James F. Morton, Jr., an American, individualist anarchist, once again engaged the question of direct attack, writing:

Do I therefore applaud the act of the assassin? By no means. The shedding of human blood, though at times to be justified or excused, is never a fit cause for exultation. Nor is the spirit of revenge an element of the Anarchist philosophy. Our mission is not to incite to violent acts, but to wage an eternal warfare against the crime-producing and misery-breeding conditions of the day. When the down-trod proletarian, filled with a deep sense of the myriad wrongs inflicted on himself, his dear ones and his kind, strikes a blow of vengeance against the representatives of the system which has transformed men into beasts, we do not rejoice – nor condemn. We simply explain. Would you put an end to the assassination of rulers? Then end the conditions which make men miserable; end the wrongs which provoke men to resistance; cease to outrage flesh and blood as human and as sensitive as that of kings.⁴⁹⁴

The author proposes a solution of sorts to stemming the tide of anarcho-political violence: If one hopes to quell resistance, one must seek to change the material conditions that oppress the masses and create the conditions for such a critique to develop.

The novel and relevant question is not whether placing an explosive device in the lobby of a bank or police garage is *strategic*, or amounts to an act of *terrorism*, but rather, ‘What does one’s hatred of police tell us about how law enforcement is critically understood in the society?’ Is terrorism a “response to a certain kind of social crisis”⁴⁹⁵ as Rubenstein suggests, or perhaps sometime more akin to a strategy adoptable by anyone? Can terrorism be a tactic utilized within other strategies? Can a tactic be intimidating, effective and targeted yet not be *terrorism*? Does labeling something terrorism have any

⁴⁹⁴ Morton, Jr., “Another Blow to Royalty.”

⁴⁹⁵ Rubenstein, *Alchemists of Revolution*, xx.

effect other than to pejoratively describe and defame⁴⁹⁶? Rubenstein suggests that “to call an act of political violence terrorist is not merely to describe it but to judge it...imply[ing] illegitimacy.”⁴⁹⁷ This declarative statement clearly identifies the strict discursive reality of the rhetoric of terrorism. If a state-backed paramilitary can kill union leaders to un-incentivize union activity and be labeled ‘paramilitary guerillas,’ why should an anarchist burning banks to strike at capitalism be inextricably likened to *terrorism*; often regarded as the intentional targeting of civilians and other secondary target audience for political, social or religious purposes? Furthermore, the ability to extricate oneself from such a rhetorical gaze is not often possible. For example, after being imprisoned for an alleged conspiracy to disrupt a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) meeting held in Chicago during May 2012, Mark “Migs” Neiweem was classified within the prison system as having “Gang or Unauthorized Organization Activity.” This disciplinary violation alleges that Migs’s tattoos—which include the anarchist ‘circle A’ and the pro-equality ‘circle E’—constitute gang affiliation⁴⁹⁸, and that such markings, in conjunction with the inmate’s friends and

⁴⁹⁶ This notion is explored in some depth in my previous works such as: Jennifer Grubbs and Michael Loadenthal, “From the Classroom to the Slaughterhouse: Animal Liberation By Any Means Necessary,” in *Defining Critical Animal Studies: An Intersectional Social Justice Approach for Liberation*, ed. Atsuko Matsuoka et al., 1st ed., vol. 448, Counterpoints: Studies in the Postmodern Theory of Education (New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 2013), 179–201; Loadenthal, “Asymmetric Labeling of Terrorist Violence as a Matter of Statecraft Propaganda”; Loadenthal, “Deconstructing ‘eco-Terrorism’: Rhetoric, Framing and Statecraft as Seen through the Insight Approach”; Loadenthal, “Eco-Terrorism? Countering Dominant Narratives of Securitisation: A Critical, Quantitative History of the Earth Liberation Front (1996-2009)”; Loadenthal, “The Framing of (Counter) State Violence: Challenging the Rhetoric of Non-State Actors, Political Violence & ‘terrorism.’”; Loadenthal, “Nor Hostages, Assassinations, or Hijackings, but Sabotage, Vandalism & Fire: ‘Eco-Terrorism’ as Political Violence Challenging the State and Capital.”

⁴⁹⁷ Rubenstein, *Alchemists of Revolution*, 17.

⁴⁹⁸ Will Potter, “Prisoner Sent to Solitary for Having ‘Copious Amounts of Anarchist Publications,’” *VICE*, October 18, 2013, Online edition, <https://www.vice.com/read/prisoner-sent-to-solitary-for-copious-amounts-of-anarchist-publications>.

possession of related reading materials, mark him as a security threat. This example shows the powerlessness often bemoaned by activists unable to control their rhetorical portrayal within a discourse of securitization by state forces. Furthermore, such association between labeling (e.g. a tattoo) and affiliation (e.g. with a moniker-based network) provides a disincentive for clandestine activists to claim attacks via monikers, as to associate with the FAI, CCF, ALF, etc. could constitute similar ‘gang’ affiliations and be used to further criminalize dissent through the anti-gang discourse.

While one can (and should) challenge the rhetoric of *terrorism* to describe a strategic deployment of illegal violence, it is certainly true that insurrectionary methods such as bombings leave a state with two options, both of which benefit radical politics: 1.) fail to stop “terrorism” and appear weak and ineffectual, or 2.) stop “terrorism” through repression and force and fulfill your typecast role as a violent apparatus and further polarization.⁴⁹⁹ Certainly there are examples from the revolutionary past where option two was chosen by the state yet the polarization produced served counterrevolutionary purposes. In response to a campaign of violence waged by Italy’s *Brigate Rosse* [Red Brigades] (RB), the polarization of the left led to the Communist Party moving towards the political right, crating an unfilled vacuum (for a time) for mass-based, leftist mobilization⁵⁰⁰. While aged social movement typologies and strategic models are inadequate for describing the contemporary milieu, they are instructive in developing broad categorical reference points for positing new tendencies within existing pattern of sociological behavior.

⁴⁹⁹ Garner, *Contemporary Movements and Ideologies*, 30.

⁵⁰⁰ Rubenstein, *Alchemists of Revolution*, 109.

A New 'New Left'

The modern insurrectionary tendency has reimagined the model of the leftist *urban* guerilla popularized in the 1960s-1970s. This era, and on into the 1980s, saw the rise of such armed anti-imperialist⁵⁰¹ internationals⁵⁰² such as the RAF, RZ and Movement 2 June in Germany (2JM), Action Directe in France, First of October Anti-Fascist Resistance Groups (GRAPO) in Spain, Fighting Communist Cells (CCC) in Belgium, the RB in Italy, 17N in Greece, Dev Sol (Revolutionary Left) in Turkey, the Popular Forces of 25 April (FP-25) in Portugal, the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (FALN) in Puerto Rico, or The Weather Underground Organization (WUO), SLA, New World Liberation Front (NWLFF), May 19th Communist Movement (M19CO), and United Freedom Front (UFF) in the United States. Such armed formations are distinct from their ideological compatriots operating in largely rural, "Third World" environments such as 19th of April Movement (M-19) in Colombia, the Tupamaros National Liberation Movement (MLN-T) in Uruguay, the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) in Peru and various armed insurgencies throughout South/Central America, the Middle East, Asia and Africa.

While these groups are obviously quite different in terms of tactics, strategies, message, ideology and every other such measure, they shared characteristics of being anti-capitalist and often anti-state, urban-based, pro-armed struggle, and active in the late

⁵⁰¹ Leith Passmore, *Ulrike Meinhof and the Red Army Faction: Performing Terrorism* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 80.

⁵⁰² Karin Ashley et al., "You Don't Need A Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows," in *Weatherman*, ed. Harold Jacobs, 1st ed. (San Francisco, CA: Ramparts Press, Inc. (originally in *New Left Notes*), 1970), sec. 1, 6.

twentieth century. Their inclusion within a historical discussion is meant to speak to their contemporariness, that fact that they all emerged and fought in a similar era. While we can continue to discuss such unique collectives within a single lens, we must avoid considering them the same, or risk misunderstanding their particular formations as informed by ideology, strategy and approach. In an early work critical of orthodox approaches to terrorism, Joseba Zulaika and William Douglas warned of “homogenization and trivialization of vastly different social realities under the buzzword of ‘terrorism’”⁵⁰³, and I would expand that to encourage a detailed examination of particular groups open lumped together in categorically cumbersome manners. Groups form, act and decline for a variety of reasons, and while active, carryout violence through vastly divergent realities.

These divergent realities led some groups towards attempting to “import” the Latin American urban guerilla model to the cities of Berlin or New York, something some have called a failure⁵⁰⁴ of the 1960s and 1970s. This era also saw activity from clandestine actors operating outside of the traditional Leninist brigade model, such as the group spearheaded by Sam Melville (1934-1971)⁵⁰⁵, often portrayed as a ‘lone wolf’—to borrow from the modern counterterrorism parlance. Though Melville acted with at least three other individuals in a string of eight bombings in 1969⁵⁰⁶, the group was unnamed

⁵⁰³ Joseba Zulaika and William Douglass, *Terror and Taboo: The Follies, Fables, and Faces of Terrorism*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 1996), 23.

⁵⁰⁴ Rudd Koopmans, “Protest in Time and Space: The Evolution of Waves of Contention,” in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, ed. David A Snow, Sarah Anne Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2004), 35.

⁵⁰⁵ Sam Melville was born Samuel Joseph Grossman.

⁵⁰⁶ These include attacks targeting property of United Fruit Company (27 July), Marine Midland (20 August), Department of Commerce (19 September), the US Army (19 September, 07 October), Standard

and the majority of attention focused on a single individual. Melville was later jailed and helped to lead the Attica Prison riots in 1971. He was shot and killed during the police's retaking of the prison. Melville's co-conspirators would go on to work amongst the ranks of the WUO and other armed formations.

These "First World", urban, leftist movements (e.g. RAF, WUO, RB), while maintaining different political frameworks and methods of operation, shared a key understanding of the strategy of guerilla warfare against the forces of state. They were largely hierarchical, borrowing some organizational aspects from traditional military models⁵⁰⁷. Often times they were inspired by, modeled after, and sympathetic to foreign insurgencies and anti-occupation movements such as the WUO's focus on the guerilla war of the Vietnamese.⁵⁰⁸ Most of these urban guerillas were strategically formed around a Marxist-Leninist and/or Maoist⁵⁰⁹—often termed "New Left", "Ultra Left" or "extreme left"—politic embedded in a politics of anti-imperialism⁵¹⁰, or in the case of the BLA, specific aspects of an identity-based politic. This holds true for movements like the WUO that had explicitly female grouping, often termed "militias" and "brigades"⁵¹¹, and

Oil (11 November), Chase Manhattan Bank (11 November), General Motors (11 November), New York City Criminal Courts (12 November).

⁵⁰⁷ Gian Carlo Caselli and Donatella della Porta, "The History of the Red Brigades: Organizational Structures and Strategies of Action (1970-82)," in *The Red Brigades & Left-Wing Terrorism in Italy*, ed. Raimondo Catanzaro (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1991), 70–114.

⁵⁰⁸ Bill Ayers, "A Strategy to Win," in *Weatherman*, ed. Harold Jacobs, 1st ed. (San Francisco, CA: Ramparts Press, Inc. (originally in New Left Notes), 1970), 183–95.

⁵⁰⁹ Michael Y Dartnell, *Action Directe: Ultra-Left Terrorism in France, 1979-1987* (London, UK: Frank Cass, 1995), 57.

⁵¹⁰ Ashley et al., "You Don't Need A Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows," sec. 5, 9.

⁵¹¹ Margaret Gonzalez-Perez, *Women and Terrorism: Female Activity in Domestic and International Terror Groups* (London, UK: Routledge, 2008), 58.

regularly issued collective statements speaking to ‘women’s issues’ or gendered readings of strategy, social policy and politics.⁵¹²

Despite participation by women, people of color, ex-convicts and other marginalized groups, the movement ranks were typically regarded as products of privilege⁵¹³; white, male, college educated, and middle class⁵¹⁴, a notable observation when compared to the perception of their Latin American comrades, thought to be drawn largely from undereducated and poor backgrounds. This however was not the case. Many Latin American Marxist movements such as the Uruguayan MLN-T, Argentina’s People’s Revolutionary Army (ERP), and the Peruvian Shining Path (*Sendero Luminoso*) drew leadership and members from highly educated and/or middle-class constituents, resembling more closely the perceived demographics of “terrorists” as “single males between twenty-one and twenty-four, with university experiences (especially in the humanities)...from middle or upper classes.”⁵¹⁵ In fact, scholars have frequently pointed out that left-wing terrorist movements are more likely to attract educated, middle-class

⁵¹² Anonymous, “Honky Tonk Women,” in *Weatherman*, ed. Harold Jacobs, 1st ed. (San Francisco, CA: Ramparts Press, Inc. (originally distributed at National War Council), 1970), 313–20; Anonymous, “Women’s Militia,” in *Weatherman*, ed. Harold Jacobs, 1st ed. (San Francisco, CA: Ramparts Press, Inc. (originally in *New Left Notes*), 1970), 163–65; A Weatherwoman, “Inside the Weather Machine,” in *Weatherman*, ed. Harold Jacobs, 1st ed. (San Francisco, CA: Ramparts Press, Inc. (originally published by Rat Women’s Collective), 1970), 321–26; Bread and Roses Collective, “Weatherman Politics and the Women’s Movement,” in *Weatherman*, ed. Harold Jacobs, 1st ed. (San Francisco, CA: Ramparts Press, Inc. (originally published by Rat Women’s Collective), 1970), 327–36; Women’s Brigade of Weather Underground, “A Collective Letter to the Women’s Movement,” in *Sing a Battle Song: The Revolutionary Poetry, Statements, and Communiqués of the Weather Underground, 1970-1974*, ed. Bernardine Dohrn, William Ayers, and Jeff Jones (New York, NY: Seven Stories Press, 2006), 199–207; Cathy Wilkerson, “Toward a Revolutionary Women’s Militia,” in *Weatherman*, ed. Harold Jacobs, 1st ed. (San Francisco, CA: Ramparts Press, Inc. (originally in *New Left Notes*), 1970), 91–96.

⁵¹³ Robert C Meade, *The Red Brigades: The Story of Italian Terrorism* (New York, NY: St. Martin’s Press, 1990), 4–11.

⁵¹⁴ Dan Berger, *Outlaws of America: The Weather Underground and the Politics of Solidarity* (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2006), 155–156.

⁵¹⁵ Della Porta, *Clandestine Political Violence*, 239.

members, while right-wing movement are more likely to draw support from the “less privileged socio-economic classes.”⁵¹⁶ In a 2015 quantitative study of 1,500 US-based “extremists”, the authors conclude, “far Left extremists were...more likely [than “far Right” or “Islamic” extremists] to be students.”⁵¹⁷ Concerning other demographic categories, groups like the SLA, WUO and RAF were largely white and often contained highly visible but small numbers of people of color such as the SLA’s Donald DeFreeze—an African American ex-convict known as Cinque Mtume—and Wendy Masako Yoshimura—a Japanese-American woman born in a World War II Japanese internment camp.

Other armed formations maintained an anti-authoritarian political posturing, organizing themselves closer to traditional anarchist affinity groups than Communist cadres. Groups of this type are far more rare and include the Angry Brigade in the UK, Direct Action 5⁵¹⁸ (DA5) in Canada, the GJB in the US and several intersecting collectives active in Greece such as the Sect of Revolutionaries, Anti-State Justice, Revolutionary Struggle, Black Star and Revolutionary Nuclei. Here the GJB stands as a

⁵¹⁶ Richard Jackson et al., *Terrorism: A Critical Introduction* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 155.

⁵¹⁷ Herbert Tinsley, Michael Jensen, and Patrick James, *Profiles of Individual Radicalization in the United States: Preliminary Findings*, Research Brief, Profiles of Individual Radicalization in the United States (PIRUS) (University of Maryland, College Park, MD: National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, January 20, 2015), 2, https://www.start.umd.edu/pubs/PIRUS%20Research%20Brief_Jan%202015.pdf.

⁵¹⁸ The Direct Action 5, also known as the Squamish 5, the Vancouver 5, or simply Direct Action, was an urban guerrilla group active in Canada in the early 1980s. The group included Ann Hansen, Brent Taylor, Juliet Caroline Belmas, Doug Stewart and Gerry Hannah. The guerrillas initially carried out acts of sabotage and theft, and in 1982, bombed a hydroelectric substation (\$5 million in damages) and a weapons manufacturer—Litton Industries. Later that year, the group set fire to several pornography stores as the Wimmin’s Fire Brigade. The five individuals were arrested in 1983 and later convicted.

rare example of a *diverse* movement⁵¹⁹ as its members included people of color, ex-convicts, and queer folk, not simply the archetypal, white, Marxist graduate student often satirized as constituting the WUO and RAF. For example, prominent GJB member Mark Cook was an African American former prisoner from a poor Seattle family, but the only African American in the brigade. He also served as a co-founder of a chapter of the Black Panther Party based in Walla Walla State Penitentiary showing cross over between an identity-based movement and one with a more broad-based, anti-authoritarian framework.

Despite this seemingly intersecting and acronym-heavy list of armed revolutionaries, it is important to distinguish the insurrectionary actors under analysis from those that came before. The aforementioned groups, with the exception of the anti-authoritarians mentioned above, advocated a Marxist-Leninist (and often Maoist) style of guerilla warfare based in the model of the distinct armed cadre, a military-styled formation of small cells that are used to lead the masses in revolution. Leninism's influence taught that the proletariat was unable to develop and carryout its own plans for revolutionary change⁵²⁰, and as such, it is the role of a small, radicalized elite to demonstrate for the masses the possibility for change, and the means to get there. Leninist conceptions of revolution involve the vanguard⁵²¹—as articulated in pre and post

⁵¹⁹ Burton-Rose, *Creating a Movement with Teeth a Documentary History of the George Jackson Brigade*, 21.

⁵²⁰ Alessandro Orsini, *Anatomy of the Red Brigades: The Religious Mind-Set of Modern Terrorists* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), 54.

⁵²¹ This is not to claim that classical anarchism is completely devoid of such minoritarian, vanguardist tendencies. Foundational thinkers such as Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876) spoke of 'an invisible force directing the people's revolution' in correspondence with Russian revolutionary nihilist Sergay Nechayev.

revolutionary texts⁵²²—a concept later rejected by anti-authoritarian and insurrectionary movements. In explaining anarchism’s rejection of vanguardism, political philosopher and anarchist theorist Benjamin Franks writes:

The vanguard is a particular group with claims to either superior knowledge or more fortunate location in the political terrain, and which can take strategic priority and win battles for others (and often speaks *on behalf* of the client group). Such a view is associated with orthodox Marxism...referred to as Leninism.⁵²³

In the classical, twentieth century theory of revolutionary organizing, the armed vanguard, taking the form of military-styled cadres, conduct guerrilla attacks against the state and provide a focal point (later described as focalism) for sympathetic individuals to align with. The vision is that through the vanguardist actions of the cadre, with enough focused attraction and support of the proletariat, the masses of society, feeling discontented, will stand with the armed cadres and foment a generalized revolt. Sometimes these armed, vanguardist cadres are further organized to resemble military formations such as the ‘Tupamaro model’⁵²⁴, which segmented their guerilla fighters into a professionalized army of cells, columns, and action groups.

Such a style of warring combat was famously advocated by, amongst others, Guevara in his foundational work, *Guerilla Warfare*⁵²⁵ amongst other writings⁵²⁶. While

Similarly Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1808-1865) imagined a need to impart scientific knowledge the those not yet exposed to the truths of philosophy, economics, etc.

⁵²² Lenin, “What Is to Be Done?”; V. I. Lenin, “Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder,” in *Collected Works*, trans. Julius Katzer, Marx.org (1996), Marxists.org (1999), vol. 31 (USSR: Progress Publishers USSR (republished by Marxist Internet Archive), 1920), 17–118, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/lwc/index.htm>.

⁵²³ Benjamin Franks, “Vanguards and Paternalism,” in *New Perspectives on Anarchism*, ed. Nathan J Jun and Wahl Shane (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010), 99.

⁵²⁴ Wolf, *Fear of Fear*, 10.

⁵²⁵ Che Guevara, *Guerilla Warfare* (New York, NY: Monthly Review Press, 1961).

Guevara advocated for a mass-based guerilla “People’s War” (e.g. the Viet Cong), he also encouraged a vanguardist formation wherein a small grouping of revolutionaries would attack the state, inspire the masses and lay the groundwork for a proletarian-led People’s War to follow⁵²⁷. Guevarian war theory states that no preparation on the part of the vanguard is necessary, and furthermore, that the underdog fighting in the heart of the enemy will garner support precisely because of the asymmetry.⁵²⁸ For Guevarians, Che’s experience with the 1959 Cuban Revolution proved for him the utility of the model. Here, less than 100 fighters arrived in Cuba in December 1956 and were able to take control of the city of Santa Clara in two years. After the fall of Santa Clara by Guevara’s 26th of July Movement (M-26-7) fighters, Cuban General Fulgencio Batista fled the country, and the island nation was controlled by the forces of Fidel Castro’s Cuban Revolution. On New Year’s Eve 1959, Guevara and Castro’s M-26-7 fighters entered the capital city of Havana and declared victory.

While the followers of this model were indeed Marxist vanguards within a Leninist tradition, Lenin himself would have likely stood firmly at odds with the writings Guevara (as well as Jules Debray discussed latter). In his time, Lenin was a harsh critic of

⁵²⁶ See for example: Che Guevara, “What We Have Learned and What We Have Taught,” in *Che Guevara Reader*, ed. David Deutschmann, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Ocean Press (originally published in Patria, 1 January 1959), 1997), 63–65; Che Guevara, “Against Bureaucratism,” in *Che Guevara Reader*, ed. David Deutschmann, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Ocean Press (originally published February 1963), 1997), 157–63; Che Guevara, “Episodes of the Revolutionary War,” in *Che Guevara Reader*, ed. David Deutschmann, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Ocean Press, 1997), 19–62; Che Guevara, “A Party of the Working Class,” in *Che Guevara Reader*, ed. David Deutschmann, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Ocean Press (originally published 1963), 1997), 147–56; Che Guevara, “Create Two, Three, Many Vietnams (Message to the Tricontinental),” in *Che Guevara Reader*, ed. David Deutschmann, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Ocean Press (originally published April 1967), 1997), 313–28.

⁵²⁷ Berger, *Outlaws of America*, 46.

⁵²⁸ J. Bowyer Bell, *The Dynamics of the Armed Struggle* (London, UK: Frank Cass, 1998), 181.

the vanguardism embodied in Russia's Left Socialist Revolutionaries (LSR), a faction of the Russian Socialist-Revolutionary Party (SR) who split in favor of the Bolsheviks. LSR engaged in vanguardist attacks against the state such as the assassination of the German Ambassador to Russia Wilhelm von Mirbach, and the Military Governor of Ukraine, General Field Marshall Hermann von Eichhorn. Rubenstein describes the strategic understanding of SR, writing, "The SR's believed that when the state apparatus had been sufficiently weakened by terrorist attacks, workers and peasants would complete the job, convene a constituent assembly, and establish socialism."⁵²⁹ Lenin argued that disparate acts of small-group violence would not only fail to bring about radical social change, but that the state could draw strength from these measures.⁵³⁰ Instead, Lenin advocated that the armed stage of the revolution should wait until the social conditions permitted the masses to revolt along with the vanguard. Therefore, while and Guevara and his progenies were Leninist in a limited sense of embracing vanguardism, Lenin would have likely disagreed a great deal on the strategic pacing of revolutionary struggle.

Following Guevara's death in Bolivia in 1967, some strategists concluded that such a defeat demonstrated the marked failure of the rural-based guerilla warfare strategy⁵³¹ thus implicitly advocating for such revolutionaries to move towards urban combat. Certainly the design of modern cities provides a great deal of utility and advantage for the asymmetric attacker. When considering the strategies of the insurrectionary networks, one notices that the vast majority of attacks occur in urban

⁵²⁹ Rubenstein, *Alchemists of Revolution*, 171.

⁵³⁰ Gillespie, "The Urban Guerrilla in Latin America," 30–31.

⁵³¹ Wolf, *Fear of Fear*, 21.

settings—Athens, Berlin, Jakarta, La Paz—and very few in the country side. This is because, by their very nature, they are minoritarian, non-broad based movements that cannot survive through Guevarian methods of living amongst the people whom provide for you. For insurrectionary networks, the city provides cover, opportunity, resources and a variety of targets. As one Professor of criminology explains,

The urban landscape is as geographically complex as that of any rural setting; physical cover is multidimensional, owing to the walls, roofs, basements, and utility passages. These topographical characteristics give the urban environment a vertical acreage and horizontal mileage...[needed for] protection.⁵³²

Furthermore the nature of modern cities provide not only a treasure trove of available targets for attack (e.g. banks, offices, vehicles, etc.), their infrastructure also “produces the means of its own destruction” by providing “mobile phones and internet access points [which give] the guerillas newfound ways to self-organize...allow[ing] them to become such elusive targets.”⁵³³ Therefore for attackers who are numerically weak, the city becomes a focal point for the spreading of a more generalized insurrection.

Jules Régis Debray, a French philosopher who fought with Guevara in Bolivia, further elaborated what would be termed the ‘foco theory’ of revolution, calling the *foco* “a pole of attraction for the whole country”⁵³⁴, in other words, a site for the revolution to focus. This is how the city can be thought of in the modern context of attack. Debray’s 1967 book, *Revolution in the Revolution?*, extended Guevara’s ideas, applying them to contemporary and past Latin American revolutionary movements. Building from both Guevara and Debray, one finds Carlos Marighella’s *Mini-Manual of the Urban*

⁵³² Ibid., 18.

⁵³³ The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection*, 61.

⁵³⁴ Debray, *Revolution in the Revolution? Armed Struggle and Political Struggle in Latin America*, 45.

*Guerilla*⁵³⁵ published in 1969, which furthers the foco model's urban application, encouraging fighters to carry out attacks to transform a political crisis into an armed conflict with the state.⁵³⁶ Marighella believed that if the vanguard could force the state to begin a military campaign against the revolutionaries, it would alienate the population and encourage them to revolt. Other South American militant theorists agreed with Marighella concerning the utility of the city as a site for guerilla warfare including Spanish-born Abraham Guillén who developed strategy and theory in conjunction with fighters from Uruguay's MLN-T⁵³⁷. Other Latin American movements advocated a Guevaraian-Debrayian-Marighellaian foco theory of revolution including the ERP in Argentina, the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN) in Nicaragua, the New Jewel Movement in Grenada, and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) coalition in El Salvador. Obviously numerous other highly active guerilla warfare conflicts existed as contemporaries (1950s-1970s) including those in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, the Philippines, Bangladesh, Guatemala, Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, Angola, Kenya, Algeria, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa, Cameroon, Guinea-Bissau and the Congo. These movements exhibited a great deal of diversity to the degree that their inclusion borders on oversimplification. While some conflicts were waged with

⁵³⁵ Marighella, *Minimanual of the Urban Guerilla*.

⁵³⁶ Andrew Mack, "The Non-Strategy of Urban Guerilla Warfare," in *Urban Guerilla: Studies on the Theory, Strategy and Practice of Political Violence in Modern Societies*, ed. Johan Niezing, Proceedings of the 1st international working conference on violence and non-violent action in industrialized societies, vol. 4 (Brussels, BE: Rotterdam University Press/Polemological Centre of the Free University of Brussels, 1974), 42.

⁵³⁷ Pablo Brum, "Revisiting Urban Guerillas: Armed Propaganda and the Insurgency of Uruguay's MLN-Tupamaros, 1969-70," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 37, no. 5 (2014): 389, doi:10.1080/1057610X.2014.893403.

liberationist agendas, others fought for secession or separatism,⁵³⁸ or simply to place themselves in power after the fall of an opposing regime (what Clapham terms *warlord insurgencies*).

Full Time, Professional (Revolutionaries) Versus Part Timers

The strategic vision advocated by Guevara, Debray, as well as Mao Tse-Tung in *On Guerilla Warfare*, contends that from the proletarian masses, a vanguard cadre emerges, and it is this cadre that organizes the masses and leads it in combat with the state. To borrow language from the WUO's strategic discussions, this would involve a "cadre organization"⁵³⁹ facilitating an "active mass base"⁵⁴⁰ movement as a "division of the International Liberation Army."⁵⁴¹ In this model, the participant leaves their civilian life behind, and through paramilitary preparations, becomes a soldier in a Marxist army. For Leninists, "The vanguard elite are...not just a theoretical category to explain the development of political strategies, but a specific grouping of special individuals who must be identified and trained distinctly from the broad mass of the population."⁵⁴² The vanguard-cadre model with a unified, central organization was furthered by urban guerilla movements such as the WUO—described as a self-styled revolutionary

⁵³⁸ This helpful categorical breakdown was borrowed from Clapham's discussion of African insurgencies as featured in: Christopher S. Clapham, ed., "Analysing African Insurgencies," in *African Guerrillas* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998), 6–7.

⁵³⁹ Ashley et al., "You Don't Need A Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows," 88.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid., 90.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.

⁵⁴² Franks, "Vanguards and Paternalism," 106.

vanguard⁵⁴³—who spoke of the ‘revolutionary youth movement’ “*requiring a cadre organization...toward the creation of a unified revolutionary party*”⁵⁴⁴. This form of centralization and professionalization aimed at a militants’ full immersion separated the activist from the militant, and the revolutionary from the guerilla.

This facilitated organizing of the masses via an intentionally constructed minority is an essential difference between the Leninist-styled fighting organizations of the 1960s-1970s and the insurrectionary-styled networks of today. Lenin assumed in his analysis that the proletariat, already burdened with a high level of socio-political suffering, possessed a readiness to revolt and that the role of the vanguard was not to incite, but to organize these masses for revolution. Therefore, under Lenin’s logic all of the proletariat were potential ‘full-timers’ but only the vanguardist forces had reached the required level of outrage to become mobilized. This is different from the insurrectionary understanding, which posits that the masses do *not* possess a preeminent analysis of alienation and domination and that it is the role of the underground to display the possibility for revolution through political violence. While Lenin presumed that those under the yoke of capitalism would be radicalized by their position, the insurrectionaries argue that the systems of control and coercion obscure this oppression and disincentive the oppressed to organize and strike.

⁵⁴³ Rob Kroes, “Violence in America: Spontaneity and Strategy,” in *Urban Guerilla: Studies on the Theory, Strategy and Practice of Political Violence in Modern Societies*, ed. Johan Niezing, Proceedings of the 1st international working conference on violence and non-violent action in industrialized societies, vol. 4 (Brussels, BE: Rotterdam University Press/Polemological Centre of the Free University of Brussels, 1974), 87.

⁵⁴⁴ Ashley et al., “You Don’t Need A Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows,” 88–89 [emphasis added].

The urban-rural divide further exaggerates this binary—fully immersed militant versus part time activists— as difficulties arise when urban-based movements attempt to build, maintain and conceal large memberships; a task more suited to rural organizations. One member of the Italian RB described this 24-hour guerilla emersion as “a hidden life at all times”...[an] “all-absorbing and highly demanding.”⁵⁴⁵ Within this strategic organization, some movements stratified their combatants⁵⁴⁶ into “regulars”—full time militants who lived underground—and “irregulars”⁵⁴⁷, who appeared to live normal lives in the world of legality. Furthermore, for professionalized units like the RB, militants existed apart from the larger community, their family and other unaffiliated individuals. The brigadists were to live separate from their immediate family, children, and those not in the fight in an ultimate act of isolationist self-denial that even restricted sexual contact⁵⁴⁸ to the coordination *by the Brigade’s* technocrats. In a study on radicalization authored by the Asymmetric Warfare Group of the US Army, the authors report that “anarchy ideologues” (i.e. anarchist-identifying revolutionary activists) are specifically prone to severe breaks with preexisting social networks after dedicating themselves to a lifestyle of revolt, noting that this shift “represents a complete break with society, requiring an underground existence.”⁵⁴⁹

For the vanguardist, highly organized networks of armed cadres, one’s desires were subordinated to the struggle, their joy traded for duty and sacrifice. For those

⁵⁴⁵ Orsini, *Anatomy of the Red Brigades*, 48.

⁵⁴⁶ Wolf, *Fear of Fear*, 21.

⁵⁴⁷ Meade, *The Red Brigades*, 51; Orsini, *Anatomy of the Red Brigades*, 50–51.

⁵⁴⁸ Orsini, *Anatomy of the Red Brigades*, 51.

⁵⁴⁹ U.S. Army Asymmetric Warfare Group, “Radicalization: Relevant Psychological and Sociological Concepts” (The Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory (republished by Public Intelligence), September 2010), 49, <http://info.publicintelligence.net/USArmy-RadicalizationConcepts.pdf>.

embedded in professionalized vanguardist models, this self-denial is all encompassing, intentionally segregating and non-negotiable. One Italian fascist militant, the “political and military mind of the Movimento Politico Ordine Nuovo (MPON)”⁵⁵⁰ spoke of this experience as a professional, underground utilizer of revolutionary violence:

You have to break contact with all those you had left behind: friends, family, boyfriend or girlfriend...[emotional ties] had to be eliminated or removed. Because when you're being hunted, when you live underground, you can't allow them. You can't allow yourself anything.⁵⁵¹

This modus operandi of self-denial, martyrdom and a sense of obligatory duty is abandoned in the neo-insurrectionary model. Additionally, at the level of organization, contemporary attackers abandon the two-tiered taxonomy—separating ‘full time militants’, also known as ‘professional revolutionaries’, from those who lived ‘normal lives’. As imprisoned members of the CCF explained in their self-reflective publication, “The Sun Still Rises:”

The CCF, instead, proposes informal organization of tightly-knit groups of friends in which specialization is leveled by generalization of skills and knowledge, and in which daily life and intimate relationships are not separated from the practice of revolt. This is the revolutionary as diffuse guerrilla and the guerrilla as insurrectionist.⁵⁵²

This logic is repeated by the authors of *The Coming Insurrection* who speak of “what is political in friendship”, rejecting the “neutral idea of friendship understood as a pure affection with no consequences.”⁵⁵³ Here the social ties of friendship are powerful

⁵⁵⁰ Orsini, *Anatomy of the Red Brigades*, 263.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 264.

⁵⁵² Tsakalos et al., “The Sun Still Rises,” 2.

⁵⁵³ The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection*, 98.

unifiers; more powerful than the membership lists and donor records of the NGO or grassroots movement.

The modern insurrectionary movement can be thought of as engaging in a reinterpreted, anti-authoritarian foco theory-inspired form of warfare. The goal of these neo-guerrillas is not to *lead* the masses or direct the anti-state war through a vanguard, but those burning banks and slashing tires function with the hopes that their ‘propaganda of the deed’ will demonstrate not only an anarcho-praxis, but also the feasibility of attacking an enemy as stoic and rigid as the modern neoliberal state. This strategy exposes an often-critiqued aspect of insurrectionary theory typically represented as ‘steps towards the revolution’, and mockingly expressed in a variety of forms such as:

1. Break a window, light a fire, detonate a bomb....
2. Write a communiqué
3. Circulate your communiqué
4. ?????? [insert unknown series of steps here]
5. Live the insurrection!⁵⁵⁴

This recurring critique, delivered in the form of a snarky message board comment or outright joke, is formulaic: it contains an element of insurrectionary tactics (e.g. break a window, light a fire, glue a lock), the production of a communiqué, and ends in insurrection. Quite obviously, this approach skips over the quite necessary period where isolated attack leads to a system-level response and the victory against the state. This is an often-maligned breakdown in the insurrectionary strategy which stands in stark contrast to Marxist (e.g. Guevarian, Debrayian) programs which are predictive in their

⁵⁵⁴ A nod to this style of prescriptive strategy can be seen in the Invisible Committee’s recommendations for strategy as outlined in their four stages: “Get going!,” “Find each other,” “Get organized” and “Insurrection” corresponding to chapters 10-13 respectively.

understandings of the steps from attack to revolution. Instead of offering such a *strategy* insurrectionary theory coalesces more closely around a shared set of *tactics*. In their discussion of militant social movements, the anonymous authors of CrimethInc. write, “different formats for confrontation [i.e. tactics] encode different power relations and forms of social change within them.”⁵⁵⁵ This is precisely why insurrectionists base their tactical array around their shared organizational ethics, most notably informality, spontaneity, and direct (non-mediated) interactions with power. Therefore, one can understand the insurrectionary approach as a collection of tactics more than a central strategy, yet all is informed by a jointly-constituted and globally-shared set of ethics.

Thus while insurrectionary action can be seen as the production of a *focal point* for anti-social, anti-state and anti-capitalist resistance, it rejects the centrism, hierarchy and leadership-reliance embedded in Guevarian methods. This hybridized adaptation of a *foco* theory can also be seen in numerous urban guerilla movements of the 1960/1970s such as the WUO, who drawing from Debray’s *foco* theory, tried to exemplify militant resistance to the Vietnam War as a recruiting method for expanding the struggle amongst working class, white youths.⁵⁵⁶ Some contemporary analysts sympathetic to WUO politics have drawn similarities between *foco* strategies and the 1969 Kent State riots in Ohio, that led to the US National Guard firing on student demonstrators, killing four and injuring nine. According to journalist Andrew Kopkind, through the actions of a small band of militant student at Kent State, the rioters were able to “galvanize” 5,000

⁵⁵⁵ CrimethInc. Ex-Workers’ Collective, “The Ukrainian Revolution & the Future of Social Movements” (CrimethInc. Ex-Workers’ Collective, March 2014), <http://www.crimethinc.com/texts/ux/ukraine.html>.

⁵⁵⁶ Berger, *Outlaws of America*, 98.

moderates who assembled the following day to support the militant factions engaged in battles with police and National Guard forces⁵⁵⁷.

An essential part of the revisioning of the urban guerilla of the 1960s by the modern era of attackers is an abandonment of the artificial separation between an underground and aboveground life; one in which the later is exchanged for the utility of the former. In the insurrectionary model, this self-sacrificial, military-styled method is abandoned. The ideas of duty and ‘giving one’s self’ to the revolution are rejected in favor of a struggle grounded not in the rejection of bourgeois comforts, but in the embracing of an anti-social, confrontational attacker. In the introduction to a communiqué penned by imprisoned member of the CCF, the explains this shift away from the RAF/SLA/WUO model and writes:

The urban guerrilla of another time was one of hierarchy, martyrdom, and leninism. It claimed to be the vanguard of the coming revolution, while always maintaining a patronizing view toward others which inevitably led toward fantasies of centralized power. The new guerrilla avoids these pitfalls...[for] the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire, self sacrifice is rejected, along with orthodoxy and hierarchy in all its forms...What we see is the implementation of insurrectionary anarchist methodology within the context of guerrilla warfare. While criticisms of armed struggle, militarism, and guerrilla warfare are central aspects of insurrectionary anarchist critique, these have thus far been a response to the Marxist-Leninist guerrilla warfare of the 60’s and 70’s, with its authoritarian communist rhetoric and joyless, sacrificial practices. What shows its masked face now is something more horrible: an insurrectionist guerrilla with contempt for all leaders and vanguards, whose revolt is as inextricably linked with the joy of life as it is with the urgency of our situation.⁵⁵⁸

Here we see that members identifying with the CCF moniker align themselves squarely with this new insurrectionary tendency, one that rejects the “authoritarian communist

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁸ Tsakalos et al., “The Sun Still Rises,” 2.

[and] joyless sacrificial practices” of bygone urban guerillas. Therefore, while the insurrectionary model is opposed to “sacrificial practices” it does presume that those acting against the state carry with them the risk of capture, imprisonment and death. While this cannot be denied when clandestine actors are building explosive devices and confronting police, the aim is to *avoid* sacrificial acts that may lead to capture and instead focus on damaging the target while avoiding the repression of the state. For the insurrectionists, there is no utility in martyrdom, as it removes an individual from the arena of struggle.

Affinity Groups, the Moniker & the “Guideline” Model

*FAI, the Black International, the CCF, the affinity groups of anarcho-individualists and nihilists is the community we want to live in. This has nothing to do with the cumulative perception of power. FAI is not the model of a centralized organization. On the contrary, it promotes informal organization, affinity between cells and the uniqueness of each individual. We are against the dictatorship of numbers and central committees. Neither do we follow the logic of two fighting armies but instead we promote the diffusion of hundreds of points of rapture and action, which sometimes cooperate in an international coordination and sometimes express themselves as unique cells or individuals. FAI is simply the invisible community where the desires of attack against our era, meet. In this way, we promote New Anarchy and the Black International.*⁵⁵⁹

-- Conspiracy of Cells of Fire: Imprisoned Members Cell, FAI-IRF [2013]

The new guerillas of insurrectionary attack should be understood as an international network of disconnected and sometimes loosely federated affinity groups, ad hoc collectives, and individuals. The *affinity group model* has its roots in a variety of social movements often linked to the so-called anti-globalization, global justice movements that crescendoed around the millennium, embodied in mass demonstrations opposing the

⁵⁵⁹ Conspiracy of Cells of Fire FAI/IRF Imprisoned Members Cell, “Let’s become dangerous...for the diffusion of the Black International.”

WTO, IMF, WB, G8 and other multinational bodies. However, their roots in anti-state, anarchist resistance are a bit older. The use of the affinity group model dates back to at least the anarchist resistance to Francoist Spain and fascism in the 1930s. As the CrimethInc. Ex-Workers' Collective recounts in their discussion of the history of insurrectionary anarchism, the speaker describes these structures as "small, nimble groups that wages attacks, assassinated political figureheads and police, and freed prisoners, while robbing banks to support themselves and living illegally and clandestinely."⁵⁶⁰ The affinity groups would be constituted or disbanded depending on the changing nature of the conflict and preferred direct combat with the state rather than mediated representations through politics. According to one social movement scholar, "affinity groups" can be defined as "small, semi-independent units, pledged to coalition goals, tactics, and principals...but [are] free to make their own plans."⁵⁶¹ They are "small units of activists, effectively mirroring, in organizational terms, a group of friends...based on organic horizontality."⁵⁶² This analogy to networks of friends is shared in the aforementioned comments from the CCF activists. Typically affinity groups are between three and ten people and are organized for the specific needs of the action⁵⁶³ on hand and may possess varied skillsets based on the individuals involved. This tendency to organize towards the small is interwoven into the leftist tradition or organizational

⁵⁶⁰ CrimethInc. Ex-Workers' Collective, "The Ex-Worker."

⁵⁶¹ William Finnegan, "Affinity Groups and the Movements Against Corporate Globalization," in *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts*, ed. Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 213–214.

⁵⁶² Feigenbaum, Frenzel, and McCurdy, *Protest Camps*, 168.

⁵⁶³ G-MAC and People Within The ARA, "A Communique On Tactics And Organization To The Black Bloc (Second Amended Edition, July 2001)," 208.

struggle. In a “Warning to the Insurgents” of Moscow delivered 11 December 1905, it is written:

Main rule: do not act en masse. Carry out actions in three or four at the most. There should be as many small groups as possible and each of them must learn to attack and disappear quickly...It is easier to defeat a hundred men than one alone, especially if they strike suddenly and disappear mysteriously.⁵⁶⁴

While the aforementioned descriptions are meant to describe alternative formations (e.g. affinity groups participating in mass demonstrations, or Russian “insurgents”) the framework can be utilized to trace the borders of the insurrectionary tendency as well. For networks such as CCF/FAI/ALF, (described as *clusters* when applied to affinity groups⁵⁶⁵) small groupings of activists ally toward the broadly defined goals of the coalition as identified by their moniker. For traditional affinity groups the same rules apply. “Rather than agreeing an overall strategy for political action, the plurality of affinity groups, at times combined with a broad ‘action consensus’ (e.g. non-violence), leaves the decision over which action to take and how far to go with the individual groups.”⁵⁶⁶ While an affinity group may agree to an “action consensus” such as a Points of Unity, a cell network will agree to a set of guidelines. Within this guided frame, individual cells can decide how best to pursue the ‘broad consensus’ tactically within a shared strategy.

The friendship/affinity group model, whether used to coordinate civil disobedience through snarling traffic or mailing explosive devices to political officials,

⁵⁶⁴ As quoted in Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics*, 19.

⁵⁶⁵ G-MAC and People Within The ARA, “A Communiqué On Tactics And Organization To The Black Bloc (Second Amended Edition, July 2001),” 210.

⁵⁶⁶ Feigenbaum, Frenzel, and McCurdy, *Protest Camps*, 23.

both rely on a basic, self-contained⁵⁶⁷, small scale, temporarily assembled tactical model. Groupings may merge, split and transition from organizing public disturbances to clandestine guerilla warfare. This is the case with the Students for a Democratic Society's (SDS) factionalization around the 1969 Days of Rage. Around this time, the SDS wing known as the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM I)⁵⁶⁸—including Bernardine Dohrn, David Gilbert and Mark Rudd who would later constitute the first generation of the WUO—split from the larger SDS during the movement's National Council meetings in Texas.⁵⁶⁹ The tendency for social movements to factionalize is largely avoided in the insurrectionary model as the movement's "leaderless resistance"⁵⁷⁰ structure and focus on temporality allows factions to form, act and then disband only to be reconstituted at a later date. In the model of affinity groups and clandestine, networked cells—"the horizontal linking of affinity groups"⁵⁷¹—only remain assembled for the length of time required to complete their specific actions. Individuals do not hold onto group membership in perpetuity or as long as dues are paid, but only as long as the co-conspirators find it a necessity. Before and after the action, the collective does not exist. This affinity group-styled mode of resistance functions in tandem with the deployment of

⁵⁶⁷ David et al., "A Communique On Tactics And Organization To The Black Bloc, From Within The Black Bloc (Some Reflections, Proposals and Suggestions, December 2000)," in *The Black Bloc Papers*, ed. David and X, 1st ed. (Baltimore, MD: Black Clover Press, 2002), 237.

⁵⁶⁸ Around 1969 the RYM split into RYM I and RYM II, the former going on to become the WUO and the latter a more Maoist-leaning faction which rejected the initiation of immediate armed revolution in favor of the building of a vanguardist, revolutionary party. RYM II would later become the New Communist Movement.

⁵⁶⁹ David, "Get Busy Living, Or Get Busy Dying," in *The Black Bloc Papers*, ed. David and X, 1st ed. (Baltimore, MD: Black Clover Press, 2002), 13–14.

⁵⁷⁰ For a detailed discussion of how leaderless resistance networks prevent factionalization, see: Joesse, "Leaderless Resistance and Ideological Inclusion"; James Paul Joesse, "Leaderless Resistance, Radical Environmentalism, and Asymmetrical Warfare" (PhD thesis, University of Alberta, 2014).

⁵⁷¹ Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics*, 32.

communiqués to determine attack authorship, and further demarcate group membership and inter-community inclusion and exclusion. This phenomenon can be seen in an examination of the communiqués and network guideline as markers of identity within a fluid social movement.

Following the 1999 WTO demonstrations, where window-smashing anarchists caused approximately \$20 million in property damage and lost revenues⁵⁷², many correspondents were searching for a ‘group’ to associate with the violence. Though the vandalism and property destruction was carried out by a variety of individuals, both ‘affiliated’ and independent, one of the affinity groups responsible issued a communiqué, wherein they stated:

When we smash a window, we aim to destroy the thin veneer of legitimacy that surrounds private property rights. At the same time, we exorcize that set of violent and destructive social relationships which has been imbued in almost everything around us. By ‘destroying’ private property, we convert its limited exchange value into an expanded use value.

A storefront window becomes a vent to let some fresh air into the oppressive atmosphere of a retail outlet (at least until the police decide to tear-gas a nearby road blockade). A newspaper box becomes a tool for creating such vents or a small blockade for the reclamation of public space or an object to improve one's vantage point by standing on it. A dumpster becomes an obstruction to a phalanx of rioting cops and a source of heat and light. A building facade becomes a message board to record brainstorm ideas for a better world.⁵⁷³

Following such an attack, whether by the 1999 black bloc or the 2014 arsonist, the goal is to generate another strike in a long series of attacks. In this sense, the strategy of protracted combat is open-ended as the attackers do not imagine that any single incident

⁵⁷² CBC News, “WTO Protests Hit Seattle in the Pocketbook,” *CBC News Online*, January 6, 2000, Online edition, sec. World, <http://www.cbc.ca/1.245428>.

⁵⁷³ ACME Collective, “N30 Black Bloc Communiqué.”

will lead to the collapse of capital or the state. The attackers do not expect the branch to fail or the parent company to capitulate to some reformist demands, rather the strike against the enemy is in itself the end goal. It exists within a chronological ordering of similar attacks that occurred before and will occur after. These attacks collectively represent a social force that seeks to create structural change.

In this manner, insurrectionary strategy is simultaneously pessimistic and optimistic. It is pessimistic because it does not believe that a campaign of attack will lead to the sudden yielding of power by the state, but maintain an optimism that such a series of attacks does serve a revolutionary goal of radicalizing the population, exposing the violence of state and capital, and temporarily focusing the attention of the population on issues of structural violence through forcing people to ask the question: ‘Why did those people blow up that bank?’ The goal is thus to localize the struggle, to allow one’s anti-state actions to serve as a negation of the systems domination and a transcendence of mediation of capitalist relations.⁵⁷⁴ Since the nature of the insurrectionary understanding of control is one where the forces of domination are transnational, ever-present and boundless, the goal is not to defeat this amorphous body but rather to create ruptures—however temporary—which allow one to imagine another world of greater freedom and autonomy.

Most importantly, the carrying out of attacks can be seen as an end in itself as they serve to confront the enemy, in the “urgent immediacy”⁵⁷⁵, though an unmediated

⁵⁷⁴ Alden Wood, *The Cultural Logic of Insurrection: Essays on Tiqqun and the Invisible Committee*, 1st ed. (Berkeley, CA: Repartee/Little Black Cart, 2013), 15.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 39.

method of struggle. To produce an attack is to rhetorically link it to thousands of attacks from the past, and to provide yet another example of praxis for those acting in the future. This is the precise functional use of the adoptable moniker. By uniting disparate incidents through a shared and named label, these seemingly disconnected acts of resistance are linked together into a collective history. This collectivity then shares a narrative, it shares intellectual resources and creates a ‘digital community’⁵⁷⁶ which serves to “produce and provide ideological frameworks, knowledge concerning tactics, equipment and targets, but of greatest importance, inspiration and the idea that one is part of a vivid, supporting community and *not* alone.”⁵⁷⁷ In this manner, between 1972-2010, the ALF and ELF monikers have been used to claim responsibility for over 7,200 attacks⁵⁷⁸ in at least 36 countries⁵⁷⁹, most frequently in the US and UK. The power of such a unifying marker should not be understated. Using the ALF/ELF as a model, the shared identity creates a social movement from seemingly unconnected broken windows, slashed tires and burned out slaughterhouses. In other words, the moniker functions as a rallying point, a centrally-located means of movement identification, wherein a window breaker in Berlin and an arsonist in Tel Aviv can feel as though they are part of the same movement, united in a

⁵⁷⁶ For discussion which focus on the formation of communities through protest-based social movements, see: Donatella Della Porta and Gianni Piazza, *Voices of the Valley, Voices of the Straits: How Protest Creates Community* (New York, NY: Berghahn Books, 2008); Graeber, *Direct Action*; Feigenbaum, Frenzel, and McCurdy, *Protest Camps*.

⁵⁷⁷ Jelle van Buuren and Beatrice de Graaf, “Hatred of the System: Menacing Loners and Autonomous Cells in the Netherlands,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, no. 1 (December 20, 2013): 176–177, doi:10.1080/09546553.2014.849932.

⁵⁷⁸ See chart 3.1 in appendix

⁵⁷⁹ Loadenthal, “Nor Hostages, Assassinations, or Hijackings, but Sabotage, Vandalism & Fire: ‘Eco-Terrorism’ as Political Violence Challenging the State and Capital,” 81–89, 94–95.

shared guideline for action, and moving towards the same goal (e.g. ending speciesism, opposing capitalism, etc.).

These groups that share a name in order to claim responsibility for attacks often adopt a “guideline” approach to drawing in-group/out-group distinctions. In 1973, the German group RZ began encouraging cells and individuals to act, stating that “anybody could carry out an action within the context of the RZ’s politics...and claim it as an RZ action.”⁵⁸⁰ While RZ did not appear to maintain a static, numbered list of rules, it created thematic borders for its actors, defining their areas of operation into three categories:

1.) anti-imperialist actions, 2.) actions against the branches, establishments, and accomplices of Zionism in the FRG [Federal Republic of Germany], and 3.) actions supporting the struggles of workers, wimmin⁵⁸¹ and youth, and attacking and punishing their enemies.

RZ urged its adherents to carry out cell-level attacks against targeting fitting the above criteria and *encouraged* the destruction of property, not the targeting of individuals⁵⁸², similar to the strategy of the ALF/ELF.

According to media accounts, RZ carried out 186 actions in approximately 20 years⁵⁸³. Around the same time RZ was forming in Germany, the ALF was emerging as a

⁵⁸⁰ Moncourt and Smith, *The Red Army Faction*, 2:69.

⁵⁸¹ This spelling of “women” is intentional and common amongst radical feminist writers and other anti-patriarchal leftists. It is intended to remove the root “men” from the female person. Other examples of this phenomenon can be seen in the ‘misspelling’ of the Spanish word “compañerxs”, replacing gender-specific indicator letters with “x” to de-gender the word. This Spanish language example is borrowed from a communiqué written by Adrián Díaz, entitled “Comunicado from Adrián Díaz on solidarity and against the rumors” published 13 July 2013 by War on Society.

⁵⁸² RZ was linked to one death in Germany when an individual who had been ‘kneecapped’ bled to death. RZ later issued a communiqué stating that this was not intended. Two RZ adherents (Wilfried Böse and Brigitte Kuhlmann), in conjunction with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine: External Operations (PFLP-EO), were involved in the 1976 hijacking of Air France Flight 139, diverting it to Entebbe, Uganda. The Israeli Defense Forces eventually freed nearly all of the 106 hostages while killing all 7 hijackers and over 40 Ugandan soldiers.

newly militant direct action tendency in England, separating itself from the Band of Mercy⁵⁸⁴, which had used similar tactics of vandalism, sabotage and arson in defense of animals. The ALF in its formative years developed a set of five “guidelines” that an individual must adhere to in order to claim that action as that of the ALF. These guidelines state:

1. To inflict economic damage on those who profit from the misery and exploitation of animals.
2. To liberate animals from places of abuse, i.e. laboratories, factory farms, fur farms etc., and place them in good homes where they may live out their natural lives, free from suffering.
3. To reveal the horror and atrocities committed against animals behind locked doors, by performing nonviolent direct actions and liberations
4. To take all necessary precautions against harming any animal, human and non-human.
5. Any group of people who are vegetarians or vegans and who carry out actions according to ALF guidelines have the right to regard themselves as part of the ALF.

The ELF, modeled after the ALF, developed a similar set of guidelines and through its aboveground press offices and publications, is careful to disseminate such texts widely. According to a 2011 FAQ circulated from the North American ELF Press Office, the guidelines are:

1. To cause as much economic damage as possible to a given entity that is profiting off the destruction of the natural environment and life for selfish greed and profit,
2. To educate the public on the atrocities committed against the environment and life,

⁵⁸³ BBC, “German 1970s ‘Radicals’ Surrender,” *BBC*, February 4, 2007, Online edition, sec. Europe, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6330213.stm>.

⁵⁸⁴ Molland, “A Spark That Ignited a Flame: The Evolution of the Earth Liberation Front.”

3. To take all necessary precautions against harming life.⁵⁸⁵

The authors of the FAQ make it clear that based on these guidelines, “ELF” is simply a political framework that anyone can adopt.

The ELF does not have any sort of physical membership list or meetings you can attend to become involved. Remember, the ELF revolves around not a physical base or classically designed structure, but instead an ideology. If you believe in the ELF ideology and you follow a certain set of widely published guidelines, you can conduct actions and become part of the ELF.⁵⁸⁶

Such a model has continued to expand as new formulations of resistance networks emerge.

In 2003, a series of bombings targeting affiliate companies involved in funding animal research were targeted. In August 2003 two pipe bombs packed with nails (used as anti-personnel shrapnel) exploded at the offices of Chiron Corporation in Emeryville, CA. One month later, in September 2003, a second bombing occurred, this time targeting the offices of Shaklee Inc., in Pleasanton, CA. Both Chiron and Shaklee were economically linked to HLS, the target of a multi-year, international protest campaign led by SHAC because of the company’s function as a breeder of animals for experimentation. The Revolutionary Cells—Animal Liberation Brigade (RC-ALB) claimed both bombings through emailed communiqués sent to media and Bite Back Magazine, a website and print periodical established to publicize ALF and ideologically aligned actions. In the second such text, which claimed responsibility for the September explosion, the author(s) outlined the guidelines for future RC-ALB actions.

⁵⁸⁵ North American Earth Liberation Front Press Office, “Frequently Asked Questions About the Earth Liberation Front” (North American Earth Liberation Front Press Office, 2001), <http://www.elfpressoffice.org/elffaqs.html>.

⁵⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 14–15.

The revolutionary cells exists as a front group for militants across the liberatory movement spectrum. We are anarchists, communists, anti-racists, animal liberationists, earth liberationists, luddites, feminists, queer liberationists, and many more things across various other fronts...Anyone who takes part in the war against the oppressive hierarchies [sic] in this world can consider themselves a member of the Revolutionary Cells.

Revolutionary Cells Guidelines:

1. To take strategic direct action (be it non-violent or not) against the oppressive institutions that permeate the world.
2. Make every effort to minimize non-target casualties, be they human or non-human.
3. Respect a diversity of tactics, whether they be non-violent or not.
4. Any underground activist fighting for the liberation of the humyn⁵⁸⁷, earth or animal nations may consider themselves a Revolutionary Cells volunteer.⁵⁸⁸

Clearly one can see the influence of earlier incarnations on that of the RC-ALB. Not only did they directly borrow the namesake of RZ, a group inactive for nearly a decade, but also three of the four guidelines can be easily likened to those of the ALF/ELF. It is only guideline three—which allows for the RC-ALB to target people not property—that separates it from the ALF/ELF. In this understanding, the RC-ALB is similar to animal liberation networks such as the Justice Department (JD) and Animal Rights Militia (ARM) in that it largely resembles the ALF except for its tactic allowance or outright endorsement for attacks against human targets.

It is important to note that the first two RC-ALB bombings, both carried out in California, are said to be the work of Daniel Andreas San Diego, the first American

⁵⁸⁷ This is an intentional 'misspelling' of human to remove the "man" and create a gender-neutral, sexless term. Similar spellings occur with "woman", often spelled as "womyn" or "women" spelled as "wimmin." In Spanish-language insurrectionary texts, gendered words are often misspelled with gender-dependent letters ("a" or "o") replaced with "x". This trend is expanded upon in the quantitative analysis chapters examining communiqué text.

⁵⁸⁸ Revolutionary Cells--animal liberation brigade, "Revolutionary Cells - Animal Liberation Brigades" (Animalliberationfront.com, January 10, 2003), http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFront/Premise_History/RevolutionaryCells.htm.

animal rights activist added to the FBI's Most Wanted Terrorist list. After noticing surveillance of his vehicle in 2003, San Diego disappeared and despite his addition to the Most Wanted list, has remained at large. While FBI and Department of Justice (DOJ) materials link San Diego to both the Chiron and Shaklee attacks, the RC-ALB moniker has been used to claim responsibility for six additional attacks, four in California, one in Maryland and one in Switzerland. The attacks have included the arson or attempted arson of six targets (three in Switzerland), two bomb threats (both in Maryland) and two mailed IEDs. While it is *conceivable* that San Diego created the RC-ALB and carried out all of the above mentioned attacks, it is more likely—according to Congressional testimony⁵⁸⁹ and court papers⁵⁹⁰—that San Diego was successful in creating an appealing, adoptable moniker, and that others chose to act as self-appointed members of the RC-ALB and carry his message forward.

While taking a slightly different approach, the CCF *proposed* guidelines in their self-assessment zine, “The Sun Still Rises,” and suggested three points of affinity for cells seeking to expand the social war. The CCF writes:

We are...making a proposal for a new Conspiracy comprising a diffuse, invisible, network of cells that have no reason to meet in person, yet through their actions and discourse recognize one another as comrades in the same political crime: the subversion of Law and Order. This Conspiracy would consist of individuals and cells that take action, whether autonomous or coordinated (through call-outs and

⁵⁸⁹ 109th Congress, “Oversight on Eco-Terrorism Specifically Examining the Earth Liberation Front (‘ELF’) and the Animal Liberation Front (‘ALF’)” (United States Senate Committee on Environmental and Public Works, May 18, 2005), http://epw.senate.gov/hearing_statements.cfm?id=237836; 109th Congress, 1st Session, “Eco-Terrorism Specifically Examining Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (‘SHAC’).”

⁵⁹⁰ United States District Court Northern District of California San Francisco Division and Special Agent Christine Loscalzo, “In the Matter of the Application of the United States of America for an Order Authorizing the Installation and Use of an Electronic Tracking Devices on or in Honda Civic, California License Plate 3EKT50 [NO. CR 03-3133 MISC EMC]” (U.S. District Court Northern District of California, October 3, 2003).

communiqués), without needing to agree on every single position and specific reference point...instead they would connect on the basis of mutual aid focused on three key points...[1.] the choice of direct action using any means capable of damaging enemy infrastructure. Without hierarchization of methods of violence, comrades can choose from rocks to Kalashnikovs...accompanied by a corresponding communiqué...claiming responsibility and explaining the reason behind the attack, thus spreading revolutionary discourse...[2.] wage war against the state while simultaneously engaging in a pointed critique of society...[3.] international revolutionary solidarity...a solidarity that cries out through texts, armed actions, attacks, and sabotage to reach the ears of persecuted and imprisoned comrades, no matter how far away they may be...Any comrade who agrees (obviously without having to identify herself) with these three key points of the informal agreement we are proposing can—if she wants—use the name Fire Cells Conspiracy in connection with the autonomous cell she is a part of...[and] be able to organize arson and bombing campaigns...communicating through their claims of responsibility.⁵⁹¹

The CCF model is far more open than that of previous networks. It encourages points of generalized affinity, not specific rules, with the hopes that cell-level decision making remains autonomous while some form of international coordination can occur through the communiqués accompanying actions. The CCF even note how this idea has already been actualized by a cell of Dutch attackers who chose to attack Rabobank and claim the strikes as the CCF Dutch cell.

This history draws key distinctions in terms of clandestine networks' methodologies of attack. One key difference which separates twentieth century groups such as the RAF from the modern insurrectionary attacks such as the CCF, is that while the former tended to attack symbolic targets, the latter have attempted to focus on *tactical* targets; those which can most effectively—in a strategic sense—serve to disrupt the flow of state and capital. This desire to cause material damage and disruption is recurrent in

⁵⁹¹ Tsakalos et al., "The Sun Still Rises," 11–15.

social protest⁵⁹², but perhaps particularly important to the insurrectionary logic. The targeting logic of 1970s guerillas tended to focus on visible representations of larger social movement struggle—army bases, corporate offices, government offices—to strike against The Military, or The Corporation or The State⁵⁹³. On the other hand, twenty-first century insurrectionary cells have tended to attack more localized manifestations of these systems such as individual bank branches, police vehicles and key technocratic individuals. While this pattern is by no ways a consistent description, it does differentiate those who target the symbolic representations of the state can capital from those who strategically strike its “functional logistics”⁵⁹⁴ aiming at financial damage and interruption. This desire to “hit [them] where it hurts”⁵⁹⁵ focuses on the operational abilities of the target rather than the symbolic capital it carries in a larger movement sense. Strategies that seek to diagram the weaknesses, bottlenecks and soft underbellies of grandiose targets are common in the post-millennial clandestine networks and can be seen in the ALF’s mapping and serial attacks on fur farms (e.g. The Blueprint⁵⁹⁶, The

⁵⁹² Della Porta and Diani, *Social Movements*, pt. 7.3.2.

⁵⁹³ Bursts O’Goodness, “Tom Nomad on Insurgent Theory,” radio4all.net Podcast, *The Final Straw* (Asheville, NC: Asheville FM, December 28, 2014), sec. 11:00–12:38, <http://www.ashevillefm.org/the-final-straw/12/2014/tom-nomad-on-insurgent-theory>.

⁵⁹⁴ The Institute for the Study of Insurgent Warfare, *Insurgencies: A Journal of Insurgent Strategy* (Little Black Cart, 2014), 10.

⁵⁹⁵ Theodore J. Kaczynski, “Hit Where It Hurts,” in *Technological Slavery: The Collected Writings of Theodore J. Kaczynski, A.k.a. “The Unabomber,”* ed. David Skrbina (Los Angeles, CA: Feral House, 2010), 248–53.

⁵⁹⁶ Fur Farm Intelligence Project and Peter Young, *The Blueprint [Fur Farm Intelligence Project: The Full Report]* (Online: Bite Back Magazine & Voice of the Voiceless, 2010), <http://www.directaction4.info/Blueprint.pdf>.

Final Nail⁵⁹⁷), or Ted Kaczynski's calls to "strike at the most sensitive and vital organs of the system..[the] points at which it cannot afford to give ground."⁵⁹⁸

To Claim or Not to Claim: That is the question

I must say that the debate on using or not acronyms and claims is still very strong. Even in this case, I wouldn't make an 'ideological' approach of the subject, I have nothing against actions not claimed, from my point of view they simply tend to disappear, they do not stimulate debate, they have a minimum potential of reproducibility... That's why I made the FAI-IRF methodology my own... Whoever claims responsibility with an acronym is an enemy worthy of denigration.⁵⁹⁹

-- Alfredo Cospito, FAI shooter of an Italian nuclear executive [2014]

Insurrectionary anarchism is often an identity of self-description, even in its more 'civil' (i.e. non insurrectionary) forms. For example, in the media reporting of anarchist activity (e.g. protests, arrests), it is exceedingly common for news outlets to describe activists as 'self-proclaimed anarchists,'⁶⁰⁰ 'self-described anarchists'⁶⁰¹ and other such labels that

⁵⁹⁷ For example: Frontline Information Service, "A Final Nail Exclusive: Electronically Timed Incendiary Igniter" (Frontline: Uncensored News and Information, n.d.), <http://www.animalliberation.net/finalnail/index.html>; Frontline Information Service, "The Final Nail: Destroying the Fur Industry - A Guided Tour #2" (Animal Liberation.net, Spring 1998), <http://www.animalliberation.net/finalnail/index.html>; Anonymous, *Final Nail #4* (Online, Summer 2013), <https://finalnail.files.wordpress.com/2013/05/final-nail-4.pdf>; Anonymous, "The Final Nail," 2015, <http://www.finalnail.com/>.

⁵⁹⁸ Kaczynski, "Hit Where It Hurts," 251, 253.

⁵⁹⁹ Cospito, Interview by CCF – Imprisoned Members Cell with Alfredo Cospito (Greece, Italy).

⁶⁰⁰ See for example: Kathimerini, "Police Clear Suspects of Attack on German Ambassador's Home but Not of Terror Plot," *Kathimerini/International New York Times*, October 14, 2014, English Edition Online edition, http://www.ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/_w_articles_wsite1_1_14/10/2014_543712; Mark Morris, "New Charges for Kansas City Anarchist Accused of Attacking Cleaver's Office," *The Kansas City Star*, October 7, 2014, Online edition, sec. News-Local-Crime, <http://www.kansascity.com/news/local/crime/article2563152.html>; Henry Rosoff, "KIRO 7 Confronts Self-Proclaimed Anarchist Accused of Smashing Bank ATMs," *KIRO 7*, January 23, 2014, Online edition, <http://www.kirotv.com/news/news/kiro-7-confronts-self-proclaimed-anarchist-accused/nczb9/>.

⁶⁰¹ See for example: Associated Press, "'Hactivist' Gets Prison in N.Y. Cyberattacks Case," *USA Today/Associated Press*, November 15, 2013, Online edition, <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2013/11/15/us-man-gets-prison-in-cyberattacks-case/3582249/>; Nicole Hensley, "Portland Anarchist Calls 911 on Heroin Overdose, Tells Dispatcher to Not Send Police," *New York Daily News*, May 17, 2014, Online edition,

imply the ambiguity of authoritatively assigning such a label. This sort of linguistic practice speaks to the self-adoptability of the anarchist ‘identity’ with or without a clandestine moniker. While the label is just as often undeservingly applied to those seen as acting ‘violently’ or ‘chaotically’, in a great deal of coverage of actual anarchists, their self-labeling becomes a constant reference. Does this self-labeling function differently when individuals and groups choose to self-label within a specific factional moniker, be it the FAI, CCF, ELF or others? Are there important considerations in determining how and if to claim responsibility for an attack?

Certainly discussions as to the pros and cons of *claiming* an attack, and the role played by stable monikers have occurred. Some have argued that by announcing an attack, issuing a communiqué, and labeling it with a group name, one is aiding state authorities in collecting evidence and eventually stopping the resistance activities. These activists argue that the action speaks for itself, and to further expose oneself with a written claim of responsibility—especially one that uses a moniker to link it to past and future attacks—is glamor-seeking, vain, self-indulgent and ultimately without purpose. Others, such as those who regularly pen, translate, post and circulate such claims obviously feel otherwise. In one of the most direct and plainly stated discussion of this question, the Indonesian anarchist guerilla known as Eat writes:

Some years ago when I spent my time behind bars because of political action, two European ‘anarchists’ whom I never met before visited me. They told me that they shared the same ideas for the action that I done. But one thing seemed to

<http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/portland-anarchist-bans-cops-assisting-911-call-heroin-overdose-article-1.1796455>; Kim Palmer, “Self-Described Anarchist Gets 10 Years in Ohio Bridge Bombing Plot,” *Reuters*, October 7, 2013, Online edition, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/10/07/us-usa-security-cleveland-idUSBRE9960WC20131007>.

bother them and for a while now since I was ‘freed’, I’ve realized from some of my correspondences with individuals from the so-called ‘general activist and anarchist milieu from local to international’, that the idea of naming one cell as FAI is a big issue.

One thing that these two Europeans asked me is why I ‘labeled’ the cell of attack. I answered them with a very simple logic: it was labeled as Informal Anarchist Federation because we shared the same ideas of sporadic attack and the critique of organization that came from anarchist-insurrectionalism.

It was a conscious choice to identify the revolt, whether by an individual or by groups, against the machinery of control. It was a gesture of solidarity to every anarchist prisoner around the world...FAI is also a manifestation of the idea of sporadic attack and the general critique on the specialization of attack – such as professional terrorist organization and the past Marxist-Leninist hierarchical and vanguardist form of armed struggle. It is also not necessarily an armed struggle, but more of a means of arming ourselves against the machine.

The question that was raised by these two Europeans originated from the critique of organization itself: the naming of the attack by a sort of invisible organization and in this case, it was the FAI/ IRF. However, briefly I tried to explain to them then, that I think it is a very simple logic for every conscious individual who has a passion for waging war against the capitalist system. I have never met nor even corresponded with the FAI before I conducted the action, but I understood very well the ideas that lay behind it. And for me, our action was also a form of communication between individuals, anarchists especially, in the global sense. And it did, so I was very happy when I read and heard that so many solidarity actions were done for my case and it didn’t occur to me that it was just a FAI/IRF inclusive project, but it was a firestarter, a test for our theory and formula of action and organization. FAI/IRF for me was a global meeting point... FAI/IRF is maybe only just a name for some individuals who share some ideas, but it is also an experience in action and organization and not a form of fetishism. There are no individuals nor groups monopolizing the ideas, because the dialogue and debate is still ongoing. The action never stopped.⁶⁰²

Eat’s thoughts externalize this debate well. While he expresses an acknowledgment of the “Europeans” uncertainty, he chooses to claim attacks from within the FAI moniker precisely because of the power of an internationalized namesake. Eat explains the deterritorialized, disembodied insurrectionary milieu as an “experience”, a “form of

⁶⁰² Eat, “Some Thoughts on FAI/IRF,” 325, June 2014.

communication”, a “global meeting point.” Eat was able to consume the communiqués of the FAI produced in Italy, Greece and elsewhere, incorporate their ideas into his own framework, carryout a local attack, and immediately vault from onlooker to participant in an international network of anarchists guerillas.

In the times of urban guerilla warfare that preceded the FAI and its allies, similar debates occurred. During the 1960-1970s, when more frequent armed guerilla actions were occurring from the revolutionary left, the Angry Brigade which was active in the UK proposed the idea of a freely-adoptable moniker. The utility of such an approach was discussed in a 2012 publication chronicling the Angry Brigade. In their discussion of the usefulness of static labels, the author writes:

Action Directe [French Direct Action], the RAF [German Red Army Faction], the CCC [Belgian Communist Combatant Cells], RZ [German Revolutionary Cells] and other armed struggle groups in Europe were in fact the trees hiding the forest of autonomous groups of attack, far more numerous and diffused. On the one hand, one can find interesting the possibility mentioned in the communiqués that anyone can appropriate the signature Angry Brigade: ‘Where two or three revolutionaries use organized violence to attack the class system...there is the Angry Brigade. Revolutionaries all over England are already using the name to publicise their attacks on the system.’⁶⁰³ and ‘The AB is the man or woman sitting next to you. They have guns in their pockets and anger in their minds.’⁶⁰⁴ But on the other hand, one can doubt the usefulness of creating an entity and identity based on a fixed signature. And if ‘revolutionaries throughout England already use this name to publicize their attacks against the system’⁶⁰⁵, the opposite is also true, and this is all the better, because it decentralizes the attack and makes it less legible to the eyes of cops, preventing them from being able to attribute socially diffuse practices to a particular group.⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰³ The Angry Brigade, “Angry Brigade Communiqués” (Spunk Library, 1972 1970), sec. 6, <http://www.spunk.org/texts/groups/agb/sp000539.txt>.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid., sec. 9.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid., sec. 6.

⁶⁰⁶ Ravage Editions, “Kick It Til It Breaks - An Introduction to Angry Brigade [introduction of Angry Brigade: Elements de La Critique Anarchiste Armée En Angleterre],” trans. Jean Weir (Ravage Editions, January 30, 2013), <http://www.non-fides.fr/?Kick-It-Till-It-Breaks-An>.

For this theorist, by advocating the diffuse usage of an adoptable moniker, this functions to obscure identifiable patterns of attack that may be useful to law enforcement, multiplying the ‘trees that hide the forest of attack.’ This sort of approach is also briefly mentioned in *The Coming Insurrection* wherein the author(s) speak of “not claiming your illegal actions, only attaching to them some fictional acronym.”⁶⁰⁷

Certainly the same can be said about the modern attacks claimed under the FAI, CCF and other monikers. One author argues that the modern groups “recognizing themselves under the logos FAI or IRF”⁶⁰⁸ function to “stifle” revolutionary fervor by claiming attacks under a stable, repeated moniker. Calling it the “spectacle of practices and logos” the author encourages the issuing of explanatory communiqués but cautions against acts of resistance becoming commodified spectacles as to apply a stable label to an attack is to make it “permanent...claim[ing] belonging to it as in any other formal and permanent organization.”⁶⁰⁹ This form of self-labeling serves to, “in view of police history...facilitates one’s own repression and loses some of the sense of the attack in question, putting the spotlight on the authors of the attacks rather than the attacks themselves.”⁶¹⁰ At the level of the cells carrying out attacks, similar debates are ongoing. Besides the reflections of past attackers such as Eat, an Italian cell of the FAI, calling itself “Conspiracy of Black Fire” spoke of similar concerns while claiming responsibility

⁶⁰⁷ The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection*, 113.

⁶⁰⁸ Ravage Editions, “Kick It Til It Breaks - An Introduction to Angry Brigade [introduction of Angry Brigade: Elements de La Critique Anarchiste Armée En Angleterre].”

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid.

for an arson attack targeting a gasoline pump, and sabotaging ATMs. In their claim of responsibility, offered as the 13th attack in the “Phoenix Project” the attackers write:

We spent a great deal of time pondering on the question of informality [not claiming via a moniker] and the possibility of giving birth to a group of action [through creating a new moniker]. During our discussion, among laughter and seriousness, lively debates, desires and anxiety, projects and strategies, we decided to give birth to the Conspiracy of Black Fire and wage war to the megamachine of dominion.⁶¹¹

This choice to use the acronym was likely done for several reasons, one of which being to more completely integrate into the “Phoenix Project” international series of attacks.

Similarly, since the FAI name was coined, cells have popped up around the world quite rapidly. In May 2014, a new cell was announced in Hong Kong, the second such country in Asia following Indonesia. In their communiqué, the new cell states:

We, the Autonomous Cell for Revolutionary Class Struggle/Informal Anarchist Federation/International Revolutionary Front, would like to announce our formation... Through autonomous action and in conjunction with other revolutionary cells around the world and an FAI cyber cell here in Hong Kong we aim to strike a blow to the spectacle, to the enslaving system.⁶¹²

The so-called “Imprisoned Members Cell” of the CCF-FAI also weighed in on this issue at length in their essay “Let’s become dangerous...for the diffusion of the Black International.”⁶¹³ In this essay the authors speak to the utility and danger of adoptable monikers and stable acronyms, reacting to a critic of this approach who argues: “when an

⁶¹¹ Conspiracy of Black Fire - FAI-FRI, “Phoenix Project #13,” trans. Act for Freedom Now! (Croce Nera Anarchica (republished by Act for Freedom Now!), May 21, 2014), <http://actforfree.nostate.net/?p=16868>.

⁶¹² Autonomous Cell for Revolutionary Class Struggle - FAI/IRF, “Formation of New FAI/IRF Cell” (325.nostate.net, May 23, 2014), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=10363>.

⁶¹³ Conspiracy of Cells of Fire FAI/IRF Imprisoned Members Cell, “Let’s become dangerous...for the diffusion of the Black International.”

action is followed by a communiqué, it is like a joke accompanied by an explanation.”⁶¹⁴

The cell refutes that claim made by “exponents of political anonymity often say...’ With communiqués and acronyms, the actions get owners.”⁶¹⁵ The imprisoned authors rhetorically ask and answer this challenge writing, “‘but why are you obsessed with acronyms and naming cells?’ We answer, that we have no obsession, we just feel the strong desire to define ourselves.”⁶¹⁶ The authors proceed to discuss the power of separating oneself from the larger leftist milieu stating:

We believe that by simply stating that we are ‘anarchists’, in order to speak through a communiqué or an action, is inadequate and problematic. We choose to separate our positions from the ‘anarchists’ who cooperate with the leftist grassroot labor unions, use Marxist analyzes, unionize their misery, slander direct actions, fantasize workers’ communes, participate in residents’ local committees and transform anarchy into a social therapy. Also, actions speak for themselves through communiqués, because they keep their distances from the ‘anarchist’ opposition, which may sometimes burn down a bank in the name of ‘poor people and against plutocracy’s capital’, in order to prove it does at least something. No, our burned banks is not a way of protest or a token of friendship and solidarity with the ‘poor people’ who does nothing and sits on his couch...So, we choose to identify ourselves and not to be lost in the anonymity of an imaginary anarchist movement.⁶¹⁷

The Imprisoned Members Cell represent only one contribution of a growing debate⁶¹⁸ on this matter amongst proponents and detractors of clandestine attack claimed via communiqué, and a continued dialogue concerning utility, function and risk is warranted.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid.

⁶¹⁸ For further discussion see: Anonymous, “Anonymity [Anonimato],” trans. Indymedia Athens (Indymedia Athens, September 23, 2013), <https://athens.indymedia.org/post/1489590/>; Anonymous, “Appendix to an Aborted Debate on Anonymity and Attack” (Contra Info, March 26, 2014), <http://en.contrainfo.espiv.net/2014/03/26/appendix-to-an-aborted-debate-on-anonymity-and-attack/>; Anonymous, “Letter to the anarchist galaxy [Lettre à la galaxie anarchiste],” trans. Act for Freedom Now! (Act for Freedom Now!, November 22, 2011), <http://actforfree.nostate.net/?p=6610>; Conspiracy of Cell of

While in this manner, a moniker can be a useful disambiguation tool to mark certain political tendencies, the ease in adoptability for such labels can make the discussion and analysis of clandestine political violence tricky at best⁶¹⁹. Without the means to transparently verify attack claims, the potential for provocateurs producing false flag attacks⁶²⁰ is ever-present. For example, in June 1990, three attacks involving IEDs occurred in England targeting vehicles belonging to hunters. The attacks were blamed on animal rights activists (through a false claim of responsibility by the “British Animal Rights Society.”, a fictional group. Subsequent investigation proved these three attacks to be the work of Jim Alan Newbury-Street, the director of the British Hunting Exhibition.⁶²¹ Newbury-Street was found to have manufactured the bombs and was

Fire of the first phase, Theofilos Mavropoulos, and Informal Anarchist Federation/International Revolutionary Front, “Do not say that we are few; just say that we are determined,” trans. contra-info (Contra Info, September 7, 2014), <http://en.contrainfo.espiv.net/2012/11/29/greece-do-not-say-that-we-are-few-just-say-that-we-are-determined-by-the-r-o-ccf-and-theofilos-mavropoulos/>; Anonymous, “Notes on an Ongoing Debate on Anonymity,” in *Avalanche: Anarchist Correspondence*, Online, vol. Issue 3 (Avalanche, 2014), 27–29, <http://actforfree.nostate.net/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Avalanche-EN-3.pdf>; Wild/terrorist Behaviors, “First words from wild/terrorist behaviors,” trans. War on Society (Contra Info (republished by War on Society), January 3, 2015), <https://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=9307>.

⁶¹⁹ This relates to the broader discussion of difficulties with verifiability and triangulation discussed in Chapter One under the heading “Opaque Truths and Verifiability.”

⁶²⁰ Other notable examples from the animal liberation movement include the case of Fran Trutt who was arrested while placing a sophisticated pipe bomb at laboratory supplier US Surgical. It was later revealed that US Surgical had contracted an outside agency to coordinate the attack on its own property in order to discredit anti-animal testing campaigners. For more information on this case see: Nick Ravo, “U.S. Surgical Admits Spying on Animal-Rights Groups,” *The New York Times*, January 26, 1989, Online edition, sec. N.Y. / Region, <http://www.nytimes.com/1989/01/26/nyregion/us-surgical-admits-spying-on-animal-rights-groups.html>; Deborah Rudacille, *The Scalpel and the Butterfly: The Conflict between Animal Research and Animal Protection*, 1st ed. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), 153–155; G.T. Marx, “Recent Developments in Undercover Policing,” in *Punishment and Social Control: Essays in Honor of Sheldon L. Messinger*, ed. Stanley Cohen and Thomas G. Blomberg, 1st ed. (Berlin, Germany: Aldine de Gruyter, 2003); Will Potter, “Making an Animal Rights ‘Terrorist,’” *Bite Back Magazine*, February 2009, 20.

⁶²¹ John Sorenson, “Constructing Terrorists: Propaganda about Animal Rights,” *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 2, no. 2 (August 25, 2009): 248, doi:10.1080/17539150903010715.

arrested with nails and other bomb components found in his possession.⁶²² Within the insurrectionary tendency, similar accusations have been made. In December 2003, the Coordinating Committee of the *Italian Anarchist Federation*, issued a statement, calling the Bologna-based mail bomb attacks by the *Informal Anarchist Federation* to be “phantom-like.”⁶²³ The statement “denounces the serious and infamous nature of attributing the kind of facts to initials alluding to the monogram of FAI.”⁶²⁴ The Committee points out that the FAI acronym has been used by the *aboveground* anarcho-federation since its adoption in 1945, and therefore, its usage by a clandestine network of bombers is a violation. The union movement writes that it “asserts once more its condemnation of bombs, exploding parcels and such devices, that may strike without discrimination.”⁶²⁵

While these insurrectionary, moniker-based, internationalist attack networks do not publicize specific guidelines like the ALF, ELF, RZ and RC-ALB, they still function through a praxis comprised of the strategies and tactics developed through action (e.g. attacks) and theory (e.g. communiqués and other texts). If these networks do have exclusionary guidelines to identify self and other, what does it mean to call one’s attack an act of the FAI? From their texts, we can deduce that in basic, those that carryout the attacks in effect make the theory. They make the theory through action as well as

⁶²² Keith Mann, *From Dusk ‘Til Dawn: An Insider’s View of the Growth of the Animal Liberation Movement*, 1st ed. (London, UK: Warcry Communications, 2009), 157–158.

⁶²³ Coordinating Committee of the Italian Anarchist Federation, “La Commissione Di Corrispondenza Della Federazione Anarchica Italiana Italian Anarchist Federation - Press Release” (Italian Anarchist Federation, December 28, 2003), <http://www.federazioneanarchica.org/archivio/20031228cdc.html#eng>.

⁶²⁴ Ibid.

⁶²⁵ Ibid.

interpretation. In their self-assessment pamphlet, imprisoned members of the CCF state their process for authoring communiqués, writing:

The writing of a communiqué on a specific topic was usually shared out among those who wanted the responsibility, and after it was written, we got together to read it and make corrections, additions, and final touches. If the communiqué was connected to a separate initiative, then the comrades involved in that separate initiative were responsible for writing it.⁶²⁶

In other words, those that took initiative and those that showed up made the politics. This seems to be a common pattern amongst non-centralized clandestine groups of a variety of natures. Even at times when hierarchical coordination is commonplace, the politics of attack seem more driven by those who hold the Molotov than those that hold the pen. To quote an imprisoned member of the RAF interviewed in 1991, "we have always said that it is part of our basic politics that those who carry out the practice also determine the concrete policy."⁶²⁷

Finally, the moniker has other important purposes. One such benefit is that it serves to reduce the impact of ideological disagreement amongst individual cells that could lead to disunity, inter-network bickering, and factionalization. One scholar, writing about the ELF specifically, notes that by its very structure, such actors can, "avoid ideological cleavages by eliminating all ideology extraneous to the very specific cause...thereby eliminating opportunities for ideological debate."⁶²⁸ He explains that for the ELF, its open structure "creates an overlapping consensus among those with vastly different ideological orientations, mobilizing a mass of adherents who would have never

⁶²⁶ Tsakalos et al., "The Sun Still Rises," 5.

⁶²⁷ Moncourt and Smith, *The Red Army Faction*, 2:343.

⁶²⁸ Joosse, "Leaderless Resistance and Ideological Inclusion," 364.

been able to work together in an organization.⁶²⁹ In other words if networked movements like the ALF, ELF, CCF, FAI were membership-based organizations or otherwise federated movements, disagreements between smaller collectivities could lead to the creation of factions from amongst the larger group. In the case of an adoptable moniker, if a faction chooses to reject certain aspects of the larger collectivity's framework, they can simply not link their actions to that name, or as commonly occurs, create a new, group name. This can be seen, when for example, the JD and ARM emerged from amongst the ALF's constituency; the former two groups rejecting the ALF's demand for not harming humans in their protest actions.

For those acting in the name of modern insurrectionary anarchism, this surface level ideological harmony serves a mobilizing and unifying purpose. While the individuals responsible for burning a bank in Indonesia, and those redecorating a police facility in England may disagree passionately over the role of technology as a tool for creating social war, this disagreement is masked by both cells claiming their actions under the FAI banner. To the outside observer, the FAI appears decentralized yet united. In their self-assent pamphlet authored by imprisoned members of the CCF, the writers explain this trend within their own network, writing:

Even in cases when there wasn't collective agreement on a particular action...the minority of comrades who insisted on carrying out the attack took the autonomous initiative to move forward with their choice. That happened in parallel with the rest of the collective, which supported them at specific times if necessary, naturally playing a part in our overall organization. That's why a number of communiqués were signed by groups (Nihilist Faction, Breath of Terror Commando, Terrorist Guerilla Unit) that arose out of each separate initiative.⁶³⁰

⁶²⁹ Ibid.

⁶³⁰ Tsakalos et al., "The Sun Still Rises," 4.

Therefore, claims that such open, decentralized structures “avoid ideological cleavages”⁶³¹ seem to hold true for a variety of clandestine actors. While some may disagree as to the function—positive or negative—of the communiqué and acronym, it seems undeniable that such measures allow for a diffuse collectivity of attacks to act with a singular momentum, creating theory as they go through a constantly reinvented discourse patterned by attack, communiqué, critique of attack/communiqué, counter critique and so on.

Looking Ahead

The preceding analysis and discussion is designed around not only understanding the evolution of the insurrectionary tendency, but also to differentiate it from bygone eras of armed struggle. The insurrectionary movement, devoid of strictly enforced movement boundaries can best be identified through the various debates explored above—rural v. urban warfare, the role of vanguards, ‘full time’ v. ‘part time,’ the structuring of cells, the usage of anonymity v. known monikers, the embracing or rejection of ‘terrorism’, etc. It is precisely where the actors stand vis-à-vis such debates that indicate their inclusion or rejection from the insurrectionary milieu. This speaks to the fluid and multifaceted nature of social movement (self)-identification. Since insurrectionists do not carry membership cards, fly a specific flag, don uniforms or participate in transparent political processes, one can only judge them on the basis of their actions and their ideas.

⁶³¹ Joosse, “Leaderless Resistance and Ideological Inclusion,” 364.

Moving forward one can begin to develop the philosophical and ideological component of modern insurrectionism. This “critical synthesis...[of] anarchist thought, Italian autonomist-Marxism from the 1970s, French ultra-gauche communism, the squatter’s movement in Europe in the 1980s, and the Situationist International”⁶³² is built upon the foundational concepts of continental/poststructural philosophy. This philosophical discourse is woven through the proceeding chapters and will serve as the foundational basis for the evaluation of the study’s central hypothesis. The aim of Chapters Two and Three was to familiarize the reader with the history of these actions, and with these ongoing discussions in mind, the remaining chapters will depart this approach and refocus the discussion on *ideas*. The historical record and strategic decision making described in the preceding chapters can not be understood without a discussion of the ideas that inform. This is precisely why history must precede strategy, and strategy must precede ideology. Therefore it is essential that the readers remains conscious of the historical precursors, but allows themselves to nuance that understand as it is explored in light of the wider theory.

⁶³² Wood, *The Cultural Logic of Insurrection*, 7.

CHAPTER FOUR

*I say to you: that we are in a battle, and that more than half of this battle is taking place on the battlefield of the media. And that we are in a media battle in a race for the hearts and minds...And that however far our capabilities reach, they will never be equal to one thousandth of the capabilities of...that [which] is waging war on us.*⁶³³

-- al-Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahiri to Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, leader of al-Qaeda in Iraq [2005]

⁶³³ Ayman al-Zawahiri to Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, "Zawahiri's Letter to Zarqawi (english Translation)," Letter, (July 9, 2005), 10, <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Zawahiris-Letter-to-Zarqawi-Translation.pdf>.

New Methodologies of Critical Inquiry

The exploration of radical political actors can serve a variety of functions. For example, one can analyze patterns of attack and target selection for the creation and refinement of methods designed to identify, disrupt and capture combatants. Conversely, one can examine the structural realities that radicalize combatants and seek to analytically apply these criticisms to subjects as grandiose as structural violence. This study is most certainly this second form of inquiry. In doing so, one begins their analysis from the fields of Peace Studies, not International Relations, and leans towards anarchism and poststructuralism than Realism and Neoliberalism. This is not to claim ideological blankness, but rather to assert one's a priori framework. If one were to pursue the study of political violence through the preeminent field of Terrorism Studies, emboldened by the boom in scholarship post-9/11, then one would likely investigate how best to secure the homeland from attackers, and in doing such "agenda setting"⁶³⁴, present the subject as one of securitization, not investigation.⁶³⁵ This manner of scholarship has been critiqued for its avoidance of empirical measures to study terrorism. When *counterterrorism* is the focus, such a pattern is even more striking as according to one study⁶³⁶ "only 3 percent of articles from peer-reviewed sources appeared to be rooted in empirical analysis."⁶³⁷

⁶³⁴ Martha Crenshaw, "The Logic of Terrorism: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Strategic Choice," in *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*, ed. Walter Reich (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Cambridge University Press, 1990), 17.

⁶³⁵ Jackson et al., *Terrorism*, 13.

⁶³⁶ Cynthia Lum, Leslie W. Kennedy, and Alison Sherley, "Is Counter-Terrorism Policy Evidence-Based? What Works, What Harms, and What Is Unknown," *Psicothema* 20, no. 1 (2008): 35–42.

⁶³⁷ Anthony Biglan, "Where Terrorism Research Goes Wrong," *The New York Times*, March 6, 2015, Online edition, sec. Opinion: Sunday Review, Gray matter, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/08/opinion/sunday/where-terrorism-research-went-wrong.html>.

In their discussion of “the terrorism industry” the authors of *Terrorism: A Critical Introduction* cite the failure in scholarship embodied in traditional/orthodox Terrorism Studies.

...the orthodox terrorism field has developed a long-term material interest in the maintenance of terrorism as a major public policy concern...[and] in order to protect its privileged position, the field has developed a number of subtle gate-keeping procedures which function to ensure that scholars or critics who do not share dominant views and beliefs are marginalized and denied access to policymakers and the main forums for discussion.⁶³⁸

Such a demarcation has been developed to separate research on political violence associated with securitization and counterterrorism, and that which seeks other aims. To borrow again from the book’s authors, in attempting to separate oneself from this trend, they define traditionalist scholarship as that which embodies “the failure to recognize that ‘terrorism’ is a label given to acts of political violence by outside observers, and that the designation of what constitutes terrorism has historically changed according to political context.”⁶³⁹

Scholarship examining social movements, including those movements that challenge through force, is essential, yet must be carried out apart from the discourse on securitization found prevalent in Criminology, (orthodox) Terrorism Studies and Security Studies. This securitization focus limits the types of scholarship that is produced. In the Preface to their multi-volume exploration of Germany’s RAF, the authors write:

We felt our work was unique, as English-language studies of the RAF were almost uniformly written from a counterinsurgency perspective, the goal being to

⁶³⁸ Jackson et al., *Terrorism*, 13.

⁶³⁹ *Ibid.*, 15.

discredit the guerilla and to deny it any recognition as a legitimate political force; in short, to deprive us of its history.⁶⁴⁰

It is precisely this notion that has motivated the subsequent examination in insurrectionary texts. While very little scholarship addresses this trend at all, that which does has focused on securitization⁶⁴¹ and sensationalism⁶⁴², presenting a broad and diverse social movement as a secretive conspiracy of inter-linked and orchestrated actors.

In order to interrogate this understanding of this portrayal, one must first establish what is meant by a *movement*, and more specifically, a (radical) social movement.

Political violence theorist Daniel Koehler offers a definition of “Radical Social Movement[s]”, building off of the concept of a “social movement” as defined by Sociologist Mario Diani.⁶⁴³ Koehler’s thus defines radical social movements as:

networks of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations having the character of a counterculture with the primary goal to influence (positively or negatively), fundamentally alter, or destroy a specified target society on the basis of a religious or political ideology, using all available means, legal and illegal, including the strategic use of violence, to fulfill and realize the ideologically corrected or purified version of the target society.⁶⁴⁴

This description bodes well for the current study as in reality, the insurrectionary model of attack is a tactical and strategic sub-trend within a much larger social movement against the state and capital. Though some scholarship has sought to describe non-state actor networks as akin to “countercultures” where individuals “associate with each other

⁶⁴⁰ Moncourt and Smith, *The Red Army Faction*, 2:XVI.

⁶⁴¹ For example: Marone, “A Profile of the Informal Anarchist Federation in Italy.”

⁶⁴² For example: Hanrahan, “Meet the Nihilist-Anarchist Network Bringing Chaos to a Town Near You”; Winfield and Gatopoulos, “European Anarchists Grow More Violent, Coordinated.”

⁶⁴³ Mario Diani, “The Concept of Social Movement,” *The Sociological Review* 40, no. 1 (February 1, 1992): 13, doi:10.1111/j.1467-954X.1992.tb02943.x.

⁶⁴⁴ Koehler, “Contrast Societies. Radical Social Movements and Their Relationships with Their Target Societies. A Theoretical Model,” 4.

through shared definitions of what is wrong with the status quo and where to look for a better alternative,⁶⁴⁵ as insurrectionary action is the sum total of a variety of transnational counterculture *networks*, it is best understood as a *movement* which draws its constituency from a variety of cultures, both mainstream and counter. It is bound by shared politics as well as overlapping, associated social circles. This *social* aspect separates it from the authoritarian, militarized conflicts mobilized at the community level (e.g. ethno nationalist/diaspora communities, separatist movements) and enforced through regimented fighting forces, broad-based social service provision, and participation in the political sphere. In this manner, it is more RAF than FARC, more WUO than PIRA, despite frequent portrayal to the contrary. In other words, while these latter examples (i.e. FARC and PIRA) maintain networks of fighters that may drain supporters from larger social networks, the organizations are firmly integrated into the society through more dominant institutions such as formalized paramilitary brigades, direct service provision (e.g. education, healthcare) and interaction with state-level politics.

While scholarship (both academic and state) has been keen to analyze the Internet activities of violent non-state actors such as those affiliated with the global jihad⁶⁴⁶, little

⁶⁴⁵ Ann-Sophie Hemmingsen, "Viewing Jihadism as a Counterculture: Potential and Limitations," *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 7, no. 1 (November 10, 2014): 7.

⁶⁴⁶ See for example: Ines von Behr et al., *Radicalisation in the Digital Era* (Washington, DC: RAND Europe, 2013); Drissel, "Reframing the Taliban Insurgency in Afghanistan: New Communication and Mobilization Strategies for the Twitter Generation"; Jytte Klausen, "Tweeting the Jihad: Social Media Networks of Western Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq [Accepted Manuscript]," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 38, no. 1 (October 17, 2014): 00–40, doi:10.1080/1057610X.2014.974948; National Coordinator for Counterterrorism, *Jihadis and the Internet*, trans. Amstelveen Amstelveens Vertaalburo B.V. (The Hague, NL: National Coordinator for Counterterrorism, February 2007); Manuel R. Torres-Soriano, "The Hidden Face of Jihadist Internet Forum Management: The Case of Ansar Al Mujahideen," *Terrorism and Political*

attention has been directed at similar online outreach and organizational efforts by those challenging the state at a more fundamental (and secular) level. This has created a noticeable gap in the literature. Though the precise cause for this exemption is unclear, it is likely influenced by the various venues of conflict. In the majority of cases, insurrectionary political violence occurs outside of the ‘traditional’ physicality of the exoticized and Orientalist⁶⁴⁷ “East” (e.g. Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Iran, Somalia...) but rather in largely “Western” nation-states (e.g. US, UK, Spain, Italy, Sweden, Greece, Argentina...). In other words, while traditionally, terrorism is something done *to* the West by a sub-state, *subaltern*⁶⁴⁸, Oriental actor, insurrectionary violence is often located and produced by the so-called First World. In the present study, this seemingly unnatural turn away from the Arabian battlefields has likely contributed to the scant examination of insurrectionary violence in traditionalist Security and Terrorist Studies discourses. This may be due to unfamiliarity and discomfort with discussing violent outbursts outside of standard explanatory frames—lack of political opportunity, authoritarian political regimes, abject poverty, and religious fanaticism. This sort of (often avoided) approach functions to focus the readers’ attention toward structural criticisms such as rejections of the nation-state, capitalism, eco-cide, speciesism,

Violence 0, no. 0 (September 4, 2014): 1–15, doi:10.1080/09546553.2014.950419; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, *The Use of the Internet for Terrorist Purposes* (Vienna, AT: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012).

⁶⁴⁷ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1979).

⁶⁴⁸ The notion of the “subaltern”, as it applies to postcolonial and feminist approaches to the study of terrorism is explored in: Stump and Dixit, *Critical Terrorism Studies*, 74; This concept is situated in contribution of many authors, notably: Antonio Gramsci, “History of the Subaltern Classes: Methodological Criteria,” in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, ed. Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (London, UK: Lawrence & Wishart/ElecBook, 1971), 202; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?,” in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (London, UK: Macmillan, 1988), 271–311.

patriarchy, militarism and the like. There does of course exist exemplary scholarship examining the insurrectionary tendency, and although scant, these works must be recognized. Many are the product of insurrectionary proponents⁶⁴⁹, anti-authoritarian theorists⁶⁵⁰, politically-aligned public events⁶⁵¹, and traditional (critical) academics⁶⁵².

In order to build an analytical model to further explore these networks of non-state actors, I have adopted the frameworks developed within the so-called *critical* turn in social science analysis: a collective of evolving inter-disciplinary fields influenced arenas such as poststructuralism, Justice and Peace Studies, Feminist Theory and elsewhere. While the preceding discussion was meant to describe how one can descriptively establish *what* a movement consists of, and subsequently *where* and *why* that movement's ideological boundaries exist, these intermediate goals are subservient to a larger methodological task of exploring new manners of critical inquiry adopted from feminist theory⁶⁵³, Critical Security Studies⁶⁵⁴, Critical Terrorism Studies⁶⁵⁵ and the mixing of

⁶⁴⁹ See for example: Casper (CrimethInc.) and Graeme (Institute for Experimental Freedom), "What Was the Insurrection?," in *BASTARD Chronicles: Social War Etc. 2014* (Berkeley, CA: Ardent Press, 2014), 48–55, <http://sfbay-anarchists.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/bastardchronicles1.pdf>; CrimethInc. Ex-Workers' Collective, "Say You Want an Insurrection: Putting the 'Social' in Social War," *Rolling Thunder*, no. 8 (Fall 2009): 12–35; The Institute for Experimental Freedom, *Between Predicates, War: Theses On Contemporary Struggle*.

⁶⁵⁰ See for example: The Institute for the Study of Insurgent Warfare, *Insurgencies: A Journal of Insurgent Strategy* (Little Black Cart, 2014); Tom Nomad, *The Master's Tools: Warfare and Insurgent Possibility* (Berkeley, CA: Repartee, 2013); Leonard Williams and Brad Thomson, "The Allure of Insurrection," *Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies* 1 (2011): 265–89; Alden Wood, *The Cultural Logic of Insurrection: Essays on Tiqqun and the Invisible Committee*, 1st ed. (Berkeley, CA: Repartee/Little Black Cart, 2013).

⁶⁵¹ See for example: Ariel et al., *BASTARD Chronicles: Social War Etc. 2014* (Berkeley, CA: Ardent Press, 2014), <http://sfbay-anarchists.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/bastardchronicles1.pdf>.

⁶⁵² See for example: Benjamin Noys, *Communization and Its Discontents: Contestation, Critique, and Contemporary Struggles*, 1st ed. (Minor Compositions, 2011).

⁶⁵³ Letherby, *Feminist Research in Theory and Practice*; Reinharz, *Feminist Methods in Social Research*; Sprague, *Feminist Methodologies for Critical Researchers*.

these disciplines through hybrid mechanisms such as feminist security studies⁶⁵⁶ and human security⁶⁵⁷.

This study is seeking to incorporate aspects of two broadly inter-related fields, namely that of Critical Security Studies (CSS) and Critical Terrorism Studies (CTS). The often linked fields of Terrorism Studies and Security Studies have witnessed a boom following the more generalized rise in University study directed at Islam, political Islam, Islamic terrorism and Middle Eastern politics⁶⁵⁸ following the 9/11 attacks. Subsequently, new approaches have been devolved and taxonomized under a host of “critical” fields including *Critical Terrorism Studies*⁶⁵⁹ and *Critical Security Studies*⁶⁶⁰ which attempt to

⁶⁵⁴ Ken Booth, ed., *Critical Security Studies And World Politics* (Lynne Rienner Pub, 2005); Mark B. Salter and Can E. Mutlu, eds., *Research Methods in Critical Security Studies: An Introduction*, 1st ed. (New York: Routledge, 2012); Laura J. Shepherd, ed., *Critical Approaches to Security: An Introduction to Theories and Methods* (New York: Routledge, 2013); Nick Vaughan-Williams and Columba Peoples, *Critical Security Studies: An Introduction* (Taylor & Francis, 2010); Paul Williams and Alex J. Bellamy, eds., “Critical Security Studies,” in *International Society and Its Critics* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/0199265208.001.0001/acprof-9780199265206>.

⁶⁵⁵ Jackson et al., *Terrorism*; Silke, “Contemporary Terrorism Studies Issues in Research”; Stump and Dixit, *Critical Terrorism Studies*.

⁶⁵⁶ Annick T. R. Wibben, *Feminist Security Studies: A Narrative Approach*, 1st ed. (Routledge, 2011).

⁶⁵⁷ Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh and Anuradha Chenoy, *Human Security: Concepts and Implications* (Routledge, 2007).

⁶⁵⁸ Richard Jackson, “Constructing Enemies: ‘Islamic Terrorism’ in Political and Academic Discourse,” *Government and Opposition* 42, no. 3 (2007): 394–426, doi:10.1111/j.1477-7053.2007.00229.x; C Kurzman and C.W. Ernst, “Islamic Studies in U.S. Universities” (Social Sciences Research Council workshop on “The Production of Knowledge on World Regions: The Middle East,” University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill: UNC Chapel Hill, 2009), http://www.unc.edu/~cernst/pdf/Kurzman_Ernst_Islamic_Studies.pdf; David Miller and Tom Mills, “The Terror Experts and the Mainstream Media: The Expert Nexus and Its Dominance in the News Media,” *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 2, no. 3 (2009): 414–37, doi:10.1080/17539150903306113; Ranstorp, “Introduction: Mapping Terrorism Research”; Jessica Shepherd, “The Rise and Rise of Terrorism Studies,” *The Guardian*, July 3, 2007, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2007/jul/03/highereducation.research>; Silke, “Contemporary Terrorism Studies Issues in Research”; Yasir Suleiman and Ayman Shihadeh, “Islam on Campus: Teaching Islamic Studies at Higher Education Institutions in the UK. Report of a Conference Held at the University of Edinburgh, 4 December 2006,” *Journal of Beliefs & Values* 28, no. 3 (December 2007): 309–29, doi:10.1080/13617670701712497.

⁶⁵⁹ Bob Brecher, Mark Devenney, and Aaron Winter, eds., *Discourses and Practices of Terrorism: Interrogating Terror* (New York: Routledge, 2010); Richard Jackson, Eamon Murphy, and Scott Poynting,

problematize and clarify a *methodology* of sorts for those seeking to investigate political violence and its responses through a non-orthodox, non-realist lens. Recurrent throughout both of these emergent fields is what is often referred to as the *critical turn*, characterized by (at least) four key components:

- 1.) Social and political life is messy: our analysis must reflect our belief that we cannot identify any single unifying principle in social and political life; methodological pluralism is a hallmark of this belief.
- 2.) Agency—the capacity to act—is everywhere: it can be found in individuals, groups, states, ideational structures, and non-human actants.
- 3.) Causality is emergent, rather than efficient: analyses set out the conditions of possibility for a set of politics, identities, or policies, rather than a single or complex source.
- 4.) Research, writing, and public engagement are inherently political: we understand politics in its broadest sense to mean questions concerning justice, power, and authority; critical scholarship means an active engagement with the world.⁶⁶¹

A great deal of this study's approach speaks to the first critical component, that of methodological pluralism, as well as issues of agency. However important such components are, I have chosen to adopt a *critical* framework precisely because of component number four: the inherently political project of research, writing and public

eds., *Contemporary State Terrorism: Theory and Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2010); Scott Poynting and David Whyte, eds., *Counter-Terrorism and State Political Violence: The "War on Terror" as Terror*, 1st ed. (New York: Routledge, 2012); Stump and Dixit, *Critical Terrorism Studies*; Mikkel Thorup, *An Intellectual History of Terror: War, Violence and the State*, 1st ed. (New York: Routledge, 2012).

⁶⁶⁰ Rita Floyd, "When Foucault Met Security Studies: A Critique of the 'Paris School' of Security Studies" (2006 British International Studies Association Annual Conference, University of Cork, Ireland: BISA, 2006); Rita Floyd, "Towards a Consequentialist Evaluation of Security: Bringing Together the Copenhagen and the Welsh Schools of Security Studies," *Review of International Studies* 33, no. 02 (2007): 327–50, doi:10.1017/S026021050700753X; Salter and Mutlu, *Research Methods in Critical Security Studies*; Williams and Bellamy, "Critical Security Studies"; Vaughan-Williams and Peoples, *Critical Security Studies*; Shepherd, *Critical Approaches to Security*.

⁶⁶¹ Mark B. Salter, "Introduction," in *Research Methods in Critical Security Studies: An Introduction*, ed. Mark B. Salter and Can E. Mutlu, 1st ed. (New York: Routledge, 2012), 2.

engagement. To this end, CSS begins its pursuit by problematizing the concept of securitization itself, as “no neutral definition is possible”⁶⁶².

As other approaches do, CSS carries with it a set of proscriptive presumptions including the validity of ethnography and discursive investigations as form of security-themed investigation. CSS diverges from orthodox Security Studies in its validation of the “ethnographic turn”⁶⁶³ and the “discursive turn”⁶⁶⁴, elaborating these tendencies within the field. Concerning ethnographic tendencies within CSS, the framework suggests that respondent ‘cultures’ must be experienced to be understood⁶⁶⁵ and that even in the realm of studies concerning policing, national security, and statecraft, issues such as reflexivity, critical engagement with “expertise,”⁶⁶⁶ and one’s relationship to the security state must be acknowledged and confronted. Questions such as ‘What constitutes *security*?’, ‘Can security have emancipatory functions?’⁶⁶⁷, and ‘What is the implied narrative in traditionalist conceptions of security?’⁶⁶⁸ are indeed relevant at the onset of a research project. Such concerns separate a *Critical Security Studies* from a non-critical

⁶⁶² Steve Smith, “The Contested Concept of Security,” in *Critical Security Studies And World Politics*, ed. Ken Booth (Lynne Rienner Pub, 2005), 27.

⁶⁶³ Mark B. Salter, “The Ethnographic Turn,” in *Research Methods in Critical Security Studies: An Introduction*, ed. Mark B. Salter and Can E. Mutlu, 1st ed. (New York: Routledge, 2012), 51–57.

⁶⁶⁴ Mark B. Salter and Can E. Mutlu, “The Discursive Turn,” in *Research Methods in Critical Security Studies: An Introduction*, ed. Mark B. Salter and Can E. Mutlu, 1st ed. (New York: Routledge, 2012), 113–119.

⁶⁶⁵ Salter, “The Ethnographic Turn,” 56–57.

⁶⁶⁶ Within this post-9/11 era of terrorism scholarship, a new class of “terrorism experts” Glenn Greenwald, “The Sham ‘terrorism Expert’ Industry,” August 15, 2012, http://www.salon.com/2012/08/15/the_sham_terrorism_expert_industry/. has emerged with an aim at cornering the academic market, often on service of a wider statecraft of law enforcement. While this methodological concern requires a great deal of discussion, the largess of these complexities exists outside the realm of this methodological inquiry.

⁶⁶⁷ Hayward Alker, “Emancipation in the Critical Security Studies Project,” in *Critical Security Studies And World Politics*, ed. Ken Booth (Lynne Rienner Pub, 2005), 189–213; Toros, *Terrorism, Talking and Transformation: A Critical Approach*, 35–40.

⁶⁶⁸ Wibben, *Feminist Security Studies*, chap. 4.

method in radical ways of direct relevance to my work. For example, the relationship between knowledge construction and securitization, policing and intelligence gathering is a tricky collaboration at best.⁶⁶⁹

Examining CSS's *discursive turn*, one returns to the Foucauldian emphasis on the socio-political power issues recurrent in language and story telling as in order to accomplish "serious discourse analysis...the researcher must hold a certain degree of linguistic and cultural fluency"⁶⁷⁰. For example, in describing the political posturing of actors, it is obtrusively relevant to maintain a distinction between those acting with anarchist, communist, communizationist, insurrectionary, autonomist, primitivist and related political self-identifications. The flattening of the radical subject as one of "extremists," "revolutionaries," "militants," or, worse yet, "terrorists" not only does a political disservice to the production of nuanced description, but it also fails to acknowledge the diversity of tactical, strategic and theoretical visioning of these networks.

Occurring directly alongside CSS is the field of CTS. Similar to the acknowledged contributions of CSS, CTS repositions the role of the researcher, respondent, and state in a newly theorized manner. Thus, CTS is adopted as a guiding framework precisely because it confronts and seeks to destabilize a state-centric analysis as well as the "objective features" of world politics⁶⁷¹. In yet another useful presumption of CTS, the contestability of the definition of "terrorism" is seen as banal, an intellectual

⁶⁶⁹ These concerns are explored in the next section under the subheading, "Returning to the Principal of 'Do No Harm'"

⁶⁷⁰ Salter and Mutlu, "The Discursive Turn," 116.

⁶⁷¹ Stump and Dixit, *Critical Terrorism Studies*, 3.

task quite controversial in fields such as International Relations, Security/Terrorism Studies and Government. Like CSS, CTS similarly maintains a focus on ethnography and discourse, and bases its analysis appropriately within critical theory and feminist/postcolonial approaches⁶⁷². Lastly, CTS has an explicit focus on confronting the ‘big T’ truth of Terrorism Studies⁶⁷³ as well as pursuing research of radical actors with a focus on ethics, non-linear causality, and to borrow from the feminist tradition, *applied* research. Such concerns have an obvious place in the designing of research in the manner previously laid out, and as such, the combined methodological proscriptions from feminism, CSS and CTS amount to a potentially emancipatory⁶⁷⁴ framework for critical inquiry beyond the search for absolutist truth.

Returning to the Principal of ‘Do No Harm’

In designing a method of inquiry for exploring the object of the communiqué and the subject of insurrectionary theory, careful attention was paid to the sorts of questions which were relevant for the extrapolation of critical theory but not useful for securitization through social network mapping, behavioral analysis and other forms of intelligence and information processing. Certainly a tactical analysis, broken down by target and country and cross-referenced for moniker could be enlightening, but the danger it may pose to those it represents may be far greater.

⁶⁷² Stump and Dixit, *Critical Terrorism Studies*.

⁶⁷³ *Ibid.*, 160.

⁶⁷⁴ For a discussion of “emancipation” related to CTS/CSS see: Toros, *Terrorism, Talking and Transformation: A Critical Approach*, 35–40.

Questions such as security for *whom*⁶⁷⁵ are central in such a critical inquiry. This decentering of the state as an object of analysis subverts traditional discourses and allows for the exploration of alternative political frames. As someone conducting research on clandestine, illegal and anti-state actors, the expropriation of my work for generating actionable intelligence is more than obvious. In this manner, it becomes the burden of the researcher to maintain the feminist methodological focus on generating reciprocal (not juridically detrimental) results for my respondent community. While this does not mean that my work will help to advance illegal activities of anti-statist revolutionaries, it may serve to elaborate the politics of their analysis, or at the very least serve to nuance one's interpretation of their method of attack.

This manner of scholarship, one wherein someone seeks to elevate a subterranean discourse to the level of critical inquiry, is quick to be labeled as recuperation, where the politics of dissent are utilized to further refine the technologies of statecraft. In the analysis of recuperation offered by Situationist Guy Debord, critical notions (e.g. theories of revolutionary change) are defanged through their inclusion in social discourses, and after being sanitized of revolutionary potential, reintroduced back into mainstream society devoid of their destabilizing power⁶⁷⁶. In this process, radical notions are co-opted and commodified before being allowed to carry forth, and in doing so, aids the process of statecraft through allowing the systems of domination to appear more malleable than they actually are. I have argued that the present study does *not* serve recuperative purposes precisely because the state is not concerned with incorporating the insurrectionary

⁶⁷⁵ Wibben, *Feminist Security Studies*; Smith, "The Contested Concept of Security," 27–62.

⁶⁷⁶ Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle* (Detroit: Black & Red, 1967), 2, 10.

critique into its framework in the same way that riotous protest culture is used to sell consumer products. Instead, this study seeks to apply a radical critique to the social order and to unearth these ideas for greater consumption.

While there is certainly law enforcement interest aimed at insurrectionary action, their focus is on *stopping* acts of illegal activity, *not* understanding the critique offered through communiqués that accompany these incidents. If one could suspend logic and presume that state authorities *did* in fact give concern to how insurrectionary theory understands notions of identity, power and structural violence, or the political and cultural histories that preceded it, then the same inquiry would conclude that anti-system violence can be prevented when structures no longer replicate the critiqued ills, namely inequality, alienation, domination, etc. Therefore, interactions with the previously subterranean material should be not seen as a manner of potential recuperation, but a site of potential conflict transformation⁶⁷⁷, where “talking [with communiqués]”⁶⁷⁸ can be used as a “less harmful”⁶⁷⁹ method to prevent violence. Borrowing from the work of CTS scholar Harmonie Toros, the approach adopted herein seeks to support a form of ‘talking with terrorists (sic)’ through exercising texts from amongst the ephemera of the Internet and critically engaging with the ideas offered by a non-state actor. This form of talking is not to be confused with notions of negotiation or compromise—asking the aggrieved parties to put aside their anger in favor of a social peace—but rather a method to allow the texts to dialogue with the society at the level of discourse, and beyond its own in-

⁶⁷⁷ John Paul Lederach, “Conflict Transformation” (Beyond Intractability, October 2003), <http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/transformation>.

⁶⁷⁸ Toros, *Terrorism, Talking and Transformation: A Critical Approach*, 4–6, 46.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

group/out-group distinctions. While negotiation is focused on meeting the needs of opposing parties, dialogue in this manner is focused on understanding⁶⁸⁰, not winning a negotiated peace. Of course, the insurrectionary attack itself is also a form of *talking* yet its method of speaking disqualifies it from the arena of state-centric conversation as the state proudly claims to ‘not negotiate with terrorists.’

In maintaining the aim of the research, it becomes dangerous to assume that potential respondent knowledge is of no use to intelligence and law enforcement, and thus there is an increased burden on the researcher for operationalizing issues of anonymity, *informed* consent and respondent engagement. This is the primary reason while exchanges with clandestine authors was not attempted. All documents examined were obtained on public forums in widely circulated hubs of radical information. Certainly because of my familiarity with the subject, its history, and its forms of communication I could have initiated an exchange between individuals claiming affiliation with such movements. If I had done so, these voices would be far from representative and highly circumstantial. Furthermore there is a history of such academic inquiries ending in Federal Grand Juries where state authorities coerce individuals into providing information on respondents thought to be affiliated with clandestine networks or face prison. This can be seen in the cases of Rick Scarce, professor of sociology at Skidmore College, indicted in 1993 for his presumed knowledge of an ALF raid on a vivisection laboratory, as well as Scott DeMuth, a graduate student at the University of Minnesota, indicted in 2009. DeMuth refused to provide investigators the names of

⁶⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 53.

activists he interviewed for his graduate work and was sentenced to six months in prison for conspiring to violate the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act (AETA). One is reminded of the Latin phrase ‘*primum non nocere*,’ ‘first, do no harm.’ In this spirit, and for the development of an *anti*-securitization analysis, this study aims to endanger no one except the target of insurrectionary attack, by bringing attention to their critique—the critique they are waging war to offer.

Analyzing Discourse & Corpus for Ideology and Meaning

In order to develop an observable, transparent and repeatable process for the exploration of text, a structured analysis is employed focusing on an externalization of the analyst’s thinking allowing such a process to be observed and critiqued in whole or in part⁶⁸¹. This analysis, is both qualitative and quantitative, with the latter focused around a lexical analysis (sometimes called a “linguistic content analysis”⁶⁸²).

Lexical analysis...[is] simply looking at what kinds of words there are in a text...what vocabulary an author uses...Word choice can signify different discourses or set up different ‘lexical fields’. These discourses or fields will signify certain kinds of identities, values and sequences of activity which are not necessarily made explicit⁶⁸³

The vocabulary utilized by an author—be it of a novel or a claim of criminal responsibility—is indicative of the individual’s discursive universe and the deployment of this discourse can illuminate the tropes, epistemologies, borders and concepts their

⁶⁸¹ Richards J. Heuer Jr. and Randolph H. Pherson, *Structured Analytic Techniques for Intelligence Analysis*, 2nd ed. (Los Angeles, CA: CQ Press/SAGE, 2015), 23.

⁶⁸² For example see: Lucian Gideon Conway and Kathrene R. Conway, “The Terrorist Rhetorical Style and Its Consequences for Understanding Terrorist Violence,” *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* 4, no. 2 (July 1, 2011): 175–92, doi:10.1080/17467586.2011.627940.

⁶⁸³ David Machin and Andrea Mayr, *How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis: A Multimodal Introduction* (SAGE Publications Ltd, 2012), 30.

community employs.⁶⁸⁴ Language serves to communicate action (i.e. the content) as well as meaning and the ideology of the writer (i.e. the discourse).⁶⁸⁵ This approach separates purely *linguistic* analysis from *discourse* analysis as only the latter focuses on the use of language in the context of the writer/speaker, “the relationship between the speaker and the utterance...[more so than the] relationship of one sentence to another, regardless of their use.”⁶⁸⁶

The manner of derivative lexical analysis carried forth in this study requires the construction of a text-based dataset (or corpora), which constitutes “expert-generated data”⁶⁸⁷, which once assembled, can be studied to provide insight to a larger social phenomenon. In other words, while a stringent analytic technique facilitates the extraction of data—including the building of datasets, determining in-group/out-group distinctions, coding, computer-assisted processing, etc.—this material is then subject to a more subjective, less repeatable form of thematic discussion. The incorporation of quantitative, computer-assisted analysis helps to improve accuracy and reliability by limiting investigator bias and subjective intuition.⁶⁸⁸ It also serves to standardize difficult data for qualitative interpretation, allowing diverse formulations of language to be viewed through more regimented groupings. The mixed methods approach is thus a qualitative analysis of communiqué themes, and a quantitative analysis of communiqué language including word choice, concept refinement, and form. While some scholarship relies on

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁵ Kenneth Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, 3rd ed. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1945), xxii.

⁶⁸⁶ Gillian Brown and George Yule, *Discourse Analysis*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 27.

⁶⁸⁷ Heuer Jr. and Pherson, *Structured Analytic Techniques for Intelligence Analysis*, 23.

⁶⁸⁸ Deborah Cameron and Ivan Panovic, *Working with Written Discourse*, 1st ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2014), 81.

either a qualitative *or* quantitative method, many⁶⁸⁹ have argued “the use of multiple methods during the course of a single analytic project should be the norm, not the exception.⁶⁹⁰” This dual approach can allow results to be discussed and considered through multiple lenses. For example, in the proceeding discussion, the quantitative analysis of language as it relates to pronoun usage can inform the subsequent chapter’s discussion of identity as read through larger discursive tropes. In this manner, the microanalysis of the lexical can be complemented by the more mezzo analysis of the discourse. Similarly, the discussion of the word “attack” as understood through the quantitative world of Corpus Linguistics (CL), can be used to buttress the discussion of insurrectionary strategy as explored through both history (Chapter Three) and rhetorical discourse (Chapter Five). This methodological pairing was first developed conceptually, and is displayed in the figure below.

⁶⁸⁹ This dual approach argument for the analysis of propaganda and text is also made by: Morris, “Networking Vehement Frames: Neo-Nazi and Violent Jihadi Demagoguery,” 165.

⁶⁹⁰ Heuer Jr. and Pherson, *Structured Analytic Techniques for Intelligence Analysis*, 24.

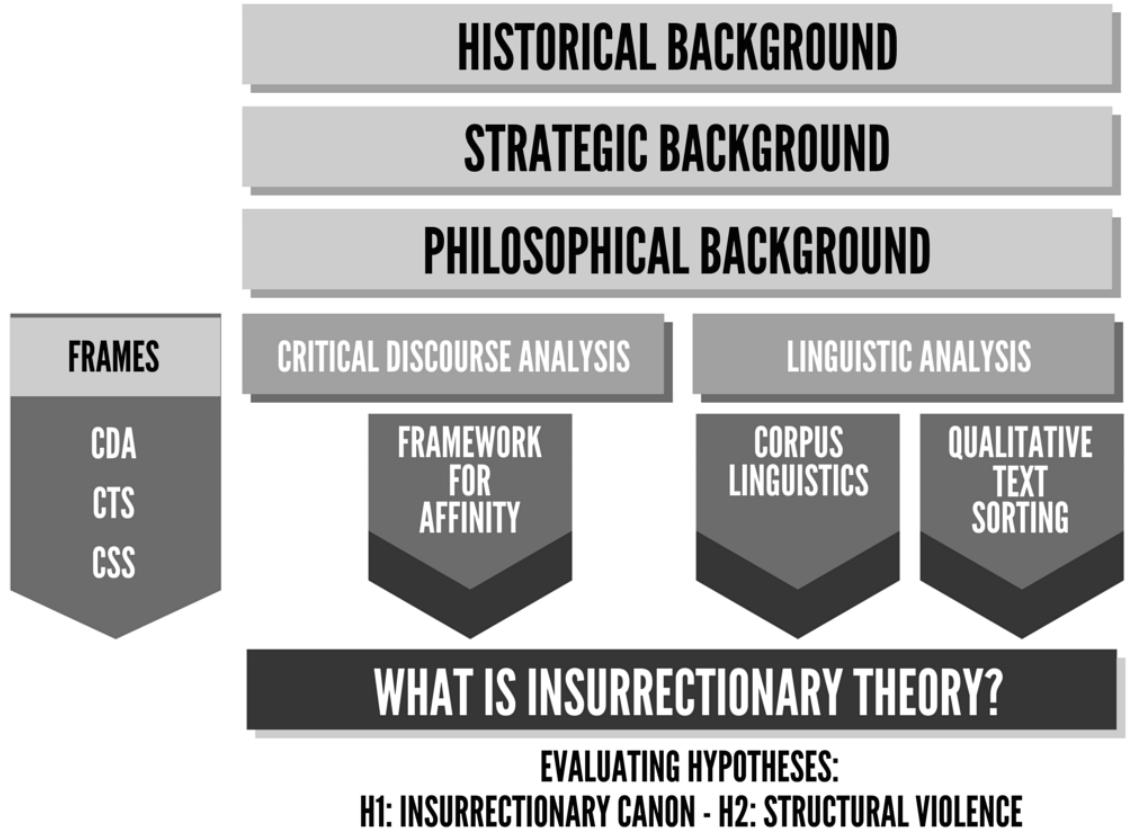


Figure 4.1: Methodological concept map

As the analytical basis for this study, anonymously penned texts distributed through decentralized Internet forums are interpreted. These texts are identified within a taxonomy that serves to determine inclusion and exclusion from the corpora. Initially, a cursory qualitative analysis is conducted of texts thought to be theoretically foundational for the ‘movement’⁶⁹¹. Throughout this process, the study of discourse must be

⁶⁹¹ These include: Bonanno, *Armed Joy [La gioia armata]*; Tiqqun, *Tiqqun Revue n°2/2001* (La Fabrique, 2001); *Introduction to Civil War* (Semiotext(e), 2010); *This Is Not a Program*, trans. Joshua David Jordan (Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2011); *Theory of Bloom*, trans. Robert Hurley (Berkeley, CA: LBC Books, 2012); The Institute for Experimental Freedom, *Politics Is Not a Banana: What Are You Doing after the Orgy or the Insurrection or Whatever?*, First edition. (The Institute for Experimental Freedom, 2009); The Institute

understood as taking two distinct forms—the micro analysis of lexical choice as understood through CL⁶⁹², and the discursive and conceptual macro analysis via Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)⁶⁹³, based in the Foucauldian tradition, in order to analyze the power relations behind such word choices. In this secondary form of analysis, that of the discursive, this study focuses on the narratives constructed by non-state actors’ communicative ephemera—the deployment of narrative, seen as “the principal method through which social entities like terrorist groups disseminate information and attempt to influence others.”⁶⁹⁴ In the realm of communications authored by those employing clandestine political violence, this method of narrative construction⁶⁹⁵—defined as the

for Experimental Freedom, *Between Predicates, War: Theses On Contemporary Struggle*; The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection*.

⁶⁹² Though a variety of CL texts were consulted, the approach of this study borrows most notably from: Svenja Adolphs, *Corpus and Context: Investigating Pragmatic Functions in Spoken Discourse* (Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2008); Paul Baker, “‘Eligible’ Bachelors and ‘Frustrated’ Spinsters: Corpus Linguistics, Gender and Language,” in *Gender and Language Research Methodologies*, ed. Kate Harrington et al. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 73–84; Susan Hunston, *Corpora in Applied Linguistics* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁶⁹³ Terry Locke, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, 1st ed. (Bloomsbury Academic, 2004); Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak, “Critical Discourse Analysis,” in *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*, ed. Teun A. van Dijk, Second Edition (SAGE Publications Ltd, 1997), 258–84; Michael Meyer and Ruth Wodak, “Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Agenda, Theory and Methodology,” in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer, Second Edition (SAGE Publications Ltd, 2009), 1–33; Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, 2nd ed. (Pearson Education ESL, 2010); Machin and Mayr, *How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis*; Gavin Kendall, “What Is Critical Discourse Analysis?,” *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 8, no. 2 (May 31, 2007), <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/255>.

⁶⁹⁴ Kurt Braddock, “The Utility of Narratives for Promoting Radicalization: The Case of the Animal Liberation Front,” *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* 7, no. 2 (October 13, 2014): 1, doi:10.1080/17467586.2014.968794.

⁶⁹⁵ For further discussion regarding the role of narrative and identity construction see: Margaret R. Somers, “The Narrative Constitution of Identity: A Relational and Network Approach,” *Theory and Society* 23, no. 5 (October 1, 1994): 605–49, doi:10.1007/BF00992905; Anne Kane, *Constructing Irish National Identity* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Braddock, “The Utility of Narratives for Promoting Radicalization.”

“fundamental genre that organizes the ways in which we think and interact”⁶⁹⁶—serves a variety of purposes including the following:

...incite discontent among audience members, justify the necessity of the terrorist group’s existence to the community in which the group operates, reinforce pre-existing identities that are emendable to the terrorist group’s actions, and create new identities for group members.⁶⁹⁷

This focus on narrative is especially well suited as insurrectionary communiqués typically speak from the first person (plural) perspective—‘last night we attacked the bank’, ‘we chose to bomb the police station because of...’—and are thus constitute not only a description of the act but also its justification. Therefore, while *narrative* can be deduced and read in a variety of means, the focus herein is its construction as a “discursive medium for reinforcing moral paradigms, probing the contours and meaning of events, and instantiating identities and positions...allow[ing] members of communities to reflect upon events, thoughts and emotions.”⁶⁹⁸ These analytical methods can be utilized not only to *understand* the narratives put forth by clandestine actors, but also to *predict* their communicative futures⁶⁹⁹. These dual analytical approaches—that of CL and CDA—were selected from amongst the larger field of Discourse Analysis for their complementary features as well a their varied levels of application.

⁶⁹⁶ Elinor Ochs, “Narrative in Everyday Life,” in *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*, ed. Teun A. van Dijk, Second Edition (SAGE Publications Ltd, 1997), 64.

⁶⁹⁷ Braddock, “The Utility of Narratives for Promoting Radicalization,” 1.

⁶⁹⁸ Ochs, “Narrative in Everyday Life,” 80.

⁶⁹⁹ For examples of this communicative-predictive approach to the study of clandestine political violence see: Conway and Conway, “The Terrorist Rhetorical Style and Its Consequences for Understanding Terrorist Violence”; Stephen G. Walker, “Anticipating Attacks from the Operational Codes of Terrorist Groups,” *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* 4, no. 2 (July 1, 2011): 135–43, doi:10.1080/17467586.2011.627936.

Critical Discourse Analysis Explained

To begin with, CDA scholars explain the positional boundaries of the method as one that sees “language as social practice,”⁷⁰⁰ and thus focuses on the context in which such language is deployed⁷⁰¹. The reason CDA has been selected over other schools of Discourse Analysis (e.g. Interactional sociolinguistics, dialogical analysis, narrative inquiry) is quite simply because of its focus on sources of power and the reproduction of authority. This is especially important for the analysis of insurrectionary texts as the rhetoric employed to report clandestine political violence frequently reflects on themes of “power and control” at a far higher rate of frequency than non-political texts.⁷⁰² The task at hand is to deduce discursive meaning from a collectivity of texts, and from these scores of texts, discover how the evolving milieu understands the state, social change, mass mobilization, violence and authority. In all cases, these are questions of power and the reproduction of dominance; precisely the project of Foucault and CDA. CDA allows the researcher to select from a larger body of texts, choosing those examples in which one has “observed ideology in operation.”⁷⁰³

This is precisely the task at hand: to understand the ideological contributions offered by neo-urban guerrilla networks to the larger field of political theory, social movements and asymmetric, revolutionary warfare. Therefore, CDA in conjunction with

⁷⁰⁰ Fairclough and Wodak, “Critical Discourse Analysis.”

⁷⁰¹ Meyer and Wodak, “Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Agenda, Theory and Methodology,” 5.

⁷⁰² Conway and Conway, “The Terrorist Rhetorical Style and Its Consequences for Understanding Terrorist Violence,” 175, 180.

⁷⁰³ Machin and Mayr, *How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis*, 207.

CL, will serve to establish descriptively *what* the milieu theorizes and *how* these theoretical positions are enacted via the text.

Reliance on emergent fields of analysis representative of the ‘*critical turn*’ have been selected due to their political and power-centric focus. This is precisely why *Critical Terrorism Studies* is prioritized over more orthodox methods. Similarly, the ‘critical turn’ in Discourse Analysis is key in positioning one manner of reading text over another. While authors are quick (and correct) to note, “the word ‘critical’ is a ubiquitous epithet attached to a variety of nouns,”⁷⁰⁴ its usage within the larger field of Discourse Analysis is indicative of a number of marked tendencies including:

That all thought is fundamentally mediated by power relations that are social and historically situated... That facts can never be isolated from the domain of values or removed from some form of ideological inscription... The relationship between concept and object and between signifier and signified is never stable or fixed and is often mediated by the social relations of capitalist production and consumption... That certain groups in any society are privileged over others... [and] that mainstream research practices are generally, although most often unwittingly, implicated in the reproduction of systems of class, race, and gender oppression.⁷⁰⁵

Thus the *critical* posturing of CDA must be understood as maintaining a fluid yet outwardly political set of presumptions of not only a methodological nature, but also ones that are ethical and values-based. If one seeks to develop analysis around questions such as the subversion of systems of power, the role of ideology in language deployment, the role of state-capitalism productive capacities, and the hierarchical positioning of systems of privilege, a *critical* framework becomes essential.

⁷⁰⁴ Locke, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, 25.

⁷⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 25–26.

Corpus Linguistics Explained

While the CDA frame informs the analysis of language choice, ideology and power, at present the main technical method utilized in my approach is that of CL. CL is a product of Speech Act Theory, which developed in the 1960s largely through the work of John Austin and John Searle.⁷⁰⁶ Fifty years later, with the incorporation of postmodern and gender theory into the study of language, new conceptions allow for counter-hegemonic interpretations through focus on smaller scale texts and qualitative analysis⁷⁰⁷. In this manner, CL maintains three defining benefits including:

[1.] Allow[ing] critical discourse analysis to work with much larger data volumes...[2.] to significantly broaden their empirical base...[to]...reduce researcher bias...[3.] And offer] quantitative and qualitative perspectives on textual data...[to] assess individual occurrences of search words, qualitatively examine their collocational environments. Describe salient semantic patterns and identify discourse functions.⁷⁰⁸

CL's placement within a taxonomy of methods is difficult as it is seen divergently as a discipline, methodology, approach, "methodological bias", set of procedures, etc.⁷⁰⁹ CL takes as its object of analysis "real-life language use"⁷¹⁰ and examines it via both computer-based quantitative analysis and qualitative interpretation borrowed largely from content analysis.

The methodological aims of CL are to look beyond *how* language works through relationships such as grammar and syntax, and instead examine *why* a specific social

⁷⁰⁶ Adolphs, *Corpus and Context*, 25.

⁷⁰⁷ Baker, "'Eligible' Bachelors and 'Frustrated' Spinsters: Corpus Linguistics, Gender and Language," 73.

⁷⁰⁸ Gerlinde Mautner, "Checks and Balances: How Corpus Linguistics Can Contribute to CDA," in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer, Second Edition (SAGE Publications Ltd, 2009), 123.

⁷⁰⁹ Irene Pollach, "Taming Textual Data: The Contribution of Corpus Linguistics to Computer-Aided Text Analysis," *Organizational Research Methods* 15, no. 2 (April 2012): 265.

⁷¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 264.

group deploys words in a temporal and context-specific manner. In this sense, CL's focus is not the English language itself (or any other language for that manner) but the usage of that language by a social actor—"to unearth socially meaningful interpretations that can then be listed to do socially transformative work"⁷¹¹—the focus being on the actor's decisions not the language's function.

Whereas quantitative-oriented forms of text analysis, for example, classic content analysis, can produce indices of manifest content, text analyses following the interpretive [corpus linguistics] tradition study both manifest and latent content, as the sociocultural framework in which the text has been produced is an integral part of the analysis, for example, as in grounded theory or discourse analysis.⁷¹²

This socio-anthropological focus begins to separate CL from other methods of content analysis and linguistic inquiry. In this generalized sense, content analysis at large can be defined as "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts...to the content of their use"⁷¹³. If this broad-based definition is adopted, CL certainly fits beneath it as a *method* of content analysis marked for its distinctively interpretive and socio-anthropological focus.

CL relies on the usage of computer processing power to sort through large bodies of text, though the process can be used 'manually' with smaller corpuses. In their exploration of large sets of text data, Tausczik and Pennebaker use computational linguistic software to "apply a new array of computer-based text analysis to the study of

⁷¹¹ Mautner, "Checks and Balances: How Corpus Linguistics Can Contribute to CDA," 124.

⁷¹² Pollach, "Taming Textual Data: The Contribution of Corpus Linguistics to Computer-Aided Text Analysis," 264.

⁷¹³ Klaus H. Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*, 2nd ed. (Sage Publications, Inc, 2003), 18.

everyday language.”⁷¹⁴ The authors argue for the use of computational, computer-assisted methods stating: “By drawing on massive amounts of text, researchers can begin to link everyday language use with behavioral and self-reported measures of personality, social behavior, and cognitive styles.”⁷¹⁵ In the current study, this precise approach is adopted to make observations about a slightly different, yet highly related, area of inquiry, namely the contrition of an transnational, ideological discourse of resistance. The software used to conduct these analyses (known as corpus linguistics suites, concordancers and/or lexical analyzers) does not perform interpretation itself but rather “performs operations on text that make it easier for humans to analyze it”⁷¹⁶. These operations can help to produce both quantitative and qualitative results. The three-stage process of CL (concordance, collocation, annotation) is descriptive, analytical *and* interpretive. While *concordance* is used to diagram and describe, *collocation* aims to analyze and *annotation* to interpret.

The focus on the text, vis-à-vis the social structures that exist to create form and function, must produce a context-specific and relational explanation for language choice. In other words, CL asks *how* the collectivity uses the language, not how the language uses the words. CL thus looks at the ways in which speech acts and utterances, are used in context, and positioned within a specific time and place. Language theorist Paul Baker explains CL as the study of language based on real life usage, through bodies of coded

⁷¹⁴ Yla R. Tausczik and James W. Pennebaker, “The Psychological Meaning of Words: LIWC and Computerized Text Analysis Methods,” *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 29, no. 1 (March 1, 2010): 24, doi:10.1177/0261927X09351676.

⁷¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁷¹⁶ Mautner, “Checks and Balances: How Corpus Linguistics Can Contribute to CDA,” 125.

text and interpreted through both quantitative and qualitative measures⁷¹⁷. CL relies on large samples of text to generate “representative samples of a particular type of naturally occurring language, so can therefore be used as a standard reference against which claims about language can be measured”⁷¹⁸. Since this study seeks to extract meaning and ideology from amongst a variety of texts, written by an even larger variety of anonymous authors, the generation of ‘representative samples’ is thus essential. In other words, since one cannot attribute target texts to individual writers, and can thus not know when single writers pen multiple texts, a movement-wide analysis requires generalizable data so that the individual authorship details are rendered nonessential.

Returning to CDA as a framing method, what one adapts from the work of Michel Foucault is precisely the sentiment that “discourses are not only mere expressions of social practice, but also serve particular ends, namely the exercise of power”⁷¹⁹. The Foucauldian addition to critical disciplines such as Marxism can be seen in the analytical shift from the functions of economic structures to the more base genealogies of ‘power knowledge’ and non-economic forms of power⁷²⁰. Thus for Foucault, power is used not only to discipline and regulate, but also to determine truth and contradiction. CDA utilizing Foucault is thus a keenly positioned method to “reveal the contradictions within and between discourses...the means by which discourses make particular statements

⁷¹⁷ “‘Eligible’ Bachelors and ‘Frustrated’ Spinsters: Corpus Linguistics, Gender and Language,” 74.

⁷¹⁸ Ibid.

⁷¹⁹ Siegfried Jäger and Florentine Maier, “Theoretical and Methodological Aspects of Foucauldian Critical Discourse Analysis and Dispositive Analysis,” in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer, Second Edition (SAGE Publications Ltd, 2009), 35.

⁷²⁰ Barry Smart, *Foucault, Marxism and Critique*, 1st ed. (London, UK: Routledge & Kegan Paul Books, 1983), 81.

seem rational and beyond all doubt, even though they are only valid in a certain time and place”⁷²¹.

In the topic-specific research program under discussion, the task at hand is to examine post-millennial, anti-statist texts produced by clandestine networks utilizing political violence, and to understand these texts in light of the actions and ideologies they produce, report and transmit. In this sense, identifying the nature of the relationship between discourse, ideology, and action is essential. Within the Foucauldian CDA framework, this relationship amounts roughly to: “since consciousness determines action, discourses determine action...thus guide[ing] the individual and collective creation of reality...Consciousness does not passively reflect reality, but actively takes hold of it.”

⁷²²

If discourse *does* determine action as a mirroring of consciousness, then texts reflective of that consciousness can be analyzed to examine their causal links to action. In other words if the insurrectionary communiqués surveyed can be seen for the ideological standpoints they transmit, these discursive trends will be a telling input for the generation of action (i.e. attacks against the state and capital), and the creation of a collective and milieu-specific social mobilization identity⁷²³. Moreover, the discursive practices (which

⁷²¹ Jager and Maier, “Theoretical and Methodological Aspects of Foucauldian Critical Discourse Analysis and Dispositive Analysis,” 36.

⁷²² Ibid., 37, 39.

⁷²³ This is a decidedly post-left (e.g. advocating social insurrection and opposing movement organizing commonly linked to ‘the Left’), framework which is most closely linked conceptually to what has become known as “post-anarchist” (i.e. poststructuralist, postmodern, defined initially by May *The Political Philosophy of Poststructuralist Anarchism*. and Bey *T.A.Z. the Temporary Autonomous Zone, Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism*, sec. Post-Anarchism Anarchy. and heavily influenced by the work of Bourdieu, Butler, Foucault, Deleuze, Derrida, Guattari, Lacan, Lyotard, and Nietzsche and anarchist thinkers such as Emma Goldman, Gustav Landauer and Max Stirner and others. “Post-anarchism” is also linked to the

are reflective of the consciousness) form the objects they emanate from, or to quote Foucault, the discourse can be seen to “systematically form the object of which they speak”⁷²⁴ as we understand that “human actions are meaningful because they are based on thought and consciousness”⁷²⁵. In this manner, texts describing insurrectionary attack (e.g. communiqués, zines, action ‘report backs’, etc.) transmit knowledge and duly form future insurrectionary attacks through an adaptive movement’s self-consumption of its own texts.

As the object of analysis is not a single person but a multinational, networked movement, “the subject [of the CDA] is of interest not as an actor, but as a product of discourse”⁷²⁶. This discourse can be seen when the sum total of the texts are understood as a collectivity, a corpus with definable in-group, out-group distinctions. Thus as a group of texts, discourse can be seen in repetition and pattern.

A single text has minimal effects, which are hardly noticeable and almost impossible to prove. In contrast, a discourse, with its recurring contents, symbols and strategies, leads to the emergence and solidification of ‘knowledge’ and therefore has sustained effects. What is important is not the single text, the single film, the single photograph and so on but the constant repetition of statements.⁷²⁷

illegalist, insurrectionary anarchism of Bonanno *Armed Joy [La gioia armata]*., *Tiqqun Tiqqun Revue nø2/2001*. and others The Institute for Experimental Freedom, *Between Predicates, War: Theses On Contemporary Struggle*; Anonymous, “Insurrectionary Anarchy: Organising for Attack!”; A Gang Of Criminal Queers, *Towards the Queerest Insurrection*, Zine (Milwaukee, WI: Mary Nardini gang, 2008), <http://zinelibrary.info/files/QueerestImposed.pdf>; The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection*.⁷²⁴ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge & The Discourse on Language*, Reprint (Vintage, 1982), 54.

⁷²⁵ Jager and Maier, “Theoretical and Methodological Aspects of Foucauldian Critical Discourse Analysis and Dispositive Analysis,” 41.

⁷²⁶ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁷²⁷ *Ibid.*, 38.

The ‘sustained effects’ of such ‘solidified knowledge’ are the production of more acts of political violence; more windows broken, more banks burned, more McDonalds’ painted in the name of an amorphous war for total liberation through direct attack.

Applying Corpus Linguistics to the FAI

To provide an initial, pre-corpora, example exhibiting CL at work, in what I will argue is a *foundational* text, the Italian branch of the Informal Anarchist Federation (FAI) released a seven page communiqué in September 2011 entitled, “Do Not Say That We Are Few.”⁷²⁸ This document was republished and distributed by a host of networked Internet sites including 325⁷²⁹, War On Society⁷³⁰, Act for Freedom Now!⁷³¹, The Guerilla News Network⁷³², Indymedia⁷³³, Contra Info⁷³⁴, The Anarchist Library⁷³⁵ and Anarchist News⁷³⁶. In viewing this text through a CDA lens and via CL (performed manually not by computer), one can generate a number of collocations that determine descriptively the ways in which words are biased. These works have specific, intentional (non-accidental), associations. For example, the FAI generates a number of telling collocations between “we” and “our.” The sheer number of occurrences of such phrasings (called concordances within CL) speaks to a strong in-group/out-group rendering (i.e. container metaphor) for not only the FAI network, but also of the larger insurrectionary

⁷²⁸ “Do Not Say That We Are Few - Statement from the Italian FAI.”

⁷²⁹ <http://325.nostate.net/>

⁷³⁰ <http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/>

⁷³¹ <http://actforfree.nostate.net/>

⁷³² <http://guerrillanews.wordpress.com/>

⁷³³ <http://www.indymedia.org/>

⁷³⁴ <http://en.contrainfo.espiv.net/>

⁷³⁵ <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/>

⁷³⁶ <http://anarchistnews.org/>

anarchist movement. The use of personal (“we”) and possessive (“our”) pronouns speaks to a collectivist politic held by the FAI; a globalized, networked identity that is vaguely bordered. The communiqué authors speak of “our view”, which utilizes a weak or low linguistic modality. In other words, by explaining a political analysis as “our views” one marks the thoughts an uncommon, non-authoritative.

Strong modal phrasings such as “the reality is” when compared to weak phrasing such as “in our view” indicate the FAI’s willingness to be challenged and debated, avoiding absolutist terms. Finally, one can venture farther from the base and note that while the concept of “state” is persistent and central to insurrectionary analysis, in the FAI’s key text, the concept is *only* employed to mention specific nation-states (Italy and Greece). From the predominance of “we” and “our” and the disappearance of “state” one could posit that the author(s) is discursively writing from a visionary politic that prefigures a stateless world; a central tenet of anarchist and insurrectionary thought. Maybe “we” is a counter marker to indicate the alternative to the rule of the nation-state? Maybe by not naming the state, by only briefly referencing it, one is attempting to negate the state and by focusing on the self (e.g. “we” and “our”), one imagines a post-state world of autonomy, informal association and boundless freedom. Without further comparative analyses, these are of course guesses at best, but they are elaborated to show the analytical possibility of a CL approach in this manner. Through an analysis of these word choices and collocations, one can generate annotations that function to explain the metaphor, affect, emotion and *meaning* of the patterned language.

For the FAI, the use of pronouns is a function of their self-identity as the regulator of the federated network, the determiner and judge of inclusion and exclusion. It is at this juncture that one can see the convergence of CL and CDA. While CL allows for the production of the aforementioned annotated meanings from the FAI text, CDA allows us to further theorize about the relationships of power that inform these language choices. To return to Foucault, through their texts, the FAI and other actors generate the “power of discourse” providing the “range of ‘positive’ statements which are sayable...[and simultaneously] a range of other statements which are not sayable.”⁷³⁷ Through this logic, and through the production of paired sets of annotated collocations, one can observe the linguistic and ideological boundaries of the milieu’s texts. In other words, the lexical analysis allows for the construction of a sort of rule list which states what texts *can* be included in the neo-insurrectionary urban guerilla canon, and which by the nature of their content, must be excluded. Moreover, the CL approach allows for a *reliable* discussion of metaphor and word choice that is less subjective, as it can demonstrate associated meaning through pattern marking. For example, if the FAI uses “we” and “our” far more than “I” or “they”, this quantifiable pattern can be subjectively interpreted, yet remains observably ‘true.’ The FAI example is meant to demonstrate that despite its specific methodological positions, CDA is more valuable as a *framework* and not a proscriptive toolbox. One can imagine CDA as a non-method, but instead a

⁷³⁷ Juergen Link and Ursula Link-Heer, “Diskurs, Interdiskurs Und Literaturanalyse.,” *Zeitschrift Für Literaturwissenschaft Und Linguistik* 20, no. 77 (1990): quoted in Jager and Mainer, 2009, p. 37.

*perspective, position*⁷³⁸ or *attitude*, placing it alongside previous discussions of the ‘critical turn’ in the analysis of security, terrorism and political violence.

Approaching Discourse Analysis

If terrorism is said to be a communication process (or an attempt at one) using media, or public spectacle for visual consumption as many have debated⁷³⁹, then the explicit written

⁷³⁸ Teun A. van Dijk, “Critical Discourse Studies: A Sociocognitive Approach,” in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer, Second Edition (SAGE Publications Ltd, 2009), 62.

⁷³⁹ For such arguments, both for and against, see: Jeffrey C. Alexander, “From the Depths of Despair: Performance, Counterperformance, and ‘September 11,’” *Sociological Theory* 22, no. 1 (March 1, 2004): 88–105, doi:10.1111/j.1467-9558.2004.00205.x; Kevin Barnhurst, “The Literature of Terrorism: Implications for Visual Communications,” in *Media Coverage of Terrorism: Methods of Diffusion*, ed. A. Odasuo Alali and Kenoye Kelvin Eke (Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc, 1991), 112–37; Jean Baudrillard, “The Spirit of Terrorism,” *Le Monde*, November 2, 2001, <http://www.egs.edu/faculty/jean-baudrillard/articles/the-spirit-of-terrorism/>; J. Bowyer Bell, “Terrorist Scripts and Live-Action Spectaculars,” *Columbia Journalism Review* 17, no. 1 (1978): 47; Noam Chomsky, “International Terrorism: Image and Reality,” in *Western State Terrorism*, ed. Alexander L. George, Online (Cambridge, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd/Routledge, 1991), 20, <http://www.chomsky.info/articles/199112--02.htm>; R.D. Crelinsten, “Analysing Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism: A Communication Model,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 14, no. 2 (2002): 77–122, doi:10.1080/714005618; Warren Decker and Daniel Rainey, “Terrorism as Communication.” (66th Annual Speech Communication Association, New York, NY, 1980), 18, <http://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED196091>; Henry A. Giroux, *Beyond the Spectacle of Terrorism: Global Uncertainty and the Challenge of the New Media* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2006); Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*; Luke Howie, *Terror on the Screen: Witnesses and the Reanimation of 9/11 as Image-Event, Popular Culture and Pornography* (Washington, DC: New Academia Publishing, LLC, 2011); Brian M. Jenkins, “International Terrorism: A New Model of Conflict,” in *International Terrorism and World Security*, ed. David Carlton and Carlo Schaerf (London, UK: Croom Helm/RAND Corporation, 1975), <http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/papers/2008/P5261.pdf>; Brigitte L. Nacos, *Mass-Mediated Terrorism: The Central Role of the Media in Terrorism and Counterterrorism*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007); Jonathan Matusitz, *Terrorism and Communication: A Critical Introduction* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc, 2013); Brian McNair, *An Introduction to Political Communication* (New York, NY: Psychology Press, 2003); Abraham H. Miller, *Terrorism, the Media and the Law* (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y: Transnational Pub, 1982); Schmid and Graaf, *Violence as Communication*; Daniel Schorr, “When Alienated, Violent Men Demand to Be Publicized,” *Christian Science Monitor*, May 5, 1995, <http://www.csmonitor.com/1995/0505/05191.html>; John L. Scott, “Media Congestion Limits Media Terrorism*,” *Defence and Peace Economics* 12, no. 3 (2001): 215–27, doi:10.1080/10430710108404985; Joseph S. Tuman, *Communicating Terror: The Rhetorical Dimensions of Terrorism*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc, 2009); Grant Wardlaw, *Political Terrorism: Theory, Tactics and Counter-Measures* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Gabriel Weimann and Conrad Winn, *The Theater of Terror: Mass Media and International Terrorism* (New York, NY: Longman Group United Kingdom, 1993); Michel Wieviorka, *The Making of Terrorism*, trans. David Gordon White, Reprint edition (Chicago, IL: University Of Chicago Press, 2003); Paul Wilkinson, “The Media and Terrorism: A

texts produced by those actors should be instructive in understanding the social critique behind one's actions. This premise underlies the present analysis. Those carrying out acts of political violence, and subsequently contextualizing and reporting those actions via Internet communiqués, desire for their words to be read and considered. In actuality, the desire to communicate may be the primary motivation for one's decision to break a window, blow up a car or slash a tire. Not only does the action carry with it communicative properties, but by carryout that act, one warrants the issuing of a communiqué which creates further space for elaboration. These texts, authored by the clandestine window breakers and fire starters, can be analyzed critically both in terms of conceptual deployment and language choice, in order to further understand the actors' politics and their critiques of the dominant socio-political order.

As some have pointed out, not all analysis of written discourse can or should be understood as critical⁷⁴⁰. While *Critical Discourse Analysis* is typically reserved for examining how power and social relations are inscribed through ideological reproduction found in language—for example the analysis of gender stereotyping in alcohol advertisements—it can also be employed to examine how language is used to disrupt these same power relations by offering insurgent ideologies through spectacular violence. In her focus on media discourse, Colleen Cotter develops three categorical approaches to the study of such content: 1.) Discourse analytic, 2.) sociolinguistic, and 3.)

Reassessment," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 9, no. 2 (1997): 51–64, doi:10.1080/09546559708427402; John W. Williams, "The Failure of Terrorism as Mass Communication," *Turkish Journal of Police Studies* 1, no. 4 (1999): 1–16; Nathan I. Yungher, *Terrorism: The Bottom Line*, 1st ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2007); Zulaika and Douglass, *Terror and Taboo*.

⁷⁴⁰ Cameron and Panovic, *Working with Written Discourse*, 62–63.

nonlinguistic⁷⁴¹. For Cotter, *critical* implies an examination of social impact, inequality, political economy, etc., whereas sociolinguistic involves the examination of “variation and style in the media or a similar close analysis of language.”⁷⁴² *Discourse* analysis is thus a term reserved for “discourse-level matters related to larger stretches of talk and text.”⁷⁴³ The third approach, the “nonlinguistic” is more broadly defined as a social science application of basic linguistic content analysis—focused on *what* is said and written not necessarily its interpretation—for the discussion of media. The linguistic analysis attempts to make sense of a variety of language levels, discussed collectively, though compartmentalized in their usage. These levels include *pragmatics* (the interaction between author and audience), *semantics* (“meaning, structure of lexicon”) and *syntax* (internal organization of text).⁷⁴⁴

From this taxonomy, the examination of insurrectionary communiqués can best be described as a sociolinguistic CDA with nonlinguistic applications as it is based in a close reading of text and the conceptual application of this corpus to movement-wide (i.e. discourse-level) questions of power, inequality, violence and resistance. This is informed by a generalizable content analysis applied through a Communications and Sociological lens, thus fitting Cotter’s “nonlinguistic” approach. The task at hand is thus to “consider what aspects of language are most significant for the purpose of ‘being critical’—that is, identifying the ideological presuppositions of a text and understanding how it constructs a

⁷⁴¹ Colleen Cotter, “Discourse and Media,” in *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, ed. Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen, and Heidi E. Hamilton (Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2003), 417–418.

⁷⁴² *Ibid.*, 418.

⁷⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴⁴ Paul Chilton and Christina Schäffner, “Discourse and Politics,” in *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*, ed. Teun A. van Dijk, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2011), 313.

particular version of reality”⁷⁴⁵; in this case, a version of reality in revolt against the social order. This concept of *ideology* understands the term as a “belief system...shared by members of a social group...comparable to socio-cultural knowledge as it is shared by (epistemic) communities...[and] linguistic communities.”⁷⁴⁶ These are beliefs which are “socially relevant” for the insurrectionary milieu and collectively constitute an ideology that promotes and defends those communities’ interests.⁷⁴⁷

This is the approach adopted in the study of the insurrectionary corpus. It is *discourse* because it attempts to interrogate macro concepts and values held collectively across national borders, self-identities and other atomized units. It is sociolinguistic because it is based in a *close reading* of a finite text in terms of style and word choice. It is nonlinguistic because while it is a close read, this is based around a more broadly imagined content analysis understood in terms of sociological, anthropological and communications theory. Finally, it is *critical* as the language-derived discourse is interrogated for its deployment to disrupt control, expose inequality, agitate for change and demand revolution.

Refining a Corpus for Analysis

In order to facilitate the analysis of discourse, a corpus was constructed from publicly-available documents hosted on the four most prominent websites⁷⁴⁸ constituting the

⁷⁴⁵ Cameron and Panovic, *Working with Written Discourse*, 67.

⁷⁴⁶ Teun A. van Dijk, “Discourse and Ideology,” in *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*, ed. Teun A. van Dijk, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2011), 382.

⁷⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴⁸ These were determined to be “325” [<http://325.nostate.net/>], “War on Society” [<http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/>], “Act for Freedom Now!” [<http://actforfree.nostate.net/>], and “Contra Info” [<http://en.contrainfo.espiv.net/>]

“informal international translation and counter-information network”⁷⁴⁹, often defied here in the shorthand of the ‘insurrectionary community.’ This method is chosen in an attempt to create a “full text corpus”⁷⁵⁰ focused on the insurrectionary community. This network of websites was selected for their recurring prominence and their intentional function as nodes of distribution. Other sites were surveyed but their archives were not included in the corpus as the content was deemed to be included elsewhere and thus constituted a form of intentional replication and redundancy provided by the networks. The youngest of these sites surveyed, Inter Arma, began in the final days of 2013, and clearly stated its approach to insurrectionary communication in its initial posting. In their self-descriptive account, the site’s authors state:

Inter Arma is an international counter-information project of New Anarchy. It is international, because we consider that the anarchist war is being fought all over the world, surpassing the boundaries of authority... It is a counter-information project, because we deem necessary the communication between comrades from different countries and directions. Because the diffusion of attack is equally important as the attack itself.

Inter Arma, through its function, promotes the informal organization of anarchist structures. It cooperates with fellow media networks in Greece and abroad, strengthening the dynamics of the international network and increasing its range. It does not intend to be a centralized type of medium, but a junction of counter-information and diffusion that can be assisted by comrades that wish to do so.

Inter Arma clearly promotes the continuous anarchist insurrection. It has nothing to do with propositions for a partial or total management of the existent nor with the groups, bodies or persons expressing them, whether from the left or the anti-authoritarian and the so-called anarchist movement...⁷⁵¹

⁷⁴⁹ Anarchist-nihilists against the activist establishment, “Fuck Indymedia and the Anarcho-Left,” in *“Anarchy – Civil or Subversive?”: A Collection of Texts Against Civil Anarchism*, 1st ed. (Online: Dark Matter Publications (republished by 325.nostate.net), 2013), 52–53, <http://325.nostate.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/civil-anarchism-book.pdf>.

⁷⁵⁰ Baker, Hardie, and McEnery, *A Glossary of Corpus Linguistics*, 76.

⁷⁵¹ Inter Arma, “Announcing Inter Arma’s Kick off,” *Inter Arma*, December 24, 2013, https://interarma.info/2013/12/24/anakoinwsi_enarksis_leitourgias/?lang=en.

While Inter Arma is the youngest such insurrectionary hub, and at the time of writing solely creates redundant archives of texts found on other sites, its infancy allows for a more complete reading of their intent. They aim to adopt dual-use technologies (e.g. blogs, encryption, Twitter) to distribute propaganda to a global audience while eliciting little feedback in return.

This decentralized method of dissemination operates from behind the obfuscation of the Webmaster and managed through relatively little effort. In her discussion of the use of similar technologies by online jihadis, one author writes:

In the new lateral social media environment control over content is decentralized. Anyone can participate. Distribution is decentralized via ‘hubs’ and volunteers use mainstream interactive and inter-connected social media platforms, blogs, and file sharing platforms. Cross-posting and re-tweeting content on social media by volunteers is a low-cost means of dissemination to wide audiences... The widespread use of lateral integration across multiple file sharing platforms builds redundancy through the manifold postings of the same document and resilience against disruption and suppression by government and Internet service providers.⁷⁵²

Sites such as Inter Arma do not seek to build online community apparatuses such as message boards, forums, etc. but instead work as one-way message boards. In an explicit treatment of this intention, the site, which functions in Greek and English, states its intention to “establish a minimum level of interaction among comrades... to give emphasis to dialectics, analysis and theoretical elaboration within the insurrectionary and new anarchy.”⁷⁵³ For Inter Arma, only one month prior, media and police connected the

⁷⁵² Klausen, “Tweeting the Jihad: Social Media Networks of Western Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq [Accepted Manuscript],” 5.

⁷⁵³ Inter Arma, “Inter Arma’s Announcement about Adding New Features,” *Inter Arma*, January 31, 2014, <https://interarma.info/2014/01/31/anakoinwsh-egxeirhmatos-gia-prosthikes-sth-leitourgia-tou/?lang=en>.

site to guerilla attacks, which may have prompted its functional redirection. In attempting to explain *why* such accusations may have been levied, the site's authors write: "The enemy has long ago realized the role that counter-information and translation projects play in the diffusion of Black International and in the communication between guerrilla formations all around the world."⁷⁵⁴

It is difficult if not impossible to know for certain the determinations made by website administrators as to what content (e.g. communiqués, claims of responsibility) is posted and what is rejected. 325, another prominent hub of communiqué distribution, in a postscript listed in their contact page, approximates such a set of guidelines writing:

325 is an anarchist / anti-capitalist information clearing house and DIY media network for social war. This new-media project is part of an international informal network...[that] publish[es] direct action reports from active revolutionary groups. In this way, 325 aims to help revolutionary individuals and social movements bypass the corporate media's manipulative stranglehold on information.

Our solidarity is not based on whether the contributions which we receive via our web-based contact form fit a strict ideological checklist. Each contribution sent to us is unique and we give consideration to every report we receive. We do not impose ideological limits on our solidarity, although we DO NOT support people that provide information to law enforcement or snitch on allies or co-defendants.

We have no connection to the direct action groups which send us anonymous reports, other than in our general support for actions taken by individuals or groups in the fight against capitalism, against the state, and for earth, animal and human liberation...Similarly, any direct action listed on this website does not imply our participation or personal involvement in it, unless we specifically stated this ourselves. 325 reaffirms a commitment to the polymorphous revolutionary struggle and to all forms of resistance against exploitation, be they sit-ins,

⁷⁵⁴ Inter Arma, "Inter Arma's Announcement about Being Targeted by the Lackeys of Anti-Terrorist Agency," *Inter Arma*, December 30, 2013, <https://interarma.info/2013/12/30/anakoinwsh-interarma-giaroufianous/?lang=en>.

leafleting, occupations, graffiti, general assemblies, strikes, sabotage and attacks against property or the oppressors themselves.⁷⁵⁵

This statement shows the purely functional and ideological nature of 325's inclusion/exclusion decision making process. The site seeks to publicize the actions and texts of ideologically-agreeable actors and makes no claim to avoid censoring content outside of that field. Therefore, while this study has sought to collect a wide and representative corpus of texts representative of the clandestine, illegalist, insurrectionary milieu, this collection will inherently be limited by an opaque decision making process by anonymous individuals managing these online services.

In developing the corpus⁷⁵⁶ as derived from the four most prominent websites, each website's archives were read—beginning from their earliest entry up until the last day of June 2014—and those entries meeting a set of criteria (defined below) were assembled into country-specific datasets. These resulting datasets were then combined into a single dataset for global analysis. Paul Chilton and Christina Schäffner have utilized this approach in previous studies such as their analysis of French language texts from sectarian leftists.⁷⁵⁷ In this study, the author “establishes a corpus...consisting of separate texts and make comparisons on the basis of relative frequencies...[to develop]

⁷⁵⁵ 325.nostate.net, “Contact,” 325, 2014, http://325.nostate.net/?page_id=144.

⁷⁵⁶ Guides to corpus creation surveyed include: Almut Koester, “Building a Small Specialised Corpora,” in *The Routledge Handbook of Corpus Linguistics*, ed. Anne O’Keeffe and Michael McCarthy, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2012), 66–79; Mike Nelson, “Building a Written Corpus: What Are the Basics?,” in *The Routledge Handbook of Corpus Linguistics*, ed. Anne O’Keeffe and Michael McCarthy, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2012), 53–65; Randi Reppen, “Building a Corpus: What Are the Key Considerations?,” in *The Routledge Handbook of Corpus Linguistics*, ed. Anne O’Keeffe and Michael McCarthy, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2012), 31–37; John Sinclair, “Corpus Creation,” in *Corpus Linguistics: Readings in a Widening Discipline*, ed. Geoffrey Sampson and Diana McCarthy, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Continuum, 1987), 78–84.

⁷⁵⁷ Chilton and Schäffner, “Discourse and Politics,” 306.

macro-sociological and historical questions of political discourse.”⁷⁵⁸ In the study of insurrectionary communiqués, the final dataset/corpus was built around a decision tree designed to standardize results for in-group/out-group sorting. In order to be included in the corpus, a document must meet five criteria:

1. It must be a claim of responsibility, for an act of political violence (e.g. vandalism, sabotage, arson, etc.), carried out by a clandestine actor/actors. It cannot claim responsibility for an aboveground social movement’s actions such as various forms of nonviolent civil disobedience (e.g. a lock down, tree sit or protest march).
2. It must be posted originally in English or translated into English by the counter-information site.
3. It must contain a political statement, rhetoric, justification or other explanation/elaboration for the action.
4. It must appear within the websites: “325,” “War on Society,” “Act for Freedom Now!,” or “Counter-information network.”
5. It must have been posted between 21 February 2008⁷⁵⁹ and 30 June 2014⁷⁶⁰.

Many other forms of political speech and movement documentation were *excluded* from the dataset such as those documents that had a primary purpose such as:

1. Announcing/analyzing/reporting a political action/protest (with or without incidental violence), for example, a protest march that turned violent when met with police

⁷⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁹ This is the date of the first communiqué located entitled “Series of arson attacks and communique (Athens-Thessaloniki, 02/21/2008)”

⁷⁶⁰ This is the date of the last communiqué located entitled “Berlin: “Kugeln für Herrmann, Henkel, Panhoff” – Arson on Tempelhof-Kreuzberg District Court.” Data was collected until 30 June 2014.

- repression.⁷⁶¹ These incidents are understood as *events* when the corpus is meant to embody *attacks*. Therefore 200 marchers breaking windows in commercial area would be *excluded* yet one individual breaking a single window and claiming it via a communiqué would be *included*.
2. Reporting violence committed by police and other security forces, or similarly, reports of violence directed at the ‘left’ by members of the ‘right’ such as white supremacists, neo-Nazis, etc.
 3. Transmitting a political statement, but with no act of violence or claim of responsibility.⁷⁶²
 4. Issuing a ‘call to action’ prior to an event such as a protest march, demonstration outside of a prison (often called a ‘noise demo’), or a public convergence such as a conference or rally outside of a courthouse.
 5. Announcing/reporting on arrests, trials, demonstrations, hunger strikes, etc.

Based on these criteria, over a nearly six and a half year period (21 February 2008 and 27 June 2014), 962 total communiqués and claims of responsibility were located and included for analysis. These 962 separate communiqués, issued from within 36 distinct geographic boundaries⁷⁶³, on 6 continents excluding Antarctica.

⁷⁶¹ For example see: <http://325.nostate.net/?p=40#more-40>

⁷⁶² For example see: <http://325.nostate.net/?p=108#more-108>

⁷⁶³ Argentina, Australia, Belarus, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Indonesia, Italy, Luxembourg, Mexico, the Netherlands, Peru, the Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the Ukraine, the United Kingdom, Uruguay and the United States

CL necessitates the construction of a corpora comprised of ‘naturally-occurring language’, in other words one showing “typical language patterns rather than the innovative or literary.”⁷⁶⁴ Certainly this is a difficult task given the community of authors surveyed. Can the meticulous authorship of any text—communiqués included—be considered “typical” or “natural” language? Certainly the conceptual construction and word choice are highly scripted by the greater discourse, but *within* that discursive milieu, the language is *natural*. It would be *unnatural* to pair the word “cop” with the word “hero”, just as it would be unnatural to pair “capitalism” with “equality,” or “state” with “freedom.” The placement of these (communiqué) texts in a public forum makes them part of the ‘naturally-occurring’ conversation of insurrectionary violence despite the intentionality of their construction.

While texts are likely to contain literary devices (e.g. metaphor, allegory, etc.), they will likely be more “conventional metaphors,” those which “might often go unnoticed in everyday life.”⁷⁶⁵ These texts, compiled as a corpus and taken as a whole, represent consistency *amongst one another*, yet when compared to a more generalized corpus of, for example, news media accounts of the economy, they are highly atypical and abnormal. Moreover, the sample constructed aims at generalizability in the hopes that it can be useful in discussions of more temporally dispersed insurrectionary texts, and one that offers texts not translated into English and deposited on the Internet. Therefore, in the collection and reading of texts, the aim was to follow the suggestion offered to those locating interview respondents to “keep adding to the sample until you are hearing

⁷⁶⁴ Alice Deignan, *Metaphor and Corpus Linguistics* (Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins Publishing, 2005), 5.

⁷⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

nothing new”⁷⁶⁶, in the hopes of surveying a wide enough variety of texts that particular nuances were highlighted and not ignored.

In organizing and sorting the communiqués, attention was paid to stable, easy to decipher markers such as moniker, date and country. Though the country where the author(s) resided was used to sort text and establish separate sets, the significance of national borders is quite small. Not only is the nature of the movement and network counter to the idea of sovereignty and nationalism, the fluidity of these networks is ever present as cells and multi-cell networks regularly transcend national borders in their communications, analysis, and acts of violence. Such a deterritorialization of non-state actors follows a similar trend in ‘orthodox’ (counter) terrorism studies and the discussion of security issues within the mainstream media. For example, in a 2014 Financial Times article discussing ongoing armed conflicts in the Middle East (and written prior to the establishment of the “Islamic State” spanning Iraq and Syria), the author suggests that wars in Lebanon, Syria and Iraq and merged into a single Shia v. Sunni war wherein borders are porous and inconsequential. In this account of media misrepresentation, the author writes:

While few believe that the map of the region is about to be redrawn, the emerging conflict represents a dangerous breakdown of the nation states created in the Sykes-Picot agreement sealed by French and British colonial overlords 90 years ago.⁷⁶⁷

⁷⁶⁶ Hilary Arksey and Peter T. Knight, *Interviewing for Social Scientists: An Introductory Resource with Examples*, 1st ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd, 1999), 57.

⁷⁶⁷ Borzou Daragahi, “Middle East: Three Nations, One Conflict,” *Financial Times*, May 27, 2014, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/b6f93e4e-e584-11e3-8b90-00144feabdc0.html#axzz33J9ikuQQ>.

Such observations within media coverage of a Middle Eastern war is indicative of the era of deterritorialization and globalization⁷⁶⁸, one wherein the boundaries of the nation-state are transcended, and political, social and sectarian identities rise in prominence. Thus while country of origin was used as a stable sorting method to establish separate corpora, it provides little analytical depth. On the other hand, markers such as date and moniker are quite telling as the former speaks to the dialogical nature of asynchronous communication, and the latter to the dispersion of identities used to self-label and claim community.

Based on these understandings of space and place, and utilizing the decision tree outlined above, a corpus of communiqués was generated. Contained in these communiqués are 428,219⁷⁶⁹ total words, 21,049 sentences, and 2,189,230 total characters (excluding spaces). On average, a single communiqué contained 445 words and 2,276 characters. The average word length for the dataset is five characters, and the average sentence length is 20 words.

The Quantitative, Lexical Analysis of Insurrectionary Text

Our student quickly came to appreciate, however, that there is no analytic routine through which a text can be run, with a critical description issuing automatically at the end...on this basis we can offer some help to the aspirant in critical linguistics. To our students doing fieldwork in sociolinguistics we said 'we cannot

⁷⁶⁸ See discussions of globalization and deterritorialization as the breakdown of the state as discussed by: Nestor Garcia Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*, trans. Christopher L. Chiappari and Silvia L. Lopez (Minneapolis, MN: Univ Of Minnesota Press, 1995), 228–241; Anthony D. King, *Culture, Globalization and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*, 1st ed. (Minneapolis, MN: Univ Of Minnesota Press, 1997), 9–13; John Tomlinson, *Globalization and Culture*, 1st ed. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 29–30.

⁷⁶⁹ For some calculations this total word count will vary. For example, when calculating word frequencies, n= 429,572, a difference of 1,353 words which were removed to refine processing. These 1,353 words were URLs, blocks of computer script include in hactivist communiqués and citation/source information.

*tell you in advance what constructions are going to be significant in the texts you collect.*⁷⁷⁰

The decision to analyze linguistic choice in the object of the communiqué reflects the intentionality (i.e. non-spontaneity) in written, political communication. While speech acts such as graffiti, live debates and interviews can reveal a great deal about a subject's ideological approach, they lack the 'meticulous preparation'⁷⁷¹ that accompanies a pre-written text such as a communiqué. The "non-spontaneous, planned and edited nature"⁷⁷² of written text makes it ideal for analysis. In this manner, word choice can be understood as intentional, non-incidental, and as expressive as the writer can produce. It is precisely because of this manner of speech construction that the object of the communiqué was selected for analysis. Furthermore, the lexical intentionality makes the analysis of text via CL a natural pairing as such methods are predicated on the assumption that word choice is reflective of large discursively-constructed ideologies. As early critical linguistics Roger Fowler and Gunther Kress explain:

It is well known that the linguistic forms of speech and writing express the social circumstances in which language occurs. The relationship of style to situation is very precise and functional, so that an analysis of linguistic structures reveals the contexts of language with considerable accuracy.⁷⁷³

In this manner, the preparation and construction of a communiqué is more akin to that of a Presidential speech, than a rebel's soapbox speech as the former is constructed for

⁷⁷⁰ Roger Fowler and Gunther Kress, "Critical Linguistics," in *Language and Control*, by Roger Fowler et al. (London, UK: Routledge & Kegan Paul Books, 1979), 197.

⁷⁷¹ Annelie Adel, "How to Use Corpus Linguistics in the Study of Political Discourse," in *The Routledge Handbook of Corpus Linguistics*, ed. Anne O'Keeffe and Michael McCarthy, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2012), 593.

⁷⁷² Gunther Kress, "The Social Values of Speech and Writing," in *Language and Control*, by Roger Fowler et al. (London, UK: Routledge & Kegan Paul Books, 1979), 49.

⁷⁷³ Roger Fowler and Gunther Kress, "Rules and Regulations," in *Language and Control*, by Roger Fowler et al. (London, UK: Routledge & Kegan Paul Books, 1979), 26.

maximum rhetorical impact within a confined set of language rules and the latter the product of spontaneity peppered with ideology.

Despite its intentional construction, the deployment of ideology and discourse through language choice is observable through “naturally occurring data”⁷⁷⁴. The decisions to use some words and not others, or to more frequently employ certain types of speech and not others can constitute patterned data yet remain unintentional. In his discussion of the role of theory and ideology in crafting news accounts, political theorist and discourse analyst Tony Trew writes:

To the extent that the concepts in a discourse are related to a system, they are part of a theory or ideology, that is, a system of concepts and images which are a way of seeing and grasping things, and of interpreting what is seen or heard or read. All perception involves theory or ideology and there are no ‘raw’, uninterpreted, theory-free facts.⁷⁷⁵

This is true for CNN as much as it is for the anonymous authors of a communiqué claiming responsibility for gluing the locks of an army recruiting center. In the authorship of a communiqué, though word choice is deliberate, its pattered usage across authors, groups, national borders, etc. is ideologically driven, not intentionally coordinated or orchestrated authoritatively. Therefore, when an attacker in Chile and another in the Ukraine both describe a bank as ‘parasitic’, this is obviously determined by their political analysis and not some coordinated decision to speech in a singular voice—such as a press office’s construction of talking points. Fowler and Kress make this point in their research, arguing that “lexical items, linguistics forms and linguistic processes carry specific

⁷⁷⁴ Paul Baker, *Sociolinguistics and Corpus Linguistics* (Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 121.

⁷⁷⁵ Tony Trew, “Theory and Ideology at Work,” in *Language and Control*, by Roger Fowler et al. (London, UK: Routledge & Kegan Paul Books, 1979), 95.

meanings.”⁷⁷⁶ The critical turn in CDA seeks to determine the role of discourse in shaping these lexical practices including word choice. Thus, linguistic analysis can readily be used to study ideology—specifically as it relates to power and authority—since one understands linguistic meaning as inseparable from ideology⁷⁷⁷.

Foucault spoke of discourse in this formative manner calling it ‘practices which systematically form the objects of which they speak.’⁷⁷⁸ There are strong, dependent, and causal relationships between linguistic structure and the discursive community through which the text is authored. These relationships between language and society are dialectical, occurring not as independent functionaries, but rather as co-constituting, social phenomena.⁷⁷⁹ Therefore the meaning making of words, as established through discourse, is not a reflection of political subjectivities, but instead is politics itself.⁷⁸⁰ As a result, text can ‘embody’ an interpretation of the subject⁷⁸¹, crafting static portrayals that span multiple texts emanating from the same author community. The text can thus be viewed to interpret the power *in* the discourse as well as the power *behind* the constriction of that discourse⁷⁸². Therefore this study seeks to identify the ‘practices’ that form the object of the communiqué, through the construction, regulation and enforcement of discursive realities.

⁷⁷⁶ Fowler and Kress, “Critical Linguistics,” 186.

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁸ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge & The Discourse on Language* [as quoted in Baker, 2010, p. 121].

⁷⁷⁹ Norman Fairclough, *Language and Power* (New York, NY: Addison Wesley Longman Ltd., 1989), 22–23.

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid., 23.

⁷⁸¹ Fowler and Kress, “Critical Linguistics,” 185.

⁷⁸² Fairclough, *Language and Power*, 43.

In order to allow CL to guide the analysis, a primary, exploratory overview of the text was performed involving the examination of word frequency patterns. This purely quantitative search through the assembled corpora serves to guide and inform the subsequent, and increasingly qualitative analysis, as frequently occurring words and concepts are then interrogated for “discourse-level phenomena [and] rhetorical function.”⁷⁸³ In this manner, the initial calculations guide one towards relevant, observable phenomena, exposing what is deserving of focus; hinting at what we might find. Therefore, while the focus of the subsequent analytical techniques is focused on the unit of the *word*, this is meant to be reflectively indicative of larger ideologically-driven choices recurrent in the wider dataset and the milieu that produced it.

Frequency, Clusters, Concordances⁷⁸⁴ and Collocations⁷⁸⁵

In determining how best to interpret the assembled corpus, a variety of software tools and operations have been employed. Voluminous texts exist which detail the various functions utilized in computer-assisted linguistics, some of which⁷⁸⁶ were surveyed in

⁷⁸³ Adel, “How to Use Corpus Linguistics in the Study of Political Discourse,” 595.

⁷⁸⁴ It is important to remember that concordance can be thought of as a form of frequency analysis as it is precisely an examination of frequency occurrences in context, focusing on words located in close proximity to the target word. A more expanded definition can be found in: Baker, Hardie, and McEnery, *A Glossary of Corpus Linguistics*, 42–43.

⁷⁸⁵ A quick reference for distinguishing these methods (and terms) of analysis is included in the Analytical Techniques of Corpus Linguistics section following the Recurring Abbreviations page prior to Chapter One.

⁷⁸⁶ See for example: Stefan Thomas Gries, *Quantitative Corpus Linguistics with R: A Practical Introduction*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2009); Roderick P. Hart and Colene J. Lind, “The Rhetoric of Islamic Activism: A DICTION Study,” *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* 4, no. 2 (2011): 113–25, doi:10.1080/17467586.2011.627934; Hunston, *Corpora in Applied Linguistics*, chap. 3, 4; Krippendorff, *Content Analysis*, chap. 12; Geoffrey Leech and Roger Fallon, “Computer Corpora - What Do They Tell Us About Culture?,” in *Corpus Linguistics: Readings in a Widening Discipline*, ed. Geoffrey Sampson and Diana McCarthy, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Continuum, 1992), 160–73; Kieran O’Halloran, “How to Use Corpus Linguistics in the Study of Media Discourse,” in *The Routledge Handbook of Corpus Linguistics*, ed. Anne O’Keeffe and Michael McCarthy, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2012), 563–77; James W. Pennebaker,

designing this approach. Separate analyses were conducted using three main pieces of software⁷⁸⁷. Occasionally, these software packages generated slightly different statistical findings with the same data inputs. This tendency is noted in discussion of computational procedure⁷⁸⁸, and is due to the manner through which these programs interpret nontraditionally formatted text, how text is ‘machined’ into a readable format, and/or how much automated ‘cleaning’ is done to the files internally by the software before the results are displayed. These irregularities were deemed to be inconsequential, as for example, the +/- 1-2 frequency count of a term, a minute fraction when calculating nearly 1,000 distinct texts comprised of more than 428,000 words. Though the various software suites have diverse functionality, generally, computational linguistics/CL software allows the user to generate word lists, word frequency lists, concordances, collocations, and to calculate various measures of language such as word length, word/character/syllable count and lexical density.

It is important to remember that any observations made of this specific corpus are likely to be reflective of linguistic patterns found in extra-corpus texts, as the rhetoric of

“Using Computer Analyses to Identify Language Style and Aggressive Intent: The Secret Life of Function Words,” *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* 4, no. 2 (2011): 92–102, doi:10.1080/17467586.2011.627932; Mike Scott, “What Can Corpus Software Do?,” in *The Routledge Handbook of Corpus Linguistics*, ed. Anne O’Keeffe and Michael McCarthy, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2012), 136–51; Christopher Tribble, “What Are Concordances and How Are They Used?,” in *The Routledge Handbook of Corpus Linguistics*, ed. Anne O’Keeffe and Michael McCarthy, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2012), 167–83; Tausczik and Pennebaker, “The Psychological Meaning of Words”; Lieven Vandelanotte, Kristin Davidse, and Caroline Gentens, eds., *Recent Advances in Corpus Linguistics: Developing and Exploiting Corpora* (Amsterdam, NL: Rodopi, 2014); Simeon J. Yates, “Researching Internet Interaction: Sociolinguistics and Corpus Analysis,” in *Discourse as Data: A Guide for Analysis*, ed. Margaret Wetherell, Stephanie Taylor, and Simeon J. Yates, 1st ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2001), 93–146.

⁷⁸⁷ The main pieces of software used are AntConc 3.2.4m, Concordance 3.3 and Wordsmith 6.0, all operated on a MacBook Pro (OS X 10.7.5). Concordance and Wordsmith, having been designed to operate on a PC, and were run on the OS X platform with the help of the Wine 1.6.1 emulator package.

⁷⁸⁸ See for example Krippendorff, *Content Analysis*, 264.

insurrectionary attack is still a function of the language through which it was penned. In other words, in examining word frequencies, clusters, etc. one will likely find results that are reflective of a more general deployment of the English language. Word frequency specifically serves as a great starting point for the analysis of lexical choice, linguistic reality and the role of ideologically-mediated language precisely because the overrepresentation or underrepresentation of key terms can be strong evidence for bias⁷⁸⁹ which is then grounds for qualitative examination. This basic level word frequency can perhaps best be displayed as a word cloud. The figure below is a word cloud⁷⁹⁰, made up of the most frequently occurring words in Corpus A⁷⁹¹. Note that the frequency of the words occurring in the text dictates how prominently the words are featured in the cloud. Therefore, in this example, the most prominent (and thus frequently occurring) words appear to include “action”, “attack”, “police”, “system”, “solidarity” and “comrades.”

⁷⁸⁹ Baker, *Sociolinguistics and Corpus Linguistics*, 127.

⁷⁹⁰ The word cloud was produced from Corpus A using the online service Wordle, available at <http://www.wordle.net/>

⁷⁹¹ The various corpora are described for quick reference in “Appendix Table 4.1: Key to identifying corpora”.

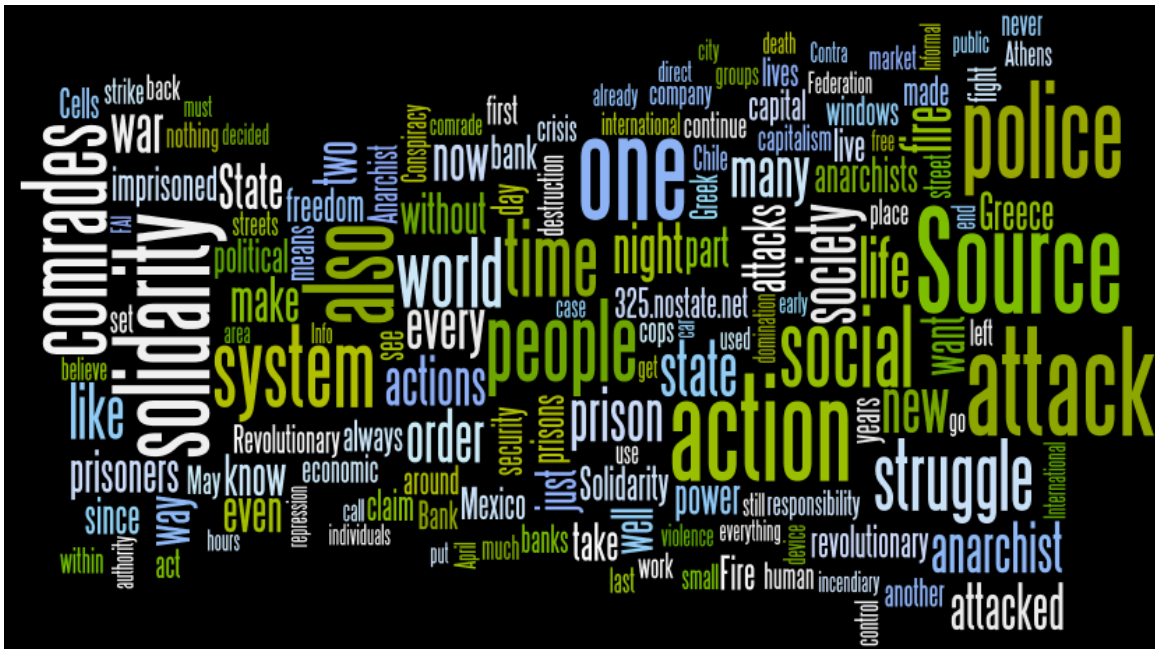


Figure 4.2: Word cloud [Corpus A]

Furthermore, observable differences in these comparisons—between the corpora assembled and that of non-insurrectionary language—can be the site of great interest⁷⁹². For example, before examining the specific word use of the insurrectionary milieu, one can review the analysis of word choice in more generalizable corpora. One study serves to compare three corpora (dissertations on politics, dissertations on science, the Bank of English corpus), and although these materials have vastly different contents, when examining word frequencies, they appear nearly identical. These findings are displayed below in Table 4.1:

⁷⁹² Adel, “How to Use Corpus Linguistics in the Study of Political Discourse,” 596.

Table 4.1: Word frequency comparisons across corpora⁷⁹³

RANK	Bank of English (General corpus)	“Materials science” corpus	“Politics” corpus
1	THE	THE	THE
2	OF	OF	OF
3	TO	AND	TO
4	AND	IN	AND
5	A	TO	IN
6	IN	A	A
7	THAT	IS	THAT
8	S	THIS	IS
9	IS	P	AS
10	IT	THAT	WAS

Accordingly, in the revolutionary corpora under analysis, one should expect similar patterns, though some scholarship has concluded that “terrorist rhetoric is comprised of a simpler *structure*...than non-terrorist rhetoric.”⁷⁹⁴ In sum, as concluded by Hunston “grammar words are more frequent than lexical words; indeed, the words *the, of, to, and, a* and *in* occupy the top six places in each corpus.”⁷⁹⁵ This pattern will also persist in the study of communiqués, and thus as an initial findings of the corpus at large, it is structurally similar to other English language texts despite undergoing translation from numerous dialects of Spanish, Greek, Italian, German, Russian and others.

This study presents unique methodological and analytical challenges as a large number of communiqués were not originally written in English. These texts were written in their native languages—Spanish, Greek, Italian, etc.—and were subsequently sent to

⁷⁹³ As quoted by Hunston, *Corpora in Applied Linguistics*, 3–4.

⁷⁹⁴ Conway and Conway, “The Terrorist Rhetorical Style and Its Consequences for Understanding Terrorist Violence,” 180 [Emphasis added].

⁷⁹⁵ Hunston, *Corpora in Applied Linguistics*, 3.

various online repositories where they were translated into English⁷⁹⁶ through a standardizing process. This process relies on a select group of multilingual volunteers—referred to often as the “informal international translation and counter-information network”⁷⁹⁷ yet in all likelihood a small handful of individuals—who manipulate the text for English language consumption. As a result, this process is reflective of conventions found within the wider field of English language composition, and reports similar broad findings to that of the above-mentioned corpora of comparative study (e.g. the higher frequency of grammar words versus conceptual terms). Therefore, while sentence construction and other mechanical features are examined, the study focuses more on word choice and conceptual development and can thus be more precisely categorized as *lexical* analysis and not linguistic analysis.⁷⁹⁸

Beyond typical and atypical frequencies, the analysis of collocations is key in this study. To review, collocation is “the phenomenon surrounding the fact that certain words are more likely to occur in combination with other words in certain contexts...a word which occurs within the neighborhood of other words.”⁷⁹⁹ These collocations are key sites for examination as ideologically-driven discursive realities lead to certain words being paired and such pairings becoming “entrenched in language use”⁸⁰⁰, making their

⁷⁹⁶ For an extended discussion of comparative forms of English in corpus linguistics studies see: Baker, *Sociolinguistics and Corpus Linguistics*, chap. 4.

⁷⁹⁷ Anarchist-nihilists against the activist establishment, “Fuck Indymedia and the Anarcho-Left.”

⁷⁹⁸ Future studies could benefit from examining texts in their original form; one that preserves native language as well as stylistic aspects such as font, spacing, color, etc. that may be obscured, standardized or simply ignored in their publication via the web. Therefore, a key question for future research could be: What does it mean when a communiqué changes from a richly-stylized piece of ephemera to a plaintext/HTML assemblage?

⁷⁹⁹ Baker, Hardie, and McEnery, *A Glossary of Corpus Linguistics*, 36–37.

⁸⁰⁰ Baker, *Sociolinguistics and Corpus Linguistics*, 127–128.

separation difficult and their co-occurrence frequent. Therefore, like word frequency (a product of recurrent word choice), collocation must be understood as *intentionally authored yet unintentionally patterned*, in other words, while the choice to describe realities through certain terms in a communiqué are carefully fashioned choices made by a writer, the creation of such patterns across the corpora is an unintentional product of a collectively-developed, transnational, critical ideology. Word frequency, collocation and other measurable elements of political speech can be understood to be “instrumental” to their larger discourses precisely because they “contribute to the production of another message or act”⁸⁰¹, in this case, attacks that follow.

In the following sections we will explore these words choices through an analysis of frequency, clustering, collocation and concordance⁸⁰² as observed in the assembled corpora of insurrectionary attack.

“Against”

One of the first observations concerning the corpus at large is the frequent occurrence of the word “*against*.” This preposition occurs 1,470 times—equating to more than once per communiqué—and is the 30th most frequently occurring word following (in ranked order) “the”, “of”, “and”, “to”, “in”, “we”, “a”, “that”, “for”, “is”, “with”, “on”, “are”, “our”, “this”, “as”, “not”, “it”, “by”, “their”, “who”, “all”, “they”, “from”, “was”, “have”, “at”, “will”, and “be.” As the most frequently occurring, conceptually relevant word, *against* deserves attention before one explores more complex phrases and ideas.

⁸⁰¹ John W. Bowers, Donovan J. Ochs, and Richard J. Jensen, *The Rhetoric of Agitation and Control*, 3rd ed. (Waveland Pr Inc, 1993), 1.

⁸⁰² A further explanation of these terms and analytical techniques can be found in the “Quick reference: Analytical Techniques of Corpus Linguistics” included in Chapter One, before the introduction.

When “*against*” is viewed in terms of concordance clusters—multi-word phrases that include the target word—one can observe the prominent posturing best described as anti-state, anti-systemic, and against the “techno-industrial system.” Some targeting preferences emerge such as those targeting “the state” and “the police” as well as tactical patterns, such as the preference for “incendiary attacks” over, for example, *explosive attacks*⁸⁰³. The word clusters clearly demonstrate a common positioning counter to the state, and in favor of “struggle”, “war”, “attacks” and “action.” This is to be expected as the milieu’s most identifiable characteristics is its anti-state posturing and its promotion of a pro-attack, confrontational strategy. Lastly, one can begin to understand the amorphous nature of insurrectionary conceptual frameworks through the prominence of such vague concepts as “the state,” “the system”, the “system of domination”, “state capital” and “techno industrial.” These concordance clusters are displayed below in Table 4.2:

Table 4.2: “AGAINST” Concordance Clusters [Corpus A]

RANK	Frequency (of cluster)	Word cluster phrase
1	56	AGAINST THE STATE
2	49	ATTACK AGAINST THE
3	38	THE STRUGGLE AGAINST
4	35	STRUGGLE AGAINST THE
5	33	AGAINST THE SYSTEM
6	32	WAR AGAINST THE
7	25	[AGAINST] THE STATE AND
8	25	INCENDIARY ATTACK AGAINST
9	22	AGAINST THOSE WHO
10	19	AND AGAINST THE

⁸⁰³ “incendiary attack against” occurs 25 times, whereas “explosive attack against” occurs only six times and “bomb attack against” eight times.

11	19	ATTACKS AGAINST THE
12	19	[AGAINST] SYSTEM OF DOMINATION
13	19	ACTION AGAINST THE
14	18	AGAINST THE POLICE
15	18	THE WAR AGAINST
16	18	[AGAINST] THE STATE CAPITAL
17	14	AT WAR AGAINST
18	14	AGAINST THE TECHNO
19	13	WE ARE AGAINST
20	13	THE ATTACK AGAINST
21	13	THE TECHNO INDUSTRIAL
22	13	AGAINST ALL AUTHORITY
23	13	[AGAINST] THE SYSTEM OF
24	13	[AGAINST THE] TECHNO INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM
TOTAL: 1,470		

Because the word “state” has many different senses or meanings (e.g. ‘state of mind’ v. ‘state of Pennsylvania’ v. ‘state a fact’, etc.), when it is used to describe some amalgamation of governing bodies, it tends to associate with expected patterns. Just as ‘state’—when used to denote a sub-national political territory—is often patterned as ‘the state of Pennsylvania/Virginia...’, so to are its other uses patterned. This “preferred sequencing” or “fixed’ phrasing” is what Hunston calls phraseology. Borrowing from John McHardy Sinclair⁸⁰⁴, a CL pioneer, Hunston notes that such phraseology is “at the heart of language description...[as] the tendency for words to occur in preferred sequences has...important consequences.”⁸⁰⁵ Phraseology is thus properly captured in a discussion of collocation as this method examines the target word in proximate pairings,

⁸⁰⁴ John Sinclair, *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1991).

⁸⁰⁵ Hunston, *Corpora in Applied Linguistics*, 138.

analyzing not only how frequently the target word occurs, but also *how* that word functions within a larger linguistic structure.

Through a concordance analysis⁸⁰⁶ that incorporates collocations, one is able to determine not only how words are commonly grouped together, but in what structural position these commonalities occur. For example, if “attack” often appears alongside “cops” does it typically proceed it, precede it, follow after an article, etc. This form of mapping utilizes the target word (in this case “against”) as the center of a model, and then examines the words to the right (R1) to the left (L1), the word two positions to the right (R2) and so on. In examining the collocation of “against” one can observe the prominent of the phrase “against the” as “the” occupies an extremely high collocation in the R1⁸⁰⁷ position. Following this pattern, there is a stiff drop-off. While “against the” occurs 608 times, the next most frequently occurring word position is “of” in the R3 spot, such as the phrase “**against** all/some/appearance/functions... **of**.” This phrasing occurs approximately one third as often as “against the”, appearing 174 times.

Table 4.3: “AGAINST” Collocation [Corpus A]

Word	Total left	Total right	L4	L3	L2	L1	Center	R1	R2	R3	R4
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⁸⁰⁶ For a very clear and complete guide to concordance analysis in corpus linguistics, see: Ibid., chap. 3, (pp. 38–66).

⁸⁰⁷ In plotting sentence structures the following coding is used. The target word = “center”. The word appearing to the left of the target word is L1. The word appearing to the right of the target word is R1. The word appearing two positions to the left of the target word is L2 and so on. The following sentence is annotated to display this, while “jumped” is the target word:

The (L3) brown (L2) dog (L1) (center) **jumped** (center) through (R1) the (R2) green (R3) hoop (R4).

The word and position markers are indicated with underlines/non-underlines to show the paried sets.

AGAINST	35	35	11	9	6	0	AGAINST	0	6	9	11
THE	438	859	77	97	167	0	AGAINST	608	12	49	105
OF	294	296	71	76	95	0	AGAINST	0	21	174	71
AND	225	307	43	49	60	33	AGAINST	4	85	96	55
IN	146	141	30	51	31	0	AGAINST	0	24	50	38
TO	149	57	40	41	31	0	AGAINST	0	5	12	19
A	114	80	21	39	26	0	AGAINST	44	5	12	10
ATTACK	145	7	3	6	5	127	AGAINST	0	0	4	1
FOR	102	38	29	36	10	0	AGAINST	0	4	10	11
THAT	65	64	13	25	7	1	AGAINST	1	17	26	10

This manner of analysis can be used to interpret other, less commonly occurring terms explored below in individual subsections.

“State”

A key task in ideological concept mapping is the location and disentanglement of key hubs of content. In pursuing this task, the concept of “state” is central, just as it has been throughout the past eras of anarchist and anti-authoritarian thought. In order to determine how the concept is deployed, one can examine concordance clusters wherein the term “state” is viewed within its context of appearance, and these appearances are grouped.

The results of this concordance cluster analysis is displayed below in Table 4.4:

Table 4.4: “STATE” Concordance Clusters [Corpus A]

RANK	Frequency (of cluster)	Word cluster phrase
1	129	THE STATE AND
2	124	OF THE STATE
3	55	AND THE STATE
4	54	BY THE STATE
5	58	AGAINST THE STATE
6	58	STATE AND CAPITAL
7	31	STATE AND THE

8	29	THE STATE OF
9	26	THE STATE CAPITAL
10	24	STATE AND ITS
11	23	THE CHILEAN STATE
12	22	STATE REPRESSION
13	21	THE STATE IS
14	20	THAT THE STATE
15	20	STATE AND CAPITALISM
16	20	CAPITALISM AND THE
17	19	THE GREEK STATE
18	18	THE STATE THE
19	18	CAPITAL AND THE
	...	
	18	SPANISH STATE
	13	POLICE STATE
	10	STATE APPARATUS
	9	STATE VIOLENCE
	6	ANTI-STATE
	5	PARA-STATE
TOTAL	1496	STATE

This is a variation on traditional concordance analysis in that once these pairs have been identified, they are grouped by the words that surround them. In examining the most prominent concordance clusters, after the expected appearance of frequently occurring articles (“the”), conjunctions (“and”), and prepositions (“of”, “by”), one finds:

- “against the state” (58 occurrences)
- “state and capital” (58 occurrences)
- “the Chilean state” (23 occurrences)
- “state and capitalism” (20 occurrences)
- “the Greek state” (19 occurrences)

Also appearing frequently were the phrases “state repression”, “police state” “Spanish state”, “state apparatus”, “state violence”, “anti-state” and “para-state.” Furthermore, when collocates of “state” are examined, one finds the high frequency of “capital” and

“against” following the appearance of the expected “the”, “of”, “and”, “in”, “to” and “by”.

Through the collocation analysis, “capital” appears most frequently as a term proceeding “state” to the right (45 occurrences in the R1 position) such as the phrase, “We seek to smash **state capital**.” This collocation pattern is displayed below in Table 4.5:

Table 4.5: “CAPITAL” as it collocates to “STATE” [Corpus A]

Total left	L2	L1	Center	R1	R2	Total right
30	6	2	CAPITAL	45	39	92

As demonstrated by the above chart, “capital” *follows* “state” more than three times as often as it precedes it. Also commonly occurring (39 times) is “capital” in the R2 position such as in the phrase, “We seek to smash the **state and capital**.” The second most commonly collocated word of note, “against”, is most commonly seen preceding “state” with one word in between (55 occurrences in the L2 position) such as in the phrase, “We are **against** the **state**.” This collocation pattern is displayed below in Table 4.6:

Table 4.6: “AGAINST” as it collocates to “STATE” [Corpus A]

Total left	L2	L1	Center	R1	R2	Total right
90	55	12	AGAINST	3	1	12

Similar to the heavy predictive patterning of “capital” coming *after* “state”, “against” appears *before* “state” overwhelmingly. As to be expected, the most common “state” collocate is for the word “the” which most common appears in the L1 position (527 occurrences) such as in the phrase “the state.”

From this data crawl, one can observe a number of key findings. First, the most common portrayal of the state is as the recipient of critique (“against the state”). In this manner, the state is deployed as a concept to describe an attack (e.g. “Last night we carried out an attack against the state.”) Furthermore, from the collocations, we can see that the concept of state is often closely paired to that of capital. Therefore, if one were to seek a singular descriptor of the manner by which “state” appears discursively, one could claim that it is understood oppositionally and existing in inextricable linkage to capital.

“Violence” & “Power”

In examining the word clusters for the term “violence” we observe that there are far less commonly occurring and dominant clusters. While the term appears frequently in the corpora, its clustered pairs are less consistent. Though these pairs are less pervasive than other grouping, those that do appear are consistent with the abovementioned patterns.

This indicates, at least on a cursory level, that the concept is less uniformly deployed by writers speaking to the diverse manner through which the nature of power is described.

Excluding patterns based around prepositions, articles, etc., the most commonly occurring cluster patterns for “violence” are:

- “violence against” (20 occurrences)
- “revolutionary violence” (15 occurrences)
- “police violence” (9 occurrences)

- “state violence” (7 occurrences)
- “daily violence” (4 occurrences)

This manner of grouping is notable, most obviously because the first two pairs describe the actions of the insurrectionary attacker and the last three describe the actions of their opponent; police, the state, and the structure of the mundane. In examining the frequency cluster table below, the operative term is often featured as the *active* element in the phrase. For example, in the majority of phrases—“violent against [the]”, “violence of”, “the violence”, “violence and”, “violence is”, “[the] violence of the”, “violence that”, “violence in”—it is the *violence* which is doing the acting, not a secondary, alternative subject. In the rare phrases where *violence* is not the active component of the phrase—“of violence”, “revolutionary violence”, “police violence”, “state violence”, “with violence”, “daily violence”—this focus is often shifted to the enemy of the movement. These frequency clusters are displayed below in Table 4.7:

Table 4.7: “VIOLENCE” Frequency Clusters [Corpus A]

RANK	Frequency	Phrase
1	21	OF VIOLENCE
2	20	VIOLENCE AGAINST
3	16	VIOLENCE OF
4	15	REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE
5	15	THE VIOLENCE
6	14	VIOLENCE AND
7	13	VIOLENCE IS
8	10	VIOLENCE OF THE
9	9	POLICE VIOLENCE
10	8	THE VIOLENCE OF
11	7	STATE VIOLENCE
12	6	VIOLENCE AGAINST THE
13	6	VIOLENCE THAT

14	5	VIOLENCE IN
15	5	WITH VIOLENCE
16	4	DAILY VIOLENCE

In analyzing the use of the term “power”, a combined concordance/cluster approach is employed. First, a simple frequency cluster analysis was conducted and the results are displayed below in Table 4.8:

Table 4.8: “POWER” Frequency Clusters [Corpus A]

RANK	Frequency	Phrase
1	74	OF POWER
2	53	POWER AND
3	37	THE POWER
4	21	AGAINST POWER
5	17	AND POWER
6	14	POWER IN
7	14	POWER TO
8	11	THEIR POWER
9	11	TO POWER
10	10	POWER OF

*All other words = <10 occurrences

From this frequency cluster one can observe that “of power” is clearly most prevalent (74 occurrences) and is followed by a steep drop off. The third most frequently occurring cluster (“the power”) occurs exactly half as frequently as the first, showing this rather severe decline. These findings persist when “power” is seen in light of a collocation analysis focused on the L1 and R1 positions, and these findings are displayed below in Table 4.9:

Table 4.9: “POWER” Collocations [Corpus A]

RANK	L1	RI	Word
1	74	11	OF
2	17	53	AND
3	37	5	THE
4	11	14	TO
5	9	14	IN

Thus as can be expected, while “of power” is quite common (74 occurrences), “power of” is exceedingly uncommon (11 occurrences). Similarly, while “power and” occurs 53 times, “and power” occurs only 17 times.

Having determined that “of power” is by far the dominant usage of the term, one can explore this two word phrase for *its* concordances—the concordances relating to “of power” and not simply “power”. These multi-word concordances are very instructive in interpreting the discourse’s understand of power and include the following usages:

“abuse(s) of power”, “agents of power”, “apparatus of power”, “business of power”, “clutches of power”, “dogs of power”, “entities of power”, “forces of power”, “forms of power”, “game of power”, “gears of power”, “heads of power”, “hosts of power”, “instrument of power”, “lapdogs of power”, “minions of power”, “network of power”, “onslaught of power”, “position(s) of power”, “relations of power”, “representatives of power”, “structures of power” and “symbols of power”

These phrasings display power as an external other; something that acts upon the self, not something the self produces towards another. These terms speak of the disembodied, omnipresent, disciplinary nature of power as conceived of by its detractors. Power is thought of as a force that is abused, forced and gamed by entities that are agents, apparatuses, dogs, forces, heads, minions and representatives of the state. Only a single concordance phrase speaks of the self in an active (i.e. non-passive, non-acted upon)

relation to power. In this communiqué, claiming responsibility for an act of graffiti in Buenos Aires, Argentina, the author(s), quoting Felicity Ann Ryder⁸⁰⁸, writes: “I am proud of being an anarchist of being an **enemy of power**, authority, and the state.”⁸⁰⁹

If one carries forward a frequency analysis of the two-word phrase (“of power”), the set occurring more than twice is “structures of power” which is found four times. This image—“structures”—speaks to the amorphous, deterritorialized nature of the insurrectionary conception of power. While four incidents is far from significant amongst nearly one thousand communiqués, the non-occurrence of alternative frequency sets demonstrates that great variety exists in the conception of power, and in only a few instances, agreement and similar phrasings are utilized. In other words, the absence of highly frequent pairings tells us something nonetheless important, that the language used in these texts is conditionally patterned yet highly varied. Conversely, if a great consensus existed concerning the way in which power operated and was manifested, one would expect to find increased frequencies of phrases involving the target word. This lack of consensus is displayed below in Table 4.10:

Table 4.10: “OF POWER” Frequency Clusters [Corpus A]

RANK	Frequency	Phrase
1	74	OF POWER

⁸⁰⁸ Felicity Ann Ryder is an Australian anarchist militant currently living underground and wanted by police in relation to the attempted bombing (27 June 2012) in Mexico. In this incident, anarchist Mario “Tripa” López was injured when an IED he was handling exploded prematurely. During subsequent investigations of López, Ryder’s passport was discovered in his possession and she became a person of interest and a fugitive.

⁸⁰⁹ Anonymous, “Argentina: Mural painted in Buenos Aires in solidarity with the fugitive compa Felicity,” trans. War on Society (Liberación Total (republished by War on Society), March 14, 2013), <http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=7524> [emphasis added].

2	4	STRUCTURES OF
3	2	ABUSES OF
4	2	AGENTS OF
5	2	CLUTCHES OF
6	2	FORCES OF
7	2	INTERESTS OF
8	2	POSITION OF

*All other words = <2 occurrences

Since such a pattern was not observed, we can conclude that though power is a frequently recurring concept, its usage varies widely, with 328 occurrences divided amongst 66 concordance usages (58 of which occur only a single time each).

“Attack”

After gaining a qualitative familiarity with the texts, “attack” *feels* like one of the most commonly written words within the insurrectionary discourse. In terms of word choice cluster analysis, utilizing the concept term “attack” we find the highest frequencies as displayed in the phrases below:

- “attack on” (247 instances)
- “the attack” (168 instances)
- “to attack” (147 instances)
- “attack against” (130 instances)
- “attack the” (82 instances)

All other occurrences were found less than 50 times. When such a cluster analysis is extended to a slightly longer phrase (three words instead of two) we find the same pattern:

- “attack on the” (56 instances)
- “attack against the” (48 instances)
- “to attack the” (38 instances)

- “incendiary attack on” (33 instances)

All other occurrences were found less than 30 times. This simple frequency clustering shows the offensive nature of the texts. Had the texts focused on the repression and violence directed *upon* the perpetrators, one would expect high occurrences of “were attacked” (31 instances) and/or “attacked by” (22 instances).

The insurrectionary tendency, in terms of praxis and rhetoric, is one of continual agitation and the fostering of conflict, and as such, active language choices of this nature can be expected. This language choice is especially interesting when recalling earlier discussions regarding “power.” In describing “power”, the concept is nearly always understood as external, acting *upon* the self, while the use of the term “attack” is predominantly displayed as an act by the self against the external. This pattern further supports the finding that in the insurrectionary corpora, texts tend to focus on discrete attacks against targets that are far less clearly defined. In sum, while the power of the attacker is constrained into episodic outbursts of violence, the ills of their enemy are vast, vague and obscured in the construct of systems.

When the use of the term “attack” is further interrogated through its collocations, one finds the high prominence of “on” in the R1 position (242 occurrences), such as in the phrase “We carried out an **attack on** a bank.” Also commonly occurring is the word “to” in the L1 position (140 occurrences), such as the phrase “We left the house **to attack** the police.” Finally, we see the high frequency of the paired words of “attack” and “against” with the latter occupying the R1 position (127 occurrences) such as the phrase

“We carried out an **attack against** the police.” These collocations are displayed below in

Table 4.11:

Table 4.11: “ATTACK” Collocation [Corpus A]

Word	Total left	Total right	L4	L3	L2	L1	Center	R1	R2	R3	R4
ATTACK	11	11	1	5	0	0	ATTACK	0	0	5	1
THE	308	388	53	28	70	119	ATTACK	69	<u>147</u>	31	62
OF	156	158	31	27	31	40	ATTACK	7	4	47	<u>58</u>
ON	26	271	3	4	15	0	ATTACK	<u>242</u>	1	9	6
TO	211	76	15	21	16	<u>140</u>	ATTACK	18	12	19	15
AND	120	121	24	23	19	<u>35</u>	ATTACK	33	20	25	25
IN	60	150	12	11	19	1	ATTACK	31	11	17	<u>54</u>
WE	148	51	32	<u>49</u>	18	28	ATTACK	22	7	5	7
FOR	161	32	6	35	<u>73</u>	36	ATTACK	8	2	8	9
AGAINST	7	145	1	4	0	0	ATTACK	<u>127</u>	5	6	3

In examining simple frequencies one can observe the occurrence of preferred methods of attack such as “incendiary attack” (63 instances), “arson attack” (37 instances), “explosive attack” (28 instances) and “bomb/ing attack” (18 instances). If we presume that one reference equals one communiqué—something commonly true with some exceptions—totaled together, these figures constitute 100 attacks involving fire and 46 involving explosions. Throughout the entire dataset, “attack” is the 39th most frequently appearing word (937 occurrences) and the first substantive word⁸¹⁰ (e.g. non-article, non-preposition, non-pronoun) after “against” (1349 occurrences). The plural

⁸¹⁰ The words appearing in the frequency chart *prior* to the word “attack” are (in order of frequency): “the,” “of,” “and,” “to,” “in,” “a,” “that,” “we,” “is,” “for,” “with,” “are,” “on,” “our,” “as,” “not,” “this,” “We,” “by,” “who,” “their,” “it,” “The,” “all,” “was,” “they,” “have,” “from,” “will,” “be,” “at,” “against,” “or,” “which,” “an,” “us,” “those” and “were.”

form, “attacks” occurs another 373 times and is the 116th most frequently occurring word. “Against” appears as the most commonly occurring, conceptually-descriptive word. This is expected as the language choices foster oppositional framing wherein the actor largely sees themselves as against the status quo and its systems of support, rather than in the service of a newly utopian post-state world.

The strategic function of this deployment of a single word—“attack”—is fundamental to the insurrectionary modus. The acts preformed through the use of offensive (i.e. non-defensive) language are integral to not only the construction of group identity, but also for the purposes of collective radicalization, constituent mobilization, and target coercion. This final point, that of *coercion*, may appear initially to be counterintuitive. While the larger anti-state, anti-capitalist, anarchist milieu is *primarily* concerned with the elimination of coercive forms of power and domination, the use of coercive power appears to be essential to the discourse of insurrectionary struggle. As explained in terms of linguistic function, *coercion* and its counter force, *resistance*, function through language to provide “clear examples...[of] acts backed by sanctions.”⁸¹¹ In other words, while anti-authoritarians are opposed to the use of coercive power by the state—both in terms of direct sanctions such as prison and indirect sanctions such as criminalizing dissent—the milieu appears to embrace coercive *speech* acts found in frequent threats, denuncements and demands made anonymously to faceless centers of power. The focus on *attack*, not *defense* is a simple manner through which the language

⁸¹¹ Chilton and Schäffner, “Discourse and Politics,” 311.

of power is subverted by a weaker, more broadly based opponent in an asymmetric conflict.

US v. Them

The frequency of small parts of speech—especially personal pronouns (e.g. I, me, you, he, him, she, her, we, us, you, they, them, it) and possessive pronouns (e.g. mine, ours, yours, his, hers, theirs)—can be instructive in one’s investigation of conflict framing and conceptual construction through the examination of how one chooses to refer to self and other.⁸¹² In their examination of the use of persuasive language in social movements Stewart, Smith and Denton write:

A barrage of simple pronouns such as we, our, and us in place of leader-centered and individualistic pronouns such as I, me, and mine invites a feeling of common ground—a common bond. Audiences sense active involvement *together* in a great moral struggle.⁸¹³

In the analysis of communiqués, a pronoun-centric frequency analysis uncovers the higher frequency of “we”, “our” and “us” (11,499 in total) above “their”, “they” and “them” (4,783 in total). This finding is expected as the texts are claims of responsibility, which primarily function to report one’s actions (“we”, “our”, “us”) targeting the property of another (“their”, “they”, “them”). These findings related to pronoun usage are displayed below in table 4.12:

⁸¹² Teun A. van Dijk, ed., *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2011), 199–204.

⁸¹³ Charles J. Stewart, Craig Allen Smith, and Robert E. Denton Jr., *Persuasion and Social Movements*, 5th ed. (Long Grove, Ill: Waveland Press, 2006), 161.

Table 4.12: Pronoun Usage [Corpus A]

Rank	Frequency	Word
6	7106	WE
14	3153	OUR
20	2016	THEIR
23	1898	THEY
34	1240	US
41	1002	YOU
48	869	THEM
90	492	YOUR
147	299	HE
148	295	OURSELVES
166	263	I
173	259	THEMSELVES
367	132	HER
Total # of word types: 27,715		
Total # of words: 429,572		

If one were to analyze the pronoun findings of this corpus in light of a more generalized (i.e. non-insurrectionary, non-communicé) set of text, say for example the “general corpus” presented by Hunston⁸¹⁴ notable differences exist. For example, while “we” is the sixth most commonly occurring word in the insurrectionary corpus, in Hunston’s general corpus, “we” is the 33rd most frequently occurring word. This would mean that the insurrectionary corpus is far more reflective of an imagined community, a collectivity, than the general deployment of (English) language. This aligns well with the movement’s mentality and identity markers. The use of “we” is common throughout political rhetoric⁸¹⁵ as it is used to discuss self and one’s constituency (e.g. insurrectionary actors, sympathizers), while excluding opponents and their supports

⁸¹⁴ Hunston, *Corpora in Applied Linguistics*, 3.

⁸¹⁵ Berit Henriksen, “Language and Politics,” in *Language, Society & Power: An Introduction*, by Annabelle Mooney et al., 3rd ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2011), 47.

(reformists, the state and others known as “they”). In this manner, the predominance of “we” signals a reinforcement of group identity with a shared politic, “creat[ing] boundaries around behavior”⁸¹⁶ vis-à-vis a broadly defined state opponent. This essential (yet obscured) “construction of ‘the self’” within discourse serves to develop social identities and domain boundaries.⁸¹⁷

Within the construction of a social movement, especially one that is developed through anonymous, asynchronous, communications, pronoun choice allows the discourse to intentionally “reduce ambiguity...[and] encourage cooperation”⁸¹⁸ by creating more clearly defined in-group/out-group distinctions, and reducing the potential for positional disagreements leading to movement factionalization⁸¹⁹. The implication denotes harmony in intent and belief, as “persuaders use plural pronouns to imply identification and a common purpose and struggle.”⁸²⁰ This tendency has been noted in prior literature analyzing political propaganda. In a 2014 study of the vastly different world of neo-Nazi and jihadi texts the author writes:

Propagandists maximize out-group/in-group conflict by framing...problems according to...ideology. Semantic boundaries are a primary method by which groups solidify characteristics that are defined as ‘in’ and those identified as ‘out.’ They are socially constructed and symbolically interpreted through images, practices, narratives, oaths, and rituals.⁸²¹

Within the insurrectionary milieu, conversely, while “I”—the most common manner in which one refers to self—is the 12th most commonly occurring word in the general

⁸¹⁶ Suzanne LaBelle, “Language and Identity,” in *Language, Society & Power: An Introduction*, by Annabelle Mooney et al., 3rd ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2011), 180.

⁸¹⁷ Norman Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1993), 137.

⁸¹⁸ Stewart, Smith, and Denton Jr., *Persuasion and Social Movements*, 160.

⁸¹⁹ Joosse, “Leaderless Resistance and Ideological Inclusion.”

⁸²⁰ Stewart, Smith, and Denton Jr., *Persuasion and Social Movements*, 161.

⁸²¹ Morris, “Networking Vehement Frames: Neo-Nazi and Violent Jihadi Demagoguery,” 166.

corpus, in the insurrectionary set it is the 166th. This is again an expected observation as communiqué texts rarely reference the individual self and instead speak of an other (“they”, “their”, “them”). Interestingly, the use of “they” is similarly ranked in the general and insurrectionary corpora, occupying the 27th and 23rd positions respectively. These patterns of lexical items are indicative of the precise deployment of language, specifically pronoun usage, to draw lines of distinction, inclusion, exclusion and implied community amongst an audience obscured by deterritorialization.

Beyond Communiqués: A Broader Insurrectionary Discourse

While the discourse embedded in claims of responsibility is indicative of ideologies of attack and strategy, the broader discussion in the forms of letters from prisoners, collectively-penned statements, analyses, and other texts is also instructive. To this end, a separate dataset⁸²² was constructed from letters (from prisoners, fugitives, etc.), collective statements (from blockaders, rioters, etc.) and other public, inter-movement texts. These documents were located through the same website network, and similarly included/excluded through a decision tree. This process resulted in a corpus of over 488,200 words, comprised of data from 32 countries.⁸²³ Many of these documents are signed using the same anonymous monikers as the communiqués, such as FAI, CCF, ELF and national networks such as the Mexico-based CARI-PGG.

⁸²² This dataset is termed Corpus C.

⁸²³ This is made up of documents from Argentina, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Greece, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Mexico, Netherlands, Peru, Portugal, Russia, Serbia, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States and Uruguay.

The focus of this study is on the discourse of insurrectionary struggle as presented through the medium of the *communiqué*, and therefore an extended exploration of the other forms—such as letters from prisoners—is not warranted. Nonetheless, a brief comparative analysis between these texts and that of the communiqués is warranted. Surprisingly (and completely unintentionally), the datasets are of a comparable size, with the collection of communiqués totaling approximately 428,000 words from 36 countries and that of the letters totaling 488,000 words from 32 countries! Interestingly, when examining basic word frequencies, both datasets have quite similar patterns. For example, the most frequently occurring substantive word (excluding articles, conjunctions, prepositions, etc.) is “against”, appearing 1,642 times, followed by related words such as “struggle” (1,322 occurrences). If one ventures a bit farther down the word frequency one can notice a number of key terms as displayed below in Table 4.13:

Table 4.13: Conceptual & Key Word Frequencies [Corpus C]

RANK	Frequency	Phrase
45	1127	SOCIAL
46	1092	ANARCHIST
48	1077	PEOPLE
49	1046	SOLIDARITY
52	1012	PRISON
53	1005	COMRADES
64	840	POLICE
68	775	POLITICAL
75	712	POWER
78	685	REVOLUTIONARY
79	684	ACTION
83	635	LIFE
84	628	ORDER
88	618	SYSTEM

90	601	WORLD
99	546	SOCIETY
103	513	PRISONERS

*All other words = <500 occurrences

What we see is that there is actually a greater variety of word choice in this non-communicé dataset. To demonstrate this point we can once again examine the term “against.” In the communiqué dataset, “against” appears as the 30th most frequently occurring term. In the non-communicé set, it is slightly less frequent, appearing as the 35th most frequently occurring word. Concerning pronoun usage, both sets of text show the predominance of the pronoun “we” followed by “our.” Also, in the position of third most frequently occurring pronoun we again witness expected patterns. For communiqués, the word is “their”—speaking of multiple subjects—while for the non-communicés, it is “I”—speaking to the actions and thoughts of the individual narrator. These pan-corpus findings are displayed comparatively below in Table 4.14:

Table 4.14: Top three pronoun usage comparison [Corpus A and Corpus C]

<i>Communiqué corpus</i> [Corpus A]			<i>Letters/statements corpus</i> [Corpus C]		
Rank	Frequency	Pronoun	Rank	Frequency	Pronoun
6	7,106	WE	9	4,846	WE
14	3,153	OUR	18	2,913	OUR
20	2,061	THEIR	19	2,677	I
Total # words in corpus: 428,219			Total # words in corpus: 488,202		

National Case Study: Mexico

In determining a variety of methods for examining the data, a brief exploration of a country-specific corpus is warranted. In choosing a country to examine, I chose Mexico. The Mexican state produced the fifth highest occurrence of communiqués in the dataset (65 of 963). Despite not being the highest producer of individual communiqués, the Mexican cells are by far the highest producer of *words*. The average Mexican communiqué has 1,126 words which is nearly double the length of the next closest country (Grecian communiqués on average have 740 words). It is precisely because of the verbose nature of the Mexican texts that they were selected for a more personalized analysis.

In reviewing the Mexican corpus—termed Corpus B—one notices a few important findings. The first finding is that most common pronouns are “we”, “our” and “they.” This is nearly identical to findings in the larger, global dataset (Corpus A) wherein the most common pronouns are “we”, “our”, “their” and “they.” Secondly, after excluding the non-functional words (e.g. “the”, “of”, “and”...) we find that the most commonly occurring conceptual words are “against”, “system”, “anarchist” “state” and “attack.” These initial findings continue the observations seen earlier in the larger corpus, reinforcing the notion that the insurrectionary discourse is *not* heavily influenced by country and is in fact a more globalized conversation.

Through isolating “against” as a key conceptual term, and processing this via the a Mexican concordance cluster analysis, we once again see the commonality of what this milieu opposes through how the term is paired with subjects. These key concordance clusters are displayed below in Table 4.15:

Table 4.15: “AGAINST” concordance clusters [Corpus B]

RANK	Frequency	Phrase
2	18	AGAINST ALL
4	10	AGAINST CIVILIZATION
5	10	AGAINST POWER
6	9	AGAINST DOMINATION
12	4	AGAINS TECHNOLOGY

* All other words = <4 occurrences

These clusters clearly show the Mexican exceptionality of a focus on a more primitivist, anti-civilization-influenced target set. The common usage of “against civilization” and “against technology” are unique to the Mexican corpus and are reflective of frequent attacks targeting scientists, university personnel and others contributing to the ‘techno-industrial system.’ Civilization as a term by itself (i.e. non-clustered) occurs 144 times in the Mexican corpus and is thus the 56th most frequently used word. “Technology” appears just after that, with 125 occurrences and a frequency rank of 63. When these terms are examined through individual cluster analyses, one finds the predominance of “anti-civilization” and “anti-technology” in high frequency, further supporting these findings. Therefore, to summarize, the Mexican dataset supports larger discursive trends such as pronoun usage and the commonality of oppositional conceptual terms (e.g. “against”, “attack”), but has a starkly different relationship with the concepts of technology and civilization. Not only do these concepts appear with notable frequency in this country’s corpus, when they do, they are nearly always negatively associated; appearing as “anti-technology/civilization” and “against technology/civilization.”

Finally, in the Mexican corpus, one can observe interesting phenomena related to the intentional ‘misspelling’ of words. For example, the word *compañero* (meaning companion or comrade) is often misspelled as *compañerxs*⁸²⁴ to de-gender the word (*compañeros* = masculine, *compañeras* = feminine) through the replacement of gender-indicating letters. In this example an “x” replaces the gender-dependent letter (“a” or “o”). In one example, the anonymous authors write, “Strength, compañerxs imprisoned from the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire!”, using the gender-less spelling followed by “Strength, compañero Tortuga!”⁸²⁵, using the masculine spelling as this is directed as a single, male-identified individual. This has also been seen in other Spanish-language documents such as those in Chile⁸²⁶ and Bolivia⁸²⁷. Similar, intentional misspellings

⁸²⁴ For example, the use of “compañerxs” can be seen in Mexican claims such as: Anonymous Anarchist Action / Informal Anarchist Federation (AAA/FAI) et al., “Joint declaration of the insurrectional anarchist and eco-anarchist groups of Mexico (second public communique),” trans. War on Society (Culmine (republished by War On Society), December 12, 2011), <http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=2530>; CCF-FAI, “Sixth* communique of the CCF/FAI of Mexico” (Liberacion Total (republished by War on Society), August 21, 2012), <http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=5576>; Nisán Fárber Anarchist Group of Solidarity Initiative, Emile Henry Insurrectionalist Revolutionary Group Tending toward Anarchy – FAI/FRI, and Magonistas Cells for collective anarchy, “Communique for bus arson, package bomb to PAN, and Telmex sabotages in Oaxaca,” trans. War on Society (Viva la Anarquia (republished by War on Society), April 2, 2013), <https://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=7593>; Praxedis G. Guerrero Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution, “Mexico”; Praxedis G. Guerrero Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution, “CARI-PGG send Explosive Packets for 2 Prison Directors,” trans. 325.nostate.net (325.nostate.net, March 11, 2011), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=1882>; Praxedis G. Guerrero Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution, Nucleus of the Attack Against Power- Black Fir, “Claim for attacks with explosive devices on three banks,” trans. War on Society (Viva la Anarquia (republished by War on Society), November 27, 2013), <https://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=8608>.

⁸²⁵ Anonymous Anarchist Action / Informal Anarchist Federation (AAA/FAI) et al., “Joint declaration of the insurrectional anarchist and eco-anarchist groups of Mexico (second public communique).”

⁸²⁶ Adrian Díaz, “Chile: Communique from Adrián Díaz on solidarity and against the rumors,” trans. War on Society (War on Society, July 13, 2013), <http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=8324>.

⁸²⁷ Wild and rampant, “Action for May 29 and reflection on the affects imposed by civilization,” trans. War on Society (Material Anarquista (republished by War on Society), May 31, 2013), <http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=8174>.

occur throughout such as the insertion of “@”, shorthand for the anarchist ‘circle A’ symbol in words (once again) such as “compañer@s⁸²⁸.”

Blended National Case Study: The United States⁸²⁹

The final form of analysis is an attempt to develop a blended qualitative-quantitative approach. The intent of this process is to curate a readable dataset⁸³⁰ for systematic analysis, which is distilled from the sheer verbal bulk of the original text. In identifying the key analytical components of the text (for example the verbs used to describe a tactic) a few key elements can prove to be enough evidence to locate and outline patterns of interest. This method of data extraction and categorization is described below and its results offered in full in the appendix. The approach is most akin to a content analysis, as informed by a formal treatment of the subject⁸³¹, and a more specially-tailored approach as defined in the securitization and intelligence gathering fields⁸³². The following discussion is thus meant to accomplish two tasks: first, it is meant to provide a side glance at the corpus data, a different way to examine similar trends on terms of lexical choice and self-description. Secondly, this discussion of *method* is meant to explore new

⁸²⁸ See for example: Anarchist Individuals in Solidarity, “Communique for the C.U. street blockade,” trans. War on Society (Culmine (republished by War On Society), April 28, 2011), <http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=625>; Praxedis G. Guerrero Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution, “Communique for Prisoners in Greece” (325.nostate.net, December 1, 2010), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=1306>.

⁸²⁹ The development of this method of content analysis was done in tandem with Jessica Anderson, a Georgetown University undergraduate student whom I mentored and who subsequently served as a research assistant for this portion of the project. Ms. Anderson and I collaborated to write this process description and she was instrumental in helping to code and compile the data as displayed in the appendix.

⁸³⁰ In this discussion “dataset” is meant to describe the qualitative and quantitative data displayed in the appendix, and “corpora” is meant to identify the US-specific communiqué text used for analysis.

⁸³¹ Krippendorff, *Content Analysis*.

⁸³² Heuer Jr. and Pherson, *Structured Analytic Techniques for Intelligence Analysis*.

analytical approaches to the reading of text that are both transparent, structured, fruitful and adaptable. This multiplicity of analytical approaches responds to calls from traditionally quantitative fields (such as intelligence analysis) asking for “the use of multiple method during the course of a single analytic project..[to] be the norm, not the exception.”⁸³³

In the development of this method of textual analysis, the US corpus—termed Corpus D—was intentionally chosen for its *original* authorship in English. While I have argued that the translation of texts through the informal network of insurrectionary translators helps to obscure complex issues of standardization, it remains true that the diverse abilities of these multi-lingual translators affect the reading of text. Therefore, when faced with the opportunity to analyze a given country’s materials, one that did not undergo such a hidden process of editing is an obvious choice. From these constraints, I was able to choose from a pool of texts originating from Australia (23 communiqués), Canada (35 communiqués), the UK (129 communiqués) and the US (133 communiqués). The US was chosen as it presented the largest number of non-translated communiqués.

In order to analyze the US corpora, the 133 communiqués comprising 44,077 words, and 217 pages of text, were first color coded, annotated and sorted. The text dataset was built around the five overarching analytical categories: group name, cell name, tactic, target, and country. These categories were chosen to highlight language that described how (and to some extent why) groups committed acts of political violence. From these larger texts, categories were simplified while retaining enough detail to

⁸³³ *ibid.*, 24.

delineate (not obscure) broad patterns. Text that fit these five categories was color-coded in the corpora for quick identification, and the most succinctly accurate sample of text in each category was entered into the dataset.

Nouns are used to identify targets, verbs to identify tactics, and proper nouns to describe collective identity claimed through anonymous group names. While this may appear as an initially simple task, the methodology of extracting and cataloging phrases—the production of a phrase bank constituting “expert-generated data”⁸³⁴—goes beyond mere reduction to purposeful simplification. In its approach, this construction of a dataset from a text corpora is meant to sift and sort (as it simplifies), retaining the details that will be most relevant for the investigation at hand. For example, the dataset captures that in 46 cases, attackers chose a tactic involving some application of paint or drawing medium, but also that among those 46 cases, roughly half specify the writing of a message, and the remainder most commonly involve paint “thrown” either by hand or via the use of paint projectiles (e.g. light bulbs filled with paint). On a more detailed level, the method allows the grouping of 11 cases of “gluing or sealing” but maintains the distinction between applying this tactic to locks and applying it to ATMs. In this manner, “sorting” is a technique unto itself wherein the categorization and grouping of data can yield patterns not visible without the creation of subcategories and lists⁸³⁵. This curating produces a dataset already streamlined for pattern identification through both quantitative and qualitative forms of analysis, enabling the analysis of more than 200 pages of

⁸³⁴ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁸³⁵ *Ibid.*, 45, 60–62.

original text to draw meaningful conclusions about the authors' motivations and intentions.

Group, cell, and country text

Text in the corpora was considered to be a group name if it was used as a signature to end the communiqué and claimed a specific group identity. Had there been text that fit the preceding characteristics and included the word "cell", it would have been considered a cell name. However, no cell names appeared in the US claims dataset. If a country was referred to explicitly in the text as the location of the attack, this text was included under the category of "country". If no country was directly identified, textual clues and previous coding of the claim under a specific country were used as implicit identification of that country.

Tactical text

Tactical text was identified predominantly by the use of verbs that implied damage, disruption, or the publicizing of information. In the few rare cases when no verbs were used to describe the tactic, nouns such as "vandalism" were entered as the best available description of the tactic. Actions that simply facilitated or coincided with the purpose of the attack (to damage or to publicize) were excluded from the dataset, as were the results of the tactical action unless such information was essential to understanding the tactic. Minimal detail about the immediate object of the tactical action was included as necessary to understand the tactic. For example, one communiqué released by a cell of the ALF included: "After jumping a barbed wire fence, we made our way to the main

breeding facility where we dismantled a huge section of an aviary that held between 75-150 pheasants; liberating them into the night sky.⁸³⁶” From this sentence, the phrase “dismantled a huge section of an aviary” was extracted and entered as tactical text. The phrasing about jumping the fence and entering the facility were excluded because they facilitated the tactic, and the description of “liberating” the pheasants was excluded because it explained a result of the tactical action rather than the tactic itself.

Target Text

Target text was identified as the object or location receiving the main focus of the attack. It was generally identified at the level of detail that most accurately captured the motivation for the attack, which most often meant extracting the name (e.g. Wells Fargo) or at least category (e.g. bank) of the organization or group targeted. The ALF communiqué cited above begins with the sentence: “Last night, the night of March 14th, we infiltrated the property of Queener Ridge Pheasant Company (40485 Queener Drive, Scio, OR) which breeds ringneck pheasants primarily to be murdered in commercial canned hunts.⁸³⁷” From this sentence, the phrase “Queener Ridge Pheasant Company” was extracted and entered as the target of the attack, as it provided the minimum sufficient detail to capture the motivation for the attack.

Use of subcategories

Tactic and target entries were grouped when the language used to describe the action or target was identical or nearly so (e.g. using different conjugations of the same verb).

⁸³⁶ ALF (Animal Liberation Front), “Dozens of Pheasants Freed by the ALF” (Bite Back Magazine, March 16, 2012), http://www.directaction.info/news_mar16_12.htm.

⁸³⁷ *Ibid.*

Subcategories were created within the overarching tactic and target categories when entries were added that either were distinct enough from existing entries that analytical value would be lost by subsuming them in the larger categories, or had become numerous enough relating to a specific theme that creation of a subcategory made it easier to see the uniqueness of and variations within that theme. For example, within the field of “Target”, subcategories were created for “consumer/luxury goods” and “media”. This was done to preserve the motivation and justification for choosing such target, as to explain them simply as ‘business’ or ‘corporate’ targets would have hidden the attackers’ critique. Though each of these subcategories contained only one or two entries, the subcategories were maintained as separate because to combine them into a larger category would have masked important differences explaining attackers’ motivations.

The aim of this approach was to capture succinctly *why* a specific site was targeted—to focus on intent as understood by the attacker. If two automobiles were burned, one because it was a police car and one because it is a luxury sports utility vehicle (SUV), these targets were understood to occupy different categories: ‘law enforcement’ and ‘luxury goods’ respectively. Conversely, entries relating to police vehicles, police buildings, and police personnel were kept within the subcategory of “law enforcement, military, security” because each set was targeted for its attachment to the institutions of law enforcement and security. Groupings were created within subcategories to capture such variations in the mode of target attacked—when the class of target (tied to motivation for the attack) was shared across entries but the specific iteration within that class varied (e.g. vehicle, building, person).

Dataset Findings

In order to interpret these results, they will be discussed in terms of the variables through which they were sorted: group name, cell name, tactic, target and country. Beginning with group name, we see that from 133 communiqués, we were able to identify 31 unique monikers. In 73 communiqués, no group name was included. From amongst those attacks which were claimed through an identifiable “author”, 27 chose to do so through self-identifying as “anarchists.” This includes ten attacks claimed by “some anarchists”, nine attacks claimed by “anarchists” and two claimed by the anarcho-symbol of the “(A).” These findings, concerning the recurrent use of ‘anarchist’ identifiers, is displayed below in Table 4.16:

Table 4.16: Phrasings used to claim US attacks for “anarchists”

USED MORE THAN ONCE	USED ONCE
some anarchists” (7) “Some anarchists” (1) “Some Anarchists” (2)	“A.A.W. (Anarchists Against Windows)”
“Anarchists” (7) “anarchists” (2)	“some anarchists on the grey coast”
“(A)”: 2	“anarchistcrabpplz”
	“Portland Anarchists”
	“A few anarchists”
	“FAI – OREGON”

Secondly, involving group names (i.e. monikers used to claim responsibility), one sees the extremely high occurrence of so-called hactivists networks reporting cyber strikes via the international insurrectionary networks. In 11 communiqués, cyber attacks were claimed through identification with some variation of the Anonymous and/or

Antisec⁸³⁸ networks. Like the ALF, CCF or FAI, “Anonymous” and “Antisec” are adoptable monikers that attackers can select to claim attacks. Though the names are typically limited to attacks akin to digital service disruption (i.e. hacking), data theft and website defacement, there is no central author regulating the moniker’s use and thus it suffers (or benefits) from the same difficulties in determining in-group/out-group identifies of the ALF/et. al. Also notable is the commonality of Queer-insurrectionary monikers and points of reference such as ““some ticked off trannies with knives”, “The CeCe McDonald⁸³⁹ Brigade”, “Queer Attack Squadron” and “THE RIGHT HONORABLE WICKED STEPMOTHERS’ TRAVELING, DRINKING AND DEBATING SOCIETY AND MEN’S AUXILIARY”, the latter of which claimed an attack against property belonging to the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) in Washington, DC.

More interesting than group name is the tactics described in these communiqués.

While a text-based analysis is less precise than, for example, an incident-based statistical

⁸³⁸ Anonymous, and its various factions (e.g. AntiSec, LulzSec,) is a globally-dispersed, loosely-federated network of social justice-motivated hackers, known as ‘hactivists’ in the modern parlance. In general, they fight around issues of censorship, government repression, freedom of assembly, and in support of various aboveground social movement campaigns. The activists work to disrupt, hijack and vandalize websites and other networked infrastructure belonging to governmental and corporate interests. The network has been active since around 2003 and is often visually associated with the wearing of Guy Fawkes masks.

⁸³⁹ CeCe McDonald is a transgender woman of color who was temporarily incarcerated and became a rallying cry for solidarity attacks. On 5 June 2011, while CeCe walked to a store with other Queer and trans people of color, the group was verbally harassed and physically attacked by a group of older, white, cis-gendered bar patrons. CeCe was hit in the face with a bottle that punctured her cheek and lacerated her salivary gland. During the assault, one of the cis-gendered attackers, Dean Schmitz was fatally stabbed. Though witnesses describe CeCe’s actions as defensive, she was arrested for Schmitz’s death and charged with second-degree murder. On 2 May 2012, CeCe accepted a plea bargain, (2nd degree manslaughter) and was sentenced to 41 months incarceration. CeCe was released 13 January 2014.

study⁸⁴⁰, in deducing tactics from attackers' narrative, one is able to witness not only the frequency of specific methods, but also the diversity through which these methods are described. For example, the dataset shows us that in 57 attack communiqués (nearly half of all US communiqués) the attacker damaged the windows of their target. Despite the seemingly simple nature of describing a broken window, the dataset eloquently displays the 12 categories through which this is accomplished. Most commonly is the use of the term “smash(ed)” to describe such attacks on windows. In 20/57 (35%) usages, attackers described their target in these terms. These phrase patterns have been extracted and are displayed below:

“A window got smashed”, “3 windows where [*sic*] smashed”, “had all its windows smashed out”, “had their windows smashed”, “had its windows smashed”, “had it's [*sic*] windows smashed”, “smashed the windows”, “smash out the windows”, “smashed the windows out of”, “smashed the windows”, “smashed several windows”, “smashed every window we could”, “Multiple windows were completely smashed”, “smashed out the windows”, “smashed... had multiple windows smashed out”, “3 windows... 2 Windows... smashed”, “smashed out many windows”, “smashed the windows”, “smashed out the front windows”

If one were to expand this to those communiqués that speak of ‘smashing with rocks,’ or ‘smashing with bricks,’ etc. the frequency is even higher. In 9/57 (16%) attacks targeting windows, the sites were hit with etching fluid that is designed to damage windows and allow messages to be written in a style similar to the application of paint. These phrases have been extracted and displayed below:

⁸⁴⁰ I have taken this approach in several previous studies of clandestine attack networks. See for example: Loadenthal, “Eco-Terrorism? Countering Dominant Narratives of Securitisation: A Critical, Quantitative History of the Earth Liberation Front (1996-2009)”; Loadenthal, “‘The Green Scare’ & ‘Eco-Terrorism’: The Development of US Counter-Terrorism Strategy Targeting Direct Action Activists”; Loadenthal, “Nor Hostages, Assassinations, or Hijackings, but Sabotage, Vandalism & Fire: ‘Eco-Terrorism’ as Political Violence Challenging the State and Capital.”

“etching fluid was used to ruin at least three windows”, “etching fluid was thrown onto their windows [of police vehicles]”, “had all of its windows covered in etching fluid”, “corrosive material splattered on its windows”, “the windows were permanently etched”, “had its windows etched out”, “covered the windows and windshields... with glass etching fluid”, “covered the door and 5 windows... with etching fluid”, “windows were etched”

Continuing forward with this manner of tactical analysis, one finds only five occurrences of arson in the US corpora. By grouping these thematically, one can observe that in two incidents the attackers threw a Molotov cocktail, in two other incidents a window was smashed in conjunction (or to allow for) the throwing of a Molotov cocktail, and in only one incident, the attacker placed some form of time-delayed IID, described as, “containers of accelerant were placed beneath a row of 14 trucks with 4 digital timers used to light 4 of the containers and kerosene-soaked rope carrying the fire to the other 10 [trucks].”⁸⁴¹ Though this type of qualitative-leaning tactical analysis is less precise than a multi-variable statistical analysis, from this manner of text extraction one can make some preliminary tactical observations concerning attacks occurring in the US and reported through the international, insurrectionary network.

1. Tactics tend to focus on the damaging of windows or the application of paint. Other forms of vandalism are less common.
2. Cyber attacks are frequent and typically are described with detailed accounts.

⁸⁴¹ Anonymous, “14 Cattle Trucks Burned by Activists at Harris Ranch in Coalinga, California,” *North American Animal Liberation Press Office*, January 9, 2014, <https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/2012/01/09/14-cattle-trucks-burned-by-activists-at-harris-ranch-in-coalinga-california/>.

3. Attacks are frequently described with vague or unclear phrases that make it difficult to deduce what actually occurred. This includes describing one's actions in terms such as "sabotaged," "struck," "attacked" or "disabled."
4. Attacks which follow an animal liberationist politic typically involve the *release* (not theft) of animals or the sabotage of breeding facilities.
5. Tactics involving the use of fire are rare, and those involving explosives are exceedingly rare, occurring in only 1 of the 133 (0.75%) communiqués surveyed.

In terms of using text-based data to analyze the targets of attack, 18 broad categories were created based on the stated or presumed motivation of the attacker. Therefore someone targeting a McDonald's because of its "greed" (target group = "corporate") would be sorted into a different category than someone targeting the same site for its "speciesism" (target group = "animal industry"). Through a process of sorting, grouping, and defining categories, the following groups of targets were identified based on attacker motivation:

1. Corporate: offices of multinational corporations and other businesses, franchise locations (e.g. Starbucks) and retail locations.
2. Capital/banking: bank branches, bank offices and ATMs.
3. Government: embassies, consulates, city hall buildings, courthouses and city infrastructure (e.g. parking meters, public transit).
4. Law enforcement, security, military: police cars, police stations, law enforcement offices (e.g. Department of Corrections, parole office, recruiting centers), police websites and law enforcement officials (e.g. police officers, security guards).

5. Public spaces: city streets, intersections, bridges and walls.
6. Animal industry: animal farms, ranches, breeders and transport vehicles.
7. Surveillance technology: automobile identification scanners, traffic cameras and closed circuit television cameras.
8. Fascism: spaces allowing fascist speakers to present, fascist/neo-Nazi graffiti and sympathetic publishers.
9. Railways: infrastructure used by trains.
10. Media: reporters and news network property.
11. Religion: churches.
12. Environmental: pro-logging organization, related government departments.
13. Consumer/luxury goods: SUVs.
14. Education: college administrative buildings.
15. Healthcare: college healthcare facilities.
16. Residential: neighborhoods.
17. Scientific research: college research departments.
18. Other social institutions: fraternity houses.

From this manner of sorting and grouping, it can be argued with great accuracy that the trend for US insurrectionary actors is to target sites associated with corporate profits and power, banking, government and law enforcement above all else. This quantitative finding supports and reinforces the portrayal of this milieu as argued throughout.

Moreover, these entities clearly fit into the construction of flattened categories used in binary oppositional frameworks, such as the insurrectionaries' opposition to "capital"

(which includes the categories of “corporate” and “capital/banking”) and “the state” (“government” and “law enforcement”). Furthermore, the subcategory breakdown based on phraseology can continue to delineate these target sets. For example, amongst attacks on corporations, Starbucks is attacked most frequently. In strikes focused on capital accumulation, there is a tendency to target bank ATMs, and the branch offices of Wells Fargo, Bank of America, Chase and Key Bank (in that order). Attacks on law enforcement are strongly focused on police cars and police stations, and for the hactivists, police websites.

Finally, there is analytical richness in discussing what is *not* described in the data. Though the variable of “cell” was developed to help maintain the various factions of the FAI, CCF and ALF that have spring up since their respective periods of deterritorialization, in the US corpus, cell name was not a dominant feature. While in other country corpora it is common to see, for example, the “Two Sequoias” cell of the FAI alongside that of the “Felicity Ryder Anarchist Cell”, in the US, these inner-moniker identifiers did not occur. Secondly, in recording the variable of *country* nearly no recognizable information was catalogued. This is because in 130/133 (98%) communiqués, the country where the attack is being carried out is not referenced. In 2/133 (1.5%) communiqués, the author(s) identifies the attack country as “USA”, and in only one communiqué is the abbreviated name of the United States used! While an extended elaboration of North American exceptionalism is beyond the scope of this discussion, by *not* mentioning the country in question, the US becomes the absent referent as readers are presumed to know the country based on the city where the attack

occurred. This is not the case in other national corpora, where one finds extended descriptions to locate targets outside of major American or European cities. Attacks carried out in Bolivia, Indonesia, the Ukraine and a variety of other locales are often very descriptive in terms of city and nation-state, presuming the readers' unfamiliarity.

Conclusion

Based on these findings, one could construct an archetypal insurrectionary communiqué. If we are to assume it is based on an attack in the US (though it is far more likely to have occurred in Greece), the incident would *not* be claimed via a known moniker, but would target a chain bank by smashing its windows. The author would use the pronoun “we” implying more than one attacker, and the vandalism would likely be described as an “attack against the state” in a communiqué of 339 words. Besides an extended discussion of *why* the particular target was chosen and *whom* the attack was dedicated to, it would likely include sentences such as:

Last night, **we** carried out an **attack against the state and capital** by targeting a **Wells Fargo Bank**. The bank has **all its windows smashed out**. This **attack on the bank** was chosen to show **we are against all forms of power**.

In this 42-word example the **bolded and underlined** words are borrowed directly from the most frequently occurring words of their category in the US dataset and are therefore statistically the most likely to occur. Moreover, this approach is meant to provide the quantitative foundation for the subsequent qualitative analysis. In the following chapter, we will explore these findings in depth, through a reading of insurrectionary communiqués.

CHAPTER FIVE

By a revolution, the [revolutionary] Society does not mean an orderly revolt according to the classic western model—a revolt which always stops short of attacking the rights of property and the traditional social systems of so-called civilization and morality. Until now, such a revolution has always limited itself to the overthrow of one political form in order to replace it by another, thereby attempting to bring about a so-called revolutionary state. The only form of revolution beneficial to the people is one which destroys the entire State to the roots and exterminated all the state traditions, institutions, and classes.⁸⁴²

-- Sergey Nechayev, *The Revolutionary Catechism* [1869]

The force of an insurrection is social, not military. Generalized rebellion is not measured by the armed clash but by the extent to which the economy is paralyzed, the places of production and distribution taken over, the free giving that burns all calculation and the desertion of obligations and social roles. In a word, it is the upsetting of life. No guerilla group, no matter how effective, can take the place of this grandiose movement of destruction and transformation. Insurrection is the light emergence of a banality coming to the surface: no power can support itself without the voluntary servitude of those it dominates. Revolt reveals better than anything else that it is the exploited themselves who make the murderous machinery of exploitation function. The wild, spreading interruption of social activity suddenly tears away the blanket of ideology, revealing the real balance of strength.⁸⁴³

-- Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn...* [2001]

⁸⁴² Nechayev, "The Revolutionary Catechism."

⁸⁴³ Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics*, 25.

Introduction

The following chapter is meant to be read in conjunction with the preceding historical account of illegalism, propaganda of the deed, revolutionary guerilla warfare, and the evolution of post-millennial, insurrectionary networks of attack. In addition, the linguistically-based, quantitative analysis is meant to paint, in broad brush strokes, the wider insurrectionary discourse as located in its deployment of language. This mixed quantitative-qualitative method is meant to be a single effort as the former is capable of establishing recurrent themes that can be explored in the present discussion. The political histories contained in Chapter Two and Chapter Three act in conjunction with the textual objects under analysis to co-constitute a modernist, insurrectionary canon.

In attempting to trace this evolutionary genealogy, we will examine the strategy of Blanquism, the contribution of ‘classical anarchists,’ the influence of the largely French, post-millennial theorists such as Tiqqun and TIC, and the contributions of shorter, anonymously authored publications. Following this account, we will focus on the contributions of Queer insurrectionary praxis before attempting a final description of the insurrectionary tendency through its most cohesive values. In attempting to develop these markers of insurrectionary theory, the goal is to identify the tendency’s values, and how it understands itself as a counterculture vis-à-vis not only mainstream political culture—its “conflict with the values of the dominant culture”⁸⁴⁴—but also from allied trends in anti-state, anti-capitalist (i.e. anarchist) revolutionary theory. This modeling develops the

⁸⁴⁴ Koehler, “Contrast Societies. Radical Social Movements and Their Relationships with Their Target Societies. A Theoretical Model,” 1.

insurrectionary milieu as a Radical Social Movement, conceived of as a “synergy” between Social Movement Theory and Counterculture Theory.⁸⁴⁵

The central thesis of this study is that through a genealogical review of the insurrectionary tendency, one can construct the broad outlines of a canon, which serves to inform contemporary action such as the attack strategies of the CCF, FAI and others. In attempting to develop this canon, the following section will first explore the key theoretical contributions of select individuals, linking their texts to their modern implementation. As there is no clearly demarcated, linear path from the nineteenth century to the modern era, this journey will inherently be punctuated by the most obvious and unmistakable signposts available, and in doing so will without a doubt exclude a variety of key texts and thinkers.

Blanquism and its Detractors

Based partially on his experience in the revolution of July 1840 and several armed demonstrations in 1870, Louis Auguste Blanqui (1805-1881) was a careful political tactician with a keen focus on revolutionary method and strategy. He was an influential figure in the defense of the 1871 Paris Commune, and from these experiences, developed a revolutionary framework based in small unit conspiracies; a radical departure from the mass-based approaches of Marxism. Blanqui’s writings are numerous and vary from short, fiery declarations, to more traditional (and lengthy) theoretical discussions. Most notable are his frequent discussion of tactics and strategy (known as Blanquism), and his

⁸⁴⁵ *ibid.*, 2.

frequent encouragements for the armed masses to confront the state and revolt⁸⁴⁶. The strategic writings were sometimes astoundingly specific⁸⁴⁷, and at other times more comprehensive and broad⁸⁴⁸.

Blanquism as a revolutionary framework was complementary to the socialist project, but because of its dependence on a professionalized minority, and its lack of belief in the power of the workers, both Marx and Engels wrote to distinguish themselves from that of Blanqui. In an essay first published by Engels in 1874, the foundational Marxist thinker writes:

Blanqui is essentially a political revolutionist. He is a socialist only through sentiment, through his sympathy with the sufferings of the people, but he has neither a socialist theory nor any definite practical suggestions for social remedies. In his political activity he was mainly a ‘man of action’, believing that a small and well organized minority, who would attempt a political stroke of force at the opportune moment, could carry the mass of the people with them by a few successes at the start and thus make a victorious revolution.⁸⁴⁹

⁸⁴⁶ See for example Louis Auguste Blanqui, “Appeal of the Committee of the Society of the Seasons,” trans. Mitch Abidor (Marxist Internet Archive, 1839), <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/blanqui/1839/appeal.htm>; Louis Auguste Blanqui, “The Central Republican Society,” trans. Mitch Abidor (Marxist Internet Archive, 1848), <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/blanqui/1848/central-republican-society.htm>; Louis Auguste Blanqui, “Parisians!,” trans. Mitch Abidor (Marxist Internet Archive, 1848), <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/blanqui/1848/parisians.htm>; Louis Auguste Blanqui, “Proclamation of February 20, 1866,” trans. Mitch Abidor (Marxist Internet Archive, 1866), <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/blanqui/1866/proclamation1.htm>.

⁸⁴⁷ See for example Louis Auguste Blanqui, “Project for a Revolutionary Proclamation (Call to Arms),” trans. Mitch Abidor (Marxist Internet Archive, 1830), <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/blanqui/1830/appeal-aux-armes.htm>; Louis Auguste Blanqui, “Organization of the Society of Families,” trans. Mitch Abidor (Marxist Internet Archive, 1834), <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/blanqui/1834/families.htm>.

⁸⁴⁸ Louis Auguste Blanqui, *Manual for an Armed Insurrection*, trans. Andy Blunden (France: Société encyclopédique français, Editions de la Tête de Feuilles, 1972 (republished by Marxist Internet Archive), 1866), <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/blanqui/1866/instructions1.htm>.

⁸⁴⁹ Friedrich Engels, “The Program of the Blanquist Fugitives from the Paris Commune,” trans. Ernest Untermann, *Der Volksstaat* (trans. for *International Socialist Review*, Vol. IX, No.2, August 1908) 73 (June 1874), <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1874/06/26.htm>.

Marxist revolutionary thinker and author Rosa Luxemburg (1871-1919) similarly wrote about Blanquism in her 1904 book, *Organizational Questions of the Russian Social Democracy*. Luxemburg points out what differentiates Blanquism from Leninism writing, “in the place of a handful of conspirators [Blanquism] we have a class-conscious proletariat [Leninism].”⁸⁵⁰ Luxemburg also reflected negatively on the elitist and detached nature of Blanquist’s methods of organization outside of the proletariat class. She points out that the Blanquist framework is top-down, minoritarian, and organized without mass participation from the oppressed class, writing:

Blanquism did not count on the direct action of the working class. It, therefore, did not need to organize the people for the revolution. The people were expected to play their part only at the moment of revolution. Preparation for the revolution concerned only the little group of revolutionists armed for the coup. Indeed, to assure the success of the revolutionary conspiracy, it was considered wiser to keep the mass at some distance from the conspirators. Such a relationship could be conceived by the Blanquists only because there was no close contact between the conspiratorial activity of their organization and the daily struggle of the popular masses. The tactics and concrete tasks of the Blanquist revolutionists had little connection with the elementary class struggle.⁸⁵¹

In his writing, Lenin also comments on the Blanquist strategy⁸⁵², noting that despite the efforts of some critics (writing of social democratic thinker Eduard Bernstein), it is inaccurate to link the minoritarian approach to the revolutionary Marxism of the time. Lenin is careful to explain the works of Marx⁸⁵³ in light of criticism and accusations of excluding the proletariat. Lenin speaks of Blanquism as an ‘intellectually-led conspiracy’

⁸⁵⁰ Rosa Luxemburg, *Organizational Questions of the Russian Social Democracy [Leninism or Marxism?]*, Marxists.org online (Integer Press, 1904), chap. 1, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/luxemburg/1904/questions-rsd/>.

⁸⁵¹ Ibid.

⁸⁵² Lenin, “The State and Revolution,” chap. 6.

⁸⁵³ Pointing specifically to Engels and Marx, “Manifesto of the Communist Party”; Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France*, trans. Friedrich Engels, 1871.

writing, “Blanquism is a theory which repudiates the class struggle. Blanquism expects that mankind will be emancipated from wage slavery, not by the proletarian class struggle, but through a conspiracy hatched by a small minority of intellectuals.”⁸⁵⁴

More important than its detractors, and those who have distanced themselves from such forms of vanguardism, are the effects Blanquism had on later movements. For example, the approach was influential for the French illegalists who emerged from the Paris Commune of 1871 including the Bonnot Gang. Moreover, Blanqui’s ideas of a minoritarian, professionalized, armed vanguard would reemerge in popularity nearly one hundred years later with the 1960s-1970s urban guerillas such as the WUO, SLA and RAF. These groups continued in the Blanquist tradition of seeking to ‘make the revolution’ beyond (or without) mass mobilization of the proletariat. The revolution was to be a sort of insurrection where the socialists would seize power before delivering that power back to the people. This approach—that which seeks to seize power in the interim—is rejected outright by anti-statists, including all brands of anarchists, but remains a salient tendency amongst the Leninist left and other non-anarchist revolutionaries. Therefore, while Blanqui served to influence the evolution of insurrectionary combat in terms of means, it differs greatly in terms of a strategic vision for the destruction and reconstruction of the socio-political order.

The Classical Anarchists & Illegalists

⁸⁵⁴ V. I. Lenin, “The Congress Summed Up” (Volna [No. 11, 1906] (Republished by Marxist Internet Archive), 1906), <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1906/may/07.htm>.

Following Blanqui and the conflicts of the late nineteenth century, the period of ‘classical anarchism’—approximately from the beginning of the twentieth century until the end of World War II—continued to advance theories of revolutionary warfare, insurrection and revolt. As these works have been the subject of a great deal of anarchist scholarship⁸⁵⁵, they only require a brief exploration before proceeding to the less-studied works. Around World War I, the main trend in violent anti-state theory came from the so-called illegalists, largely based in France. This illegalist tendency demonstrated methods such as financial expropriation, common in 1910s France, as well as direct attacks against the state which occurred throughout Western Europe and the US. From the robberies of the Bonnot Gang to the frequent bomb attacks by Galleanists, the illegalist trend has never strayed from the insurrectionary tendency, or that of a minoritarian, armed revolutionary force.

Works that embody this period include Sergey Nechayev’s *Catechism of a Revolutionary*⁸⁵⁶, Johann Most’s *Attack is the Best form of Defense* (1884) and *Science of Revolutionary Warfare* (1885), Giuseppe Ciancabilla’s *Against Organization* (~1900), Luigi Galleani’s *The Health is Within You* (1905), and Renzo Novatore’s *My Iconoclastic Individualism* (1920). These pieces comingled with shorter essays, pamphlets, and

⁸⁵⁵ For example see: Avrich, *Sacco and Vanzetti*; Paul Avrich and Barry Pateman, *Anarchist Voices: An Oral History of Anarchism in America* (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2005); Berkman, *The ABC of Anarchism*; David Berry, *A History of the French Anarchist Movement, 1917-1945*; Contributions to the Study of World History 97 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002); Peter Glassgold, ed., *Anarchy!: An Anthology of Emma Goldman’s Mother Earth* (Berkeley, CA: Counterpoint Press, 2001); Emma Goldman, *What It Really Stands for* (Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1911); Daniel Guerin, ed., *No Gods No Masters: An Anthology of Anarchism*, trans. Paul Sharkey (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2005); Paul McLaughlin, *Mikhail Bakunin: The Philosophical Basis of His Theory of Anarchy*, Republished by Marxist Internet Archives (Algora Publishing, 2002); Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible*; George Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*, 2nd ed. (Cleveland, OH: Meridian Books, 1962).

⁸⁵⁶ This was likely written in conjunction with Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876).

speeches of propagandists of the time including those by Errico Malatesta (1853-1932), Alexander Berkman⁸⁵⁷ (1870-1936), Victor Serge⁸⁵⁸ (1890-1947), Bruno Filippi (1900-1919)—who published *Iconoclasta* along with Novatore—and Severino Di Giovanni (1901-1931), who published and contributed to *Culmine*. Once settling in the US, Galleani was involved in the publication of *Cronica Sovversiva* [The Chronicle of Subversion]⁸⁵⁹, an influential Italian-language, anarchist newspaper active 1903-1920, which would carry works by anarchist figureheads such as Peter Kropotkin, Mikhail Bakunin and Errico Malatesta⁸⁶⁰. The paper infamously included a hit list profiling members of the ruling class, termed ‘enemies of the people.’ These classical texts, along with intersecting influences such as those of the nihilists, individualists, egoists and communists amounted to a large volume of revolutionary works. This period of thought, which ebbed alongside World War II, developed the theoretical foundation for decades of armed struggle that would unfold through the world less than 25 years later. After the start of the Vietnam War, and the resulting protest movement, a new era of insurrectionary theory began to emerge from Italy before quickly expanding to a global audience.

The Modern Insurrectionary Turn

⁸⁵⁷ These include Berkman’s editorship with newspapers such as *Mother Earth* and *The Blast*.

⁸⁵⁸ In the period around 1908, Serge aligned himself as an anarchist, publishing anarchist essays and sympathizing with anarcho-individualism/illegalism. He was arrested for his involvement with the anarcho-illegalist Bonnot Gang in 1913, yet around 1919, he joined the Bolsheviks after arriving in Russia.

⁸⁵⁹ A large portion of the *Cronaca Sovversiva* issues are preserved online and housed at the Library of Congress’s National Endowment for the Humanities, ‘Chronicling America’ archive, available at: <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/2012271201/issues/>

⁸⁶⁰ Paul Heller, “Luigi Galleani and the Anarchists of Barre,” *Times Argus*, April 30, 2010, Online edition, sec. This Just In, para. 8, <http://www.timesargus.com/article/20100430/THISJUSTIN/100429957>.

*We must build a rhythm of struggle which resonates in our bodies and builds the links between attack, memory, and the...terror we experience in daily life. It is simple enough to begin a discussion of insurrectional strategy with the notion of the attack. Yet many confuse this process with merely smashing a random bank and writing a communiqué telling the cops to fuck off. Of course, I'm not interested in condemning such a practice, I'm merely more interested in examining the ways in which various notions and methods of attack are positioned in relation to our memory and all of the emotions that have built up over time due to all of the...violence we've endured.*⁸⁶¹

-- Anonymous, *Dangerous Spaces: Violent Resistance, Self-Defense & Insurrectional Struggle Against Gender* [2012]

While the majority of the twenty-first century insurrectionary canon is derived from a history of actions as reported via communiqués, a number of more central texts are consistently referenced and make up a sort of pre-history for the tendency. These texts are often anonymously authored and lengthy. They include the publications of Alfredo Bonanno, Tiquun, TIC and The Institute for Experimental Freedom (IEF). These texts differ from the historically produced canonical texts of revolutionary theory. While Karl Marx wrote the texts later collected as the *Grundrisse* from the comforts of British Museum Reading Room, the insurrectionary canon is often penned by active revolutionaries, living (semi)clandestine existences, and engaged in acts of anti-state illegality. Furthermore, these texts are inherently products of an international, frequently un-attributing/plagiarizing form of “intertextuality” where authors “habitually cite, allude to and otherwise reference other texts...[where] readers do not treat each text they read as a discrete item.”⁸⁶² In constructing this *canon*, it is useful to first identify what is meant by the term, as anarchists have an understanding reminiscent to that of the Biblical canon.

⁸⁶¹ Untorelli Press, “Dangerous Spaces: Violent Resistance, Self-Defense, & Insurrectional Struggle Against Gender” (Untorelli Press, 2012), 23, <http://zinelibrary.info/files/dangerous.pdf>.

⁸⁶² Cameron and Panovic, *Working with Written Discourse*, 71.

In his explanation of this term, anarchist philosopher Nathan Jun writes:

The ‘Western canon’ ...describes a standard set of literary, scientific, historical, philosophical, and religious texts that are considered especially significant in the historical development of Western culture. When anarchists speak of a ‘canon,’ we generally have in mind something similar to a Biblical or cultural canon—that is, a standard set of texts (or thinkers, or theories) regarded as authoritative for anarchist thought and practice or especially significant in the historical development of anarchism.⁸⁶³

Therefore, the task becomes identifying these ‘texts, thinkers and theories regarded as authoritative for [insurrectionary] anarchist thought and practice.’ In doing so, this chapter will briefly detail these works, and unveil a chronological history of the development of modern insurrectionary theory as told through text.

Following this historical, canon-centric exploration, the remainder of the chapter seeks to construct the basis for an insurrectionary framework based around a shared politics. This approach borrows from insurrectionary theory’s rejection of strict ideological encampments as understood through self-imposed identities (e.g. anarchist, Green/anti-civilization anarchist, illegalist...), and instead focuses on the basis of overlapping affinity⁸⁶⁴. Therefore, the insurrectionary borderlands can be traced through examining where these affinities begin and end, where political analysis and calls for action overlap and diverge. The values embodied in the insurrectionary canon are constituted from a hodgepodge of lesser texts, none of which carry the suggestion of centrality on their own, but collectively constitute the modern insurrectionary discourse—as told through the words and actions of the rock throwers, fire starters and

⁸⁶³ Nathan J. Jun, “Rethinking the Anarchist Canon: History, Philosophy, and Interpretation,” *Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies* 3, no. 1: Blasting the Canon (2013): 82–83.

⁸⁶⁴ s.t., “The Issues Are Not the Issue: A Letter to Earth First! From a Too-Distant Friend” (Self published (republished by Zine Library), 2014), <http://zinelibrary.info/files/issues-not-issues.pdf>.

bomb builders whose names we never know.

Alfredo M. Bonanno

Beginning in the mid 1970s, Italian Alfredo M. Bonanno (b. 1937) began publishing insurrectionary essays in conjunction with his translator and co-collaborator Jean Weir. Bonanno rose to prominence during the 1960s when Italy saw an increased presence from so-called ultra-left direct action networks. Through publications such as *Anarchismo Edizioni*, which Bonanno edited, the informal, networked, decentralized direct action model was developed, refined and expanded. It would be this model that would eventually prefigure the FAI, CCF and others. In his time, Bonanno lived an insurrectionary praxis involving numerous forms of agitation. In the late 1990s, Bonanno was arrested in connection with the bombing of Milian's Palazzo Marino (25 April 1997), and in 2003 was sentenced to six years in prison for his involvement in an insurrectionary-armed robbery. He was arrested again in 2009 along with a Greek anarchist and accused of involvement in an additional bank robbery. He was sentenced to four years in prison and served approximately one year.

A full detailing of Bonanno's writings is beyond the scope of this study as his works span 40 years and include (chronologically): *Revolution, Violence, Anti-Authoritarianism - A Few notes*⁸⁶⁵, *Class War*⁸⁶⁶, *Armed Joy*⁸⁶⁷, *Why A Vanguard*⁸⁶⁸,

⁸⁶⁵ Bonanno, *Revolution, Violence, Anti-Authoritarianism - A Few Notes*.

⁸⁶⁶ Alfredo M Bonanno, "Class War [Guerra Di Classe]," *Anarchismo (republished by The Anarchist Library)* First Series, no. 4-5 (1975): 195-207.

⁸⁶⁷ Bonanno, *Armed Joy [La gioia armata]*.

⁸⁶⁸ Alfredo M Bonanno, "Why a Vanguard [Avanguardia, perche?]," trans. Jean Weir, *Movimento e progetto rivoluzionaria (republished by The Anarchist Library)* Edizioni Anarchismo, no. 1 (1977), <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/alfredo-m-bonanno-why-a-vanguard>.

*Fictitious Movement and Real Movement*⁸⁶⁹, *And We Will Still Be Ready To Storm The Heavens Another Time: Against Amnesty*⁸⁷⁰, *Let's Destroy Work, Let's Destroy the Economy*⁸⁷¹, *From Riot to Insurrection: Analysis for an anarchist perspective against post-industrial capitalism*⁸⁷², *For An Anti-Authoritarian Insurrectionist International*⁸⁷³, *The Anarchist Tension*⁸⁷⁴, *A Critique of Syndicalist Methods*⁸⁷⁵, *The Insurrectional Project*⁸⁷⁶, *The Theory of the Individual: Stirner's Savage Thought*⁸⁷⁷, *Insurrectionist Anarchism - Part One*⁸⁷⁸ and *Locked Up*⁸⁷⁹. Other writings are contained in a verity of publications including *Insurrection* magazine (1982-1989), *Willful Disobedience* (2001-

⁸⁶⁹ Alfredo M Bonanno, *Fictitious Movement and Real Movement [Movimento fittizio e movimento reale]*, trans. Jean Weir, Movimento e progetto rivoluzionario, Edzioni de "Anarchismo" (London, UK: Elephant Editions (republished by The Anarchist Library), 1977), <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/alfredo-m-bonanno-fictitious-movement-and-real-movement>.

⁸⁷⁰ Alfredo M Bonanno, "And We Will Still Be Ready To Storm The Heavens Another Time: Against Amnesty" (The Anarchist Library, 1984), <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/alfredo-m-bonanno-and-we-will-still-be-ready-to-storm-the-heavens-another-time-against-amnesty>.

⁸⁷¹ Alfredo M Bonanno, *Let's Destroy Work, Let's Destroy the Economy*, trans. Jean Weir, Elephant Editions (London, UK: Elephant Editions (republished by The Anarchist Library), 1987), <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/alfredo-m-bonanno-let-s-destroy-work-let-s-destroy-the-economy>.

⁸⁷² Bonanno, *From Riot to Insurrection: Analysis for an anarchist perspective against post-industrial capitalism*.

⁸⁷³ Alfredo M Bonanno, *For An Anti-authoritarian Insurrectionalist International*, trans. Jean Weir, Elephant Editions (London, UK: Elephant Editions (republished by The Anarchist Library), 1993), <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/alfredo-m-bonanno-for-an-anti-authoritarian-insurrectionalist-international>.

⁸⁷⁴ Alfredo M Bonanno, *The Anarchist Tension [La Tensione anarchica]*, trans. Jean Weir, Elephant Editions (London, UK: Elephant Editions (republished by The Anarchist Library), 1996), <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/alfredo-m-bonanno-the-anarchist-tension>.

⁸⁷⁵ Bonanno, *A Critique of Syndicalist Methods*.

⁸⁷⁶ Alfredo M Bonanno, *The Insurrectional Project*, trans. Jean Weir, John Moore, and Leigh Straccross, Elephant Editions (London, UK: Elephant Editions (republished by The Anarchist Library), 1998), <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/alfredo-m-bonanno-the-insurrectional-project>.

⁸⁷⁷ Alfredo M Bonanno, "The Theory of the Individual: Stirner's Savage Thought," trans. Jean Weir (The Anarchist Library, 1998), <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/alfredo-m-bonanno-the-theory-of-the-individual-stirner-s-savage-thought>.

⁸⁷⁸ Alfredo M Bonanno, "Insurrectionalist Anarchism - Part One [Anarchismo insurrezionalista]," trans. Jean Weir, *I libri di Anarchismo (republished by The Anarchist Library)* Edizioni Anarchismo, no. 10 (June 1999), <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/alfredo-m-bonanno-insurrectionalist-anarchism-part-one>.

⁸⁷⁹ Alfredo M Bonanno, *Locked Up [Chiuso a chiave]*, trans. Jean Weir, Elephant Editions (London, UK: Elephant Editions (republished by The Anarchist Library), 2008), <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/alfredo-m-bonanno-locked-up>.

2003), and numerous more works written in Italian and not widely circulated in English. Bonanno's writings deal with the theory, strategy, tactics and communications of armed insurrection. He speaks about prisoner negotiations, cell formations, economic analysis and theories of symbolism, language and individualism.

Bonanno's advocacy for the need for immediate attack is perhaps his most significant contribution to the insurrectionary tendency. His promotion of direct confrontation with the state is clearly encapsulated in *Armed Joy*, which was so provocative, Bonanno was jailed for 18 months by the Italian state following its release.

In it Bonanno writes:

People are tired of meetings, the classics, pointless marches, theoretical discussions that split hairs in four; endless distinctions, the monotony and poverty of certain political analyses. They prefer to make love, smoke, listen to music, go for walks, sleep, laugh, play, kill policemen, lame journalists, kill judges, blow up barracks...

Hurry comrade, shoot the policeman, the judge, the boss. Now, before a new police prevent you.

Hurry to say No, before the new repression convinces you that saying no is pointless, mad, and that you should accept the hospitality of the mental asylum.

Hurry to attack capital before a new ideology makes it sacred to you. Hurry to refuse work before some new sophist tells you yet again that "work makes you free".

Hurry to play. Hurry to arm yourself...⁸⁸⁰

Later in the text Bonanno reassures the reader of the feasibility of armed revolt, writing:

It's easy. You can do it yourself. Alone or with a few trusted comrades. Complicated means are not necessary. Not even great technical knowledge.

Capital is vulnerable. All you need is to be decided.⁸⁸¹

⁸⁸⁰ Bonanno, *Armed Joy [La gioia armata]*, 19.

In a piece authored decades after *Armed Joy*, Bonanno responds to the rhetorically-posed question ‘Why are we insurrectionalist anarchists?’ with seven reasons, one of which states: “Because we are for the immediate, destructive attack against the structures, individuals and organizations of Capital and the State.”⁸⁸² He also reasserts the call for immediacy writing:

Because rather than wait, we have decided to proceed to action, even if the time is not ripe.

Because we want to put an end to this state of affairs right away, rather than wait until conditions make its transformation possible.⁸⁸³

Bonanno’s large, multi-decade body of work offers a central thesis: Attack is possible, effective, and immediately necessary as a means to confront the drudgery, alienation, and abstraction of life under late capitalism and state domination.

Tiqqun & TIC

Following widespread protest in France (December 1997-January 1998), known as the ‘movement of the unemployed’⁸⁸⁴, radical social theory commenting on the events drew influence from the autonomist and poststructuralist tendencies. It was within this spirit that the Tiqqun collective assembled and published two editions in France in 1999⁸⁸⁵ and

⁸⁸¹ Ibid., 22.

⁸⁸² Bonanno, *The Insurrectional Project*, 14.

⁸⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁴ Christine Daniel, “Widespread Protests by Unemployed People: Towards a New Form of Social Movement?” (Eironline, January 28, 1998), <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/eiro/1998/01/feature/fr9801189f.htm>.

⁸⁸⁵ Tiqqun, “Tiqqun #1, Conscious organ of the imaginary party, exercises in critical metaphysics” (Tiqqun, 1999), <https://tiqqun.jottit.com/>.

2001⁸⁸⁶. The articles are anonymously authored and some members of the collective have been linked to acts of sabotage and political violence. In its two issues, the journal mixes insurrectionary anarchist theory with that of poststructuralism (especially the work of Giorgio Agamben and Michel Foucault), post-Marxism, Communization and showing heavily stylistic influence from the French Situationists, Lettrists⁸⁸⁷, and Dada-Surrealists. They have been described as post-Situationists, Communizationists, ultra-leftists, or simply insurrectionary. Many of the journal's more popular pieces have been frequently translated into English and published by university presses including *Preliminary Materials for a Theory of the Young-Girl*⁸⁸⁸, *Introduction to Civil War*⁸⁸⁹, *This is Not A Program*⁸⁹⁰ and *Theory of Bloom*⁸⁹¹. Agamben's influence is central to Tiqqun, especially the author's work on forms-of-life⁸⁹², state of exception and biopolitics. Also, the title of the foundational insurrectionary work *The Coming*

⁸⁸⁶ Tiqqun, "Tiqqun #2, Organ of liaison within the imaginary party, zone of offensive opacity" (Tiqqun, 2001), <https://tiqqun.jottit.com/>.

⁸⁸⁷ A French avant-garde movement of 1940s Paris rooted in Dada and Surrealism.

⁸⁸⁸ Tiqqun, *Preliminary Materials for a Theory of the Young-Girl*, trans. Ariana Reines (Los Angeles, CA: Semiotext(e), 2012).

⁸⁸⁹ Tiqqun, *Introduction to Civil War*, 2010.

⁸⁹⁰ Tiqqun, *This Is Not a Program*.

⁸⁹¹ Tiqqun, *Theory of Bloom*.

⁸⁹² This exact phrase "forms-of-life" is frequently seen in writings by Tiqqun (including in "Theory of Bloom," "Call", "How it is to be done", "Introduction to Civil War", "This is not a program", "Raw Materials for a Theory of the Young-Girl", "Theses on the terrible community", "The cybernetic Hypothesis", "The Problem of the Head", "Theses on the Imaginary Party", and "What is metaphysical criticism?") and The Invisible Committee appearing in "Spread Anarchy, Live Communism" (p. 5, 8), *The Coming Insurrection* (p. 67). It also appears in other insurrectionary texts such as those dealing with Queer insurrectionary network Bash Back!, see for example: Tegan Eanelli, "Bash Back! Is Dead; Bash Back Forever!: Concluding Notes" (The Anarchist Library, 2011), 6, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/tegan-eanelli-bash-back-is-dead-bash-back-forever>. In this text, the author(s) define Agamben's 'form-of-life' as "a life that can never be separated from its form" (p. 6).

Insurrection, authored by TIC, is a reference to Agamben's work, *The Coming Community*⁸⁹³.

The overlapping nature between European poststructuralism/continental philosophy and the works of Tiqqun and TIC is sometimes difficult to trace. Despite the insurrectionary tendency away from strict attribution and historicizing ideas, there are undeniable links with the works of Agamben (the "whatever singularity"), Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari (the "war machine"), Martin Heidegger (a critique of metaphysics), Alain Badiou (the "event"), Georges Bataille (nihilism), Carl Schmitt (sovereignty), and Walter Benjamin ("divine violence")⁸⁹⁴. From these thinkers, the insurrectionary Tiqqunistas and TIC members borrow most heavily from Michel Foucault's notion of "biopower"⁸⁹⁵, Antonio Negri's notion of "Empire"⁸⁹⁶ (developed alongside Michael Hardt) and Guy Debord's "Spectacle."⁸⁹⁷

Though the exact authors of the journal are unknown, it did involve Jean Coupat (b. 1974), a French activist indicted as part of the "Tarnac 9."⁸⁹⁸ Coupat was jailed 11 November 2008 and released 28 May 2009; the other eight arrestees having been released prior. The nine individuals were described as "an anarcho-autonomist cell"⁸⁹⁹, and in its

⁸⁹³ Giorgio Agamben, *The Coming Community*, trans. Michael Hardt, 1st ed. (Minneapolis, MN: University Of Minnesota Press, 1993).

⁸⁹⁴ This brief review of continental philosophy was provided by Wood as referenced in: Wood, *The Cultural Logic of Insurrection*, 7–8.

⁸⁹⁵ Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978--1979*, First Edition (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

⁸⁹⁶ Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

⁸⁹⁷ Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*.

⁸⁹⁸ The Tarnac 9 were accused of sabotaging French TGV train lines in November 2008, an act the French state termed "terrorism."

⁸⁹⁹ Michèle Alliot-Marie (French Interior Minister), as quoted in: Anonymous, "Neoliberal Public Health and the Rhetoric of War," *A Disorder of Things*, August 4, 2013,

prosecution, the state claimed that Coupat along with other Tiqqunists, were members of TIC, responsible for authoring *The Coming Insurrection*.⁹⁰⁰ The “Invisible Committee” moniker appears in *Tiqqun #2*, presenting the Committee as a faction from the larger Tiqqunist milieu for some interpreters. The Committee has gone on to produce subsequent texts such as *Spread Anarchy, Live Communism*⁹⁰¹ presented at the Anarchist Turn conference hosted by the New School for Social Research conference in 2011. In this presentation⁹⁰², the unnamed speakers described as “The Accused of Tarnac”, presented their paper in view of the audience, but asked for the talk to not be filmed, allowing only audio to be recorded⁹⁰³.

Tiqqun’s basic framework—assuming such a philosophically complex set of texts can be described as basic—is for the immediate implementation of *full communism*. Its analysis is predicated on an inherently poststructuralist reading of power, one that understands force and violence to be without a physical base (deterritorialized); it is without “a center to attack...a castle wall to breach.”⁹⁰⁴ Therefore, without the grandiose, clearly demarcated enemy of *The State* or *Capitalism*, one engages in a resultantly fluid

<https://adisorderofthings.wordpress.com/2013/08/04/neoliberal-public-health-and-the-rhetoric-of-war/>; Anonymous, “Solidarity & Revolt Across Borders” (Self published (republished by Zine Library), April 2008), 2, http://zinelibrary.info/files/solidarity_revolt.pdf; Noura Wedell, “Jean-Marie Gleize,” *BOMB - Artists in Conversation*, September 22, 2014, <http://bombmagazine.org/article/1000259/jean-marie-gleize>.

⁹⁰⁰ The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection*.

⁹⁰¹ The Invisible Committee, “Spread Anarchy, Live Communism,” in *The Anarchist Turn*, ed. Jacob Blumenfeld, Chiara Bottici, and Simon Critchley (London, UK: Pluto Press, 2013), 216.

⁹⁰² The Invisible Committee, *Spread Anarchy, Live Communism*, Soundcloud (The Anarchist Turn, New School for Social Research, New York, NY: Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies, 2011), http://anarchist-developments.org/index.php/adcs_journal/article/view/27/28.

⁹⁰³ This audio lecture was recorded and preserved as part of the Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies (ACDS) journal, and is available at http://anarchist-developments.org/index.php/adcs_journal/article/view/27/28

⁹⁰⁴ Williams and Thomson, “The Allure of Insurrection,” 273–274.

strategy of combat, one that is “wild, untamed—guerrilla-style, if not entropic—resistance.”⁹⁰⁵ The strategy advocated by TIC—here understood as the oldest children of Tiqqun—is to continue to foster confrontation aimed at increasing the frequency and density of so-called “zones of opacity”⁹⁰⁶: milieus and physical areas of anti-state resistance which become unreadable by state authority. This desire for confrontation defines the milieu vis-à-vis its established opponent, what Tiqqun satirically terms “building the Party.” The fostering of the ‘us v. them’ framework—the “continuation and intensification of encounters...[to] further the process of ethical polarization”⁹⁰⁷—serves to spatially define those in revolt from those in power, or as Tiqqun writes:

Building the party no longer means building a total organization within which all ethical differences might be set aside for the sake of a common struggle; today, building the Party means *establishing forms-of-life in their different, intensifying, complicating relations between them, developing as subtly as possible civil war between us.*⁹⁰⁸

The practitioners of this strategy of civil war are not seeking to *govern* a separatist territory, but rather to gather from within the confines of the metropolis, and while living amongst it, make it a site of revolt and full communism. Practically, this can be conducted through the occupation of public space, the construction of communes and squats, and through clandestine sabotage and disruption. Because Tiqqun and TIC understand the powers of state control to be endlessly multifaceted, and because this model is without a *front*, *rear* or *flank* to attack, the authors advocate “indirect, asymmetrical attack...[as] the most effective kind [of attack], the one best suited to our

⁹⁰⁵ Ibid., 274.

⁹⁰⁶ The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection*, 107–109.

⁹⁰⁷ Tiqqun, *This Is Not a Program*, 14.

⁹⁰⁸ Ibid., 13 [Emphasis in original].

time.”⁹⁰⁹ This reading of strategic posturing is carried forth in modernist cell networks that seek to strike manifestations of the enemy where they are most available.

Beyond Tiqqun’s notions of strategy and war, are its understandings of power that are representative of the larger insurrectionary tendency. The authors borrow from Foucault’s “biopower”—the management of the body including issues of life/death through institutions and other systems of power—asserting that the “management of maintenance of life-itself”⁹¹⁰ is within the purview of institutional domination (e.g. state and capital). This is interrelated to their reading of Empire, as this post-Marxist concept rejects bordered understandings of nationalism, imperialism and sovereignty in favor of “the liquidation of...political differences in favor of a totalizing control of society or civilization itself.”⁹¹¹ These concepts of biopower’s management of the self and Empire’s ever-present, non-physically-linked power dictate the insurrectionary critique of ‘The Totality’: a boundless, fluid reading of domination which seeks to emancipate all beings from all forms of control. Power is understood to be a totalizing force of ever-present coercion that extends from the material to the spiritual. In this manner, the insurrectionary position offered by Tiqqun and the TIC extracts the elements of poststructuralism that are most amenable to their argument; any texts where they can find “the seeds of insurrection lay[ing] dormant.”⁹¹² In other words, one of the key contributions of Tiqqun and the Committee are their abilities to bring poststructuralism into the discourse of insurrection, and to find elements of insurrection throughout the

⁹⁰⁹ The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection*, 129.

⁹¹⁰ Wood, *The Cultural Logic of Insurrection*, 8.

⁹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁹¹² *Ibid.*, 12.

European critical philosophical tradition.

Magazines, Zines and Anonymous Texts

Throughout the end of the twentieth century and the early years of the twenty-first, a variety of shorter, often anonymous works were written that contributed to the insurrectionary tendency. These include often-cited essays contained in *Insurrection Magazine* such as *Autonomous Base Nucleus*⁹¹³, *The Affinity Group*⁹¹⁴, *Beyond the Structure of Synthesis*⁹¹⁵ and *Beyond Workerism, Beyond Syndicalism*.⁹¹⁶ Other publications series of this nature include *Killing King Abacus*, *Willful Disobedience* and *A Murder of Crows*. Also widely cited are essays and pamphlets such as *At Daggers Drawn with the Existent, its Defenders and its False Critics*⁹¹⁷, *Rebelling Against our Domestication: Towards a Feral Revolution!*⁹¹⁸, *The Question of Preservational Violence*⁹¹⁹, *Insurrectionary Mutual Aid*⁹²⁰, *Toward the Queerest Insurrection*⁹²¹, and *In*

⁹¹³ O.V., "Autonomous Base Nucleus," November 20, 2011, <http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2011/11/488887.html>.

⁹¹⁴ O.V., "The Affinity Group," in *Articles from Insurrection*, The Anarchist Library (Online: The Anarchist Library, n.d.), 6–8, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/various-authors-articles-from-insurrection.pdf>.

⁹¹⁵ g.c., "Beyond the Structure of Synthesis," in *Articles from Insurrection*, The Anarchist Library (Online: The Anarchist Library, n.d.), 8–10, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/various-authors-articles-from-insurrection.pdf>.

⁹¹⁶ Anonymous, "Beyond Workerism--Beyond Syndicalism" (*Insurrection*, 2009), <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/various-authors-articles-from-insurrection.pdf>.

⁹¹⁷ Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics*.

⁹¹⁸ Anonymous, "Rebelling Against Our Domestication: Towards a Feral Revolution," *Do or Die*, 2001, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/anonymous-rebelling-against-our-domestication-towards-a-feral-revolution>.

⁹¹⁹ Tatanka, "The Question of Preservational Violence" (Coalition Against Civilization, 1995), <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/tatanka-the-question-of-preservational-violence>.

⁹²⁰ Curious George Brigade, "Insurrectional Mutual Aid" (Curious George Brigade (republished by The Anarchist Library), 2009), <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/curious-george-brigade-insurrectionary-mutual-aid>.

⁹²¹ A Gang Of Criminal Queers, *Towards the Queerest Insurrection*.

*Greece, Here, Elsewhere, Everywhere*⁹²², a leaflet found in France and published in *Non Fides N.3*. There were also several recurrent publications that emerged from the 2009 student occupations centered in California, in response to University of California tuition hikes. These occupations of university properties took a decidedly insurrectionary character and through these collective actions, several influential texts were written and circulated including *Communiqué from an Absent Future*⁹²³ and *20 Theses on the Subversion of the Metropolis*⁹²⁴. In the early years following the millennium, longer works by the IEF including *Politics is Not a Banana*⁹²⁵ and *Between Predicates, War: Theses on Contemporary Struggle*⁹²⁶ served to keep such ideas current and under development.

During the era of deterritorialized insurrectionary attack, other pieces would be written by clandestine cells and widely circulated, constituting another portion of the insurrectionary library. These include longer essays by cells of the FAI such as “Rain & Fire”⁹²⁷, “Do Not Say that We are Few”⁹²⁸ and “The Urgency of the Attack”⁹²⁹ written by Nicola Gai, one of the shooters of Italian nuclear chief Adinolfi. Similarly, cells of the

⁹²² Anonymous, “In Greece, Here, Elsewhere, Everywhere” (Non Fides N. 3 (republished by The Anarchist Library), December 2008).

⁹²³ Research and Destroy, “Communique From an Absent Future: On the Terminus of Student Life” (Self published, 2009), <https://archive.org/details/CommuniqueFromAnAbsentFuture>.

⁹²⁴ Anonymous, “20 Theses on the Subversion of the Metropolis,” trans. Institute for Experimental Freedom (Institute for Experimental Freedom, 2009), <http://www.zinelibrary.info/files/20theses.pdf>.

⁹²⁵ The Institute for Experimental Freedom, *Politics Is Not a Banana*.

⁹²⁶ The Institute for Experimental Freedom, *Between Predicates, War: Theses On Contemporary Struggle*.

⁹²⁷ International Informal Anarchist Federation/FAI, “‘Rain & Fire’ - Statement from a UK FAI Sector” (325.nostate.net, September 13, 2011), 325.nostate.net/?p=3032.

⁹²⁸ FAI Artisans Cooperative of Fire and Similar (occasionally spectacular), International Revolutionary Front and FAI 20th July Brigade, International Revolutionary Front, “Do Not Say That We Are Few - Statement from the Italian FAI.”

⁹²⁹ Nicola Gai, “The Urgency of the Attack,” trans. B.Pd (Terra Selvaggie (republished by 325.nostate), July 2013), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=8762>.

CCF have written widely circulated pieces, which have contributed to the development of insurrectionary theory including “The Direct Urgency of Attack”⁹³⁰, “Let’s become dangerous...for the diffusion of the Black International”⁹³¹ and “The Sun Still Rises.”⁹³² There have also been a great number of well-circulated publications that re-mix and aim to distribute the writings and analysis of CCF, FAI, etc. These include English-language publications such as *A Conversation Between Anarchists...*⁹³³, *Escalation...*⁹³⁴, and *Why We Set Your Nights on Fire*⁹³⁵ as well as foreign language publications such as *UpprorsBladet*⁹³⁶ in Swedish and *La Nueva Guerrilla Urbana Anarquista*⁹³⁷ in Spanish. Other neo-urban guerrillas, such as Greece’s Revolutionary Struggle, have also been chronicled in their own publications such as *Revolutionary Struggle*⁹³⁸.

There is an inherent difficulty in establishing how these texts have or have not influenced the attackers that strike within the same (anti-)political framework. Rarely do

⁹³⁰ Christos Tsakalos, “The Direct Urgency of Attack” (Parabellum (republished by Inter Arma), September 2013), <https://interarma.info/2014/02/13/ellada-amesh-anagkaiothta-ths-epithsis-chts/?lang=en>.

⁹³¹ Conspiracy of Cells of Fire FAI/IRF Imprisoned Members Cell, “Let’s become dangerous...for the diffusion of the Black International.”

⁹³² Tsakalos et al., “The Sun Still Rises.”

⁹³³ Anonymous, “A Conversation Between Anarchists: A discussion about tactics, theory and practice between the imprisoned members of the Conspiracy of the Cells of Fire and a few anarchists in Mexico,” trans. Act for Freedom Now! (Black International editions, 2012), <http://actforfree.nostate.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/Conversation-book.pdf>.

⁹³⁴ Anonymous, “Escalation: Some Texts Concerning the Informal Anarchist Federation (FAI) and the Insurrectionist Project” (325.nostate.net, July 2007), <http://325.nostate.net/library/escalation1.pdf>.

⁹³⁵ Anonymous, “Why We Set Your Nights on Fire: Communiques of Greek Nihilist (Conspiracy of the Cells of Fire)” (Indymedia.org, April 2014), <https://linksunten.indymedia.org/de/system/files/data/2014/07/8011999085.pdf>.

⁹³⁶ UpprorsBladet, “UpprorsBladet #3” (UpprorsBladet, December 2011), <http://zinelibrary.info/files/UpprorsBladetX.pdf>.

⁹³⁷ Anonymous, “La Nueva Guerrilla Urbana Anarquista: Conspiración De Células Del Fuego,” trans. Individualidades anárquicas atenienses and Conspiración Ácrata (Internacional negra, February 2013), <http://325.nostate.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/la-nueva-grl-anrqst.pdf>.

⁹³⁸ Anonymous, “Revolutionary Struggle: A Collection of Letters, Texts and Communiques from an Armed Group in Greece and Their Accused...,” trans. boubourAs (Act for Freedom Now!, December 2011), <http://actforfree.nostate.net/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/revolutionary-struggle-zine.pdf>.

communiqué authors include citations to previous works, and while announcements often make reference or quote prior communiqués or statements from jailed fighters, there is not as vivid an argumentative discourse as Rosa Luxemburg with Eduard Bernstein in *Reform or Revolution*⁹³⁹ or those of Karl Marx and Mikhail Bakunin around the First International. Therefore, the works that I have tried to identify are those that speak to original approaches—as opposed to publications that largely compile news, and the words of others such as *Fire to the Prisons* (12 issues, 2007-2015)—and those that aim towards the creation, refinement and critique of *theory*. Other contemporary insurrectionary publications surveyed but not discussed herein include international magazines such as *325 Magazine*⁹⁴⁰ and *Dark Nights*⁹⁴¹, national publications such as Mexico’s Spanish-language *Conspiración Ácrata*⁹⁴², and regional US publications including *Modesto Anarcho*⁹⁴³ (Modesto, CA) and *‘Til it Breaks*⁹⁴⁴ (Denver, CO).

An Overview of Insurrection

Insurrectionary anarchy is a revolutionary theory, practice, and tendency which emphasizes attack and a refusal to negotiate or compromise with enemies. It is critical of formal organizations such as labor unions and federations and instead

⁹³⁹ Rosa Luxemburg, *Reform or Revolution* (Online: Rosa Luxemburg Internet Archive/Marxists.org, 1900), <http://www.marxists.org/archive/luxemburg/1900/reform-revolution/>.

⁹⁴⁰ See for example: 325.nostate.net, “325 #11 - Against the Post-Industrial Consumer Society and the Technological Singularity” (325.nostate.net, July 22, 2014), http://325.nostate.net/library/325_11.pdf.

⁹⁴¹ See for example: Dark Nights editors, “Dark Nights #39: ‘Long Live the New Anarchy!’” (325.nostate.net, January 2014), <http://325.nostate.net/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/dark-nights-39.pdf>.

⁹⁴² See for example: Conspiración Ácrata, “Conspiración Ácrata #18” (Conspiración Ácrata, November 2012), <http://325.nostate.net/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/CA18.pdf>.

⁹⁴³ See for example: Modesto Anarcho, “Modesto Anarchy #18” (Modesto Anarcho, April 28, 2012), <https://www.indybay.org/uploads/2012/04/28/ma18.pdf>.

⁹⁴⁴ See for example: ‘Til it Breaks, “‘Til It Breaks #1” (‘Til it Breaks, Summer 2009), <http://itbreaks.files.wordpress.com/2010/02/itbreaks1.pdf>.

*advocates informal organizations and small affinity groups.*⁹⁴⁵

-- riotous incognitx, A Queer, vegan, anti-fascist, insurrectionary zine [2014]

In her comprehensive account of twentieth century European leftist militants, political violence theorist Donatella della Porta wrote, “in the left-wing underground, justifications for violence are sought in the traditional, revolutionary discourse of the Left.”⁹⁴⁶ But a key motivation for my choosing to examine post-millennial insurrectionary networks is precisely that they defy assertions of this sort, by abandoning the stagnant criticism of Marxism, Maoism, Leninism, Trotskyism, anarchism and other libertarian socialist tendencies and instead, demanding a new reframing informed by poststructuralism, Queer theory and most importantly, centuries of experimental street politics delivered through broken windows, scorched banks and explosive bravado. The insurrectionary violence, embodied in the FAI, CCF and others is a newly *revised* discourse that does not seek justification, mediation, or assimilated acceptance but rather embraces the fostering of social tension and the furtherance of socio-political ruptures. These newly emergent networks, while informed by the structural Marxism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, have sought to embrace a newly disembodied subject, a deterritorialized power that is omnipresent, ever oppressive and vulnerable to attack.

The nature of the socio-political order that insurrectionary action seeks to attack is based in the notion of governance at large, not in particular institutions, methods or applications. This approach, constituting a totalizing critique of power and domination that is familiar to both insurrectionary proponents and poststructuralists and thus weds the

⁹⁴⁵ Anonymous, “Terms and Definitions Which Reflect the Content of This Zine,” *Riotous Incognitx*, October 2014.

⁹⁴⁶ Della Porta, *Clandestine Political Violence*, 208.

two nicely. While Marxists understand the nature of power to reside in the logic of capitalism and the stability of the state, this is largely due to the proscriptive strategies for social change (e.g. how the proletariat organizes for revolution). For insurrectionary action, the focus is on the present, eschewing contemplation of a future utopia beyond the state, capitalism and other manifestations of the dominant order. In this sense, insurrectionary visioning resists the construction of a modeled utopia, asserting instead that the present embodies the real, and the future—what will come after the fall of the state—is to be determined only at that point in the future when individuals are provided the autonomy and temporal space to consider new possibilities.

This is the goal of the insurrectionary network: not to raise the revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat to join a workers' revolution but rather to attack, attack, and attack again in order to show the erroneous nature of the social spectacle and expose the violence inherent in everyday life. For the subjects spoken of by della Porta, conflict framing by the non-state actors revolved around the 'working class' v. 'fascist state' (for the Italian RB)⁹⁴⁷, and the marginalized yet revolutionary subjects of the Third World and urban metropolis v. the imperialist nation-states (for the German RAF)⁹⁴⁸. These outmoded, traditionally Leftist positions have been reconfigured through the contributions of poststructuralism that understand discursive control, knowledge production, ascribed legitimacy and coercion as various assemblages of a central power. When gay bashing, ecological destruction, economic racism and police brutality can be

⁹⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁴⁸ Ibid., 209.

understood through a central thesis—as the insurrectionary framework posits⁹⁴⁹—then the era of worker v. boss, student v. teacher, citizen v. leader have long since been left by the revolutionary wayside.

Emerging in the latter part of the twentieth century and the early years of the twenty-first, a strong nihilist⁹⁵⁰ and postmodern/poststructuralist influence began to be surface within anti-authoritarian theory. This combined with the urging of immediate attack, an abandonment of the protracted preparatory stage of revolutionary mobilization, and a rejection of mediation coalesced into what I am terming the insurrectionary framework. It is part collectivist anarchism, part nihilist, individualistic-egoism, and part poststructural, *queered* critique of power. Insurrection refigures social struggle as war-like, with a large set of actors dressed in enemy garb—cops, soldiers, politicians, bankers, developers, loggers, homophobe, etc. The goal of insurrectionary warfare is to expose these ‘sides’ and to damage one’s opponent at any site of contact. It is not campaign-driven activism but insurrectionary insurgency. An anonymous, insurrectionary-aligned think tank publishing as The Institute for the Study of Insurgent Warfare, in an essay

⁹⁴⁹ For examples of such intersectional analysis as a theoretical presumption see: A Gang Of Criminal Queers, *Towards the Queerest Insurrection*; The Institute for Experimental Freedom, *Politics Is Not a Banana*; Tiqqun, “Tiqqun #1, Conscious organ of the imaginary party, exercises in critical metaphysics”; Tiqqun, “Tiqqun #2, Organ of liaison within the imaginary party, zone of offensive opacity”; The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection*.

⁹⁵⁰ Although the role of nihilism as an influence on insurrectionary anarchism is strong, a thorough literature review of this material is outside the scope of this study. For discussions of these influences can be seen through a variety of works including: Novatore, *Toward the Creative Nothing*; Anonymous, “Uncontrollable: Contributions Towards a Conscious Nihilism” (Anarchistnews.org (republished by Untorelli Press), December 2011), <http://untorellipress.noblogs.org/post/2011/11/11/uncontrollable-contributions-toward-a-conscious-nihilism/>; Aragorn!, “Nihilism Anarchy and the 21st Century”; Attentat, “Attentat - the Journal of the Nihilist Position #1” (Pistols Drawn, June 2013); Bædan, “Bædan: Journal of Queer Nihilism (Vol. #1)” (Bædan, 2013).

entitled *What is Insurgency* speak to this strategy of dis-identifying with Leftist forms of activism, writing:

An activist's enemies then are the particular set of abstract bad things they endeavor to set aright and their opponents are fellows who merely happen to be on the wrong side of the issue. By comparison, an insurgent's enemies are never abstract, but rather discrete entities of flesh, stone, or steel, from bodies to buildings, which at a specific time and place obstruct their interests. These enemies are not party to the insurgent's project and are instead defined by their exteriority to it, making elimination of the opposition the basic mode of conflict.⁹⁵¹

This critical 'us v. them' approach is focused on the boundless, structurelessness nature of intersectional systems and the best way to bring them crashing down. Such a diffuse critique is visible in the language choices of the attackers, for example, imprisoned members of the CCF who describe their efforts as "new sabotages against the authority of the social apparatus"⁹⁵².⁹⁵³ Furthermore, Foucault himself wrote of coercive power in a manner that is often repeated by modern insurrectionary actors. For instance, Foucault explains the concept of 'domination', describing it as "power relations [that] are fixed in such a way that they are perpetually asymmetrical and allow an extremely limited margin of freedom."⁹⁵⁴

This manner of insurrectionary, action-oriented analysis borrows a great deal from earlier strands of anti-authoritarian theory, including the 'green' elements of anarchism typically associated with primitivism. One such centrally located publication,

⁹⁵¹ The Institute for the Study of Insurgent Warfare, *Insurgencies: A Journal of Insurgent Strategy*, 10.

⁹⁵² The use of the term "apparatus" is seen in numerous critical, anti-capitalist thinkers including Louis Althusser and Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari.

⁹⁵³ Conspiracy of Cells of Fire FAI/IRF Imprisoned Members Cell, "Let's become dangerous...for the diffusion of the Black International."

⁹⁵⁴ Michel Foucault, "The Ethics of the Concern of the Self as a Practice of Freedom," in *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth - The Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984*, ed. Paul Rabinow, 1st ed., vol. 1 (New York, NY: The New Press, 1998), 292.

Green Anarchy (published 2000-2009), carried an article that provides a breakdown of green anarchist theory. The four benchmarks identified in this essay mirror those discussed in the subsequent section and are therefore deserving of some attention. In the essay *Play Fiercely! Our Lives are at Stake!: Anarchist Practice as a Game of Subversion*, famed anti-civilization, post-left, insurrectionary anarchist Wolfi Landstreicher⁹⁵⁵ describes the method of the “anarchist revolutionary outlaw”⁹⁵⁶ as being comprised of four tendencies.

This methodology can be summarized as follows: 1) direct action (acting on our own toward what we desire rather than delegating action to a representative); 2) autonomy (refusal to delegate decision-making to any organizational body; organization only as coordination of activists in specific projects and conflicts); 3) permanent conflict (ongoing battle toward our end without any compromise); 4) attack (no mediation, pacification or sacrifice; not limiting ourselves to mere defense or resistance, but aiming for the destruction of the enemy).⁹⁵⁷

Within this milieu is a host of writers advocating for ‘social war’ against the entirety of the world around them. For the insurrectionists⁹⁵⁸, their target would include and extend beyond merely the state, and thus for these theorists, the old Marxist enemy of the

⁹⁵⁵ Wolfi Landstreicher is also known (and publishes as) Feral Faun, and Apio Ludd.

⁹⁵⁶ Wolfi Landstreicher, “Play Fiercely! Our Lives Are at Stake!: Anarchist Practice as a Game of Subversion,” *Green Anarchy*, Summer/Fall 2006, 12.

⁹⁵⁷ Landstreicher, “Play Fiercely! Our Lives Are at Stake!: Anarchist Practice as a Game of Subversion.”

⁹⁵⁸ Often times this subset of the larger revolutionary left, which I am referring to by the shorthand of “insurrectionist” is termed the “communizationists.” Though the communizationist label is less common, it sees increasing use, and is explained by one writer in the following text:

It is not easy to define what the word communization refers to, and it has often been used more as a slogan, a nickname, or even worse a ‘brand’, than forces together very different perspectives and analyses. What we find ‘in’ communization is often a weird mixing-up of insurrectionist anarchism, the communist ultra-left, post-autonomists, anti-political currents...I want to give some initial points of orientation [these actors are those] that pose struggle as immediate, immanent, and as anti-identity.

Noys, *Communization and Its Discontents*, 8.

market, or the anarchist enemy of the state becomes “the totality”⁹⁵⁹ encompassing religion, family, politics, markets, patriarchy, capitalism.... It is a “war...being waged. A war that can no longer be called simply economic, social, or humanitarian, because it is *total*.”⁹⁶⁰

Insurrectionary Queer Theory

One of the main overlapping discourses contributing to insurrectionary theory is that of Queer theory, specifically anti-assimilationist, postmodern Queer theory. This strand of thought problematizes identity-based politics and furthers a theory of intersectionality. Prior to exploring the main tenants, or *canon* on insurrectionary thought as developed through communiqués, a brief exploration of *Queer* insurrectionary politics is warranted as these conceptual components are derived from the same foundational texts and are commonly hosted and distributed through the same online channels. In discussing an application of Queer theory it is important to note that such a cross-disciplinary pairing is not reserved for revolutionary critique, as a recent issue of *International Studies*

⁹⁵⁹ Such totality encompasses not only a large, grandiose physicality but also one of temporality. Therefore, many insurrectionary anarchists will assert the constant presence of a war-like atmosphere in the social ordering. Such a timelessness in one’s mapping of conflict can also be seen in the poststructuralist critical theorists such as Derrida who states:

As soon as war is possible, it is taking place...Whether the war takes place, whether war is decided upon or declared, it is a mere empirical alternative in the face of an essential reality; war is taking place; it has already begun before it begins, as soon as it is characterized as *eventual* (that is, announced as a non-excluded event in a sort of contingent future). And it is *eventual* as it is *possible*.

Jacques Derrida, *The Politics of Friendship*, trans. George Collins, Fourth Impression edition, Radical Thinkers (Verso, 2006), 86.

⁹⁶⁰ Tiqqun, *Preliminary Materials for a Theory of the Young-Girl*, sec. A.

*Review*⁹⁶¹, a mainstream International Studies journal, featured six short pieces based around the application of Queer theory to the field of International Relations.

Drawn from Queer theory and abstracted from the specificity of sexuality and gender, contemporary insurrectionary theorists have argued for the destabilization of identity-based politics through a refocusing on what constitutes ‘us’ and ‘them.’ This is reflecting of dominant trends in postmodern Queer theory, which furthers a non-essentialist view of self⁹⁶² vis-à-vis social hierarchies (e.g. sex, gender, sexuality, race) and a severing of the inherent linkages between embodiment (e.g. sex) and identity (e.g. gender). One way this Queered us/them identity is made clear is through Tiqqun’s concept of “community” developed in their work, *Introduction to Civil War*⁹⁶³. For Tiqqun, the divergent lines drawn between the LGBT "community" and the Queer experience can clearly be seen. Liberal NGOs rallying around a perceived community (e.g. the NAACP, NOW, HRC) create identity-based constituencies, yet Tiqqun argues that the individual becomes a member of a community, a "we", as they experience and understand themselves in relation to power⁹⁶⁴. In ‘chapter 13’ Tiqqun writes:

When, at a certain time and place, two bodies affected by the same form-of-life meet, they experience an objective pact, which precedes any decision. They experience *community*... There is no community except in singular relations. *The community doesn’t exist. There is only community, community that circulates...Community never refers to a collection of bodies conceived*

⁹⁶¹ Cynthia Weber et al., “The Forum: Queer International Relations,” *International Studies Review* 16, no. 4 (December 2014): 596–622.

⁹⁶² Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

⁹⁶³ *Introduction to Civil War* (Semiotext(e), 2010).

⁹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 37–46.

independently of their world. It refers to the nature of the relations between these bodies and between bodies and their world.⁹⁶⁵

For Tiqqun, the shared nature of identity is what is experienced as "form of life," and thus two male-bodied persons who have sexual contact with two other male-bodied persons might both be members of different "communities" as both experience these "forms of life"⁹⁶⁶ (i.e. the homosexual act) divergently in relation to regimentation. One may be a male-bodied, white-skinned, homosexual, member of Congress who *passes*, and another, a transgendered, undocumented citizen, financially struggling as a transient sex worker. If both of these male-bodied individuals engage in fellatio with another male, that act will be disciplined differently despite the similarly *homosexual* nature of the performance. Thus it is not the act that defines identity but how one understands oneself vis-à-vis the disciplining powers of the body. Additionally, this disciplining is reflective of not only how one understands self vis-à-vis the disciplining powers of the body, but because identity is a product of social interaction, it is also constituted through notions of how one understands self vis-à-vis others.

Another way to understand insurrectionary theory's Queerly informed rejection of *identity* is to discuss it as an opposing force to *affinity*. In this manner, milieus are formed not from those who self-identity as "anarchists" or "revolutionaries" or "militants" but rather a shared sense of ethics. In an anonymously authored insurrectionary critique of the environmental direct action network Earth First!, the author explores this concept,

⁹⁶⁵ Tiqqun, *Introduction to Civil War*, 2010, 37–41 [Emphasis in original].

⁹⁶⁶ "form-of-life" is defined earlier in the book as "how I am what I am" Tiqqun, *Introduction to Civil War*, 2010, 22..

urging action on the basis of shared affinities and not the various ghettoized encampments of the Left.

If...one's priority is to perpetuate a general culture (and develop new practices) of revolt, it makes more sense to be antagonistic to the Left but tight with one's neighbors or co-workers or 'non-political' friends, whomever one judges might go crazy with you when the shit hits the fan. Affinity rather than political identity becomes the center of gravity of the relationship. What someone 'thinks about the environment' is meaningless to me. Do they hate the police? Do they hate work? Do they hate having mercury stored up in their gut? Do they hate some aspect of capitalist life? Do they want to knee-cap nuclear execs? Do we do similar kinds of crime to get by? Could I be friends with them, and do we have meaningful skills or ideas to share...?⁹⁶⁷

This framework of community on the basis of affinity disrupts identity-based politics and instead offers a demarcation on the basis of the "objective pact...[of] community,"⁹⁶⁸ a community of those negating identity. The notion of hegemonic forces as disciplining the physical, emanates from Foucault's *biopower*, which according to Foucault, acts as, "an indispensable element in the development of capitalism...[through] the controlled insertion of bodies into the machinery of production, [leading to] segregation and social hierarchization...guaranteeing relations of domination and the effects of hegemony"⁹⁶⁹. The regimentation of Queer bodies via biopower serves to engender social outliers towards assimilation for the purposes of faux-pluralism within the framework of the tranquil, tolerant nation-state.⁹⁷⁰

⁹⁶⁷ s.t., "The Issues Are Not the Issue: A Letter to Earth First! From a Too-Distant Friend," 3.

⁹⁶⁸ Tiqqun, *Introduction to Civil War*, 2010, 37.

⁹⁶⁹ *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction* (New York: Vintage, 1990), 141.

⁹⁷⁰ For expansion and application of this argument, see: Slavoj Žižek, "Multiculturalism, Or, the Cultural Logic of Multinational Capitalism," *New Left Review* I, no. 225 (October 1997), <http://www.newleftreview.org/?view=1919>; Slavoj Žižek, "A Plea for Leninist Intolerance," *Critical Inquiry* 28, no. 2 (Winter 2002): 542–66; Michael Loadenthal, "Professor Xavier Is a Gay Traitor! An Anti-

While one influential insurrectionary thinker (Tiqqun) attempted to problematize the ‘us-versus-them’ nature of identity politics, another collective of radical actors worked to flatten these distinctions, creating clearer demarcations. Though it is anonymously authored, *Towards the Queerest Insurrection*⁹⁷¹ further develops the insurrectionary tendency, problematizing the identity of “Queer” while simultaneously simplifying the division between ally and enemy. The authors of this text *queer* the notion of Queer identity, stating:

‘queer’ as synonymous with ‘gay and lesbian’ or ‘LGBT.’ This reading falls short...queer is not a stable area to inhabit. Queer is not merely another identity that can be tacked onto a list of neat social categories, not the quantitative sum of our identities. Rather it is the qualitative position of opposition to presentations of stability – an identity that problematizes the manageable limits of identity. Queer is a territory of tension, defined against the dominant narrative of white-hetero-monogamous-patriarchy, but also by an affinity with all who are marginalized, otherized and oppressed...Queer is the cohesion of everything in conflict with the heterosexual capitalist world. Queer is the total rejection of the regime of the Normal.⁹⁷²

This set of distinctions exists at the heart of the insurrectionary critique of identity-based, movement building efforts but is not solely the product of this movement. In his book *Saint Foucault*, David Halperin repeats a similar idea, stating, “Queer is by definition *whatever* is at odds with the normal, the legitimate, the dominant.”⁹⁷³

For those seeking to intervene and transform protracted social conflicts where insurrectionary actors are present, this Queer positioning has important ramifications. For

Assimilationist Queer Framework for Interpreting Ideology, Power & Statecraft,” *Journal of Feminist Scholarship* 6, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 13–46.

⁹⁷¹ A Gang Of Criminal Queers, *Towards the Queerest Insurrection*.

⁹⁷² “Towards the Queerest Insurrection” (Mary Nardini gang, 2008), I, <http://zinelibrary.info/files/QueerestImposed.pdf>.

⁹⁷³ *Saint Foucault: Towards a Gay Hagiography* (New York: Oxford University Press, USA, 1997), 62.

example, if one envisions their battle as attempting to confront domination wholesale and not simply legalistic challenges to LGBT equality, this framing has a wide-reaching impact on the potential intractability of the conflict. Secondly, insurrectionary tendencies to reject involvement with the political process further complicate propositions for a piecemeal solution where the passage of legislation (e.g. the repealing of Don't Ask Don't Tell), or similar actionable program could be marked as successful. Insurrectionary Queer theory positions Queers as those contesting normative identities and those oppressed by the forces of 'The Totality.' In *Towards the Queerest Insurrection*, the authors argue that Queer liberation is predicated on "the annihilation of capitalism and the state"⁹⁷⁴ arguing that to inhabit Queerness, to claim this rejectionist self-moniker, is to "challenge oppression in its entirety...total negation of this world...[to] become bodies in revolt...to destroy not only what destroys us, but also those who aspire to turn us into a gay mimicry of that which destroys us...[to] be in conflict with regimes of the normal...[to] be at war with everything."⁹⁷⁵

Such calls for 'total social war' encapsulate the insurrectionary tendency both in terms of critique and the action such criticism demands. Both the problematized notion of "community" as presented by Tiquun and that of a newly contested Queer identity (as presented in *Towards the Queerest Insurrection*) demonstrate how this revolutionary politic not only complicates the gay-straight binary, but also more nuanced delineations that would lead one towards an identity-based conflict. While the construction of an

⁹⁷⁴ A Gang Of Criminal Queers, *Towards the Queerest Insurrection*, sec. VII.

⁹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, sec. IX.

insurrectionary *Queer* canon poses the same problems as that of a generalized (i.e. non-Queer) canon, one can nonetheless identify some central texts and publications that are recurrent throughout this milieu. This includes *Towards the Queerest Insurrection*⁹⁷⁶, *Militant Flamboyance*⁹⁷⁷, *Queers Read This*⁹⁷⁸, *Terror Incognita*⁹⁷⁹ the writings of Bash Back! compiled through projects such as *Bash Back! an unofficial zine*⁹⁸⁰, and *Queer Ultraviolence*⁹⁸¹, and the multi-issue zine *Pink and Black Attack*⁹⁸²

The Political Violence of Queer Insurrection

It is obvious that the Queer insurrectionary politic is inherently revolutionary and thus challenges state authority and other more diffuse forms of power. Because of their direct attacks on state forces and institutions, the insurrectionary, anti-statist tendency has garnered a negative framing, placing it into an oppositional relationship with state forces. This is of course now solely the domain of this specific brand of non-state actors. Violent non-state, sub-state and quasi-state actors are regularly defined as illegitimate within the linguistics of statecraft. Those choosing to disengage from traditional representative politics, or those choosing to violently interact with the system of governance, quickly

⁹⁷⁶ A Gang Of Criminal Queers, *Towards the Queerest Insurrection*.

⁹⁷⁷ Heath Schultz and Brad Thomson, "Militant Flamboyance: A Brief History of the Stonewall Riots and Other Queer Happenings" (Self published, 2009), http://zinelibrary.info/files/militantflamboyance_FINALprint.pdf.

⁹⁷⁸ Anonymous Queers, "Queers Read This" (Self published, July 2009), http://zinelibrary.info/files/militantflamboyance_FINALprint.pdf.

⁹⁷⁹ CrimethInc. Ex-Workers' Collective, "Terror Incognita" (CrimethInc. Ex-Workers' Collective, April 2012), http://cloudfront.crimethinc.com/pdfs/terror_incognita_reading.pdf.

⁹⁸⁰ Bash Back!, *Bash Back!: An Unofficial Zine (Communiqués and Other Decadent Delights)* (BAMF! Productionz, 2009), zinelibrary.info/files/bashback-zine4.pdf.

⁹⁸¹ Eanelli and Baroque, *Queer Ultraviolence: A Bash Back! Anthology*.

⁹⁸² See for example: Pink and Black Attack, "Pink and Black Attack #6" (Pink and Black Attack, Fall 2010), <http://zinelibrary.info/files/PABA6.pdf>.

become targets of the state's defamatory rhetoric (i.e. framing, labeling, legislating), as well as direct, actualized violence (i.e. police, military).⁹⁸³ When a state, be it the UK, Israel or the US, sets preconditions for negotiations with non-state actors, typically involving a "renouncing of violence," the state is in effect delegitimizing the rejectionist actors' production of violence—a challenge to the state's solitary claim to force and coercion.

It is at this site of the violent reification of rejectionism where one can understand why the state would seek to interrupt the advancement of an insurrectionary *Queer* tendency within LGBT politics—such an *ideology* could threaten citizens' social and civil engagement, further adding to networks that advocate direct attack. State forces would prefer if Queer concerns were handled in the 'depoliticized' *private* spheres, and thus not present a challenge to the codified system of social relations⁹⁸⁴ or economic structures. The Queer networks producing and transmitting these challenges have sought to create praxis mirroring their politics of negation, anti-assimilation and social war. To these ends, a number of acts of property destruction have been carried out through cell-based, direct action networks similar to that of the CCF, FAI, ALF and others. The most

⁹⁸³ For example, Irish Republicans who were disaffected by the assimilationist and reformist incarnations of Sinn Féin, formed dissident factions that carried out acts of violence timed to derail political processes. As their dissident rejectionism denied the group an opportunity to engage at a negotiation table, those Republicans rather engaged the political realm through extra-legal acts of violence. This is a similar pattern seen in a series of bomb attacks targeting the Israeli citizenry carried out by Palestinian rejectionist factions (e.g. Hamas) choosing to engage in direct, disruptive violence as an act of protesting bilateral, Palestinian/Israeli negotiations for which the group was excluded. In these cases, when reading a state's continuum of legitimacy, the more reformist elements (e.g. PIRA/ Sinn Féin, Palestinian Authority/Fatah) are portrayed positively, while the violence-producing rejectionists (e.g. Continuity IRA/Real IRA, Hamas/Islamic Jihad) are presented as purposely disruptive and incorrigible.

⁹⁸⁴ Nikki Sullivan, *A Critical Introduction to Queer Theory* (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 24–25.

prominent of these networks, was Bash Back!⁹⁸⁵ (BB!), an insurrectionary Queer network, based in the US, and active from 2007-2011.

From BB! and ideologically-aligned networks of insurrectionary-styled Queer resistance, numerous attacks have been carried out targeting reformist, corporate and state-based institutions purporting to help non-heterosexual communities. These attacks amount to an anti-assimilationist, non-rights-based critique of heterosexism, patriarchy, capitalism, transphobia, etc. as developed within an insurrectionary politic of direct confrontation. A variety of these actions have targeted festivals and other public gatherings linked to gaining rights for non-heterosexuals. Examples of such incidents include:

- 7/2/08, Chicago, IL: BB! joins Pride parade and carries banners critiquing the event. One such banner reads, “No Pride in Corporate Greed,” in reference to Pride’s corporate sponsorship. BB! also distributes “barf bags” with the words “Corporate Pride makes me sick” written on them.⁹⁸⁶
- 8/26/08: Denver, CO: BB! protests HRC party held in conjunction with the Democratic National Convention. Flyers distributed critique HRC for ‘dumping transgender people,’ receiving corporate funding, and “rather than saving the lives of queers here and in Iraq, HRC fights to stockpile the military with queer fodder for Bush’s crusade.”⁹⁸⁷
- 10/5/08, Washington, DC: BB! pickets outside of an HRC, “\$250/plate” fundraiser held to benefit “the force of gay assimilation.”⁹⁸⁸

⁹⁸⁵ For more information on BB! see: Bash Back!, *Bash Back!: An Unofficial Zine (Communiqués and Other Decadent Delights)*, 2009; Michael Loadenthal, “Operation Splash Back!: Queering Animal Liberation Through the Contributions of Neo-Insurrectionist Queers,” *Journal of Critical Animal Studies* Special Edition: Intersecting Queer Theory and Critical Animal Studies, no. IX:3 (Spring 2012 2011): 85–112; Eanelli and Baroque, *Queer Ultraviolence: A Bash Back! Anthology*.

⁹⁸⁶ Yasmin Nair, “Bash Back! Makes Point at Parade,” *Windy City Times*, July 2, 2008, www.windycitymediagroup.com/gay/lesbian/news/ARTICLE.php?AID=18827.

⁹⁸⁷ Bash Back!, *Bash Back!: An Unofficial Zine (Communiqués and Other Decadent Delights)* (BAMF! Productionz, 2009), 19–20, zinelibrary.info/files/bashback-zine4.pdf.

⁹⁸⁸ dandee lyon of bb!dc, “Bash Back! DC Confronts HRC Assimilationism,” *DC Indymedia*, October 5, 2008, <http://dc.indymedia.org/newswire/display/144360/index.php>.

- 10/12/08, Chicago, IL: BB! attends an event commemorating the 10th anniversary of the murder of Matthew Shepard⁹⁸⁹ and leads confrontational chants directed at police and endorsing property destruction.⁹⁹⁰
- 10/10/09, Washington, DC: “Queers Against Assimilation” vandalize HRC’s headquarters with graffiti reading “Quit leaving queers behind.”
- 6/26/11, Seattle, WA: “Some Queer Hooligans” disrupt Pride events (for the third year in row), distributing a flyer titled, “Queers Fucking Queer: NO Homonationalism, NO Homomilitarism, NO Assimilation.” During the illegal march, two police cars, a Bank of America, an American Apparel, and a Ferrari dealership were attacked.⁹⁹¹
- 6/29/11, Washington, DC: “The Right Honorable Wicked Stepmothers’ Traveling, Drinking and Debating Society and Men’s Auxiliary” vandalize the HRC gift shop with pink paint projectiles, and by painting “Stonewall” on the sidewalk. The group claimed the act in a lengthy communiqué⁹⁹² released the following day.

Taken as a collectivity, these actions represent a critique of the LGBT, equal rights lobby, what some rejectionist Queers have termed the “Gay Non-Profit Industrial Complex”⁹⁹³.

The decisions made by BB! and others to attack an organization like HRC is important in understanding proscribed methods of socio-political engagement. While both HRC and BB! oppose contemporary state policy, only HRC acts to change such laws. On the opposing end, BB! seeks to widen the gap between gay proponents of voting and lobbying and Queer advocates of social war. This politically strategic duality, is critical in understanding Statist efforts to regiment dissent. For the state, the legalistic

⁹⁸⁹ Matthew Shepard (1976-1998) was an American college student who was beaten, tortured and abandoned in Wyoming in a ‘hate crime.’ Shepard died 12 October 1998 from head injuries he sustained in the attack. His death became a rallying cry for the examination of bias-related crimes and led to the passage of the “Matthew Shepard and James Byrd Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act” in 2009, as a rider to the 2010 “National Defense Authorization Act” [H.R. 2647]. The act amended a 1969 hate-crime law by adding perceived gender, sexual orientation, gender identity and ability as protected classes.

⁹⁹⁰ Bash Back!, *Bash Back!: An Unofficial Zine (Communiqués and Other Decadent Delights)*, 2009, 25.

⁹⁹¹ Pugetsoundanarchists.org, “Queers Vs. Cops,” June 26, 2011, <http://pugetsoundanarchists.org/node/730>.

⁹⁹² The Right Honorable Wicked Stepmothers’ Traveling, Drinking and Debating Society and Men’s Auxiliary, “Rowdy Queers Trash and Glamdalize Human Rights Campaign Gift Shop” (Anarchistnews.org, June 29, 2011), <http://anarchistnews.org/?q=node/14923>.

⁹⁹³ Ibid.

efforts of HRC fail to challenge the distribution of power within the society *even* if such efforts were able to effect change. In order to maintain the systematizing of protest, the state presents the efforts of HRC as the fruits of tolerant pluralism, as ‘democracy in action,’ while the attacks of BB! are framed as ‘mindless vandalism’ by unappeasable extremists. This good citizen/bad citizen, good protestor/bad protestor dichotomy is used to delegitimize strategies of political engagement that challenge the state’s monopoly on violence⁹⁹⁴ and advocate a cultural reality that is inherently anti-state centric.

A secondary problem for statist efforts to dictate how dissent it to be managed comes in the form of the insurrectionary rejection of identity-based politics. Such a political framework, wherein one sees the fragmented creation of a Civil Rights movement (i.e. black African Americas challenging racism), a Women’s Rights movement (i.e. female bodied, female gendered persons challenging sexism), etc. allows the state to be challenged in disparate venues but segmented, single issue groups. Judith Bulter, in her discussion of a groups’ struggle for collective rights, repeats this analysis writing:

When we argue for protection against discrimination, we argue as a group or a class. And in that language and in that context, we have to present ourselves as bounded beings—distinct, recognizable, delineated, subjects before the law, a community defined by some shared features. Indeed, we must be able to use that language to secure legal protections and entitlements. But perhaps we make a

⁹⁹⁴ Max Weber, “Politik als Beruf (Politics as a Vocation)” (Lecture, Free Students Union, Munich University, January 1919), http://www.ne.jp/asahi/moriyuki/abukuma/weber/lecture/politics_vocation.html.

mistake if we take the definitions of who we are, legally, to be adequate descriptions of what we are about.⁹⁹⁵

The Queer analysis supports this line of argumentation as it advocates *against* a “bounded...delineated” legal subjectivity. Instead, the insurrectionary tendency seeks to blur these lines of boundary, to present an *unbounded*, *non-delineated* politic that only separates the oppressed from the oppressor. Whereas HRC seeks to draw lines between the LGBT ‘community’ and the hetero community, Queers deny this simplification and argue that *who* one desires sexually is not the ultimate determination of what community they occupy. The Queer community, as discussed by Butler, is a *non-class*, unbounded by the limits of group description. This newly articulated, queered form of *identity*, inherently leads one towards an alternative method of analyzing conflicts. An identity-based, single-issue movement is preferable to the state as it is bounded by the ability to be appeased and recuperated through piecemeal, legalistic concessions. For the forms of state control, such *identity-based* conflicts, groups and movements are smaller, more fragmented, and thus easier to contain when faced with the opposing option of a generalized revolt in the form of insurrectionary social war.

An insurrectionary canon? More like an insurrectionary cannon!

Insurrection can be understood as “the *whole* of social relations opening up to the adventure of freedom”⁹⁹⁶, and total war with the forces of domination, control and governance. There is a goal to ‘interrupt all social activity and paralyze normality.’⁹⁹⁷ In

⁹⁹⁵ *Precarious Life: The Power of Mourning and Violence* (New York: Verso, 2004), 24–25.

⁹⁹⁶ Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics*, 15.

⁹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 23.

trying to trace the borderlands of the current study, one is tempted to speak of an insurrectionary *ideology* or worse yet, an insurrectionary *canon*. While both of these terms are inadequate to explain the boundaries of poststructural-inspired theory, a discussion occurs through words and one is limited to the vocabulary one possesses. Therefore, while this discussion prefers the use of descriptive nouns such as *tendency* and *framework*, it is instructive to examine a definition of *ideology*—borrowing from social movement theorist Roberta Garner—that most closely resembles the task at hand. In her efforts to define, Garner writes:

Ideology refers to the discourse of the movement, to what people think and say. The ideology is the ideas held by the people who see themselves as connected to the movement...Usually, an ideology has some degree of coherence; the ideas hand together in some way. The discourses are interconnected. The discourses specify some way of looking at reality. They specify what is *really important*. They are a way of making sense of life experiences and situations. The discourses spell out what the current situation is and why it should be changed. They identify some preferable state of affairs that becomes the goal of the movement...Movement discourses speak about some elements of reality, not others, and this selection of a sphere of discourse contains the *why* of the movement.⁹⁹⁸

Ideology, at large, can thus be read as a “belief system”⁹⁹⁹ with its corresponding discourse and practices. These systems by their very nature are inherently multi-person, community-level groupings “comparable to socio-cultural knowledge...shared by (epistemic) communities”¹⁰⁰⁰ and can be quantified, in a limited sense, as “the *fundamental, ‘axiomatic’ beliefs shared by a group*, that is *general* beliefs that control—and are often derived from—more specific beliefs about concrete events, actions and

⁹⁹⁸ Garner, *Contemporary Movements and Ideologies*, 15–16 [Emphasis in original text].

⁹⁹⁹ Dijk, “Discourse and Ideology,” 382.

¹⁰⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

situations with which group members may be confronted.”¹⁰⁰¹ It is through this discourse-centric understanding through which ideology will be utilized and discussed.

The following discussion will attempt to outline the insurrectionary *ideology* as best as it can be quantified. It will examine the recurrent themes found in theory, propaganda and claims of responsibility to identify the *discourse* of insurrection, the insurrectionary ‘way of looking at reality,’ and how the revolutionary struggle is the means to transform the whole of lived experience. This exercise in canonization is conducted without the luxury of hindsight. The task at hand is to trace the outlines of a process of canonization that is not yet in the past but is rather ongoing, in flux.

Philosopher Cornel West cautions us against such pursuits, writing, “Any attempt to expand old canons or constitute new ones presupposes particular interpretations of the historical moment at which canonization is to take place.”¹⁰⁰² Certainly this is true in relation to the insurrectionary project. What is precisely being attempted here is the constitution of a new canon, presupposing the understanding of history as a cumulative record of international attack. This reading of history posits that while the People’s Will of 1880s Russia is not a *direct* ancestor of the post-millennial FAI, in constructing the canon in the present, what remains of the nineteenth century philosophy will inherently be understood through the particular political realities of modern conflict. In other words, in support of West’s assertion, this discussion presupposes an interpretation of the historical account of illegalism and insurrection as intertwined and formative for the

¹⁰⁰¹ Ibid., 383 [emphasis in original].

¹⁰⁰² Cornel West, “Minority Discourse and the Pitfalls of Canon Formation,” *Yale Journal of Criticism* 1, no. 1 (1987): 193.

modern discourse.

In determining where this canon begins and ends, a certain amount of judgment is employed by the author. Since revolutionary actors do not often provide taxonomic labels when writing, it is up to the researcher to determine in-group and out-group distinctions. This task is likely easier with sectarian Communist movements as these organizations are keen to self-identify as Marxist-Leninists, Trotskyists, Council Communists, etc. In the anti-authoritarian, clandestine networks of attack, this sort of self-labeling is less common but does occur. In one example, an American anarchist self-identifies as an insurrectionist in a letter distributed announcing his return to the US after living in Canada for a time to resist state efforts to convene a grand jury. The activist, Steven Jablonski, writes of his support for the insurrectionary attack¹⁰⁰³ that began the state's grand jury:

I also want to be clear that I stand in full solidarity with those anonymous vandals who attacked the William Kenzo Nakamura Courthouse in Seattle on May 1st 2012. There are few things I desire more than to see institutions of power targeted and attacked. I strongly identify with the insurrectionary anarchist tendency and believe that those acts of crime and rebellion that occurred on that day in Seattle serve as a small example of how people can physically attack institutions of Capital in their never-ending quest for liberation.¹⁰⁰⁴

Despite Jablonski's clear self-labeling, other texts are more difficult to categorize.

A prime methodological determination of categorization rests in where the document was located (i.e. insurrectionary versus non-insurrectionary website), as well as

¹⁰⁰³ On 1 May 2012, anarchists in Seattle, Washington, assembled for a demonstration to coincide with May Day, an internationalist workers' holiday celebrated around the world. During the march, a black bloc engaged in a series of attacks on property including the targeting of a courthouse. Following these demonstrations, the federal government convened a series of information-gathering grand juries to coercively subpoenaing activists to provide information or risk imprisonment for 'contempt.'

¹⁰⁰⁴ Steve Jablonski, "Grand Jury Resister Steve Returns Home!" (Anarchistnews.org, April 13, 2014), <http://anarchistnews.org/content/grand-jury-resister-steve-returns-home>.

the presence of certain terms, rallying cries and group monikers. In another example of self-labeling, the announcement of a new Greek anarchist website described the site's content as "Promoting anarcho-individualism, insurrectionary anarchism, anti-social and anti-political nihilism. For total liberation of humanity! Against capitalism, state and mass-society!"¹⁰⁰⁵ Not only does this announcement explicitly self label as insurrectionary, anti-political, individualist nihilists, but it also evokes the 'total liberation' position; all key markers of the insurrectionary tendency. In a notably similar announcement for another counter-information website, the anonymous authors write: "What is the purpose of this project? Promoting anti-social and anti-political nihilism, individualism, egotism, insurrectionary anarchism. For total liberation! Against state, capital and society!"¹⁰⁰⁶ Often times these clear word choice demarcations are absent, as anarchist praxis is meant to exemplify political tendencies to a far greater degree than hollow self-labelings. Therefore, in constructing the 'ideological canon' of the insurrectionary tendency, a certain amount of judgment is employed, informed by familiarity with the literature, and the wider social movement's language choices.

Finally, it is important to understand the assumptions about society contained within the insurrectionary logic that are specific to its position. While the milieu's conceptions of power and structure are discussed throughout, they are based in a reading of domination that is fluid, invisible and ever-present. Though not stated explicitly, there exists the notion that attacks lead to more attacks that lead to more wide spread conflict.

¹⁰⁰⁵ The Parabellum, "The Parabellum - New Greek Anarchist Website" (Anarchistnews.org, January 27, 2013), <http://anarchistnews.org/content/parabellum-new-greek-anarchist-website>.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Nihilist Abyss, "Nihilist Abyss - New Anarchist Website" (Anarchistnews.org, July 5, 2013), <http://anarchistnews.org/content/nihilist-abyss-new-anarchist-website>.

Though not an insurrectionist in the sense presented in this study, American urban guerrilla Ed Mead¹⁰⁰⁷ argues in *The Theory and Practice of Armed Struggle in the Northwest*, “revolutionary violence will help build the aboveground movement, in addition to other positive effects.”¹⁰⁰⁸ Mead, a Marxist advocate of armed struggle, presents an understanding of the strategic role of *terrorism* in revolutionary social change. In 1976, while Mead was imprisoned, he wrote:

It is true that terrorism as the principal form of political action, as a strategy for revolution, cannot be the means or the liberation of the masses and is therefore incompatible with Marxism...But not all revolutionary violence is terrorist. Terrorism is a tactic, not an entity, and it is a tactic used by people who have a political grievance. Terrorism is eliminated by addressing the political problems that give it birth...In addition to communicating a state of mind to the enemy, terror, if correctly applied, can be an important deterrent to some of the most flagrant manifestations of fascism, and a tool for raising the consciousness of the masses.¹⁰⁰⁹

Mead’s presentation of terrorism as an effective tactic, freely adoptable, in response to a political grievance resembles the insurrectionary presumption concerning the positive influence of armed actions against the state, and their legitimacy despite terrorist trappings. Though the insurrectionary vision concerning the steps between isolated acts of disobedience and insurrection is far from a revolutionary program crafted by a Party, it does carry with it a set of presumptions about human behavior and the way social movements interact with the state.

Despite the frequency with which insurrectionary texts are penned, very little of this writing is focused on a paced prediction for social transformation, despite Bonanno

¹⁰⁰⁷ Ed Mead is a Marxist communist in his 70s who served 18 years in prison for armed guerrilla actions with the George Jackson Brigade. He was released from prison in 1993.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Mead, *The Theory and Practice of Armed Struggle in the Northwest*, iii.

¹⁰⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 22–23.

titling his essay, *From Riot to Insurrection*. In this essay, despite its misleading name, Bonanno rejects the need for such a plan, an answer to *How is It to be Done?*, writing:

...the only possible strategy for anarchists is an informal one. By this we mean groups of comrades who come together with precise objectives, on the basis of affinity, and contribute to creating mass structures that set themselves immediate aims, while constructing the minimal conditions for transforming situations of simple riot into those of insurrection... What is dead is the static anarchism of the traditional organisations, based on claiming better conditions, and having quantitative goals. The idea that social revolution is something that must necessarily result from our struggles has proved to be unfounded. It might, but then again it might not. Determinism is dead, and with blind law of cause and effect with it. The revolutionary means we employ, including insurrection, do not necessarily lead to social revolution.¹⁰¹⁰

Bonanno asserts that while social revolution may not be the outcome of insurrectionary attack, it contains the possibility of such an outcome. Therefore it is difficult to determine *how* the insurrectionary tendency understands the connection between increasing attacks against the state, and the subsequent stages of revolutionary conflict. However, the approach presumes that by engaging in individual-level acts of illegal, anti-social attacks against power, one can spread an oppositional posture (*vis-à-vis* the state, capital, etc.) and lead to a more generalized revolt and rupture with systems of power. This largely open, unpredictable, and un-mapped method is a clear differentiation from eras of past armed struggle.

This method of prescriptive, ordered visioning is common in the revolutionary left texts from urban (largely Marxist) guerrillas of the 1960-1980s. Book-length texts such as Guevara's *Guerrilla Warfare*¹⁰¹¹, the WUO's *Prairie Fire*¹⁰¹², the BLA's *Message to*

¹⁰¹⁰ Bonanno, *From Riot to Insurrection: Analysis for an anarchist perspective against post-industrial capitalism*, 22–23.

¹⁰¹¹ Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare*.

*the Black Movement*¹⁰¹³ and *The Politics of Bombs*¹⁰¹⁴ all contain discussions of how small-scale armed vanguards transition into more generalized armed revolt and then more direct confrontation with the state. Quoting the RAF, the anonymous authors of *The Politics of Bombs*, write, “The mass armed capability which will destroy the state has its beginnings in very small armed actions, and through these guerilla actions the armed mass capability develops.”¹⁰¹⁵ The authors, no longer quoting the RAF, continue their prescriptive analyses writing:

By engaging in armed struggle, even in its most formative stage, the guerrilla raises the issues of militant armed resistance to the capitalist State from a dimtheoretical (sic) concept to an immediate practical possibility... While this preliminary armed resistance will, de facto, receive only limited support, even on the left, this limited support is the potential nucleus for the eventual armed struggle that will be necessary for revolutionary change to occur in any nation-State.¹⁰¹⁶

In this text, likely authored by associates or allies of the DA5, the strategic nature of small-scale violence is explained as laying the groundwork for its expansion. The WUO make similar claims as well writing, “From the very beginning of guerrilla action, mass armed capability develops. Its spontaneity will be slowly transformed into the energy of a popular armed force.”¹⁰¹⁷ In the words of the WUO, RAF and DA5, the period between isolated vanguardism and broad revolt appears to be little more than a matter of scale.

¹⁰¹² Weather Underground, *Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism* (San Francisco, CA: Prairie Fire Distributing Committee & Communications Co., 1974), <http://www.sds-1960s.org/PrairieFire-reprint.pdf>.

¹⁰¹³ Coordinating Committee Black Liberation Army (CC-BLA), *Message to the Black Movement: A Political Statement from the Black Underground*, Print (Montreal, QC: Abraham Guillen Press & Arm the Spirit, 2002).

¹⁰¹⁴ Anonymous, *The Politics of Bombs, Armed Struggle in Canada: Direct Action Wimmin's Fire Brigade Vancouver Five*.

¹⁰¹⁵ Quoting the “Red Army Fraction” (sic): *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁰¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 5–6.

¹⁰¹⁷ Weather Underground, *Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism*, 33.

Therefore to increase the rate and support for attacks is integral to this strategy. While the Marxist-aligned left makes these sorts of arguments with great frequency, the macro strategy advocated by the insurrectionists must be understood as the sum total of the still-ongoing discourse.

Establishing Eight Values of the Insurrectionary Canon

Important taxonomic questions persist such as: ‘Whose participation constitutes this discourse?’ Where this movement begins and ends is even more difficult to determine. Though no strict, easy to identify, in-group/out-group determination exists, one can *choose* to think of such camps in binary terms. Though such a modeling has obvious limitations, it can be useful to understand self and other in this regard. To quote the anonymous Italian author(s) of *At Daggers Drawn...*, “One part of this society has every interest in its continuing to rule, the other in everything collapsing as soon as possible. Deciding which side one is on is the first step.”¹⁰¹⁸ In the following sections we will explore these ‘parts of society’ found in the insurrectionary milieu by examining eight recurrent, ideological tendencies.

1. Attack: continuous, immediate and spontaneous

We must take another step further. And what should this step be? Attack. Demonstrative at first, for goodness sake! I do not want to talk about a definitive attack, as basically only the militarist illusion feeds off this kind of thing to the point of indigestion. I mean an attack on the concrete targets that establish, nurture, guarantee, justify, and finance the management of such a monstrosity...After all, anarchists, even on their own, have historically been capable of carrying out actions of attack, which in their small dimension and reproducibility have inspired those who suffer exclusion, exploitation, and

¹⁰¹⁸ Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics*, 5.

*genocide.*¹⁰¹⁹

-- Alfredo Bonanno [2013]

*Social revolution cannot be postponed to an indefinite future, nor be limited to an indistinct projectuality. It requires constant revolutionary action in the present time, and involves the organization and formation of a ground-breaking revolutionary movement that will elaborate and define its strategic steps, and clash with the establishment's centralized policies. It involves the political process and willingness to put specific revolutionary proposals into practice.*¹⁰²⁰

-- Commando Lambros Foundas of Revolutionary Struggle [2014]

The insurrectionary tendency towards *attack* is not based around an attempt to ‘out flank’ and defeat the state in head-to-head warfare, but instead attempts to harm and destabilize the system with a constant string of ideologically-linked attacks that collectively constitute a revolutionary force. While these attacks are certainly carried out to urge system-level rupture and eventual collapse, this is a secondary goal wherein individual acts of resistance are quantifiable victories in themselves. Some insurrectionary actors explain that while they do not envision defeating the state in a classical two party, winner/loser model, they nevertheless feel motivated to act by a personal politic that furthers the *political* outside of politics through the deployment of continual attack. The Mexican eco-insurrectionary network of vandals, arsonists, bombers and gunmen known as ITS write of their vision in their eighth communiqué, issued in 2014, which claims responsibility for a series of parcel bombs sent to scientists and researchers. In this text, the ITS write:

¹⁰¹⁹ Alfredo M Bonanno, “Foreword,” in *Anarchists Against the Wall: Direct Action and Solidarity with the Palestinian Popular Struggle*, ed. Uri Gordon and Ohal Grietzer, trans. Jean Weir, Anarchist Interventions 5 (Edinburgh, UK: AK Press, 2013), 2–3.

¹⁰²⁰ Commando Lambros Foundas, “Responsibility claim by the organization Revolutionary Struggle,” trans. contra-info (Athens Indymedia (republished by contra-info), April 25, 2014), <http://en.contrainfo.espiv.net/2014/04/25/greece-revolutionary-struggle-claims-responsibility-for-car-bomb-explosion-in-athens-city-centre/>.

...with these attacks we have executed we are not trying to win or lose (because who thinks they will win, since that time, has already lost). Our attacks address the system and that which sustain it, our acts demonstrate that we have NOT submitted, we have NOT accepted their values, we remain human rather than robots, that we have NOT fully domesticated our behaviour, that we are reluctant to join their lies and their negotiations, covenants that we do not want. We do not want something more beneficial or less harmful. We want confrontation, war to the death against this dirty system.¹⁰²¹

Here one can see that ITS attacks without a false, utopian vision for the system conceding. This pattern is repeated from the 1960s when a variety of armed groups waged campaigns of direct attack against the state “regardless of what the major theories said about the likelihood of success.”¹⁰²²

Some insurrectionary theorists have argued against the revolutionary’s dependence on weaponry as not only does it set the non-state actor up for likely defeat, but it also creates clear lines of demarcation between those in revolt and those not. This military minded perspective is explored in *At Daggers Drawn...*, wherein the authors write:

The more extensive and enthusiastic the rebellion, the less it can be measured in the military clash. As the armed self-organization of the exploited extends, revealing the fragility of the social order, one sees that revolt, just like hierarchical and mercantile relations, is *everywhere*. On the contrary, anyone who sees the revolution as a coup d’état has a militaristic view of the clash...The most useful thing one can do with arms is to render them useless as quickly as possible...¹⁰²³...we feel just as far removed from those who would like to desert daily normality and put their faith in the mythology of clandestinity and combat organizations, locking themselves up in other cages. No role, no matter how much it puts one at risk in terms of the law, can take the place of the real changing of relations. There is no short-cut, no immediate leap into the elsewhere. The

¹⁰²¹ Individualists Tending Toward the Wild, “8th Communique.”

¹⁰²² Brum, “Revisiting Urban Guerillas: Armed Propaganda and the Insurgency of Uruguay’s MLN-Tupamaros, 1969-70,” 387.

¹⁰²³ Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics*, 27.

revolution is not a war.¹⁰²⁴

The modern insurrectionary attackers understand that massive interlinked apparatuses of governance will not likely be toppled through sporadic attacks on property and individuals, but they strike regardless. These attacks are aimed at creating a space, however temporary, for insurrection to occur; for anti-systemic ideas to foster, and for spontaneous revolt to find a home. In this manner, *spontaneity* as a tendency is also quite important. These spontaneous forces seek to disrupt the system, to demonstrate its fallibility, but not to seize power after its fall. It does not seek to lead, but to fight. This is functionally different from socialist movements that often seek to foment armed insurrections with the goal of eventually taking power through the vehicle of the party, council, trade union, etc.. While discussing Marxist revolutionary warfare theory, one prominent strategist notes the opposing tendencies to fight militarily yet not seek state power. In this text, the famed foco-theorist Debray writes:

Just as spontaneity does not aspire to political power for the exploited and consequently does not organize itself into a political party, self-defense [i.e. armed vanguards] does not aim at military supremacy for the exploited and consequently does not aspire to organize itself as a popular regular army.¹⁰²⁵

Indeed the spontaneous, ad hoc, self-defense units of the insurrectionary underground do not envision military supremacy nor eventual integration into a post-revolutionary state. Instead they understand the notion of attack, the need to remain on the offensive, and the psychological and propaganda purposes of operation beyond simple reactionism.

Certainly, one of the hopes behind the carrying out of attacks and the publication

¹⁰²⁴ Ibid., 30 [Emphasis in original].

¹⁰²⁵ Debray, *Revolution in the Revolution? Armed Struggle and Political Struggle in Latin America*, 29–30.

of claims of responsibility is to inspire additional actions. This notion is historical-rooted in the anarchist tradition and has often been termed “propaganda of the deed.” The era of the anarchist “propaganda of the deed” lasted from approximately 1878-1901, and ended when, following the assassination of US President McKinley, Congress passes anti-anarchist legislation limiting immigration.¹⁰²⁶ For the anarchists, such a *deed* understands that “only violent action... would impress the world [of] both the desperate nature of the social situation and the ruthless determination of those who wanted to change it.”¹⁰²⁷ For example, in 1886, Charles Gallo threw a bottle of sulfuric acid into the Paris stock exchange and fired three shots from a pistol into the air. At his trial he shouted “Long live revolution! Long live anarchism! Death to the bourgeois judiciary! Long live dynamite!”¹⁰²⁸ When he was sentenced, he “gave the jury an hour and a half lecture on anarchist theory and said specifically that he had intended to carry out ‘an act of propaganda by the deed for anarchist doctrine.’”¹⁰²⁹ “Propaganda of the deed” has its roots in the ideas of famed anarchist Mikhail Bakunin who turned towards insurrectionary tendencies around the fall of 1873 when he declared “nowhere are there more favorable conditions for the Social Revolution than in Italy.”¹⁰³⁰ Bakunin argued for such individualistic violence following the failure of a general insurrection in Italy in 1874.¹⁰³¹ These ideas were developed contemporarily alongside that of Errico Malatesta

¹⁰²⁶ Joll, *The Anarchists*, 145.

¹⁰²⁷ *Ibid.*, 121.

¹⁰²⁸ As quoted in *ibid.*, 131.

¹⁰²⁹ As quoted in *ibid.*

¹⁰³⁰ As quoted in Nunzio Pernicone, *Italian Anarchism, 1864-1892* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ Press, 1993), 82.

¹⁰³¹ Joll, *The Anarchists*, 120–121.

who similarly saw the failure of *organized* armed revolts in Naples in 1876.¹⁰³²

Such acts of demonstrative armed propaganda have proven successful from some non-insurrectionary, guerilla movements such as the Uruguayan Tupamaros who deployed it as a focus during their height (early 1969 to mid 1970).¹⁰³³ According to scholarship focused on this group, armed propaganda was distinct from “classic guerilla strikes against the security service” and consisted of the “transmitting [of] political messages through violence of a spectacular and symbolic, yet measured, nature.”¹⁰³⁴ These strikes are designed primarily as message generators and transmitter, and therefore unlike traditional guerrilla tactics, are not *primarily* aimed at ‘degrading the capacities’¹⁰³⁵ of the target. Anarchist sociologist Jeff Shantz, author of a series of books on radical social movements and anti-authoritarian philosophy speaks to this tradition writing:

... ‘propaganda of the deed,’ a notion popular in the nineteenth century that exemplary acts against representatives of the state and capital might serve as pedagogical tools in the process of de-legitimizing bourgeois morality and encouraging the oppressed to shed such ingrained values as respect for property and the law... [thus] attacks on corporate property, represents a dramatic, if symbolic, shattering of hegemonic corporate claim on ownership and property rights which are deeply ingrained but which anarchists hold to be illegitimate... [They are] a rushing wave of negation crashing against the material manifestations of the most central and vigorously defended beliefs of capitalism and liberal democracy¹⁰³⁶

Here one can understand “propaganda of the deed” to embody not only a proof of concept for the attacker, but also a functional attack on state/capital as well as the

¹⁰³² Ibid., 121.

¹⁰³³ Brum, “Revisiting Urban Guerillas: Armed Propaganda and the Insurgency of Uruguay’s MLN-Tupamaros, 1969-70,” 388.

¹⁰³⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰³⁵ Ibid., 390.

¹⁰³⁶ Shantz, *Active Anarchy*, 53.

embodiment of *negation*. This negation rhetorically challenges reformism, bureaucracy, traditional politics and instead offers a radically divergent alternative, that of struggle through armed confrontations with all discernable targets of power, control and oppression. To attack is to negate other, more mediated forms of politics; to critique their methods while simultaneously offering a revised praxis of social change that is both nihilistic and utopian at the same time. This ability for the dominated to act through negation is essential as “the exploited have nothing to self-manage but their own negation.”¹⁰³⁷ The utopianism offered by negation is of a post-conflict works based on the principals of, amongst others, freedom, autonomy, mutual aid, voluntary association, informality and horizontalism. This new era of conflict is ignited and continued permanently, until the breakdown of the present system and the space is created to envision another that allows for the imagining of new forms of social relations.

Attack to learn to attack...attack now!

*With this we make a call to all the lone wolves or affinity clans who are indecisive about attacking the system, let's not wait any longer, we don't have the luxury of waiting any longer, it's true that even though we do what we do, everything will turn into a technological pile of garbage, but before that happens, we have decided to attack and resist the system's barrages, without glory or victory, just with our individual dedication to continuing the war, which our fierce huntergatherer nomadic ancestors started centuries ago against the invader, European outsider or native outsider.*¹⁰³⁸

-- Obsidian Point Circle of Attack [2014]

The strategic imperative for insurrectionary attack is also based in a temporal logic that states that to delay acting is to fail to act. The insurrectionary tendency towards

¹⁰³⁷ Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics*, 11.

¹⁰³⁸ Obsidian Point Circle of Attack, “Communique for Package Bomb Sent to the Rector of UNAM.”

immediate action is not only strategic, it is also pedagogical; in other words, one learns to attack through attacking and through no other means. In one of the most often quoted pieces of insurrectionary prose, the author(s) of *At Daggers Drawn...*, write:

The secret is to really begin. The present social organization is not just delaying... The only way to learn what freedom is, is to experiment it... Insurrection does not come up with the answers on its own, that is true. It only starts asking questions. So the point is not whether to act gradually or adventureistically. The point is whether to act or merely dream of acting.¹⁰³⁹

The method of spreading attacks is a form of struggle that carries a different world within it. To act when everyone advises waiting, when it is not possible to count on great followings, when you do not know beforehand whether you will get results or not, means one is already affirming what one is fighting for: a society *without measure*.¹⁰⁴⁰

These notions are consistent; learning through action, the need to ‘simply begin’ and that the crossing of a threshold to move from theorizing to acting is itself a liberatory act. In the appropriately titled essay *Insurrectionary Anarchy: Organising for Attack!*, the anonymous author(s) clearly make this point writing, “It is through acting and learning to act, not propaganda, that we will open the path to insurrection, although analysis and discussion have a role in clarifying how to act. Waiting only teaches waiting; in acting one learns to act.”¹⁰⁴¹ In communiqués, essays and letters from prisoners the message is repeated: attack, attack, attack! In a September 2014 essay, Mexican insurrectionist Carlos López, known as Chivo, wrote *That which stagnates rots*, wherein he explains:

We understand insurrectionary anarchy as an action born from individuality, like the rupture that everyone carries with themselves, transforming the entirety of what surrounds them... If something identifies with the insurrectionary struggle it is precisely that which carries one farther away from illusion and words, of taking

¹⁰³⁹ Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics*, 15.

¹⁰⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁰⁴¹ Anonymous, “Insurrectionary Anarchy: Organising for Attack!”

the initiative in the conflict of classes and breaking with the passive attitude of resistance to go into action, without limiting oneself to waiting to be repressed, to therefore have justification to attack; but rather doing it already, here and now. Permanent conflict, we carry it in our daily life, in our heads and hearts, always seeking to generalize it in the neighborhoods, colonies, towns, and beyond; to come to organize ourselves—through base nuclei [i.e. the cell model].¹⁰⁴²

Here we can see not only the emphasis on individualism, self-identification and preemptive attack, but it also employs the concept of “rupture” often discussed. The insurrectionary logic and strategy utilizes the concept of *rupture*, an “upsetting [of] the imperatives of time and social space...to imagine new relations and surroundings.”¹⁰⁴³ This involves not only breaking from commodity fetishism, wage slavery, alienation and other such concrete manifestations of social control, but one must also “snatch time and space from social obligation”¹⁰⁴⁴, “breaking social normality by force.”¹⁰⁴⁵

In one final example, we can see these themes made more explicit in an excerpt from a short lived Denver, Colorado-based insurrectionary magazine known as *Til It Breaks*. In an article entitled “Strategic Social War” contained in issue two, the collective authors write:

Our [insurrectionary anarchist] subculture has come to emphasize the attack. We are compelled to act immediately, despite the sheer impoverishment of our revolutionary context. We cannot wait until the ‘right moment,’ the progression of capital is too rapid to spare even one more second. To the quiet satisfaction of our most intelligent enemies, the ethos of attack has come to imply a neglect of a developed long-term strategy. We of course understand that every recruiting center, police station, and real-estate development needs to be razed as soon as possible. But we ask: is attempting to do this all right now the most efficient or strategic approach? Here, we ask those not concerned with efficiency to

¹⁰⁴² Carlos López, “That Which Stagnates, Rots...” (Dark Nights #41 (republished by 325.nostate), September 2014), 3, <http://325.nostate.net/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/dark-nights-41.pdf>.

¹⁰⁴³ Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics*, 10.

¹⁰⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁰⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.

reconsider; we desire an efficient destruction of capitalism. A destruction that is efficient not only in the overthrow of the social order, but also in the production of love, rage, and revolutionary joy. A destruction that is efficient, not in the sense of Taylor's assembly line, but in the sense of his worst nightmare: the disassembly of the assembly line.¹⁰⁴⁶

This text is interesting not only because it advocates attack, but also for its acknowledged strategic concessions. The author(s) seeks to explore the notion of tactics of attack versus the strategy of insurrection, and concludes that to utilize such a means may not be "efficient" but in doing so exemplifies the rejection of such concerns.

2. 'Making the Social War'

*This is not to be a POLITICAL revolution. Its object will be to overthrow not governments but the economic and technological basis for the present society...The two main tasks for the present are to promote social stress and instability in industrial society and to develop and propagate an ideology that opposes technology and the industrial system.*¹⁰⁴⁷

-- Theodore Kaczynski/FC, *Industrial Society and Its Future* [1995]

The insurrectionary strategy, as articulated by high theory consumed amongst the milieu, is based in the task of creating social conditions akin to combat and termed, 'social war.' Theory posits that if, to borrow from nineteenth century Prussian general and military theorist Carl von Clausewitz (1789-1831), 'war is politics by other means,' and Foucault's inversion¹⁰⁴⁸ which states "war as strategy is a continuation of politics"¹⁰⁴⁹, then the insurrectionary task is the creation of social tension, putting the state within a defensive state of siege, negating political solutions, and cultivating revolt. This revolt creates a

¹⁰⁴⁶ Til It Breaks collective, "Strategic Social War," *Til It Breaks* (Denver, CO), October 2009, 17.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Theodore J. Kaczynski, "Industrial Society and Its Future," in *Technological Slavery: The Collected Writings of Theodore J. Kaczynski, A.k.a. "The Unabomber"* (Feral House, 2010), pt. 4, 181.

¹⁰⁴⁸ This process is described at length in: Beatrice Hanssen, *Critique of Violence: Between Poststructuralism and Critical Theory* (London, UK: Routledge, 2000), 97-158.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 168.

rupture in the social fabric, a temporary space where new forms of power and organization can develop. The theory is based in a form of nihilist anti-politics which engages in the revolutionary discourse through state terms (e.g. war, capital, power) yet envisions a post-state society which is also post-war and post-politics. One of the more theoretically-situated, insurrectionary groupings, the IEF, write of warfare and strategy, stating:

To use war as a means for dispute management between nations is the prerogative of the state; to use war as the means to negate society based on classes is the strategy of insurrection. When these two distinct types of war blur in spectacular society, then we have entered into the biopolitical stage of warfare, that is social war... war cannot end until the specific, historical form of total management known as politics ends. To escape war requires a subtraction from politics, an act unregulated by law and indecipherable in discourse. By reversing Napoleon's maxim: that 'it is not for a event to govern politics, but for politics to govern events,'¹⁰⁵⁰ we find a hint of how to accomplish this. An event that 'governs' politics, in essence, destroys it. It is up to us to make such events possible.¹⁰⁵¹

The roots of this insurrectionary strategy of conflict may be most directly derived from the theory of "civil war" as developed in *Tiqqun #2*¹⁰⁵², that having been adopted from Situationist Guy Debord's spectacle (e.g. virtual) war¹⁰⁵³, and earlier, Foucault's "social warfare"¹⁰⁵⁴.

This deployment of Foucault is tricky. In its older, outmoded understanding, war (including social war) functioned outside of the state and against the state yet subsequent understandings exhibit state power as working *for* the state. In his discussion of

¹⁰⁵⁰ Napoleon's "How to Make War" as quoted in *Politics Is Not a Banana*, 135.

¹⁰⁵¹ The Institute for Experimental Freedom, *Politics Is Not a Banana*, 134–135.

¹⁰⁵² This issue includes the texts *Introduction to Civil War*, and *This is Not a Program*.

¹⁰⁵³ Guy Debord, *Comments on the Society of the Spectacle* (Booklyn, NY: Verso, 1998).

¹⁰⁵⁴ Michel Foucault, *"Society Must Be Defended": Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-1976*, trans. David Macey, Reprint (Picador, 2003), 59–60.

Foucault's application to concepts of war, International Relations theorist Julian Reid writes:

Originally conceived in terms of their exteriority to the state certain of these historico-political discourses are reconceived...discourses of war and politics undergo a marked shift. No longer is the politics that war continues a war against the state in which state institutions are the source of domination and subjugation but instead politics becomes a continuation of a war for the state.¹⁰⁵⁵

Therefore while war is often understood as something that is carried out against the state's authority, the same posturing is adopted for statist aims; for the continuation of 'politics through other means.'¹⁰⁵⁶ In his series of lectures collected in *Society Must Be Defended*¹⁰⁵⁷, Foucault develops his reading on the connection between war and politics, especially in light of Clausewitz¹⁰⁵⁸. Clausewitz argued that war occurs when politics fails—continuing forward to accomplish the political goals¹⁰⁵⁹—Foucault's assertion that the motives of politics resemble those of war seems an obvious conclusion.

Therefore the insurrectionary position can be read as a third stage in this evolutionary idea. If politics *is* as Clausewitz suggests, 'the continuation of war through other means', and therefore both forms of social change are sometimes indistinguishable, it is a fair assumption that with the insurrectionary rejection of *politics* in the Clausewitzian and Foucauldian sense, there is a resulting increase in *war*. This aligns

¹⁰⁵⁵ Julian Reid, "Life Struggles: War, Discipline and Biopolitics in the Thought of Michel Foucault," in *Foucault on Politics, Security and War*, ed. Michael Dillon and Andrew W. Neal (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 88.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Carl von Clausewitz (1832), as quoted by: Andrew W. Neal, "Goodbye War on Terror?: Foucault and Butler on Discourses of Law, War and Exceptionalism," in *Foucault on Politics, Security and War*, ed. Michael Dillon and Andrew W. Neal (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 43–44.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended*.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Jason Edwards, "Foucault and the Continuation of War," in *The Metamorphosis of War*, ed. Avery Plaw, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Rodopi, 2012), 21–23.

¹⁰⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 22.

well with the generalizable insurrectionary position, which rejects political representationism and abstracted forms of decision-making in favor of direct confrontation between opposing forces. Therefore it appears entirely possible to chronologically order these positions—from Clausewitz, to Foucault and to the insurrectionists such as TIC—as a continuation of a single discourse concerning war and politics as a solution to class-centric tensions created by a less-than-egalitarian society.

For Foucault, social classes are constantly in conflict in an attempt to establish their own power¹⁰⁶⁰. Ruling class ideology is maintained through constant war and until such control is subverted and challenged, it will continue to reproduce. The strategy involves the creation of ‘full communism’ in the immediate. The modernist interpretation of this civil/social war, is most clearly articulated by TIC in both *The Coming Insurrection* and subsequent essays. In a talk given in 2011, an anonymous member of the Committee states:

There is a war going on—a permanent, global civil war... the meaning of this war is not understood. Everything said about the asymmetrical shape of the so-called ‘new wars’ only adds to the confusion. The ongoing war we speak of does not have the Napoleonic magnificence of regular wars between two great armies of men, or between two antagonistic classes. Because if there is an asymmetry in the confrontation it is less between the forces present than over the very definition of the war itself. That is why we cannot talk about a social war: for if social war is a war that is led against us, it cannot symmetrically describe the war that we wage from our side and vice versa. We have to rethink the words themselves in order to forge new concepts as weapons.¹⁰⁶¹

Here TIC speaks to the ongoing and ever-present nature of structural conflict (i.e. the “permanent, global civil war”), noting its shift from traditional forms of violent conflict.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Geoff Danaher, *Understanding Foucault* (New Delhi, IN: Motilal Banarsidass Publ., 2002), 86.

¹⁰⁶¹ The Invisible Committee, “Spread Anarchy, Live Communism,” 2013, 1–2.

And while they take issue with labeling it a *social* war, they do argue that the powers of domination are ‘leading a social war against us.’

The insurrectionary social war is a strategy just like guerrilla warfare is for Leninists. It seeks to initiate conflict with the state and force tension. Insurrectionary attack is not defensive despite often employing justifications based in a position of defensive violence. The strategy of insurrectionary social war is fought through the tactics of the clandestine network of attack. The role of the wider propagandist and mobilizing structures are thus to create waves of activity, temporary spaces of insurrectionary revolt. Though globally dispersed and often minimally disruptive, the constant strikes by clandestine attackers create an atmosphere where the social war can thrive.

There was Social War last century during the Vietnam War, an era filled with draft-dodgers, soldier riots on US military bases, troops blowing up their commanders (fraggings), and calls for ‘Bring the War Home.’ Further back, one could perhaps look to the Scorched Earth strategy. The contemporary theory and application of Social War largely focuses on sabotage, rioting, human strike, and squatting reclaimed space...Can Social War resist the urge to simply return to guerrilla acts or can it explode across every terrain of present existence, and if so, how would that look? Could manifestations of Social War include something other than a kind of drop-out culture that might include willful participation in the economy with the aim of amassing resources and capital intended to be used as a force of social destruction?¹⁰⁶²

Here we see a clearly articulated link between the *tactics* of insurrectionary movements and the *strategy* of insurrectionary, anti-social warfare. TIC writes of this tactical praxis as well, arguing that tactics such as vandalism are part of strategy, “This whole series of nocturnal vandalisms and anonymous attacks, this wordless destruction, has widened the

¹⁰⁶² BASTARD, “Request for Workshops - BASTARD 2014: Social War” (Anarchistnews.org, January 20, 2014), <http://anarchistnews.org/content/request-workshops-bastard-2014-social-war>.

breach between politics and the political.”¹⁰⁶³ Thus the politics of insurrectionary attack aim to create space and tension between the means of governance (i.e. “politics”) and the struggle of liberation (i.e. “the political”).

The creation of a political space devoid of politics is a matter of autonomy, albeit a temporary autonomy. Hakim Bey’s concept of a “temporary autonomous zone” (TAZ)¹⁰⁶⁴ reflects this tendency. Bey’s TAZs emerge “like an uprising which does not engage directly with the State, a guerilla operation which liberates an area (of land, of time, of imagination) and then dissolves itself to re-form elsewhere...before the State can crush it.”¹⁰⁶⁵ For Bey, these TAZs are the creation of spaces of resistance and revolution beyond the various apparatuses of state power; “‘areas free of the State’ in which to elaborate new ideas and practices.”¹⁰⁶⁶ These temporary areas are filled by the actions of affinity groups, cells and networks which dissolve following the action/protest/attack, only to be reconstituted in another locale, at another time, with newly configured participants.¹⁰⁶⁷ According to some scholars writing about autonomist tendencies in social movements, “autonomy has become...a central figure in the articulation of social movements”¹⁰⁶⁸, and in this manner, insurrectionary anarchism fits squarely within such an analysis. The insurrectionary tendency borrows from autonomism and “seek[s] autonomy from capital, from the state, and from international interstate

¹⁰⁶³ The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection*, 25.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Bey, *T.A.Z. the Temporary Autonomous Zone, Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism*.

¹⁰⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 101.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics*, 13.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Gabay, “What Did the Anarchists Ever Do For Us? Anarchy, Decentralization, and Autonomy at the Seattle Anti-WTO Protests,” 129.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Feigenbaum, Frenzel, and McCurdy, *Protest Camps*, 23.

organizations.”¹⁰⁶⁹ The concept of a TAZ is expanded upon by the insurrectionary theorists into a ‘zone of opacity’¹⁰⁷⁰, the fostering of communities which, through their “density” and “solidarities” are “opaque to all authority.”¹⁰⁷¹ Hence, the creation of zones of opacity does not usurp or succeed lands from the state or seek to possess territory, but rather is seeks to “*be* the territory.”¹⁰⁷²

These urgings of direct attack recall earlier, Marxist strategies. Guerilla *foco* theorist Debray wrote of the need for not only *defensive* revolutionary apparatuses but *offensive* ones as well. In prose that is repeated in spirit in the insurrectionary tendency, Debray writes, “self-defense is partial; revolutionary guerilla warfare aims at total war by combining under its hegemony all forms of struggle at all points within the territory.”¹⁰⁷³ Insurrectionary theory would certainly agree; the purpose of war-like struggle is the fostering of “total war” in all physical locales and within all manifestations of power, domination, and violence.

3. An end to intersectionality: total liberation & ‘The Totality’

*The social body is not made up of a pyramid of orders or of a hierarchy, and it does not constitute a coherent and unitary organism. It is composed of two groups, and they are not only quite distinct, but also in conflict. And the conflictual relationship that exists between the two groups that constitute the social body and shapes the State is in fact one of war, of permanent warfare. The State is nothing more than the way that the war between the two groups in question continues to be waged in apparently peaceful forms.*¹⁰⁷⁴

-- Michael Foucault [1975-1976]

¹⁰⁶⁹ Ibid., 24.

¹⁰⁷⁰ The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection*, 107–108; The Institute for Experimental Freedom, *Between Predicates, War: Theses On Contemporary Struggle*, 50.

¹⁰⁷¹ The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection*, 108.

¹⁰⁷² Ibid.

¹⁰⁷³ Debray, *Revolution in the Revolution? Armed Struggle and Political Struggle in Latin America*, 30.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended*, 88.

The Insurrectionary epistemology rests in a poststructurally-infused articulation of anarchism¹⁰⁷⁵ which seeks to locate a form of ultimate intersectionality, a total liberation philosophy that does not rest its critique in institutions or specific hierarchies (e.g. racism, colonialism). Frequently, it is described as an anti-oppressive framework that links human, animal and eco concerns, through the typically anthropocentric notion of intersectionality. For example, one self-described “anti-social individualist nihilist anarchist” defined “total liberation” as “liberation of human animals, non-human animals and the earth...the total liberation that I am speaking about could be nothing less than aggressive and in total conflict with the existent.”¹⁰⁷⁶ Such a notion of ‘aggressive conflict’ is often repeated in reference to “total liberation” as it strives towards the “end[ing] of every concession.”¹⁰⁷⁷

The insurrectionary critique, sees its opponents everywhere¹⁰⁷⁸, in all manners of society, governance and civilization. In its widely-distributed announcement, the organizers of a 2014 California anarchist convergence decided to focus the year’s events on the theme of ‘social war,’ the insurrectionary strategy of sorts. In their call for participants, the organizers describe this unbridled critique, writing:

What if our opponent was the whole of society and our will was the destruction of

¹⁰⁷⁵ This emergent post-structuralist influence on traditional anarchism has been termed ‘post-anarchism’ and ‘poststructuralist anarchism’.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Archegonos, “A Few Words About Total Liberation from an Anti-Social Individualist Nihilist Anarchist Point of View,” in *Actualising Collapse #1* (UK: Actualising Collapse, 2015), 22, <http://325.nostate.net/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Actualising-Collapse1.pdf>.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics*, 22.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Included in this mapping of one’s opponents is the pre-emancipated social self, in other words, a critical reflection on the nature one has with the social world that surrounds and constitutes oneself. This tension within the individual can be seen as a barrier to a total liberationist reading of individualism, problematizing the discourse of autonomy and egoism.

the complex network of social ties that hold together and reproduce the present? What would that kind of war look like and how might it happen? How would we grapple with the reality that we, too, as anarchists with our own identities and cultures, are part of that complex network that is to be torn asunder? Is Social War, perhaps foremost, also the incessant war waged by Society against all destabilizing forces?¹⁰⁷⁹

If this milieu understands a post-binary opposition between themselves and “the whole of society...[that] reproduce[s] the present”, what does this mean for defining a liberationist framework?

The total liberation, insurrectionary framework borrows from the anarchist critique of domination as a core principle for its epistemology. In his discussion of anarchist perceptions of power and authority, anarchist and political theorist Uri Gordon writes:

...the word domination is more comprehensive than another concept often used by anarchists—hierarchy. While hierarchy is an apt description for the structure of many of the social relations making up domination, it does not express them all. In hierarchical relations inequalities of status are visible, either because they are formalized (say, in the relations between a CEO and a secretary), or because one can identify their presence in a particular behavior or utterance. But the domination of human beings is often an insidious dynamic, reproduced through performative disciplinary acts in which the protagonists may not even be conscious of their roles. Many times, the dominated person can only symbolically point to an embodied source of her or his unfreedom. These insights feed into an anarchist critique of power which goes beyond the structural focus on hierarchy, and points to new avenues for resistance.¹⁰⁸⁰

The insurrectionary project can be understood as a further excavation of these social relations, behaviors, utterances, “performative disciplinary acts” and ‘embodied sources of unfreedom.’ While insurrectionary theory (especially ‘high’ theory such as is offered by Tiqqun) serves to expose these manifestations through a poststructuralist lens, the

¹⁰⁷⁹ BASTARD, “Request for Workshops - BASTARD 2014: Social War.”

¹⁰⁸⁰ Gordon, *Anarchy Alive! Anti-Authoritarian Politics from Practice to Theory*, 51–52.

methodology of attack seeks to locate these sites in the physicality of the lived world, through the targeting of government, state, corporate, religious, scientific and private properties. Further conflict can be located in the personal—the conflict with the self—though such a discourse is noticeably less frequent within communiqué texts.

These ‘embodied sources of unfreedom’ abound in the social, political, economic and cultural realms. To specifically locate them is an individualistic act, and therefore, cells are left to their own internal processes to identify appropriate targets for attack. This targeting variety is related to the wide, expansive critique offered by the insurrectionary attackers. In a communiqué penned by imprisoned members of the CCF, the authors describe the borders of these areas of domination writing:

The war is raging with thousands of faces. With the face of the techno-industrial totalitarianism, of the economic crisis, of the plunder against nature, the repression, the military operations, the tele-propaganda of the spectacle...Economic misery, poverty, arrogant exploitation by the bosses, bank dictatorship, corporatism, electronic policing, digital world, genetic experiments, laboratory diseases, nanotechnology, deforestation, water and air pollution, extermination of animals through vivisection, massive meat-eating, new high-security prisons, concentration camps for immigrants, arrests of anarchists, police everywhere, army against demonstrators, hecatombs of dead in ‘humanitarian’ military operations, nuclear and chemical weapons, propaganda by journalists, uniform aesthetics in advertising, despotism of dead commodities... Authority cannot be found on a single point. That’s why we want FAI and affinity groups to meet also on new grounds. To combine blown up banks with the debris of an advertising company. To spread our hostility towards the techno-industrial section, corporate exploitation of nature and animals, pharmaceutical industry, civilization and every compromise, that enslaves us. We promote the anti-civilization anarchist tension and invent a new way of life. Away from the fantasies of an idealized primitivism, we want to attack each structure, that exploits and murders nature, animals and humans. Away from the fetishisms of the value of human life, we clarify that our goal is not only the building facilities,

but also the individuals who manage them, so we promote and practice the executions of human targets.¹⁰⁸¹

This is perhaps the clearest articulation of an insurrectionary anarchist form of boundless intersectionality—one wherein a nanotechnologist, meat eater, boss and cop are all understood as constituting the same enemy class or potential target set. It is yet another articulation of ‘The Totality,’ and as such, act in a shared system of oppression and domination. The individualistic development of cell-level policies (e.g. whom to target, whom to *not* target) is integral to networks of “leaderless resistance” and serve to develop, evaluate and expand the movement’s notion of an intersectional totality. This “Totality” is clearly discussed in texts such as *Towards the Queerest Insurrection* and aims at identifying the *causes* of domination, coercion, oppression and system-level violence at their most base terms. The totality reading of intersectionality speaks beyond the police, banks and multinational trade bodies and focuses at the roots of power, seeing the larger enemy as “not simply as an assemblage of machinery, but as a social relation, a *system*.”¹⁰⁸² This is precisely why the insurrectionary concept of a totality is functionally open and descriptively fluid; it is not meant to be a litmus test for attack but rather an overarching framework to inform analysis and action.

4. Against managed struggle & social movements, for temporary informality

Because this is what anarchist urban guerrilla exactly means: bringing the attack in first person and present tense, without needing the camouflage of social protest...At the same time, various anarchist politicians and clowns satisfy their conscience by participating in opportunistic street-fights and fantasize the social

¹⁰⁸¹ Conspiracy of Cells of Fire FAI/IRF Imprisoned Members Cell, “Let’s become dangerous...for the diffusion of the Black International.”

¹⁰⁸² Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics*, 20.

revolution of the masses. It is them, who using social struggles as an alibi, characterize the anarchist urban guerrilla as an outdated and self-destructive choice...For us, as Conspiracy of Cells of Fire, the bet is simple. Through 'social struggles', we want to create bridge, so that rebellious and unsatisfied minorities can cross over to the anarchist urban guerrilla, where the attack is continuous.
1083

-- Conspiracy of Cells of Fire—FAI/IRF, Imprisoned Members Cell [2013]

In the opening pages of the IEF's 2013 mini-book, *Between Predicates. War...* the collective of insurrectionary theorists caution, "'Contemporary struggle' is our way to conceptualize what links the events of our epoch—events that cannot be defined as social movements or categorized within leftist conceptions of reform and revolution."¹⁰⁸⁴ The authors write that even the language we use to understand social movement—that of "justice, democracy and equality"—are without merit as they are part of a discourse controlled by "the enemy"¹⁰⁸⁵ Insurrectionary positions are oppositional to so-called social movements in a number of key ways. First they oppose the reduction of struggle to *issues* which are then ghettoized into *movements* with specific socio-political aims. This would include the animal rights movements, women's rights movement, global debt relief movement, etc. Not only are these often portrayed as piecemeal, reformist and myopic, they are burdened with the weights of age-old discourses of liberalism, namely "the grammar of justice, democracy, and equality."¹⁰⁸⁶ Therefore, not only is insurrectionism opposed to this form of reductionism, it is also opposed to the emphasis on mass, workerism and organization. In other words, the insurrection does not require

¹⁰⁸³ Conspiracy of Cells of Fire FAI/IRF Imprisoned Members Cell, "Let's become dangerous...for the diffusion of the Black International."

¹⁰⁸⁴ The Institute for Experimental Freedom, *Between Predicates, War: Theses On Contemporary Struggle*, 9.

¹⁰⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁰⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

for revolt to be broad-based, situated in the working class or the result of capacity building from movements. This notion of rejecting ‘mass’ as an undesirable measure or hindrance is repeated by anarcho-primitivist and insurrectionary proponent Kevin Tucker, who writes in, *Revolution And/Or Insurrection: Some Thoughts on Tearing This*

Muthafucka Down:

I’m not for any kind of ‘mass consciousness’ or mass anything, in fact, ‘mass’ is one of the underlying problems that comes with civilization. I’m most interested in autonomous resistance... Insurrection is the act of people who simply refuse to sit by and wait for revolutions... Insurrection remains a tactic for those who seek an outlet for their rage against the great domesticating force.¹⁰⁸⁷

Modern insurrectionary theorists thus critique the failing of the mass-centric movements of the 1960s-1990s, arguing that they “created the conditions for general self-management [of dissent]” and that in actualizing the freedoms for specific classes (e.g. people of color, non-heterosexuals, women, etc.) the systems of governance and state have been able to integrate these new avenues into capitalist commodification and new form so social control.¹⁰⁸⁸ Moreover, insurrectionary logic posits that the social movement’s tendency to act as a tangible representative of collective dissatisfaction are self-serving and exploit the hardships of the community for the mobilization of the party. It is worth noting that concurrent strands of anti-state, poststructuralist thought similarly maintain a central rejection of representation¹⁰⁸⁹, such as poststructural anarchism¹⁰⁹⁰.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Kevin Tucker, *Revolution And/Or Insurrection: Some Thoughts on Tearing This Muthafucka Down*, Print (Seattle, WA: Wormwood Distro, 2009), 10.

¹⁰⁸⁸ The Institute for Experimental Freedom, *Between Predicates, War: Theses On Contemporary Struggle*, 14.

¹⁰⁸⁹ This is explored at length in: May, *The Political Philosophy of Poststructuralist Anarchism*, 47–48.

¹⁰⁹⁰ For explorations of post-structuralist and post-anarchist theory see: May, *The Political Philosophy of Poststructuralist Anarchism*; Lewis Call, *Postmodern Anarchism* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2003);

According to insurrectionary theorists, representationism becomes ever more distant as those speaking for the exploited (i.e. the social movement participants) grow detached from the actual communities they claim to represent, and the work of representation becomes akin to a job. The anonymous authors of *At Daggers Drawn...* make this case, writing:

Too often revolutionaries have claimed to be the exploited's consciousness and to represent their level of subversive maturity. The 'social movement' thus becomes the justification for the party (which in the Leninist version becomes an elite of professionals of the revolution). The vicious circle is that the more one separates oneself from the exploited, the more one needs to *represent* an in-existent relationship. Subversion is reduced to one's own practices, and representation becomes the organization of an ideological racket—the bureaucratic version of capitalist appropriation... We do not want to direct or support social movements, but rather to participate in those that already exist, to the extent to which we recognize common needs in them.¹⁰⁹¹

This strategic frame often comes in the form of rejection of more traditional forms of leftist action. For example, insurrectionary proponents who may have partially come of age politically in the realm of anti-globalization protests, anarchist infoshops and group houses have moved past this, seeing these tired forms of lifestyleism and activism as insular and unwinnable. In their essay "Taking Communion at the End of History," contained within the IEF's larger work, *Politics is Not a Banana*, the author(s) write:

The rhythm anarchists in the US have grown accustomed to—that of food not bombs, of collective living, of bicycle programs, and of black blocs and summit hoping—are merely improvised practices with a certain force of resonance. Each begins either as an intentionally ritualized practice or as an experiment at opening up new practices.¹⁰⁹²

Duane Rousselle and Süreyya Evren, eds., *Post-Anarchism: A Reader* (New York: Pluto Press, 2011); Saul Newman, *The Politics of Postanarchism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011).

¹⁰⁹¹ Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics*.

¹⁰⁹² The Institute for Experimental Freedom, *Politics Is Not a Banana*, 63.

These ‘rituals’ thus begin to lose meaning as forms of resistance and become ends in themselves, robbing them of their disruptive and hence revolutionary potentials. This ritualization of resistance is abhorrent to the insurrectionary as they advocate direct confrontation through informal organization, not abstracted advocacy through mass-movement organization building. There is a constant urging to abandon the constraints of the movement, the organization, the party and the committee and to simply begin the attack as displayed in the text excerpt below. In a communiqué claiming responsibility for a parcel bomb sent to a Mexican university employee, the author(s) write:

We abandon words and analyses in order to begin with our war, the war against what kills us and consumes us, against the invincible megamachine which only wild nature or its very own technology can collapse. We do not seek victories, triumphs or results from what we do or have done, we are not revolutionaries, platformists or anarchists.¹⁰⁹³

The author(s) are careful to note their distance from those advocating the building of movements and organization, whom they group into the camps of “revolutionaries, platformists or anarchists”, choosing to see themselves as something else, something more direct in its confrontation and contestation with the system at large.

Rejecting the Left

These forms of rejectionism are recurrent in critiques of social movements, representative politics, platformism and also the concept of an organized Left. Leading the charge against the Left are the writings of Theodore Kaczynski who offers a substantial portion of *Industrial Society and Its Future* (also known as the ‘Unabomber’s

¹⁰⁹³ Obsidian Point Circle of Attack, “Communique for Package Bomb Sent to the Rector of UNAM.”

Manifesto) to condemn their approaches. Kaczynski notes that leftists often rely on personalized identification with oppressed classes (e.g. non-white communities) which hides the former's feelings of inferiority toward the latter.¹⁰⁹⁴ He argues that the Left mobilizes based on a rejection of the "strong, good and successful...[such as] America...Western civilization...white males...[and] rationality."¹⁰⁹⁵ Kaczynski thus rejects the left's cultural relativism¹⁰⁹⁶ and their claim that their actions are motivated by "compassion or by moral principles"¹⁰⁹⁷ He argues throughout numerous works¹⁰⁹⁸ that Leftists as "disorganized, irrational types" that are ruining the anarchist/anarcho-primitivist movement¹⁰⁹⁹ and participating in a form of "escapism."¹¹⁰⁰ The author's analysis shifts between the personal, political and the psychological as Kaczynski argues that the Left chooses to engage in struggle out of a "need for rebellion and for membership in a movement"¹¹⁰¹ of like minded persons. He equates Leftism to a form of religion, rejecting the psychological crutch it serves, and describing the movements as a "totalitarian force"¹¹⁰² Therefore for Kaczynski and insurrectionary networks that draw inspiration from him (e.g. ITS), the Left as a constituency is a self-serving, non-revolutionary force of mentally weak individuals who capitalize on the oppression of

¹⁰⁹⁴ Kaczynski, "Industrial Society and Its Future," 41.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Ibid., 42.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Ibid., 43.

¹⁰⁹⁸ For example see: Ibid., sec. 213–230; Theodore J. Kaczynski, "Letters to David Skrbina," in *Technological Slavery: The Collected Writings of Theodore J. Kaczynski, A.k.a. "The Unabomber"* (Port Townsend, WA: Feral House, 2010), 256–348; Theodore J. Kaczynski, "Excerpts from a Letter to a German," in *Technological Slavery: The Collected Writings of Theodore J. Kaczynski, A.k.a. "The Unabomber"* (Port Townsend, WA: Feral House, 2010), 352–65.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Kaczynski, "Letters to David Skrbina," 272.

¹¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 317.

¹¹⁰¹ Kaczynski, "Industrial Society and Its Future," 106.

¹¹⁰² Ibid., 108.

others who feel called upon to act. It is for this reason that critics choose to reject the Left's efforts and distance themselves from their parties, movements, subjectivities and initiatives.

This perception of Leftism—which is by no means resigned to only Kaczynski—asserts that the channeling of dissent and contestation into rights-based campaigns is a central method of indirect repression (and recuperation) designed to defang modes of radical resistance to the state and capital. In his discussion of the Left's policing of more militant forms of resistance, anarchist author Doug Gilbert terms this a “recuperative element... within social struggles.”¹¹⁰³ For Gilbert, Leftism is a form of mediated social relations between the people and the state where disparate revolt is methodically channeled into rights-based campaigns which can be appeased with piecemeal concessions such as the passage of new laws, the hiring/firing of individuals, or the establishment of new governmental bodies (e.g. a new office to oversee Latino police affairs). This form of Leftism is routinely exploitative of the population's discontentment, as it seeks to collect the general dissatisfactions expressed throughout the society, and target it at a campaign—for example a campaign for the rights of women, homosexuals, differently-abled individuals, non-human animals, or campaigns which seeks to oppose or support a specific individual, law or initiative. Therefore it should be clear that a rejection of this style of Leftism is not simply offered by Kaczynski, but is common throughout the insurrectionary discourse. Returning to Gilbert, the author states that a dichotomy exists

¹¹⁰³ Bursts O'Goodness, “Doug Gilbert Saw Fire: A Conversation Riots, Revolts & The Black Bloc,” radio4all.net Podcast, *The Final Straw* (Asheville, NC: Asheville FM, July 20, 2014), pt. 9:40–10:50, <http://www.radio4all.net/index.php/program/76479>.

between “self-organized [forms of] struggle” such as riots and building occupation (such as those seen at California universities in 2009), and forms of mediated struggle that the Left seeks to organize and direct. Gilbert describes these latter groupings as “official organizations which seek to manage people and their struggles...and people who seek to lead people into politics...[and] political parties.”¹¹⁰⁴ This is representative of the larger insurrectionary discourse which seeks to critique ‘managed struggles’ and embrace those which are based around spontaneity, immediacy, and confrontation, pronouncements traditional Leftism (in this preparative usage) rejects.

Informal, temporary collectivities of affinity

*For us, the starting point is informal anarchist organization...Informal, because we dislike the conditions and norms of predefined roles and organizational statutes. The roles of the orator who captivates the audience in assemblies, of the thief, the bomber, the author of communiques and the arsonist, divide and fritter life and our capabilities. Division is the principle of authority. The informal authority of roles, which we often be encountered in anarchist circles, is more insidious than the institutional authority, as it remains well camouflaged and in this way invisible and invulnerable. We say EVERYTHING FOR EVERYONE. Each of us, away from roles and specializations, can develop his/hers skills and test everything through comradely mutuality... robberies, arsons, bombs, executions, texts, conversations and any other form of expression, which promotes new anarchy.*¹¹⁰⁵

-- Conspiracy of Cells of Fire—FAI/IRF, Imprisoned Members Cell [2013]

*It is the horizontal link that concretises the practice of liberation: an informal link, of fact, without representation.*¹¹⁰⁶

-- Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn...* [2001]

The idea of a vanguard, and specifically a vanguard party, is (in)famously developed by

¹¹⁰⁴ Ibid., sec. 11:57–12:50.

¹¹⁰⁵ Conspiracy of Cells of Fire FAI/IRF Imprisoned Members Cell, “Let’s become dangerous...for the diffusion of the Black International.”

¹¹⁰⁶ Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics*, 17.

Vladimir Lenin who argued that proletariats were unlikely (or incapable) of independently reaching class-consciousness, and furthermore, the proletariat as a whole is unable to form a revolutionary organization beyond the reformism of trade unions. Therefore, if the masses were unable to form such a mechanism on their own, this became the task of a vanguard party to organize the workers, teach class-consciousness and foment revolution. In this model, the vanguard party hijacks the agency of the people and uses it to accelerate their radicalization and self-organization. While insurrectionary theory posits that the riotous ruptures of a minority can lead the way for mass withdrawal of consent and revolt, the movement does not see itself as a leadership destined to guide and teach. This of course carries with it a presumption about the nature of struggle and human behavior—for example that the ruptures of the few can lead to the withdrawal of consent by the many. Furthermore, it presumes that in a general sense, the population is already quite dissatisfied and thus ripe for rebellion. In opposition to the vanguardist model, insurrectionary theory seeks to create the conditions for mass revolt through exposing contradictions and violence within the system itself and by creating physical and temporal spaces for the articulation of rage, resistance and new forms of being.

While the organizational and hence strategic rejection of vanguardism has been discussed in previous chapters, it is useful to further explore the nature of these philosophical rejections. Curiously, if one is against vanguardism, how can a minority help to foment revolt on a large scale? Insurrectionary logic advocates for ad hoc, groupings through voluntary association and mutual aid in line with ‘classical’ anarchism. In this manner, collectivities of individuals freely associated through

informal, temporary, networks and in doing so, act autonomously (as ‘cells’, collectives, individuals, affinity groups) and collectively (as federations, informal networks, moniker-based networks). This modeling is repeated by the author(s) of *At Daggers Drawn...* who write, “Not only does acting in small numbers not constitute a limit, it represents a totally different way of seeing social transformation...Authentic federalism makes agreements between free unions of individuals possible.”¹¹⁰⁷ The temporary, cell-sized, affinity group model is familiar to older networks such as the ALF, which has been active in the UK since the early 1970s. The ALF model has certainly influenced contemporary insurrectionary strategies. Not only have joint ALF/FAI cells carried out attacks, paying homage to the anti-speciesist saboteurs, but the moniker-based, communiqué-driven methods are recurrent. One FAI activist, in an interview from his jail cell spoke to these connections, writing:

To comrades like me, formed during the struggles of the 90’s in Italy, the contribution of the groups of action ALF and ELF, with their international network, concerning the revolutionary anarchist imaginary and how to organize into affinity groups, was very important. Their environmentalist, animalist perspective has changed the view of many anarchists. In Italy, their propensity to affinity groups was greeted with enthusiasm as a concrete example of informal organization.¹¹⁰⁸

The interviewee, jailed for the kneecap shooting of an Italian nuclear executive, goes on to say that he objects to the ALF/ELF’s ban on attacking humans and notes that because of this position, he feels more closely aligned to the Mexican ITS who have embraced an “anti-civilizational, wild, anti-ideological”¹¹⁰⁹ politic.

¹¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁰⁸ Cospito, Interview by CCF – Imprisoned Members Cell with Alfredo Cospito (Greece, Italy).

¹¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

Though the affinity group model is common within the direct action history, it remains isolated; not commonly part of wider, and more commonly known social movements. In other words, while affinity groups may interact within a wider social movement, the wider movement context is not necessary for the continuation and activity of the affinity groups. The social movement at large can therefore be thought of as a collectivity of affinity groups ranging in size from the individual to the multinational, all constituted by groupings of people tied together through a shared affinity. This structure allows segments of the population to act from amongst the generalized milieu while often continuing to maintain ‘normal’ lives the majority of the time. In this form, a minority of the population can be an active force for social change without *leading* or establishing agenda, speaking for the marginalized, or other forms of representationism. The insurrectionary, minority vanguard can thus emerge from the population, be a part of the population and help to foment dissident trends. The author(s) of *At Daggers Drawn...* wrote, “revolt is always the work of a minority.”¹¹¹⁰ The authors expanded this discussion writing, “Although minoritarian (but in respect to what unit of measure?) in its active forces, the insurrectional phenomenon can take on extremely wide dimensions, and in this respect reveals its social nature.”¹¹¹¹

These forms of informal, minoritarian, and sometimes vanguardist collectives act in an intentional praxis—“the act of will that finds its immediate expression in an act”¹¹¹²—allowing the means of the attack to mirror the pre-figurative vision of the

¹¹¹⁰ Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics*, 26.

¹¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹¹¹² The Institute for Experimental Freedom, *Politics Is Not a Banana*, 123.

attackers. Therefore, tactical, strategic and organizational decisions become not merely a matter of utility or pragmatism, but rather reflective of a political ethic:

This, then, is how action in small groups of people with affinity contains the most important of qualities—it is not mere tactical contrivance, but already contains the realization of one’s goals. Liquidating the lie of the *transitional period*...means making the revolt itself a different way of conceiving relations.¹¹¹³

On occasion, communiqués have used the language “anarchists of praxis”¹¹¹⁴ to delineate those that participate actively in creating attacks and those that “belong to pseudo-ideologues drowning in words, without ever having been tested in practice.”¹¹¹⁵ This self-labeling—‘the anarchists of praxis’—distinguishes those in *movements* from those within the insurrectionary war, further widening the gap between the civil and the uncivil.

5. Anti-reformism, against ‘democracy’, and mediated interaction

*We are not looking for a comfortable chair in local administration so we can afford to do what needs be done. We don’t accept moanings like: ‘Violence is bad, we shouldn’t be torching vehicles, we should get more signatures under petition, so as to be heard by federal government.’ This reminds us of the fears of a person who’s afraid to lose the goodwill of powers-that-be...It is time to stop hiding your inability to act behind phrases like: ‘we shouldn’t act, this is violent tactics’ or ‘this is too machist’ or ‘this is illegal’. If you want to ask for permission to protest, you must understand that you’re in fact selling yourselves. Only uncontrollable forms of resistance can hope to remain free. Any protest coordinated from under liberal umbrella organization is doomed to a failure. Gather your strengths, stay free and be wild, god damn it!*¹¹¹⁶

-- International Revolution Front/Earth Liberation Front, Moscow [2014]

Traditionally, scholarship positioned social movements into one of two camps: reformist or revolutionary. As social movement theorist Roberta Garner explains, “[Reformist

¹¹¹³ Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics*, 18.

¹¹¹⁴ CCF-FAI/IRF, “Parcel bomb sent to the police precinct of Itea.”

¹¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹¹⁶ IRF/ELF - Moscow, “News 11 January 2014” (From Russia With Love (republished by Bite Back Magazine), January 11, 2014), http://www.directaction.info/news_jan11_14.htm.

movements] were defined as having limited goals and operating within legitimate political structures...[revolutionary movements] were defined as having large goals and using nonlegitimate means, like terrorism and armed struggle.”¹¹¹⁷ Though Garner herself explains that this is often a false dichotomy, within the insurrectionary tendency, the movement is decidedly anti-reformist, anti-legitimacy and pro-armed struggle. Thus while a Garner is correct in asserting that a great variety of movements *are* “challeng[ing] these boundaries,”¹¹¹⁸ the insurrectionists are firmly planted in the realm of revolutionary, system-level change.

The lack of interest in reformist measures has its roots in core ideological concepts, but also in movement histories and their exposure to violence, specifically violence from state repression. Social movement theorists argue that violent repression by the state constitutes a prime point of consideration for potential participants.¹¹¹⁹ Therefore, revolutionary-minded activists who engage in street-level protests can be further radicalized through exposures to state repression. This logic posits that the more repressive the experience of the activist, the higher one perceives the potential collective benefit to mobilized action to amend such ills¹¹²⁰. Furthermore, activists’ exposure to severe violence—epitomized by the death of an ally by police¹¹²¹—may demonstrate for

¹¹¹⁷ Garner, *Contemporary Movements and Ideologies*, 371.

¹¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹⁹ Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution* (Longman Higher Education, 1978), 4:5 Tilly also discusses actors’ calculations regarding potential repression in: 3:5- 3:10, 3:54-3:55, 4:3-4:18.

¹¹²⁰ Donatella Della Porta and Olivier Fillieule, “Policing Social Protest,” in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, ed. David A Snow, Sarah Anne Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2004), 233–234.

¹¹²¹ A prime example is the further radicalization of activists affiliated with the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) after the killing of four students at Kent State University in Ohio in May 1970. This event led to the further radicalization of SDS and encouraged the growth of an underground, clandestine splinter,

reform-minded activists that the political sphere is the realm of an “unfair state”¹¹²² which serves to discourage political engagement as institutions are seen as unresponsive, undemocratic and illegitimate. As the wider insurrectionary milieu has witnessed numerous activists’ deaths and many more imprisoned, it is logical to assume these occurrences have served to harden those that remain, and to reinforce their anti-reformist tendencies. This is especially true of those who formerly participated in mass convergence/summit protests, which were often the site of police violence directed at demonstrators.

The anti-reformist tendency, which understands reformist ‘revolutionaries’ as comparable with the enemy (e.g. police, army, capitalists), is prevalent throughout the insurrectionary and broader militant discourse. In his lengthy analysis of the Italian RB, author Alessandro Orsini notes that the Brigade’s “hatred of reformists is even greater than their hatred of capitalists.”¹¹²³ For the Brigades, those proposing sub-system level change were penned as “ultrareactionary and counterrevolutionary”¹¹²⁴ This criticism included not only those who sought less-than-militant action, but also those proposing

the Weather Underground Organization, which had begun to form in June 1969. Other notably-radicalizing martyrs killed by police during the period of heightened repression of the 1960-1970s include (but are certainly *not* limited to) Black Panther Bobby Hutton (1950-1968), killed by Oakland police, Panthers Fred Hampton (1948-1969) and Mark Clark (1947-1969) who were both killed in 1969 by Chicago police, Panther George Jackson (1941-1971) who was killed in 1971 during a prison escape attempt and George’s younger brother, Jonathan P. Jackson (1953-1970) who was killed in 1970 in an attempt to take hostages and facilitate his brother’s release. Decades later, the death of Italian anti-globalization protestor Carlo Giuliani (1978-2001) during protests against the G8 in Genoa, would serve powerful rhetoric functions for over a decade as the demonstrators name was often invoked in a discourse of martyrdom against the state and capitalism.

¹¹²² Donatella Della Porta, *Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

¹¹²³ Orsini, *Anatomy of the Red Brigades*.

¹¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 43.

solutions through democratic parliamentarianism. In a 1977 communiqué, the Brigades write:

What you [Communists] call ‘democracy’ is only and always a form of politics that conceals the dictatorship of big capital...there is no continuity between our democracy and yours, as false as a lead coin, but an absolute historic antagonism that has its roots in the class structure of the capitalistic way of production, this is, in the unshakable antagonism that sets the exploited classes against the exploiting ones.¹¹²⁵

The insurrectionary attack network opposed to democratic reformism acts in furtherance of this goal through both direct attacks against the systems of abstraction and those involved with representationism. In one example, a cell of the FAI/IRF in Indonesia, carried out a series of arsons throughout the island nation to not only preform a critique of so-called ‘civil anarchists’ but also the political system at large that speaks of liberalism, participation and democracy. The attackers used their communiqué to not only claim responsibility, but to state plainly that they are organized to attack, not recruit, convince or mobilize the masses. In a 2014 communiqué offered as the 12th attack in the international Phoenix Project, the attackers write:

We performed our disagreement with [politicians and civil anarchists]...by burning down two offices of the general election committee... We won’t stay away and let our enemy play around with their party of democracy. We directly sent our anger and transformed it into fire. We are not abstaining in this war. We attack... We are not those anarchists who went to voting spots and painted slogans and chants on the ballot boxes. We won’t smear our values by letting our finger be painted with purple ink, a sign used by the authorities to identify who voted and those who did not. We won’t let one single inch in our body be polluted by our enemy. On the contrary, we attacked them without compromise...Abstaining [from voting/electioneering] by not giving our voices is not enough for us. We want to bring this confrontation to be more wild than mere words or posters. We want to speak through fire...But we don’t invite anyone to join us. We are not interested to have new members. We are not a party nor an anarchist collective.

¹¹²⁵ Ibid., 44.

We are an armed group of the tendency of violence. To attack, and not to open a dialogue with our enemies.¹¹²⁶

Embedded in the rejectionist logic targeting democratic reformism, is the notion that Athenian forms of governance centered around participation and civic engagement are no more; that “democracy has successfully conquered the terrain of political utterances.”¹¹²⁷ Therefore, if one is to accept that “the sphere of political representation has come to a close”¹¹²⁸ then the only strategy of social change exists outside of representationalism, and *politics* as one understands it.

This rejection of mediation and compromised politics is at its base a rejection of representation, as this is seen as a measure of abstraction, separating individuals from actual forms of power. As the authors of *Politics is not a Banana...* write, “[social] war cannot end until the specific, historical form of total management known as politics ends.”¹¹²⁹ Thus to insurrectionary analysis, the nature of this mediation is inconsequential, as the indirect manner of decision making and management is in itself the problem. As the author(s) of *At Daggers Drawn...* write:

‘Nothing resembles a representative of the bourgeoisie more than a representative of the proletariat,’ [Georges] Sorel wrote in 1907. What made them identical was the fact that they were, precisely, *representatives*. To say the same of a right or left wing candidate would be banal... The point is that power does not allow for any other kind of management [beyond representative politics].¹¹³⁰

¹¹²⁶ International Conspiracy for Revenge/FAI-IRF, “Phoenix Project #12 : ICR – FAI/IRF Take Responsibility for Arson Barrage in Solidarity with Adriano Antonacci, Gianluca Iocavacci, Other Worldwide Anarchist Prisoners and the Combative Memory of Sebastian O. Seguel” (325.nostate.net, May 16, 2014), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=10306>.

¹¹²⁷ The Institute for Experimental Freedom, *Between Predicates, War: Theses On Contemporary Struggle*, 41.

¹¹²⁸ The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection*, 23.

¹¹²⁹ The Institute for Experimental Freedom, *Politics Is Not a Banana*, 135.

¹¹³⁰ Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics*, 7.

...Any demand that is addressed to a precise interlocutor carries its own defeat within it, if for no other reason than that no authority would be capable of resolving a problem of general significance even if it wanted to.¹¹³¹

The authors clearly argue that the nature of the representation is nearly insignificant as its form dictates its function. As a result of this logic, the authors reject voting, arguing: “Even if they were to vote against it nothing would change as, to be authentic, such a question would *exclude* the existence of voters. A whole society cannot be changed by decree.”¹¹³² The insurrectionary networks of attack are against mediated politics, and in favor of directly confronting the systems of domination. They are against the “sacralization of democracy” as they are against the “management” of society’s decision making¹¹³³. Partially this is because of the abstracted and self-serving nature of electoral and representative-based politics, but also because the milieu understands that to increase one’s interaction with liberalism and democracy means the “deepening [of] a social system that hides the conflict emerging within it, the very conflict on which it is founded.”¹¹³⁴ Instead of these methods, the authors advocate direct action, writing: “Uncontrollable anarchy is not subjected to democracy and its values. It does not speak of majorities, consensus, or fundamental rights.”¹¹³⁵ Reformism is opposed precisely because it serves to hinder the population’s ascent towards insurrection through neutralizing their anger. There is the implied belief that the enemies of insurrection—such as reformism, recuperation, pacification, normalization, assimilation—already exist

¹¹³¹ Ibid., 22.

¹¹³² Ibid., 8.

¹¹³³ Ilya Romanov Cell, “Phoenix Project #8 – Action with Incendiary/explosive Device against a Board of Elections Office and in Solidarity with Mónica Caballero and Francisco Solar” (325.nostate.net, December 1, 2013), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=9256#more-9256>.

¹¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹¹³⁵ Ibid.

in the heads of the oppressed. Therefore, reformism in this regard is simply the outward expression of something already present in the minds of the population, namely a tendency towards resigning oneself to a life of drudgery, alienation, oppression and unfreedom.

Finally, it deserves noting that this rejection of democratic forms of liberal change offered by insurrectionists aid in their enemies' (e.g. the state, media) negative portrayals. As the sacred nature of democracy is upheld in the venue of the state, a rejection of this form of representationalism serves to embolden the anti-insurrectionary dismissal and its resulting repression. As one author explains while discussing contemporary anti-authoritarian movements, "just as liberal narratives of progress erase radical critiques from legitimate forms of dissent, liberal discourses of threat criminalize activism that is militant or illegitimate."¹³⁶ In the case at hand, this is certainly true. As long as the state and media can continue to portray insurrectionary attack as an incorrigibly misguided rejection of the entire democratic political sphere, those acting as narrative architects are more able to justify militarized policing, aggressive surveillance, infiltration, and a generalized atmosphere of a criminalized dissent.

6. For illegalism, against "civil anarchists:

Last week...In the suburbs of London (in Tottenham) two of our Russian comrades attacked the accountant of a factory and, pursued by the crowd and the police, held out in a desperate struggle, the mere recounting of which is enough to make one shiver...After almost two hours of resistance, having exhausted their munitions, and wounded 22 people, three of them mortally, they reserved for

¹³⁶ Timothy Luchies, "Towards an Insurrectionary Power/ Knowledge: Movement-Relevance, Anti- Oppression, Prefiguration," *Social Movement Studies* 14, no. 3 (2015): 4, doi:10.1080/14742837.2014.998643.

*themselves their final bullets. One, our comrade Joseph Lapidus...killed himself; the other was taken seriously wounded. Words seem powerless to express admiration or condemnation before their ferocious heroism. Lips are still; the pen isn't strong enough, sonorous enough. Nevertheless, in our ranks there will be the timorous and the fearful who will disavow their act. But we, for our part, insist on loudly affirming our solidarity...We today insist on saying loudly and clearly: The London 'bandits' were at one with us!*¹¹³⁷
-- Victor Serge [1909]

The (false) dichotomy typically presented for the purposed of categorization is one wherein anarchism has two approaches, one of organization and another of explosive spontaneity. More accurately, one could summarize them as a fluid debate—one that pits direct confrontation *with* authority against organizing to undermine that same authority.¹¹³⁸ An integral component of the abovementioned rejection of democratic reformism is a further critique of the broader tendencies within the anarchist movements towards ‘civil’ (i.e. legal or rather non-illegal) form of protest. This tendency goes two ways: one motion which insists that insurrectionary anarchists support those on the aggressive fringes of the social war, and secondly, that supporters do not condemn militant actions. While reviewing the quote above from illegalist anarchist bomber Victor Serge, one sees this tendency as well as the author writes, “in our ranks there will be the timorous and the fearful who will disavow their act. But we, for our part, insist on loudly affirming our solidarity.”¹¹³⁹ Here Serge clearly demarcates a line between those on the left (i.e. “in our ranks”) who claim “solidarity,” and those that choose to “disavow.” Often times, modern insurrectionary attackers have expressed sentiments of betrayal and

¹¹³⁷ Victor Serge, “Anarchists - Bandits,” trans. Mitchell Abidor, *Le Révolté (republished by the Marxists Internet Archive)* No. 36 (February 6, 1909), <http://www.marxists.org/archive/serge/1909/02/anarchist-bandits.htm>.

¹¹³⁸ Amster, *Anarchism Today*, 50.

¹¹³⁹ Serge, “Anarchists - Bandits.”

disappointment with supposed allies within the anarchist left. For example, the famed “Imprisoned Members’ Cell” of the CCF write of a similar tension between “anarcho-individualists of praxis...[the] unrepentant anarchist urban guerillas” and what they term “anarcho bosses.”¹¹⁴⁰ In a 2014 statement, imprisoned insurrectionary fighters make this point writing: “Today, urban guerrilla in Greece has to face not only the iron state repression but also the anarcho-bosses of the anti-guerrilla tension of the anti-authoritarian milieu.”¹¹⁴¹

Similar expressions of betrayal have been levied at institutions such as the Indymedia network that developed to provide news coverage of the millennial anti-globalization movement. In once such statement issued in 2013, author(s) identifying as “Anarchist-nihilists against the activist establishment” contend that the Indymedia structure has been complicit with state efforts and has been coopted to “smear and denigrate the insurrectional project, that of the FAI/CCF/IRF, 325 and the anarchists of praxis.”¹¹⁴² The anonymous author(s) accuse Indymedia of “spreading lies and falsities” and failing to protect the anonymity of demonstrators through posting pictures *without* first blurring the faces of participants. Furthermore, the document argues that the civil anarchists, including Indymedia, are attempting to reign in and police the more militant (i.e. insurrectionary) portion of the movement dedicated to the creation of social war through direct attack.

They [Indymedia & civil anarchists] sought to impose their discrimination on the [insurrectionary] attacks and upon the action groups, aiming at having a

¹¹⁴⁰ Polidoros et al., “Arming Negation.”

¹¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹¹⁴² Anarchist-nihilists against the activist establishment, “Fuck Indymedia and the Anarcho-Left.”

dominating influence on their behavior, like the civil anarchists who also believed through their hysterical denunciations they could impose their own servility on the uncontrollables.¹¹⁴³

This narrative is akin to the anti-reformist positioning of the RB and many other manifestations of inter-movement rivalry and criticism. The document proposes that the insurrectionary movement abandons these outmoded structures for counter-information and points to the newly established “informal international translation and counter-information network” (e.g. 325). In their critique of “Indymedia and the Anarcho-Left”, the author(s) calling themselves “Anarchist-nihilists against the activist establishment” write:

The new anarchist international war also does not need or require such useless people, because it has created its own information structures and helped co-create and form many more, that have solidified struggles in the ‘social’ and ‘anti-social.’ The informal international translation and counter-information network has a specific reality that comprises much more than any of its individual parts, one that has eclipsed many Indymedia sites that have been based on a very weak set of political and social values, largely based on the phony social contract of civil rights, negotiation and legal defiance of democracy that characterized the ‘anti-summit’/’anti-globalisation’ period from where it sprang 13 years ago. The informal internet anarchist network overcomes many of these previous sites of information activism, and an ongoing development is taking place internationally. Many of the prior spaces of the ‘movement’, physical and virtual, are now in the hands of the enemy, or might as well be.¹¹⁴⁴

This statement makes clear the chronological narrative. Whereas the anti-globalization movement of 1999 Seattle and 2001’s riots in Quebec City and Genoa may have created Indymedia, and in their time, may have been championed by those who today self-identify as anti-social, illegalist, insurrectionaries, despite these genealogies, the time has come for the outmoded to be replaced by a newly revolutionary, anti-civil network.

¹¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

While the outside observer may see little difference between the webpages of Indymedia and those of 365.nostate, War on Society and others, a great deal of difference exists. Akin to their informal, ad hoc praxis, the insurrectionary sites are often blog-based, abandoning the Indymedia model of formal websites with stable web presences. In the insurrectionary network, a series of often-redundant blogs are created, operate for a few months or years, and then go silent, only to be replaced by new ones. The blogs inter-link to one another, borrow and repost content, mirror translated documents, and publicize similar if not identical prisoner pleas, events and convergences. The nature of the new sites is to announce, not organize. In this sense they are uniquely different from their Indymedia predecessors. They are meant as one-way bulletin boards to disseminate announcement, not Internet-based forums for activists to plan around. While Indymedia was used to plan, 325 is used to proclaim. In this manner, the Indymedia v. 325 debate embodies the civil v. insurrectionary split, marking the former as counter-revolutionary and capitulating and the latter as uncompromising and militant.

7. Against domestication & technology, for re-wilding

*...an ideology, in order to gain enthusiastic support, must have a positive ideals as well as a negative one; it must be FOR something as well as AGAINST something. The positive ideal that we promote is Nature. That is, WILD nature; those aspects of the functioning of the Earth and its living things that are independent of human management and free of human interference and control. And with wild nature we include human nature, by which we mean those aspects of the functioning of the human individual that are not subject to regulation by organized society but are products of chance or free will...*¹¹⁴⁵

-- Theodore Kaczynski/FC, *Industrial Society and Its Future* [1995]

¹¹⁴⁵ Kaczynski, "Industrial Society and Its Future," sec. 183.

While classically, anarchism has located misery and domination in the forms of the state and capital, for some portions of the anarchist milieu—often termed Green, Luddite, anti-civilization or primitivist—the roots of modern human oppression originate at an earlier locale, namely the formation of civilizations marked by non-nomadic living, tool usage and of course, technology.¹¹⁴⁶ While a host of contemporary thinkers write from these positions, a growing number of clandestine cells have used these theories in the development of their attack methodologies; adopting a critical reception of scientific experimentation in their selection of targets for attack. These groups of attackers—sometimes bluntly referred to as “anti-science anarchists”¹¹⁴⁷, “eco-anarchists”¹¹⁴⁸, “extremist anarchist”¹¹⁴⁹ or simply “terrorists”¹¹⁵⁰—advocate vanguardist violence to bring fourth insurrection leading to the destruction of industrial civilization. This rejection of scientific experimentation, technology and the like is developed from more familiar Marxist and anarchist critiques having to do with alienation, abstraction, subordination and centralization. Though a complete review of these tendencies is a

¹¹⁴⁶ See for example Derrick Jensen, *A Language Older Than Words* (Chelsea Green, 2004); Jensen, McBay, and Keith, *Deep Green Resistance*; Kaczynski, *Technological Slavery*; Wolfi Landstreicher, “The Network of Domination” (The Anarchist Library, 2005), <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/wolfi-landstreicher-the-network-of-domination#toc5>; Fredy Perlman, *Against His-Story, against Leviathan!: An Essay* (Detroit, Mich: Black & Red, 2010); Kevin Tucker, “Spectacle of the Symbolic,” *Species Traitor* (published by *www.insurgentdesire.org.uk*, *Republished by The Anarchist Library*), February 20, 2009, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/kevin-tucker-spectacle-of-the-symbolic>; David Watson, *Against the Megamachine: Essays on Empire and Its Enemies* (Brooklyn, NY: Autonomedia, 1997); John Zerzan, *Future Primitive: And Other Essays* (Autonomedia, 1994); John Zerzan, ed., *Against Civilization: Readings and Reflections*, Enlarged (Feral House, 2005).

¹¹⁴⁷ Andy Coghlan, “Violent Anti-Science Anarchists Vow to Strike Again,” *New Scientist*, May 29, 2012, <http://www.newscientist.com/article/dn21860-violent-antiscience-anarchists-vow-to-strike-again.html#.VGeOO5RdWcd>.

¹¹⁴⁸ Leigh Phillips, “Anarchists Attack Science,” *Nature* 485, no. 7400 (May 28, 2012): 561–561, doi:10.1038/485561a.

¹¹⁴⁹ Corral, “Stand up against the Anti-Technology Terrorists.”

¹¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

project of its own merit, this manner of critique can broadly be generalized in the following text, written by Kaczynski, titled *Industrial Society and Its Future*. In this lengthy essay, common referred to as the ‘Unabomber Manifesto’ the author writes:

We attribute the social and psychological problems of modern society to the fact that society requires people to live under conditions radically different from those under which the human race evolved and to behave in ways that conflict with the patterns of behavior that the human race developed while living under earlier conditions...Among the abnormal conditions present in modern industrial society are excessive density of population, isolation of man from nature, excessive rapidity of social change and the breakdown of natural small-scale communities such as the extended family, the village or the tribe.¹¹⁵¹

The preceding text points to the generalizable anarcho-primitivist critique of civilization and technology, a consistent critique found amongst insurrectionary theory. Sometimes this is due to the specifics of the advancement itself (e.g. nanotechnology, genetically-modified organisms, hydraulic fracturing, robotics) and sometimes it is more comprehensive, relating to a biopolitical reality. The author(s) of the influential text *At Daggers Drawn...* call this the “technological administration of the existent”¹¹⁵² referring to means of technology designed to manage life, death and social control.

ITS, the network responsible for a long series of attacks in Mexico for several years has focused its attacks on the techno-industrial system at a specific form of science, namely nanotechnology. The network explains their targeting logic, writing:

We employed direct attacks to damage both physically and psychologically, NOT ONLY experts in nanotechnology, but also scholars in biotechnology, physics, neuroscience, genetic engineering, communication science, computing, robotics, etc...because we reject technology and civilization, we reject the reality that they are imposing with ALL their advanced science. We deny a life imposed on us by the system that dictates that we must walk mindlessly, obligatorily obeying orders

¹¹⁵¹ Kaczynski, “Industrial Society and Its Future,” sec. 46, 47.

¹¹⁵² Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics*, 5.

from large organizations (industrial giants that tell you what to eat, what not to do, to say, to wear, where to go, etc..) and people outside our inner circle. We negate the artificiality and we cling to our past as Warriors of the Earth who cling to our darkest instincts of survival, and although we know we are civilized humans, we are awake and we claim ourselves as fierce individualists in TOTAL WAR against all that threatens our nature and Wild Nature that is left.”¹¹⁵³

Prior to the emergence of insurrectionary networks, the radical forbearers held critiques of technological society that would closely mirror those developed years later. As one scholar explained in describing the congruence of postmodern resistance movements:

The critical discourse in ELF and EZLN communiques reflect the same basic critical interpretation of technology—namely, that technology is a historical and ontological formation, rooted in western metaphysics and centering on synthesizing entities including, ultimately, people into cybernetic systems. Technology is not simply a neutral set of tools and methods but a cultural imperative that everything yield to efficient systematization.¹¹⁵⁴

There is a marked sense of immediacy within the action sensibility of direct action advocates. When viewed in terms of the ecological and animal liberationist tendencies, these relate to quantifiable lives spared or conversely, quantifiable lives lost due to hesitation, inactivity and the morbidly slow pace of democratic reformism.

For the eco/animal liberationists (e.g. ELF, ALF) there is a very real sense that civilization may exist on the brink of system collapse perpetuated through human action related to resource extraction, energy production, and industrial farming. Certainly mainstream science backs up the claim that the current era of modernity presents real risks for catastrophic and violent ecological crisis. A 2014 National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)-sponsored study concluded “global industrial civilisation could collapse in coming decades due to unsustainable resource exploitation and

¹¹⁵³ Individualists Tending Toward the Wild, “8th Communique.”

¹¹⁵⁴ Becker, “Rhizomatic Resistance: The Zapatistas and the Earth Liberation Front,” 10.

increasingly unequal wealth distribution.”¹¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, the report stated that not only is such crisis predictable, it is expected as “the process of rise-and-collapse is actually a recurrent cycle found throughout history.”¹¹⁵⁶ Interestingly, the fault lines of this cyclical collapse demonstrated in the NASA study closely resemble the rallying cries entombed by the so-called radical eco-left.

The study echoes the recurrent predictions of the insurrectionary eco tendency concluding that “the most salient interrelated factors which explain civilizational decline, and which may help determine the risk of collapse today: namely, Population, Climate, Water, Agriculture, and Energy.”¹¹⁵⁷ The study similarly speaks to the ill effects of a widening economic gap stating, “accumulated surplus is not evenly distributed throughout society, but rather has been controlled by an elite. The mass of the population, while producing the wealth, is only allocated a small portion of it by elites, usually at or just above subsistence levels.”¹¹⁵⁸ Finally, it even warns of the predictable reaction from upper echelons of society who are likely to downplay the structural nature of the problem

While some members of society might raise the alarm that the system is moving towards an impending collapse and therefore advocate structural changes to society in order to avoid it, Elites and their supporters, who opposed making these changes, could point to the long sustainable trajectory 'so far' in support of doing nothing.¹¹⁵⁹

If state-funded, mainstream science, presented through mainstream media can reach conclusions reconcilable with the insurrectionary tendency for immediate action,

¹¹⁵⁵ Nafeez Ahmed, “Nasa-Funded Study: Industrial Civilisation Headed for ‘Irreversible Collapse’?,” *The Guardian*, March 14, 2014, sec. Environment, <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/earth-insight/2014/mar/14/nasa-civilisation-irreversible-collapse-study-scientists>.

¹¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

certainly a nuanced and academic reading of social movement ephemera is warranted. Scientists report “unprecedented” heat waves¹¹⁶⁰, glacial melting¹¹⁶¹ described by NASA as “irreversible”¹¹⁶², seven million people killed annually from air pollution¹¹⁶³ and have concluded that ongoing climate change is “substantially correlated” to rises in violent crime and group conflict (i.e. war).¹¹⁶⁴ With such predictable patterns in mind, it is no matter that eco-crisis is a highly motivating factor for a variety of actors across the revolutionary spectrum—especially as these apocalyptic findings are consistently said to be “human-driven.”¹¹⁶⁵ Even the US President seemed to foster a sense of urgency, when for example, he stated in May 2014:

We want to emphasize to the public, this is not some distant problem of the future. This is a problem that is affecting Americans right now... Whether it means increased flooding, greater vulnerability to drought, more severe wildfires - all these things are having an impact on Americans as we speak.¹¹⁶⁶

¹¹⁶⁰ Jason Samenow, “U.S. Has Hottest Month on Record in July 2012 NOAA Says,” *The Washington Post - Blogs*, August 8, 2012, http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/capital-weather-gang/post/us-has-hottest-month-on-record-in-july-2012-noaa-says/2012/08/08/0fae675c-e169-11e1-98e7-89d659f9c106_blog.html.

¹¹⁶¹ BBC, “Satellites Reveal Sudden Ice Melt,” *BBC News*, July 25, 2012, Online edition, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-18978483>.

¹¹⁶² NASA Jet Propulsion Laboratory, “West Antarctic Glacier Loss Appears Unstoppable,” May 12, 2014, <http://www.jpl.nasa.gov/news/news.php?release=2014-148>.

¹¹⁶³ World Health Organization, “Ambient and Household Air Pollution and Health,” NGO, *WHO*, (March 2014), http://www.who.int/phe/health_topics/outdoorair/databases/en/.

¹¹⁶⁴ Solomon M. Hsiang, Marshall Burke, and Edward Miguel, “Quantifying the Influence of Climate on Human Conflict,” *Science* 341, no. 6151 (September 13, 2013): 1235367, doi:10.1126/science.1235367.

¹¹⁶⁵ Justin Gillis and Kenneth Chang, “Scientists Warn of Rising Oceans From Polar Melt,” *The New York Times*, May 12, 2014, Online edition, sec. Science, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/13/science/earth/collapse-of-parts-of-west-antarctica-ice-sheet-has-begun-scientists-say.html>.

¹¹⁶⁶ Barack Obama as quoted in Al Jazeera News, “US Calls for Urgent Action on Climate Change,” *Al Jazeera News*, May 7, 2014, Online edition, sec. Americas, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/americas/2014/05/us-calls-urgent-action-climate-change-2014570136529322.html>.

Given authoritative reports of such a nature, is it surprising that a variety of individuals feel the urgency to attack?

Despite these scientific findings and motivating factors, certain sectors of the eco-motivated insurrectionary tendency have articulated a strong rejection of technology and even a broader rejection towards the methods of modern scientific interventionism. While this is best demonstrated in the attacks of certain Mexican direct attack networks, it can be seen in multiple settings throughout. In a Brazilian communiqué claiming responsibility for anti-state attacks—including the use of fire and explosives—the authors write:

Modern civilization has reached a huge level of devastation of the earth, waters, and all life that inhabits this planet. It's the result of this sick logic of understanding that everything exists to serve some human being and be transformed into money... Technology is developed to better serve the interests of this logic. To believe in the neutrality of technology is like believing in the neutrality of a police officer or a judge. Technologies blatantly favor domination, control, profit-making. Hydroelectric plants, industries, agribusinesses, microchips, surveillance cameras, transgenics, biometrics, virtual world of social networks. Will the new generations be even more obedient and manipulable?¹¹⁶⁷

This anti-technological/industrial system discourse is especially active in Mexico and in the writings of American mail bomber, Ted Kaczynski. Several contemporary Mexican insurrectionary networks adopt a Kaczynskian-type analysis and identify most closely with this tendency, such as ITS and OPCA. In an April 2014 communiqué from the newly announced OPCA, the group argues for the ceasing of analysis and the increasing of attacks, writing:

¹¹⁶⁷ Savage Vandal Anti-authoritarians, "Responsibility Claim for Explosion in the Military Tribunal of the Union, and Arson on Vehicles of the Military Police" (Contra Info, May 22, 2014), <http://en.contrainfo.espiv.net/2014/05/27/porto-alegre-brazil-responsibility-claim-for-explosion-in-the-military-tribunal-of-the-union/>.

We abandon words and analyses in order to begin with our war, the war against what kills us and consumes us, against the invincible megamachine which only wild nature or its very own technology can collapse. We do not seek victories, triumphs or results from what we do or have done, we are not revolutionaries, platformists or anarchists. We only seek confrontation with the system, the sharpening of the conflict against it. From this day we publicly put aside the word ‘analysis,’ in order to become The Obsidian Point Circle of Attack.¹¹⁶⁸

Later, after claiming responsibility for a “package bomb with a considerable quantity of Shrapnel”¹¹⁶⁹ to a rector at UNAM, the communiqué author(s) articulate their anti-technological stance in reference to why the individual was targeted, writing:

We bitterly oppose the progress of the technological or industrial system, its cultural values and its slave society, since progress is the enormous bunch of attacks against wild nature. It is for progress that rivers, seas and oceans are contaminated, that forests and jungles are deforested, that the species are exterminated from the various environments where they exist on this earth, that other worlds inside and outside of the Milky Way are examined in order to corrupt them like this one, the physique, character and mentality of the human being is manipulated and dominated now by machines, our deepest and darkest natural instincts are domesticated with their propaganda on television, radio, internet, newspapers, schools, jobs and universities. Progress kills, sickens and makes everything artificial and mechanical.¹¹⁷⁰

Clearly the ecological and anti-technological motivations are strong currents within many realms of insurrectionary thought. They are a natural partner to the milieu’s embedded sense of urgency, and combined with rhetorical support from the mainstream scientific community, may remain the most salient component of an often silenced political and social critique.

8. Wild egoist individualism

One of the results of these recent movements is the understanding that henceforth

¹¹⁶⁸ Obsidian Point Circle of Attack, “Communique for Package Bomb Sent to the Rector of UNAM.”

¹¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

*a real demonstration has to be 'wild,' not declared in advance to the police.*¹¹⁷¹
-- The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection* [2007]

*We can choose not to live. That is the most beautiful reason for opening oneself up to life with joy... We can choose not to act, and this is the most beautiful reason for acting.*¹¹⁷²
-- Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn...* [2001]

*I should admit, though, that I personally am strongly inclined to individualism. Ideally, I shouldn't allow my individualistic predilections to influence my thinking on revolutionary strategy but should arrive at my conclusions objectively. The fact that you have spotted my individualistic leanings may mean that I have not been as objective as I should have been.*¹¹⁷³
-- Theodore Kaczynski [2010]

The evoking the notion of a pre-anthropocene period of 'the wild' is common throughout insurrectionary rhetoric, especially that which is critical of science, technology and civilization. The concept of *wild* harkens to an untamed, free, egalitarian and plentiful state of non-anthropocentric nature seen in stark comparison to "the realm of human greed and ecological despoliation."¹¹⁷⁴ Therefore, as Randall Amster states, green infused eco-anarchism centers around *wildness* not the physical wilderness¹¹⁷⁵. The wild ethics of pre-modern (i.e. primitive) societies and 'natural' "biospheric egalitarianism" assumed to be outside of the techno-industrial civilization of modernity are models for not only personal lifestyleism, but a revolutionary utopianism to be found in the construction of a post-state community.

The individualist framework¹¹⁷⁶ dovetails with insurrectionary anarchism's

¹¹⁷¹ The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection*, 127.

¹¹⁷² Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics*, 35.

¹¹⁷³ Kaczynski, "Letters to David Skrbina," 261.

¹¹⁷⁴ Amster, *Anarchism Today*, 70.

¹¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁷⁶ The individualist tradition has long roots in Europe and North America. While a complete history of all involved is far beyond the scope of this review, famed individualist *anarchists* include: In France—

rejection of “organized anarchist movements”¹¹⁷⁷ and typically endorses the use of individual acts of violence to achieve one’s aims. This is true in explicitly insurrectionary acts of political violence—like those of the CCF, FAI, IRF—as well as the older models such as the ELF/ALF. The ELF/ALF—employing tactics of “monkeywrenching”—use such means because “monkeywrenching is specifically constructed as: individual, not organized, dispersed, diverse, deliberate and ethical.”¹¹⁷⁸ In its most general terms, the individualist tendency, borrows from the classically liberal notion of individual sovereignty, “extend[ing] it until it [becomes] incompatible with the idea of a state.”¹¹⁷⁹ Individualism is often spoken of—within the anarchist tradition—as closely linked to illegalism, as many illegalist anarchists closely aligned with the individualist logic. In his description of the illegalist mentality, an anarchist scholar writes that they “expressed their desperation and their personal, violent rejection of an intolerable society...[acts of

Anselme Bellegarrigue (~1823-1890), Émile Gravelle (1855-1920), Émile Armand (1872-1936), Jacques Élie Henri Ambroise Ner (aka Han Ryner) (1861-1938), Alphonse Gallaud de la Pérouse (aka Zo d’Axa) (1864-1930), Henri Zisly (1872-1945), Joseph Albert (aka Albery Libertad) (1875-1908) and Charles-Auguste Bontemps (1893-1981). In Italy—Vittorio Pini (1860-1903), Abele Rizieri Ferrari (aka Renzo Novatore) (1890-1922), Dante Carnesecchi (1892-1921), Enrico Arrigoni (1894-1986) and Bruno Fillippi (1900-1919). In Germany—Max Stirner (1806-1856), Adolf Brand (1874-1945) and Horst Fantazzini (1939-2001). In Spain—Joan "Juan" Montseny Carret (aka Federico Urales) (1864-1842) and Miguel Giménez Igualada (aka Miguel Ramos Giménez/Juan de Iniesta) (1888-1973). In Britain—Wordsworth Donisthorpe (1847-1914), Henry Seymour (1861-1938), John Henry Mackay (aka Sagitta) (1864-1933) and Henry Meulen (1882-1978). In Russia—Lev Chernyi (b. ?-1921) and Alexei Alexeyevich Borovoi (1875-1935). In the United States—William Godwin (1765-1836), Josiah Warren (1789-1874), Lysander Spooner (1808-1887), Stephen Pearl Andrews (1812-1886), Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862), William Batchelder Greene (1819-1878), Charles Joseph Antoine "Jo" Labadie (1850-1933), James L. Walker (1845-1904), John Veverley Robinson (1853-1932), Benjamin Tucker (1854-1939), Victor Yarros (1865-1956), Steven T. Byington (1869-1957) and Peter Lamborn Wilson (aka Hakim Bey) (b. 1945). Lastly, in the South American continent, Colombian Vicente Rojas Lizcano (aka Biófilo Panclasta) (1879-1943) and Brazilian Maria Lacerda de Moura (1887-1945).

¹¹⁷⁷ David Miller, *Anarchism*, Modern Ideologies (London, UK: J M Dent & Sons Ltd, 1984), 30.

¹¹⁷⁸ Amster, *Anarchism Today*, 77.

¹¹⁷⁹ Miller, *Anarchism*, 30.

illegality] were clearly meant to be exemplary, invitations to revolt.”¹¹⁸⁰

There is an aesthetic of wildness that is pervasive in the self-descriptions of insurrectionary actors. Prominently you have violence-prone eco-insurrectionary networks such as ITS (Individualists Tending Towards the *Wild*) employing such images as a namesake. The author(s) of *At Daggers Drawn...* write that insurrectionary warriors who are honest with self will understand themselves to be ‘wild’, stating:

If they do not wish to deceive themselves and others, those struggling for the demolition of the present social edifice must face the fact that subversion is a game of wild, barbarous forces. Someone referred to them as Cossacks, someone else hooligans; on fact they are individuals whose anger has not be quelled by social peace.¹¹⁸¹

Here one can see that not only is the author(s) speaking of a wildness, but also of a more generalized uncontrollable nature; an association with those that are ‘wild, barbarous, hooligans.’ Cells carrying out attacks have even self-labeled as such, naming themselves, “Commando of Free, Dangerous, Wild and Incendiary Individuals for the Black Plague – FAI”¹¹⁸² and “Luddites Against the Domestication of Wild Nature – FAI.”¹¹⁸³

Similar sentiments are conjured with the egoist influence and an embracing of an anti-political, anti-social analysis. This is clearly articulated in a communiqué composed by OPCA wherein they write:

We care little what they call us, such as ‘barbarian,’ ‘foolish,’ ‘mediocre,’ etc, we do not want to give any ‘good impression’ to their eyes, we do not want to be, nor are we, nor will we be, the traditional ‘social fighters’ of Mexico, we are egoist radicals, politically incorrect, irreverently individualist at war against the progress

¹¹⁸⁰ Imrie, “The ‘Illegalists.’”

¹¹⁸¹ Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics*, 11.

¹¹⁸² FAI Artisans Cooperative of Fire and Similar (occasionally spectacular), International Revolutionary Front and FAI 20th July Brigade, International Revolutionary Front, “Do Not Say That We Are Few - Statement from the Italian FAI.”

¹¹⁸³ Ibid.

of the technoindustrial system.¹¹⁸⁴

The image of a barbarian horde that cares little for social convention and political correctness was also invoked by Victor Serge, the famed early twentieth century Bonnot Gang rebel. In 1909, Serge wrote:

Let this be known. Let it be finally understood that in the current society we are the vanguard of a barbarous army. That we have no respect for what constitutes virtue, morality, honesty, that we are outside of laws and regulations... We prefer combat. Against us, all arms are good; we are in an enemy camp, surrounded, harassed. The bosses, judges, soldiers, cops unite to bring us down. We defend ourselves – not by all means, for the most peremptory response we can give them is to be better than them—but with a profound contempt for their codes, their morals, their prejudices... Your codes, your laws, your ‘honesty’: you can’t imagine how we laugh at them!¹¹⁸⁵

It is not just the fighting barbarian army image that is deployed, but other pre-modern fighting forces, often romanticized and reinterpreted to match contemporary political tendencies. For example, in the text below, an anonymous author(s) urges anarchists to avoid attending May Day demonstrations and other manifestations of the left, and instead, let the destructive force of insurrectionary violence speak for itself:

So on May Day, let us say fuck all to the funeral dance of the left. Do *not* attend the protests of the left... Street demonstrations are both tired and predictable. The terrain is rigged and the audience is small. We rely on the media to tell our story rather than people reading our story by the devastation we leave throughout a city.

The Vandals were a tribe before they were associated with any individual that engages in some level of property destruction... they set a precedent and all property destroyers wear the name of their tribe as a crime.

I say we remake the Vandals. We remake the tribe and commit its crime. We don't walk in one mass in a city, but as small vandal units, striking where we can,

¹¹⁸⁴ Obsidian Point Circle of Attack, “Communique for Package Bomb Sent to the Rector of UNAM.”

¹¹⁸⁵ Serge, “Anarchists - Bandits.”

damaging the most public of things that we can get away with... Let the battle of the Vandals be May Day! May the tribe of destruction be reborn!¹¹⁸⁶

Here you can see an embracing of the sort of individualistic, yet collectively experienced violence typically associated with a riot or insurrection. The author(s) invokes criticisms of social movement methods and urges activists to not engage in self-sacrifice but to strike, escape and strike again. Insurrectionary logic privileges the individual¹¹⁸⁷; their desires, their abilities. The force of a spreading of insurrection, from small acts of rupture to a more generalized revolt and disruption is a process of individuals acting outside of central coordination or control. This point is made clearly in *At Daggers Drawn...* wherein the author(s) write:

Insurrection is the process that unleashes this strength [of the exploited], and along with it autonomy and the pleasure of living; it is the moment when we think reciprocally that the best thing we can do for others is to free ourselves. In this sense it is ‘a collective movement of individual realization.’¹¹⁸⁸

Furthering this individualist motivational logic, one’s ability to *not* revolt makes the act of revolting an actualized freedom. The desire to seek joy and freedom serves to anchor the individualist in their pursuit of fulfillment through autonomous action. Max Stirner (1806-1856), the name most often associated with the egoist tendency, authored *The Ego and His Own* in 1843, arguing the complete denial of absolutes and institutions in favor of the human individual.¹¹⁸⁹ Stirner’s philosophy approaches the nihilist position—borrowing a great deal from Friedrich Nietzsche. Stirner’s ideas are informed by a

¹¹⁸⁶ Anonymous, “Vandal Demonstration May Day 2014” (AnokChan, April 28, 2014), <http://anokchan.com/anok/res/1411.html>.

¹¹⁸⁷ It should be acknowledged that the human being is often said to be a ‘social being’ and this includes the social construction of self, created through social encounters with others. In other words, one can only understand what individualism is in light of their understanding of self in relation to others.

¹¹⁸⁸ Anonymous, *At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics*, 26.

¹¹⁸⁹ Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*, 94.

rejection of a base law for human kind and instead offer another model. According to anarchist historians, Stirner's writing:

...sets forth as his ideal egoist, the man who realizes himself in conflict with the collectivity and with other individuals, who does not shirk from the use of any means in 'the war of each against all,' who judges everything ruthlessly from the viewpoint of his own well-being and who, having proclaimed his 'ownness', may then enter with like-minded individuals into a 'union of egoists,' without rules or regulations, for the arrangement of matters of common convenience.¹¹⁹⁰

Stirner's suggestions of achieving such a reality speaks to "vaguely insurrectionary means" through which a conflict is created of a "perpetual and amoral conflict of wills."¹¹⁹¹ This sentiment helped to inform the illegalist tradition popular around the turn of the twentieth century, and as exemplified by the Bonnot Gang and other illegalists.¹¹⁹² Part of this insurrectionary logic is the creation of the revolution within the site of the individual, not the entire socio-political sphere.¹¹⁹³ This premise carries with it the rejection of a revolutionary class of proletarian masses and instead understands the world as a collectivity of individuals, each of which must personally achieve revolutionary liberation. This framework has led to some criticism of so-called lifestyleism¹¹⁹⁴ such as essays by Social Ecologist-anarchist Murray Bookchin¹¹⁹⁵. Lifestyleist sentiment can be seen throughout radical discourse—including those over and beyond the insurrectionary tendency—and are frequent in communiqués. In June 2012, following the a car bomb targeting the Athens office of Microsoft, a cell of the IRF calling itself "Deviant

¹¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 95.

¹¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹¹⁹² Parry, *The Bonnot Gang: The Story of the French Illegalists*, 5, 19.

¹¹⁹³ Berry, *A History of the French Anarchist Movement, 1917-1945*, 104.

¹¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁹⁵ Murray Bookchin, *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism: An Unbridgeable Chasm* (San Francisco, CA: AK Press, 2001).

Behaviours for the Spread of Revolutionary Terrorism” wrote, “Our struggle is, first and foremost, the fight against OUR OWN contracts, OUR fears, OUR imperfections.”¹¹⁹⁶

Stirner’s exclusion of collective efforts for revolution led some prominent anarchists, such as Emma Goldman, to consider him outside of their philosophical camp.¹¹⁹⁷ Within the egoist, individualist logic the state must be destroyed as it stands in conflict with human will, or according to anarchist historian George Woodcock, the state is the “negation of individual will.”¹¹⁹⁸ Thus the ideal utopianism of these thinkers is an existence devoid of slaves and masters and inhabited only by the egoist striving towards their own ‘ownness.’ Stirner shared a base insurrectional contention, namely the assertion that engagement with “politics” in the traditional sense is utterly futile.¹¹⁹⁹

Conclusion

The insurrectionary position, as cobbled together from its most visible and widely circulated texts, is a constellation of tendencies and ideas informed by poststructuralism and Queer theory and borrowing from a number of anti-state, anti-capitalist and nihilist positions. While an insurrectionary ‘points of unity’ is yet to be written—and would likely be seen as counter to the sprit of unrestrained insurrectionary assembly—points of affinity, overlap, repetition and rearticulation can allow one to assemble this framework. Based on a reading of scores of communiqués, proclamations, letters and more traditional

¹¹⁹⁶ Deviant Behaviours for the Spread of Revolutionary Terrorism – International Revolutionary Front, “Full communiqué for the high-profile vehicle-bomb against Microsoft by Deviant Behaviours for the Spread of Revolutionary Terrorism – International Revolutionary Front (Greece)” (325.nostate.net, June 27, 2012), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=6793>.

¹¹⁹⁷ Shone, *American Anarchism*, 222.

¹¹⁹⁸ Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*, 101.

¹¹⁹⁹ Shone, *American Anarchism*, 223.

texts one can describe the insurrectionary position as being comprised of the following eight points.

First, the forces of domination must be confronted through direct attack that is immediate, continuous and spontaneous. One only learns how to act through experimentation and thus anyone is capable of acting in furtherance of greater freedom through the production of easily reproducible attacks targeting whatever localized manifestation of the enemy one can locate. Secondly, the wider conflict with the state and capital takes the form of a social war which seeks to create points of rupture in the social order through exacerbating existing tensions, dissatisfactions and points of alienation present in the society and produced by the nexuses of power and control. Thirdly, in locating the enemy one must move beyond identity-based politics and seek a more all encompassing idea of intersectionality wherein the goal is confrontation with ‘The Totality’ and total liberation. This understanding is based around a rejection of domination, not specific systems of oppression such as sexism, racism or homophobia. Therefore the battles of the non-heterosexual and those of the non-white are inextricably interlinked as they both emanate from a single source of power.

Fourthly, forms of protest and contestation must be unmanaged, temporary and outside of the Left's traditional conceptions of social movements. This rejection of representation, mediation, and ritual must be recognized in all aspects of praxis. The prized model for insurrection is thus the fostering of informal, temporary collectives of individuals aligned through friendship and ties of affinity. Fifthly, the insurrectionary vision for social change rejects reformist measure and Western notions of democratic

participation typically regarded in the liberal tradition as sacrosanct. Reformists are seen as the enemy of radical social transformation yet are commonly portrayed as allies in resistance. Sixthly, insurrection is inherently illegal, and embraces a historical notion of illegalism including the expropriation of capital from the wealthy and a rejection of "civil" (e.g. those who follow the law) engagement. Seventhly, the influence of the ecological crisis, domestication and technology is counter to the insurrectionary agenda as it further alienates individuals from the world around them, and is rapidly on the path towards a global collapse. In the final, eighth point, the collective insurrectionary milieu seeks to be constituted by individualists, acting in their own right, informed by a sense of wild egoism. The notion of 'the wild' runs throughout this understanding and evokes an untamed, pre-capitalist world view.

Taken as a collection of values, these components constitute a basis for insurrectionary affinity. In doing so, this manner of inquiry informs a central question of this exploration of discourse, namely: What constitutes the insurrectionary canon? While there are certainly some texts which appear to recur more often and with more wide endorsement throughout the networks, the major body of work is made up of thousands of smaller texts authored at the level of the cell, typically following some transgressive act of anti-social, anti-state and/or anti-capitalist violence. The space created by a temporary disruption to the status quo is used by the insurrectionary actor to speak via the mechanism of the communiqué. In doing so, the actor further develops the political analysis of the wider milieu and creates another page in the fluid, amorphous canon. The *community* of insurrectionary networks meets at these points of ideological, rhetorical

and strategic affinity, and it is on this basis of affiliation that the movement is formed, grown and reproduced.

CHAPTER SIX

People often think that insurrectionalism is a whole, made of concepts and theories frozen in time, in their 'ideological' rigidity...Nothing is permanent over time. Women and men through their actions forge ideas. It's not up to those three or four well-known comrades, with their books and articles, to show us the way, not even a matter of the long and inconclusive assemblies. It's those unknown comrades with their practice of attack that push us forward, leading us to life.¹²⁰⁰

-- Alfredo Cospito, jailed for FAI kneecap shooting of a nuclear executive [2014]

¹²⁰⁰ Cospito, Interview by CCF – Imprisoned Members Cell with Alfredo Cospito (Greece, Italy).

Introduction

This final chapter seeks to first evaluate the two central questions of this study, termed the “canon hypothesis” (H1) and the “poststructuralism hypothesis” (H2). These dual hypotheses will first be evaluated in light of the preceding discussion of insurrectionary theory before delving into a final analysis of the nature of discourse. After evaluating the hypotheses of this study, we will explore an interpretation of insurrectionary action, explaining it in terms of performative spectacle, and finally, examining the connection between the communiqué and discourse.

“Canon hypothesis” (H1): Incorrect

The original aim of this approach was to trace the borders of an insurrectionary canon, from Marxism, through anarchism and poststructuralism concluding at modern insurrectionary theory. I hypothesized that the dense theoretical forbears such as Tiquun and Bonanno inform these attacks and their ideology. After surveying the literature produced by the anarchists of praxis, the contemporary urban guerillas, one can observe that in fact, the corpus of communiqués does not demonstrate any strong, recurrent, theoretical points of reference. This observation mirrors accounts of anarcho-nihilism—a prominent forebear to modern insurrection—described as lacking “a singular, or even a particularly disciplined, body of thought.”¹²⁰¹ Instead of being comprised of a canon, nihilism/anarcho-nihilism is understood as an “approximation to a body of ideas rather than a body of ideas.”¹²⁰² It is not apparent that all of the attackers have read or are

¹²⁰¹ Aragorn!, “Nihilism Anarchy and the 21st Century,” 7.

¹²⁰² Ibid.

responding to these thinkers, but instead the networks' members seem to be well informed about previous attacks far more than about previous texts. This is similar to understandings of non-insurrectionary guerrillas. For example, though Abraham Guillén's influential text *Strategy of the Urban Guerrilla* served to inform his mentorship of the leftist, Uruguayan, guerrilla warfare-advocating Tupamaros (i.e. MLN-T), the militants remarked, "action, practice, came first, and then theory,"¹²⁰³ implying the supremacy of experienced combat over canonical fluency.

While the lack of stable, centrally-located, canonical texts in insurrectionary anarchism may invalidate a hypothesis of this study, this finding does *not* break from the traditional understanding of terrorism. In her discussion of European leftist networks employing clandestine political violence, Martha Crenshaw notes that militants "selected fragments of doctrine from other contexts"¹²⁰⁴, building up ideology, beliefs and justifications from a "selection of fragments of compatible theories."¹²⁰⁵ This is precisely why, for the insurrectionists, some are explicit in their reference to anarchist, poststructural, nihilist, Situationist and primitivist thinkers are others are keen to present their ideas without attribution, reference or within a clear intellectual tradition. Though often not explicitly quoting Tiqqun or Bonanno, insurrectionary attack communiqués uniformly make reference to previous attacks, previous attackers and current prisoners. The internationalization of rally cries, coordinated targeting and a call-and-response

¹²⁰³ As quoted in: Gillespie, "The Urban Guerrilla in Latin America," 155.

¹²⁰⁴ Martha Crenshaw, *Explaining Terrorism: Causes, Processes and Consequences*, 1st ed. (London, UK: Routledge, 2010), 73.

¹²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 99.

pping the ante can be seen clearly in campaigns such as those linked to the Phoenix Campaign and others responding to international calls to action by the FAI and CCF.

In this manner, the issuing of texts (e.g. communiqués, prison letters) acts to facilitate a method of coordination for an internationally decentralized network. This coordination role appears far more impactful than the development of traditional theory. In other words, the interplay between texts (and the cells that write them) is necessary for the continuation of an internationalized campaign of attack as well as the continuation of a decentralized discourse. This phenomenon has been noted before, for example in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, where anonymous leaflets resembling insurrectionary communiqués in form were authored, circulated and debated, forming a “substitute leadership”¹²⁰⁶ for the Palestinian uprising. Through this “pamphlet leadership”¹²⁰⁷, nationalist and religious movements debated policy, developed strategy and distributed criticism from behind the relative safety of anonymous statements read widely in the occupied Palestinian territories. This method of coordination was adopted by all manner of militant factions regardless of *ideology*—from secular nationalist (e.g. Fatah, United National Command), to Islamists (e.g. Hamas) and Marxist (e.g. Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine). In both the Palestinian and insurrectionary pamphlet-communicué ‘leaderships’, there is little consistent reference to canonical texts such as Abdullah Azzam’s *Defense of the Muslim Lands*¹²⁰⁸ or Tiqqun’s *This is not a*

¹²⁰⁶ Mishal and Aharoni, *Speaking Stones*, 25.

¹²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹²⁰⁸ Azzam Abdullah, *Defense of the Muslim Lands*, 2nd ed. (Afghanistan: Azzam Publications, 2002).

*program*¹²⁰⁹. Therefore, the construction of an insurrectionary canon is, from its origins, a moot task. If one is to locate a source of commonality and a shared politic, this must be understood as emanating from the events themselves. To put it simply, the events themselves are the canon, and through their methodology of attack, social critics demonstrate their fluency with this contemporary insurrectionary history and its actors, through constant recall and reference to prior combatants.

Certainly this assertion is not a simple one. There exists a dynamic relationship between theory, analysis and practice which cannot be easily observed or measured. For example, though some may have only heard it discussed, what role can we say *The Coming Insurrection* had on the students who occupied California university buildings in 2009 and penned poststructuralist-infused, insurrectionary-themed¹²¹⁰ texts? Without interviewing the participants in the occupations and the authors of the texts such discussion is merely speculative. Without a doubt key texts have had a direct or indirect impact on subsequent authors but precisely how and to what degree is unknown. In thinking through such a calculation, one can revisit past eras of rebellion such as the riots and varied methods of protest seen commonly in African-American urban communities in the 1960s. In the period between 1964-1969, racially-motivated riots occurred in Rochester, the Harlem neighborhood of New York, Philadelphia, the Watts neighborhood of Los Angeles, Cleveland (Hough and the 'Glenville' incident), Omaha (1966 and

¹²⁰⁹ Tiqqun, *This Is Not a Program*.

¹²¹⁰ For example see: Anonymous, "20 Theses on the Subversion of the Metropolis"; Research and Destroy, "Communique From an Absent Future: On the Terminus of Student Life"; Three Non-Matriculating Proletarians, "The Bricks We Throw at Police Today Will Build the Liberation Schools of Tomorrow" (Libcom, December 2, 2009), <http://libcom.org/news/bricks-we-throw-police-today-will-build-liberation-schools-tomorrow-02122009>; UC Berkeley occupiers, "The Necrosocial: Civic Life, Social Death, and the UC" (Libcom, November 18, 2009), <http://libcom.org/library/necrosocial-civic-life-social-death-uc>.

1969), Newark, Plainfield, Detroit, Minneapolis-Saint Paul, Chicago, Washington DC and Baltimore. While these riots and other displays were spontaneous and were often provoked by community-level incidents rather than theoretical critiques and social denouncements, subsequent Black Power theorists such as Malcolm X¹²¹¹ (1925-1965), Stokely Carmichael (1941-1998) and Bobby Seale¹²¹² (b. 1936), engaged in the production of analysis and interpretation which had an undeniable (yet un-measurable) influence on subsequent assemblies. In other words, while the structural violence (e.g. racism, economic inequality, police violence, etc.) set the stage for the riots, the actions of the citizens created the events which were necessary for the production of subsequent theorizing. Theory did not produce action in a Marxist sense, but rather served a role of interpreting the events after the fact, and as a result, informing future includes of a similar nature. Therefore a relationship certainly exists between a canon, the events that come before, and those that emanate after. This relationship is difficult if not impossible to map, and invisibly borrows ideas from a fluid collection of texts as well as events.

Rather than borrowing and challenging points of argumentation from centrally-positioned texts—in the manner that a Leninist could critique a Maoist—insurrectionary theory borrows from emotive phraseologies commonly invoked in radical, anti-authoritarian politics. Through a combination of elements of illegalism, autonomism, primitivism, Situationism, post-left anarchism and others, authors are able to develop a political perspective that “align their discursive frames with various transnational

¹²¹¹ Malcolm X was born Malcolm Little and in the late 1950s, after accepting Islam (and completing the Hajj), was known as El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz.

¹²¹² “Bobby” Seale was born Robert George Seale

ideologies.”¹²¹³ This hodge-podge approach to insurrectionary theory is related to that of poststructuralism’s constitution. Supporting this claim, in their discussion of the role of poststructuralism in CSS, the authors state, “‘Poststructuralism’...is a fragmentary assemblage of diverse social, political, and philosophical thought.”¹²¹⁴ The intentionality of this insurrectionary openness is reflected in the structure of networks, and cells that allow for great diversity amongst their ranks in terms of ideology, strategy and tactics. This model, which at times is encapsulated as “leaderless resistance”¹²¹⁵, allows for individuals, cells and networks to adapt to changing environments in real time as future attacks and texts reflect back on that that came before. This non-rigid theorizing prevents movement factionalization¹²¹⁶, reduces ideological infighting, and allows the movement to develop, grow and refine as events unfold.

Just as illegalism and propaganda (of the deed) strikes built a momentum for anarchists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in the twenty-first century, global attacks linked through a network of names and digital dissemination points unite disparate attacks into a movement. While attackers often share a critical framework with obvious Marxist, anarchist, poststructuralist and Tiqqunist, Kaczynskian or CCFian thought, the events build from one another and not a shared text-centric critique. This interaction can be understood as a form of pan-national, constructive, play—through which disparate actors build off of one other through understandings that the original

¹²¹³ Drissel, “Reframing the Taliban Insurgency in Afghanistan: New Communication and Mobilization Strategies for the Twitter Generation,” 1.

¹²¹⁴ Vaughan-Williams and Peoples, *Critical Security Studies*, 63.

¹²¹⁵ Joosse, “Leaderless Resistance, Radical Environmentalism, and Asymmetrical Warfare.”

¹²¹⁶ Joosse, “Leaderless Resistance and Ideological Inclusion.”

author may not share. The theory seems more to inform the discursive *possibilities* rather than the act that creates them (i.e. the attack), thus the political maneuvering (i.e. the post-attack text) becomes a task of fitting critique to target, and method to strategy. In the end, the communicative *goal* is to make a convincing, impassioned, and logical explanation via the communiqué that ties one strike to many and hopes for more to follow. This is the *intent* of the action-communiqué pairing, though one can not claim that it is a constant occurrence, ample evidence has been presented demonstrating that such a reflexive relationship is common.

“Poststructuralism hypothesis” (H2): Correct

At first reading, it is easy to conclude: “Though the insurrectionary critique borrows from poststructuralism, it tells us little about the nature of structural violence. It tells us how a broad-based milieu is critical of the present order but it provides few if any solution to a better way.” Despite its lack of a platform, insurrectionary theory *does* answer the question of “What is to be done?” It expands upon the concept of social war, and a radical condemnation of power and politics as key targets for attack. It also introduces an emboldened critique of domination and social pacification through the boundless enemy embodied in “The Totality.” To explore this hypothesis we will first examine the deterritorialization of power as conceived of by pre-insurrectionary theorists before examining the modern concept of “The Totality” as a new reading of structural violence.

The Neo-Marxist & Poststructural Basis for a New Intersectionality

The poststructural reading of power—one wherein control is disembodied from a physical site and is instead transnational, omnipresent, and yet operating invisibly—is a highly influential aspect of modern insurrectionary critique. Where the clandestine authors of *Tiqqun* and *TIC* may have popularized this idea of a totalizing yet obscured regimentation of violence, neo-Marxist continental philosophers such as Michael Hardt, Antonio Negri, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari preceded them by offering further nuanced conceptions of operationalized state power and its inherent violence. These works, as well as others, are adopted (largely without attribution) by the insurrectionary theorists; taking what provides utility and rejecting that which does not. In this manner, the insurrectionary theorists pillage other traditions—harkening back to Hobsbawm’s¹²¹⁷ wild bandit image—and only borrow that which aids in the furtherance of their analysis. In his discussion of the contributions of *Tiqqun* and *TIC*, Alden Wood speaks of this form of ideological banditry writing:

[*Tiqqun* and *TIC*] mark a definitive break from previous radical political theory, their thought depends on the critical evaluation, synthesis, and appropriation of earlier theorizations of existence within capitalism. As this is necessarily the case for all theory, it also allows for a reading of earlier theory in which the seeds of insurrection lay dormant.¹²¹⁸

Here Wood rightly points out that the insurrectionary method of analysis, while heavily indebted to the poststructural tradition, is conducted through an exploration of text aimed at synthesizing conceptions of power found in continental philosophy with those found in more contemporary anti-state theories. This position is supported by other anarcho-

¹²¹⁷ Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries*.

¹²¹⁸ Wood, *The Cultural Logic of Insurrection*, 12.

scholars who have argued that “Foucault has been tamed by many academics” and that in reading such texts through the lens of insurrectionary theory, one is able to “provide a productive challenge to the all-too-safe reading of Foucault found in the American academy.”¹²¹⁹

The analytical positionings of Hardt and Negri are built upon earlier works within continental philosophy’s poststructuralist and critical fields, most notably Deleuze and Guattari’s *A Thousand Plateaus*¹²²⁰. To their own admission, Hardt and Negri borrow from Deleuze and Guattari in their ‘demystification of structuralism’¹²²¹—a theory of a deterritorialized power—and in the diagramming the social production (and reproduction) of biopower amongst the “social machines in their various apparatuses and assemblages.”¹²²² Deleuze and Guattari’s work is also more explicitly instructive in their

¹²¹⁹ Andrew Culp, “Insurrectionary Foucault: Tiquun, The Coming Insurrection, and Beyond” (Rethinking Marxism, University of Massachusetts, Amherst: Academia.edu, 2009), 1, https://www.academia.edu/371340/Insurrectionary_Foucault_Tiquun_The_Coming_Insurrection_and_Beyond.

¹²²⁰ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*.

¹²²¹ Deleuze and Guattari’s concept of “assemblage” is seen by many as a critical alternative to understanding structure as it has been traditionally understood. For Deleuze and Guattari, it can be deployed as a systems analysis approach based in concepts of a multiplicity of deterritorialized functionalities and not the stoic uniformity of Marxist structuralism. This shift towards the fluid, structurelessness of “assemblage” has been explained by poststructural Queer theorist Jasbir Puar in her numerous works see for example:

Puar, Jasbir. *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Duke University Press Books, 2007.

Puar, Jasbir. “I Would Rather Be a Cyborg than a Goddess’ Intersectionality, Assemblage, and Affective Politics.” European Institute for Progressive Cultural Policies, January 2011. <http://eipcp.net/transversal/0811/puar/en>.

Puar also argues that contemporary scholarship focused on intersectionality—such as that seen in feminist, gender studies and Queer theory literatures—has the tendency to imply a structuralist position and thus, poststructural work dealing with assemblage might function as a more useful framework for diagramming oppression.

¹²²² Hardt and Negri, *Empire*, 28.

diagramming of the state's development into a collectivity enacting "relations of domination," writing:

The State was first this abstract unity that integrated subaggregates functioning separately; it is now subordinated to a field of forces whose flows it coordinates and whose autonomous relations of domination and subordination it expresses...It is no longer the transcendent law that governs fragments; it must fashion as best it can a whole to which it will render its law immanent.¹²²³

In this description, the state as a physicality is a false construction as the state "has never *actually* existed, [but instead]...its function is purely theoretical: it mediated between the primitive territorial machine and the modern capitalist machine."¹²²⁴ In this understanding of state-led systemic violence, the apparatus functions as an intermediary between sovereignty and nation, and capital accumulation. The state is thus an ordering mechanism, an arranger of apparatus that functions to inscribe a hierarchical logic upon more horizontalist communities. This state control over order is expanded upon in *A*

Thousand Plateaus, wherein the authors write:

[The State] operates by stratification; in other words, it forms a vertical, hierarchized aggregate that spans the horizontal lines in a dimension of depth. In retaining given elements, it necessarily cuts off their relations with other elements, which become exterior, it inhibits, slows down, or controls those relations...Thus the central power of the State is hierarchical.¹²²⁵

Thus for Deleuze and Guattari, the state is less a physicality than a patterned behavior and function of organization. The state gives new hierarchical order to previously (more) horizontal methods; the state transforms the agrarian pre-state community into the

¹²²³ Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*, 221.

¹²²⁴ Ian Buchanan, "Power, Theory and Praxis," in *Deleuze and Politics*, ed. Nicholas Thoburn and Ian Buchanan (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 27.

¹²²⁵ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 433.

industrial private property state through divisions of labor, centralization of capital and maintenance of a logic of unequal exchange.

Following after Deleuze and Guattari, Hardt and Negri develop a framework¹²²⁶ for discussing statecraft as superior to traditionalist sovereignty, and strive to combine a Marxist interpretation of superstructure with a Foucauldian inclusion of biopolitics. This is used to argue that not only is the operational logic of neoliberal statecraft transnational, but that its operationalized form via biopower is a far more invasive manner of social ordering than any manifestation of law. This is not to be confused with the structural Marxist emphasis and critique of imperialism, as explained by poststructuralist Todd May:

...empire is distinct from imperialism precisely in that the latter is structured by discrete nation-states pursuing their interests through subjugation and exploitation, whereas empire is structured by fluid and intersecting political and economic networks with no particular centre and only relatively demarcated geographic boundaries.¹²²⁷

In this sense, while Hardt and Negri's *Empire* serves an analysis of statecraft and structure, Foucault allows for an analysis of power and bodies; a Foucauldian power analysis of the state and the ideology of statehood. What Hardt and Negri develop within this critical genealogy is the commonality behind *all states*, and in this sense they continue the anarchist project of critiquing the *nature* of the state and not simply its oppressive policies, laws or actions.

¹²²⁶ Hardt and Negri's work is further interpreted and adapted in the post-millennial, insurrectionary-influenced texts surround student occupations, and the rise in global anti-austerity protests. One such publication which borrows heavily from Hardt and Negri's *Empire* is the anonymously penned "Twenty Theses on the Subversion of the Metropolis" and "Communiqué from an Absent Future"

¹²²⁷ Todd May, *The Philosophy of Foucault* (Montreal; Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), 137.

This poststructural analysis moves beyond and advances traditionalist Marxism by not focusing on the singular subjectivity of class, and instead looking at the totalizing effects of power and how Empire inscribes itself over all relations (i.e. social, political, economic) through Foucauldian biopolitics. Through Foucault's understandings of disciplinary power one can then interpret the micro politics of control and subsequently adopt a biopolitical approach to examine power's more macro control sites. Thus Hardt and Negri complement earlier Marxist and anarchist positions arguing that the target is a deterritorialized, super-national capitalist apparatus, *not* European-era imperialism. These understandings of biopower's relations to Empire and totalized control have not escaped the insurrectionary anarchist theorists, who borrowing from both Foucault and the Marxists, speak to a similar social ordering. The anonymous authors of *Tiqqun*, in their paper "Preliminary Materials for a Theory of the Young Girl," write:

Under the hypnotic grimaces of official pacification, a war is being waged. A war that can no longer be called simply economic, social or humanitarian because it is *total*... Paradoxically, it's because of the total character of this war—total in its means no less than in its ends—that it could be invisible in the first place... What's at stake in the ongoing war are 'forms of life,' which for the Empire, means the selection, management, and attenuation of those forms of life.¹²²⁸

The authors later call these Empire-controlled forms-of-life the "bio-political monopoly" speaking to the power/knowledge dominance Foucault spoke of in his work. What we see in the work of *Tiqqun* is the constant and intentional shift between micro and macro forms of power—from the (micro) biopower of individual psychologies, to the macro ordering of the totality of the social, political, economic, and related spheres of activity. In sum, the newly deterritorialized reading of power as developed by the European

¹²²⁸ *Tiqqun*, *Preliminary Materials for a Theory of the Young-Girl*, sec. A, Z.

continental and post-Marxist philosophers paves the way for the post-millennial insurrectionary turn which begins from this fluid subject and attempts to explain power through its ever-present manifestations through the concept of “The Totality.”

The ‘Totality’ and system-level violence

In one well-circulated insurrectionary anarchist publication, the anonymous authors define their critiqued subject—“The Totality”—as:

Normalcy...the tyranny of our condition; reproduced in all of our relationships [and]...violently reiterated every minute of every day. The Totality being the interconnection an overlapping of all oppression and misery. The Totality is the state. It is capitalism. It is civilization and empire...It is the brutal lessons taught to those who can't achieve Normal. It is every way we've limited ourselves or learned to hate our bodies.¹²²⁹

Reminding one of a more classical leftist position, the authors of the text argue that liberation is predicated on “the annihilation of capitalism and the state” via “social war.”¹²³⁰ Numerous other examples of this framing can be found in a host of post-millennial insurrectionary publications. For example, the introductory passages from the zine, *Dangerous Spaces* explains violence:

There is a violence that dominates. It is gay bashing. It is rape. It is the clear-cut and the vivisection lab. It is the bank and the local coffee shop. It is the patrol car and the prison. It is your job, your late rent, your rotting teeth, your wounds that won't heal. It is the silence that maintains all of the above. There is a violence that liberates. It is the murdered homophobe. It is the knee-capped rapist. It is the arson and the mink liberation. It is the smashed window and the expropriated food. It is the cop on fire and the riot behind bars. It is work avoidance, squatting, criminal friendship, and the total refusal of compromise. It is the chaos that can never be stopped. The maintenance [sic] of this world depends on the internalization [sic] of the former, and the total suppression of the latter.¹²³¹

¹²²⁹ A Gang Of Criminal Queers, *Towards the Queerest Insurrection*, sec. II.

¹²³⁰ *Ibid.*, sec. VII.

¹²³¹ Untorelli Press, “Dangerous Spaces,” 3.

This “violence that dominates” can find its basis in the actions of typical target sets (e.g. police, politicians, corporate heads) but also more unacknowledged areas one could be tempted to term ‘counterrevolutionary’ milieus. For example, in their self-assessment zine, imprisoned member of the CCF write:

The enemy can be found in every mouth that speaks the language of domination. . . It doesn’t just consist of rulers and the whole potbellied suit-and-tie dictatorship. It is also the proletarian who aspires to be a boss, the oppressed whose mouth spits nationalist poison, the immigrant who glorifies life in western civilization but behaves like a little dictator among his own people, the prisoner who rats out others to the guards, every mentality that welcomes power, and every conscious that tolerates it.¹²³²

Here one can see that the focus is on the actions (i.e. class aspirations, nationalist jingoism, snitching) not on the identity of typically subjugated classes (i.e. proletariat, immigrant, prisoner).

In a more generalized viewpoint, other thinkers within the largely French, post-millennial insurrectionary milieu have theorized on “The Totality” of oppression drawing more from Foucault’s reading of *power* than other thinkers’ focus on *politics*. Such themes are recurrent throughout *Tiqqun*¹²³³ as well as *The Coming Insurrection*¹²³⁴. The authors of *The Coming Insurrection*, in a talk given in 2011, give more texture to this idea of fluid power and domination stating:

When we talk of ‘apparatuses’, we don’t only invoke the New York Police Department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, surveillance cameras and body scanners, guns and denunciation, antitheft locks and cell phones. Rather, in the layout of a town like New York—the pinnacle of the global petit-organic-hipster-bourgeoisie—we mean whatever captures intensities and vitalities in order

¹²³² Tsakalos et al., “The Sun Still Rises,” 13.

¹²³³ Tiqqun, *Tiqqun Revue nø2/2001*.

¹²³⁴ The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection*.

to chew them up, digest them, and shit out value... We call hostility that which governs almost completely the relationships between beings, relationships of pure estrangement, pure incompatibility between bodies.¹²³⁵

In these insurrectionary texts, structural Marxism is replaced with a more affective, subjective fluidity that likens the hierarchal violence of heterosexism with, for example, the construction of “normal” in terms of mental illness¹²³⁶. These texts epitomize the amorphous description of the state/Empire as a delocalized form of biopower, a “rhythm that imposes itself, a way of dispensing and dispersing reality.”¹²³⁷

An exemplary display of this intellectual tendency can be found in an anonymously authored text which describes socio-political contestation as boundless, not constrained by the issue-specific politics of social movements, and thus a new form of a more totalized revolt. The authors of the IEF write:

‘Contemporary struggle’ is our way to conceptualize what links the events of our epoch—events that cannot be defined as social movements or categorized within leftist conceptions of reform and revolution. *Events* are the common form that struggles take after the collapse of the historical subject and the zone of the social. We define contemporary struggle as a vast set of heterogeneous practices of revolt that appear to have *everything* as their object; that is to say, events whose antagonisms are not directed against the state or capitalism per se but against techniques of government, against the productive power of government... Government no longer sits in a closed chamber of educated men; it acts through each of us and through every apparatus that orients us and amplifies our senses in a particular direction. Government doesn't just repress, it *produces* a distributed multiplication of governable subjectivities.¹²³⁸

¹²³⁵ The Invisible Committee, “Spread Anarchy, Live Communism,” 2013, 1–2.

¹²³⁶ This authoritarian establishment of norms, truths and knowledge should remind one of Foucault's work, especially that within *Discipline and Punish* wherein the author speaks to how the institutions of the school, clinic and prison regiment knowledge/power through the development of numerical record keeping and the evaluation of such figures based on a scale of normal-abnormal.

¹²³⁷ The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection*, 13.

¹²³⁸ The Institute for Experimental Freedom, *Between Predicates, War: Theses On Contemporary Struggle*, 9–10.

Here you can see not only the description of an amorphous and fluid state apparatus, but also an implicit nod to political reproduction via biopower, or as the 2013 authors write, ‘government produced subjectivities.’ Globally, the insurrectionary movement is situated within the larger anarchist, communist and anti-authoritarian movements but has served to redefine the subject vis-à-vis systemic violence. By pointing their critical finger at an even more deterritorialized and ambiguous set of institutional manifestations, the insurrectionists destabilize the traditionalist leftist critique that focuses on the largess of the state and capitalism.

For the insurrectionary anarchists, the violence is much more interwoven to the fabric of the society, and includes everything hierarchical and exhibiting dominance; racism, poverty, monogamy, heterosexism, etc. This is precisely why the insurrectionary, poststructuralist-informed method of analysis is relevant for interpreting the changing nature of structural violence. The clandestine attackers clearly understand violence in structural forms, not as local manifestations that can be reformed away. In one example, after claiming responsibility for the arson of a UK courthouse, the attackers write:

The system is not interested in changing the root causes of much ‘crime’ (poverty, alienation, boredom, etc) at more than a tokenistic level, but simply manages its distribution while keeping the exploited at each other’s throats. This is especially true as the market now makes a booming business out of prisoners’ low-cost labor and from the private detention industry. Everything stays in line so long as the personal neighborhoods of bosses and judges remain sanctuaries free from the discontents of the class society they maintain: a sanctuary we fully intend on breaking.¹²³⁹

¹²³⁹ Informal Anarchist Federation - Conscience & Fury, “Incendiary Attack at Yate Magistrates Court on 22nd May in Memory of Mauricio Morales by FAI – Conscience & Fury (UK)” (325.nostate.net, May 23, 2014), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=10367>.

Here one can see how power and social change are diagramed. The system is understood to be violent, and moreover, that violence serves dominant class interests and thus will not be changed via reform. Therefore, the object of attack becomes destabilized, moved beyond the simplicity of the state, and thought of in system-level terms. If ‘the system’ is the problem then ‘the system’ can never provide the solution beyond ‘tokenism’ and reform. This reading of structure understands ‘the system’ as a closed, often impenetrable set of networks, where outsiders may be allowed to interact but are incapable of effecting change.

It is precisely at this point of a critique of power that insurrectionary anarchism joins with poststructuralism. The insurrectionary theorists share not only the anti-state praxis of anarchism but also the de-localized poststructuralism. Foucault specifically bears noting as his work “visualized a resistance to power that is completely decentralized, ongoing, and not in direct confrontation with the state as a coercive apparatus.”¹²⁴⁰ Therefore it is not a surprise when insurrectionary theorists such as the IEF describe their opponents in the social war in interconnected forms, stating:

[our] enemies are constellations of hostile forces which manage our potential, structure our needs, code our territory and determine our time...the cop, the bureaucrat, the politician, the activist, the boss, the leader, the economist, the owner, the fascist, the racist, the sexist—these are all points of conflict...which reveal the public enemies of a social war.¹²⁴¹

For the insurrectionary milieu, its confrontation praxis directly confronts state *power* through localized manifestations (e.g. police property, corporate property, etc.) but avoids

¹²⁴⁰ Garner, *Contemporary Movements and Ideologies*, 391.

¹²⁴¹ The Institute for Experimental Freedom, *Politics Is Not a Banana*, 136–137.

direct, face-to-face battles like those fought by the FARC and other non-state armed movements. For this intellectual tradition, the root to explaining state-facilitated structural violence thus begins with Marx's expose of the socio-political/economic, explained as an enduring concept through ideology and hegemony, and operationalized in the state as described by the anarchists. The anarchist inquiry paves the way for poststructuralism's searches into power and knowledge construction just as the critical theorists allow for subsequent examinations identifying and explaining structural manifestation of violence. The final melding of poststructuralism and insurrection is thus found in not only the understanding of power (e.g. "biopower", "Empire") but also in a newly understood spirit of total rejection and revolt.

Moreover, insurrectionary theory builds upon the so-called *critical turn* in Security Studies through, for example, challenging the state's relationship to the administration of the physical (i.e. biopolitics) through a preconception of what constitutes security. Foucauldian biopolitics posits that "[power] emanates from a belief in a particular way of organizing society for a particular outcome, and this power is not solely centralized but is instead disseminated throughout multiple sites which enforce a government's rationale."¹²⁴² Therefore, by not only rejecting the state's vision for a social peace¹²⁴³, and proposing alternative manners of organization (e.g. the commune, the council, the squat, the TAZ, the 'zone of opacity', etc.), insurrectionary theory rejects a conception of security based in the interests of the state and its desired outcomes.

¹²⁴² David Roberts, "Human Security, Biopoverty and the Possibility for Emancipation," in *Critical Perspectives on Human Security: Rethinking Emancipation and Power in International Relations*, ed. David Chandler and Nik Hynes, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2012), 72.

¹²⁴³ Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy, *Human Security*, 72.

Insurrectionary actors precisely seek to “break the lie of social peace,”¹²⁴⁴ and in doing so, redefine what constitutes biopolitical security as more than simply the absence of direct forms of violence. Furthermore, as biopolitical power seeks the subjugation and control of the collectivity at the “capillary or micro-political level...target[ing] the individual from the vantage point of the mass of the population,”¹²⁴⁵ insurrectionary praxis is primed to offer a new understanding as it is precisely these “micro-political levels” that insurrectionary methods of attack are motivated by rejections of broader, more existential social conditions—complacency, alienation, “imposing the dominant order”¹²⁴⁶ and “manifest[ing]...blind discipline.”¹²⁴⁷ In other words, a biopolitical perspective is valuable for consideration precisely because of its focus on the minutia of the human experience as defined through a reading of security beyond that of the nation-state.

Finally, the insurrectionary position further challenges orthodox notions of security by encouraging the *insecurity* for the state—the central unit of analysis in Security Studies—while reimagining *human* security beyond survival. Insurrectionists posit that the nature of the state places human society (as well as the non-human) in an ever-present condition of insecurity, where one not only is victim to “direct threats” but

¹²⁴⁴ FAI/ELF - Rogue Fire Brigade, “FAI/ELF Claim Four Vehicle Fires in Bristol” (325.nostate.net, June 30, 2014), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=10668>.

¹²⁴⁵ Marc G. Doucet and Miguel de Larrinaga, “Human Security and the Securing of Human Life: Tracing Global Sovereign and Biopolitical Rule,” in *Critical Perspectives on Human Security: Rethinking Emancipation and Power in International Relations*, ed. David Chandler and Nik Hynek, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2012), 130.

¹²⁴⁶ Live Wires FAI/ELF, “Phoenix Project #14: ‘Live Wires FAI/ELF’ Take Responsibility for 4 Arsons against Bristol’s Cellular Transmission Infrastructure over 24 Hours” (325.nostate.net, June 11, 2014), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=10487>.

¹²⁴⁷ Random Anarchists, “Attack on Army Cadet Base in Bristol” (325.nostate.net, August 28, 2014), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=11771>.

also “the more indirect but no less real threats that come from structural oppression such as poverty.”¹²⁴⁸ In this manner, insurrectionary theory aligns with the critical critique of securitization, labeling the statist determinations as “narrow, inadequate and immoral in the context of ‘real’ security threats to the individual.”¹²⁴⁹ The state-centric security rejected by anti-state theorists “prioritized order over justice and human emancipation,”¹²⁵⁰ something the insurrectionary position seeks to reconfigure, placing the emancipation of all life as central. Security theorist Ken Booth, a key figure in the critical turn in the field, explains a disjuncture between “survival” and “security”, describing the latter as “survival-plus.”¹²⁵¹ In this manner, “plus” equates to the sum total of the human experience of self-actualization beyond mere survival, something the insurrectionists attempt to move more centrally to critiques of the social order.

Therefore, in evaluating the original hypothesis (H2), I argue that a boundless and inherently ever-expanding understanding of the manifestations and causes of oppression (The Totality) is akin to a diagramming of structural, system-level violence as articulated by peace scholars¹²⁵², anthropologists¹²⁵³ and other theorists. Though insurrectionary theory

¹²⁴⁸ Ken Booth, *Theory of World Security*, 1st ed. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 101.

¹²⁴⁹ Tara McCormack, *Critique, Security and Power: The Political Limits to Emancipatory Approaches*, 1st ed. (London, UK: Routledge, 2009), 120.

¹²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 121.

¹²⁵¹ Booth, *Theory of World Security*, 106.

¹²⁵² Johan Galtung, “An Editorial,” *Journal of Peace Research* 1, no. 1 (March 1, 1964): 1–4, doi:10.1177/002234336400100101; Johan Galtung, “Violence, Peace, and Peace Research,” *Journal of Peace Research* 6, no. 3 (January 1, 1969): 167–91; Johan Galtung and Tord Höivik, “Structural and Direct Violence: A Note on Operationalization,” *Journal of Peace Research* 8, no. 1 (January 1, 1971): 73–76, doi:10.2307/422565; Johan Galtung, “Twenty-Five Years of Peace Research: Ten Challenges and Some Responses,” *Journal of Peace Research* 22, no. 2 (June 1, 1985): 141–58, doi:10.2307/424240; Johan Galtung, “Cultural Violence,” *Journal of Peace Research* 27, no. 3 (1990): 291–305; Peter Ladicola and Anson D. Shupe, *Violence, Inequality, and Human Freedom* (Dix Hills, NY: General Hall, Inc., 1998); Loic Wacquant and Pierre Bourdieu, “Symbolic Violence,” in *Violence in War and Peace: An Anthology*, ed. Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Philippe Bourgois, 1st ed. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 272–74.

provides few centrally located texts, it does constitute a discursive interpretation of violence as structural and security as human-centric, while maintaining a poststructuralist focus on *power*. The explicit influence of European ‘continental’ and critical theorists is common; as the works of Foucault, Agamben, Deleuze and Guattari and others come in line with theorists involved in armed expropriations, mail bombs and regicide. The theory of structural violence is told through fractured texts, collectively authored by unknown numbers of individuals and small groups. Communiqués, essays, calls to action, news reporting, letters to and from prisoners, court statements, anonymous rage and insight all function to constitute an (anti-)canon which simultaneously rejects the abstracted class privileged, insular naval gazing of academics, but assumes its readers and critics to understand references to ‘biopolitical order’ and ‘forms-of-life.’ In its function, insurrectionary theory adds teeth to critique, and anti-social violence to praxis.

¹²⁵³ Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Philippe Bourgois, *Violence in War and Peace: An Anthology*, 1st ed. (Blackwell Publishing, 2003); Philippe Bourgois, “US Inner-City Apartheid: The Contours of Structural and Interpersonal Violence,” in *Violence in War and Peace: An Anthology*, ed. Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Philippe Bourgois, 1st ed. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 301–7; Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Philippe Bourgois, “Making Sense of Violence,” ed. Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Philippe Bourgois, 1st ed. (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 1–31; Nancy Scheper-Hughes, “Two Feet Under and a Cardboard Coffin: The Social Production of Indifference to Child Death,” in *Violence in War and Peace: An Anthology*, ed. Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Philippe Bourgois, 1st ed. (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 275–80; Paul Farmer and Arthur Kleinman, “AIDS as Human Suffering,” *Daedalus* 118, no. 2 (April 1, 1989): 135–60, doi:10.2307/20025240; Paul Farmer and Jim Yong Kim, “Anthropology, Accountability, and the Prevention of AIDS,” *The Journal of Sex Research* 28, no. 2 (May 1, 1991): 203–21, doi:10.2307/3813067; Paul Farmer, “On Suffering and Structural Violence: A View from Below,” *Daedalus* 125, no. 1 (Winter 1996): 261–83; Paul Farmer, “An Anthropology of Structural Violence,” *Current Anthropology* 45, no. 3 (June 1, 2004): 305–25, doi:10.1086/382250; Philippe Bourgois, “Confronting Anthropology, Education, and Inner-City Apartheid,” *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 98, no. 2 (June 1996): 249–58; Philippe Bourgois, *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Conclusions: On performativity & spectacle

It appears clear from the aforementioned history that the *performative, spectacular* nature of insurrectionary attack is more prized than substantive changes to the totalizing structures of governance and control. The symbolic, propaganda and message-orientated results of a scorched bank or a packaged explosive sent to a politician are more meaningful, more impactful than the lost capital or the scared official. By stringing together thousands of acts into movements, one creates the specter of change, which opens the possibility of change actually occurring. Terrorism scholar Mark Juergensmeyer builds off this point as a central basis for his work, recently writing:

...most acts of terror are instances of performance violence. They are dramatic events meant to shock, and to lure the viewer into the perpetrators' worldviews. These are performances intended for very specific audiences, including the worldwide audience on television and the Internet...¹²⁵⁴

Certainly when cells are deciding which target to strike, through what means, and how to explain it to a globally-situated, Internet-accessing audience, the performative value is not lost. *Propaganda of the deed* relies on this calculation, as does the insurrectionary strategy of creating social conflict, leading to rupture and then culminating in direct conflict with the forces of domination; this process too requires demonstrative violence to intimidate the enemy, inspire the ally and communicate to the populace. Therefore, the communiqué, as the main medium for communicative talk between actor and audience must be seen as not a byproduct of violence, but an integral component; the sign below the abstract expressionist painting ensuring that the broad strokes of erratic color are read

¹²⁵⁴ Mark Juergensmeyer, "Why Extreme Terror Works," *Mark Juergensmeyer*, September 16, 2014, <http://juergensmeyer.org/why-extreme-terrorism-works/>.

as more than simply splatter. But once again one must consider the symbiotic, dependent relationship between the act and the text. Does the desire to write a specific message dictate the attack? Does the attack *require* the text in order to be understood? Does the text *require* an act in order to be written?

Political Violence as Performative Spectacle

After consuming troves of communiqués, anonymous proclamations and other claims of responsibility, one must wonder: What is the function of all this violence? If a masked anarchist does not believe that breaking the window of a bank will serve to create a rupture with the iron grasp of capitalism, why would she risk her freedom to do it? What is the effect of a single broken window? The answer may be hidden in the performative¹²⁵⁵ nature of the attack far more than the substantive impediment it creates for the accumulation and centralization of capital. Postmodern Queer theorist Judith Butler discusses the performative nature of gender, stating that its production is “manufactured through a sustained set of acts.”¹²⁵⁶ The hundreds of broken windows, burned banks, and explosive packages dispatched through the mail collectively constitute these “set of acts,” and in producing these events, one is performativity constructing a

¹²⁵⁵ For further examination of terrorism as spectacle and theatre see: Decker and Rainey, “Terrorism as Communication.”; Samuel Weber, “War, Terrorism, and Spectacle : On Towers and Caves,” *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 101, no. 3 (2002): 449–58; Carl Boggs and Tom Pollard, “Hollywood and the Spectacle of Terrorism,” *New Political Science* 28, no. 3 (September 1, 2006): 335–51, doi:10.1080/07393140600856151; Giroux, *Beyond the Spectacle of Terrorism*; Robert D. Kaplan, “Terrorism as Theater” (Stratfor, August 27, 2014), <http://www.stratfor.com/weekly/terrorism-theater>; Ben Stanford, “Terror on Our Screens: The Common Interest of Theatrical Terrorism,” in *Violent Online Political Extremism: Setting a Research Agenda* (Inaugural VOX-Pol Conference, Kings College, London, England: VOX-Pol, 2014).

¹²⁵⁶ Butler, *Gender Trouble*, xv.

counter-reality—a break from the normative violence of society toward a non-normative display of society’s violence.

These acts serve symbolic functions and thus some have argued that terrorism itself is a semiotic act—one that serves as “a signal, a message, a symbol, and/or media image”¹²⁵⁷—namely the production of spectacularly violent live sights and preserved images, as well as *signs* of that violence. In this regard not only does terrorism seek to *produce* spectacle, but also to reconfigure the reading of its associated signs—the ways through which individuals understand the representations maintained in these images. Political violence serves to “alter the functions of established cultural symbols of power and legitimacy”¹²⁵⁸ disrupting the reading of these symbols of state power with revolutionary, anti-social critique. This production of spectacle as a motivation for acting moved the actor away from the purely ideological motivations and towards a more audience-centric, performative, strategic framework. This embracing of *performative* violence—and the resultant distancing from other articulations of violence such as those that are purely ideological—may be a result of possibilities offered by emergent communications technologies, most obviously, the Internet.¹²⁵⁹ With this in mind, it is likely that with further increases in accessible forms of global communication, these

¹²⁵⁷ Claude H. Miller et al., “The Complexity of Terrorism: Groups, Semiotics, and the Media,” in *Terrorism: Communication and Rhetorical Perspectives*, ed. H. Dan O’Hair et al. (Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 2008), 50.

¹²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 51.

¹²⁵⁹ van Buuren and de Graaf, “Hatred of the System: Menacing Loners and Autonomous Cells in the Netherlands,” 157.

attacks will increase¹²⁶⁰, as the communiqué as a globally-circulated vehicle of propaganda becomes even easier to produce¹²⁶¹ and circulate.

The generation of attacks allows the actor to circulate their critique via the communiqué. The communiqué is thus the product of the attack on par with the actual financial damage to the target. In his discussion of the 9/11 attacks, sociologist and cultural theorist Jean Baudrillard writes:

One tries after the event [of 9/11] to assign... meaning, to find any possible interpretation. But there is none possible, and it is only the radicality of the spectacle, the brutality of the spectacle that is original and irreducible. The spectacle of terrorism imposes the terrorism of the spectacle... It is both the sublime micro-model of a nucleus of real violence with maximal resonance - thus the purest form of the spectacular, and the sacrificial model that opposes to historical and political order the purest symbolic form of challenge.¹²⁶²

The creation of meaning through the radical brutality of spectacular violence is meant as a living, breathing critique against power, coercion and domination as located in the monotony and drudgery of human existence within the confines of the state and capitalism. To disseminate voluminous descriptions of “real violence” (i.e. the

¹²⁶⁰ This presumption for increased attack may be influenced by a growing discourse offered by anti-technology attackers. While some, such as Kaczynski have argued that technology serves an instrumental role in the battle against technology, others have urged for the battle to be taken entirely offline. Though the explicitly anti-technology strand of insurrectionary theory is likely a minority, its critique of the means towards a shared end may have influence on the future of digitally-mediated forms of organization and attack.

¹²⁶¹ In discussing the “ease” of writing such texts, I am reminded of the ‘Automatic Insurrectionary Manifesto Generator,’ a self-critical and satirical website which cobbles together common insurrectionary rhetoric into a veritable Mad Lib of propaganda. In a single click the user is delivered a hodgepodge of keywords strung together through faux-insurrectionary language. The generator is available at: http://objectivechance.com/automatic_insurrection. An explanation for *why* this was created is offered at: https://github.com/johm/automatic_insurrection.

¹²⁶² Baudrillard, “The Spirit of Terrorism.”

communiqué) to be held up against the structural¹²⁶³ and cultural violence¹²⁶⁴ of the social order is the aim of insurrectionary attack.

The enacting of direct violence (e.g. a bomb targeting a government building), understood as both a substantive strike against one's enemies as well as a method of communication is applicable to a variety of diverse incidents often lumped together descriptively as terroristic. Therefore, diagramming the communicative intent simultaneous to the intended audience for those communications is key. To provide a non-insurrectionary example, one can look to the individualized acts of anti-social violence such as the 5 November 2009 killing of 13 people (and the wounding of 29 others) at Fort Hood in Texas, by US Army Major Nidal Hasan. Hasan's attack, which generated the highest rate of casualty on an American military base in history, was primarily directed at those he fired upon—US military personnel¹²⁶⁵. In the shooting, Hasan, an army psychiatrist, killed 12 members of the military and one civilian medical personnel at the Soldier Readiness Processing Center, a medical facility where Hasan worked. The intended recipient for such a generated spectacle is multifaceted, and represented in the chart below¹²⁶⁶. Despite the very direct nature of Hasan's attack, there was a second target audience for the attack (TA2), namely the American military at large that was exposed to this sort of attack. If one expands outward, a tertiary target of the attack (TA3) was the citizenry and socio-political order that insulates American militarism, Empire and

¹²⁶³ Galtung and Høivik, "Structural and Direct Violence"; Galtung, "Twenty-Five Years of Peace Research"; Farmer, "On Suffering and Structural Violence: A View from Below"; Farmer, "An Anthropology of Structural Violence"; Bourgois, "US Inner-City Apartheid: The Contours of Structural and Interpersonal Violence"; Ladicola and Shupe, *Violence, Inequality, and Human Freedom*.

¹²⁶⁴ Galtung, "Cultural Violence."

¹²⁶⁵ This is modeled below as "Target audience #1" or "TA1"

¹²⁶⁶ This chart is adapted from Tuman's "Figure 2.2" in: Tuman, *Communicating Terror*, 33.

one's feeling of safety and security. This communicative relationship is displayed below in Figure 6.1:

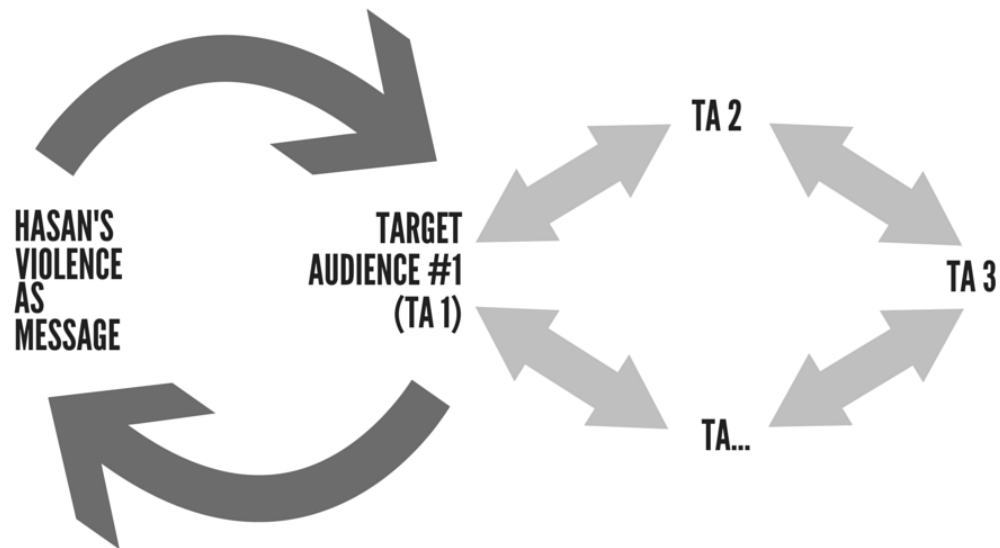


Figure 6.1: Secondary and thirtiary target audience concept map

This conceptual map is meant to demonstrate the communicative relationship between the act of violence, its direct audience, and its associated audiences. In this example, while Hasan may have focused his performance outwardly towards the soldiers and military personnel on site, numerous secondary audiences would look to the target's experience, and be *spoken to* through those acts. For example, a soldier deployed at a Forward Operative Base in Afghanistan can view a news account of a crying window in Texas and in doing so, constitute a secondary audience for the traumatic violence. With the rapid semi-synchronous consumption of information regardless of national border,

time zone and language makes the tracing of these non-primary communicative audiences nearly innumerable.

The terroristic nature of the attack sought to sever one's sense of stability that is enshrined in 'peace time.' This interpretation is supported by Juergensmeyer—a scholar writing on issues of religious terrorism—who argues that violent attacks are “dramas designed to have an impact on the several audiences that they affect. Those who witness the violence—even at a distance, via the news media—are therefore a part of what occurs.”¹²⁶⁷ This assertion has been recurrent throughout decades of terrorism scholarship, such as a 1974 essay published by RAND, which states:

[Terrorist] violence must be all the more dramatic... Terrorist attacks are often carefully choreographed to attract the attention of the electronic media and the international press... Terrorism is aimed at the people watching, not at the actual victims. Terrorism is theater.¹²⁶⁸

Not only does this author employ the use of intentional descriptive language (e.g. dramatic, choreographed, theater), but he drives home the point of the violence's aim towards a secondary and tertiary audience. Similarly, writing of the nature of terrorist violence's communicative potential, early Terrorism Studies scholars Alex P. Schmid and Janny de Graaf write:

Terrorism, by using violence against one victim, seeks to persuade others. The immediate victim is merely instrumental, the skin on a drum beaten to achieve a calculated impact on a wider audience. As such, an act of terrorism is in reality, an act of communication.¹²⁶⁹

¹²⁶⁷ Mark Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), 126.

¹²⁶⁸ Jenkins, “International Terrorism: A New Model of Conflict,” 4.

¹²⁶⁹ Schmid and Graaf, *Violence as Communication*, 14.

Though Hasan would argue in his legal proceedings that his attack was carried out to defend Taliban leaders in Afghanistan¹²⁷⁰ from the US military, his attack against the state was largely performative and symbolic. It is unlikely that he believed that the loss of these soldiers would harm the US war effort just as an insurrectionary actor does not believe that a destroyed police car will bring down the security state. These strikes serve as harbingers of resistance, movements against ‘the existent’¹²⁷¹. If we can assume Hasan is capable of calculated decision-making, then we can assume he attacked his colleagues not to defend Taliban fighters abroad, but to raise awareness of the political impacts of the war at home. Hasan knew what scholars have long argued, that often awareness and resolution of a particular political issue is brought about through “the success of...terrorists in bringing their cause violently and dramatically before the eyes of the world.”¹²⁷²

In creating these spectacular events, the form and function of the attack and its communication strategy are of prime concern. Commentators reporting on insurrectionary attack have often likened its violence to the methods of more traditional non-state actors (i.e. nationalist separatist ‘terrorists’ such as the PIRA, FARC, Hamas or Lebanese Hezbollah). The rhetorical function of these generalized accounts—those which portray the FAI as on par with al-Qaeda¹²⁷³—muddy the waters between paramilitary,

¹²⁷⁰ Chelsea J Carter and Josh Rubin, “Is Maj. Nidal Hasan’s Defense Strategy Martyrdom?,” *CNN*, August 19, 2013, Online edition, sec. Justice, <http://www.cnn.com/2013/08/19/justice/nidal-hasan-court-martial/index.html>.

¹²⁷¹ Borrowed from the title of an influential, insurrectionary text, “*At Daggers Drawn with the existent, its defenders and its false critics.*”

¹²⁷² Jenkins, “International Terrorism: A New Model of Conflict,” 6.

¹²⁷³ Loadenthal, “Deconstructing ‘eco-Terrorism’: Rhetoric, Framing and Statecraft as Seen through the Insight Approach.”

militia and insurgent/guerilla movements and those best portrayed as a militant tactical tendency within a largely law-abiding social protest movement. One historian, in describing the Islamic State (the Syrian-Iraqi-based armed secessionist jihadi movement also known as ISIS, ISIL) likened them to ‘19th and 20th century anarchist and nihilist rebel movements who fought against the centralization of state power.’¹²⁷⁴ In an article for mainstream press, historian John Merriman, speaks of this comparison writing:

Anarchists believed that dynamite would level the playing field, and for terrorists now, it’s roadside bombs that level the playing field...Both anarchists and terrorists now believe that they can bring down the superstructure, of capitalist states in the case of the anarchists, or the United States and their allies in the case of terrorists now.¹²⁷⁵

If networks like the FAI and CCF really are the decedents of anarchist king slayers, it is fitting that the post-9/11 era of insurrectionary attack came of age within this active image—that of the masked Islamist fighter carrying a Kalashnikov and planting an IED. While the CCF is a far cry from the Islamic State in nearly every way, it selects to continue within a tactical, strategic and communicative mode that is interpreted by many as showing little to no difference.

Despite such a negative framing of insurrectionary violence in light of a globally invigorated abhorrence of ‘terrorism’ post-9/11, clandestine attack networks continue to posture as more traditional ‘terrorists’, through methods such as detonating explosives, issuing communiqués, condemning the state and wearing masks. These individuals are plainly conscious of the discourse on terrorism as they interact and react to it routinely in

¹²⁷⁴ Matt O’Neil, “Islamic State Similar to 19th Century Anarchists, Says Expert,” Text, *Radio National/ABC*, (September 25, 2014), <http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/saturdayextra/islamic-state-similar-to-19th-century-anarchists-says-expert/5768178>.

¹²⁷⁵ John Merriman, as quoted in: *Ibid*.

writing. When understood in light of the assertion that the War on Terrorism is a “battle over representation...[a] ‘war of images’”¹²⁷⁶, this is especially intriguing. When insurrectionary and other clandestine actors do not outright reject a frame that is universally rejected, it begs the question: can the adoption of such methods by anti-state revolutionaries constitute a sort of “culture jamming”¹²⁷⁷ of the Global War on Terror? Are clandestine attackers responding and “appropriating”¹²⁷⁸ the cultural capital of intimidation created in the wake of 9/11 by embracing the image of the masked villain for maximum spectacle value? Are the clandestine networks of insurrectionary attack selecting to make use of the state's investment in fear mongering (to mobilize public policy) for their own performative benefit?

Clearly there is a performative function of this method of self-representation and aggressive action. However, beyond the creation of spectacle, one's involvement in transgressive acts is in itself a powerful step. In his discussion of the “society of the spectacle” the influential Situationist (anarchist) Guy Debord argued that reality had become something that individuals *looked at* and *thought about* but did not directly experience¹²⁷⁹. It had become an abstraction, a representation of a representation, viewed from behind screens—television screens, computers, car windshields—which all served to act as filters, mediating the interaction between individual and society. As a result of these mediated interaction with reality, individuals grew accustomed to accepting

¹²⁷⁶ Corey K. Creekmur, “The Sound of the ‘War on Terror,’” in *Reframing 9 / 11: Film, Popular Culture and the “War on Terror,”* ed. Anna Froula, Karen Randell, and Jeff Birkenstein, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic, 2010), 83.

¹²⁷⁷ Naomi Klein, *No Logo* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 2000).

¹²⁷⁸ Susan Buck-Morss, 2003 as quoted in: Creekmur, “The Sound of the ‘War on Terror,’” 83.

¹²⁷⁹ Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*.

representations as reality, and as such, became increasingly alienated (to borrow from Marx) from *real* experience. These conditions served to further encourage spontaneous, informal, anti-social attacks against systems of power, as these outbursts equate to ‘*the real*’: unmediated, directly targeted, non-representative actions which serve to rupture the abstracted, normative reality of every day life.

Insurrectionary logic encourages the fostering and replication of these moments when individuals carry forth the Situationist call to “create situations—moments of life directly lived—that undermine the dominant logic of passive consumption and alienated representation.”¹²⁸⁰ The targets of attack are therefore routinely those institutions and physical manifestations of this spectacle. For example, in November 2014, a clandestine cell bombed a Mexican telethon office aiding disabled children not as part of “demands for social justice” but rather because the charity and the wider mass media it summons serves to “implement alienation through the technoindustrial system’s values.”¹²⁸¹ Debord’s abstracted “society of the spectacle” is seen in the function of the larger state apparatus, as according to Giorgio Agamben, “spectacle is the logical extension of the commodity form under late capitalism.”¹²⁸² Therefore, attacks on this arena of commodity can serve to disrupt and materially damage the spectacle’s disengagement with ‘the real’, tying the attacker back into a moment of resistance, actualized in experiential violence.

¹²⁸⁰ Same Cooper [Adbusters no. 87, 2009] as quoted in: Williams and Thomson, “The Allure of Insurrection,” 273.

¹²⁸¹ Wild Reaction, Nocturnal Hunter Faction, “Detonation of explosive charge at the Mexico Teletón Foundation,” trans. War on Society (Instinto Salvaje [republished by War on Society], November 19, 2014), <http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=9287>.

¹²⁸² Paul A. Passavant, “The Contradictory State of Giorgio Agamben,” *Political Theory* 35, no. 2 (April 1, 2007): 149, doi:10.1177/0090591706297691.

The spectacle of the attack is thus a co-constituted performance—a “theater of terror”¹²⁸³—wherein the attacker is responding to the abstraction of reality by inserting radical critique as a dramatized play for the benefit of the audience. Here the spectacle creates the desire to act—to disrupt the mediated role played by society on the individual—and in doing so, simultaneously creates a newly revolutionary event for a new audience to view and interpret. These efforts to display ruptures to the society of the spectacle contest the media’s explanatory model of events that seek to act as an “insertion between man and his (sic) environment...[creating] a pseudo-environment.”¹²⁸⁴ The strategic violence of asymmetric warfare thus attempts to carry through a largely symbolic salvo in a war against domination. The attack demands the gaze of the audience in the hopes of drawing them *away* from the spectacle, and towards an actualized, lived experience. One scholar, speaking of the spectacle and alienated action writes: “Insurrectionary actions are ultimately expressions of truth in a postmodern age that stridently disavows any such affirmation.”¹²⁸⁵

Thus for the attacker, not only is the strike a demonstration of *their truth* but is also allows a break from the mediated interactions of spectacle; a real, gritty, texture-rich experience wherein one is able to place politics outside the realm of theory and into the venue of action. This action resultantly requires a discursive explanation (i.e. a communiqué) to ensure that the experience is understood through its intended frame. This is precisely why insurrectionary actors follow up their strikes with a communiqué, as to

¹²⁸³ Gabriel Weimann, *Terror on the Internet: The New Arena, the New Challenges*, 1st ed. (United States Institute of Peace Press, 2006), 38.

¹²⁸⁴ Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace and Co, 1922), 8.

¹²⁸⁵ Wood, *The Cultural Logic of Insurrection*, 40.

strike without explanation is akin to telling a joke without the punch line. Sociologist Erving Goffmann's¹²⁸⁶ theory of dramaturgical analysis¹²⁸⁷, expanded upon by Kenneth Burke¹²⁸⁸, posits that one's engagement with public performance, directed at an audience, in order to influence the recipient's perception of not only the targets of the attack, but the attacker as well. By displaying their critique through actualized violence, the insurrectionary actor is attempting to influence the audience, to engage in a dialogue that leads the passive social actor towards an emancipatory understanding of reality. This is a multi-pronged discourse which attempts to speak to the citizenry, the forces of authority, and its own inter-network community.

Form and (Discursive) Function

The communiqué as an object, delivered via the Internet, is beholden to the constraints of that medium. Certainly it is a banal assertion to write that radical social movements, armed nationalist insurgents and all types, and violent non-state actor use the Internet for a variety of purposes. This is obvious. In his descriptions of the post-9/11 rise of al-Qaeda terrorism scholar Bruce Hoffman speaks of these tech trends writing:

The growth and communicative power of social networking platforms... has transformed terrorism: Facilitating both ubiquitous and real-time communication between like-minded radicals with would-be recruits and potential benefactors—thus fueling and sustaining these struggles to a hitherto unprecedented extent... The advantage of the new social media to terrorists are manifold. Ease, interactivity and networking, reach, frequency, usability, stability, immediacy, publicity, and permanence are benefits reaped by those terrorist groups exploiting and harnessing these technologies. A new generation of celebrity fighters is also

¹²⁸⁶ Goffman's work on framing is also cited frequently in the analysis of propaganda and political texts such as: Morris, "Networking Vehement Frames: Neo-Nazi and Violent Jihadi Demagoguery," 165.

¹²⁸⁷ Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, 1st ed. (New York: Anchor, 1959).

¹²⁸⁸ Kenneth Burke, *Dramatism and Development* (Barre, MA: Clark University Press, 1972).

being created, heralded and extolled in a familiar vernacular to Facebook friends and Twitter followers alike.¹²⁸⁹

This assertion is repeated throughout the literature, often truncated to reflect the idea that “this [propaganda] war, which was previously fought in written text, audio messaging, or small groups in free spaces is now unfolding across the Internet in unprecedented volume.”¹²⁹⁰ This symbiosis between the creators of violence (i.e. terrorists) and the recipients of its reporting (i.e. the news-consuming population) is not a new phenomena¹²⁹¹ emanating from the transnational powers of the Internet. In a survey-based study conducted in the early 1980s, Terrorism Studies scholars associated with The Centre for the Study of Social Conflicts report quite simply that “the media play...an important role in the diffusion of terrorism.”¹²⁹²

While such assertions are commonplace, what is less obvious is *how* these technologies are used for revolutionary aims. Often times, the atypicality of radical media is presumed but may prove to differ from the more mundane and common uses of communications technology. In her discussion of jihadis’ use of Twitter and other social media, political theorist Jytte Klausen writes, “The focus in the terrorism literature...overshadows the reality that terrorists also use the Internet for the same reasons everybody else does; for organization and planning, proselytizing and

¹²⁸⁹ Bruce Hoffman, “A First Draft of the History of America’s Ongoing Wars on Terrorism,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 38, no. 1 (October 14, 2014): 5, doi:10.1080/1057610X.2014.974405.

¹²⁹⁰ Morris, “Networking Vehement Frames: Neo-Nazi and Violent Jihadi Demagoguery,” 164.

¹²⁹¹ See for example: Yonah Alexander, “Terrorism and the Media: Some Considerations,” in *Terrorism: Theory and Practice*, ed. Yonah Alexander, David Carlton, and Paul Wilkinson, 1st ed., Westview Special Studies in National and International Terrorism (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1979), 160; Miller et al., “The Complexity of Terrorism: Groups, Semiotics, and the Media,” 53–60; Wardlaw, *Political Terrorism*, 38.

¹²⁹² Schmid and Graaf, *Violence as Communication*, 126.

entertainment, and to educate the believers.”¹²⁹³ Furthermore, surveys of computer materials seized during post-terrorist attack investigations have shown that while fighters utilized these digital mediums to self-train in *tactics* their computer contained three times more¹²⁹⁴ material aimed at radicalization and propagandizing.¹²⁹⁵ Therefore it is not most centrally the digital *form* that is novel but rather the *function* it supports, namely the collection, translation and redistribution of claims of responsibility.

After reviewing thousands of communiqués and their associated acts of political protest, what can we say is the nature of the connection between form and function; between the text and the discourse? First, to borrow from Fairclough’s taxonomy¹²⁹⁶, the approach pursued throughout the preceding study has been to incorporate both ‘textually-linguistically-orientated discourse analysis’ (TODA) as well as Foucault’s more abstracted methods analyzing discourse. In the analysis of diverse texts, a TODA approach has been adopted for finer grain lexical analysis (e.g. word frequency, pronoun usage, conceptual collocation) and Foucault-inspired CDA has been used to zoom outward, to interpret those linguistic findings within a wider venue of discussions of power, governance and violence. More precisely, this endeavor has sought to ‘put

¹²⁹³ Klausen, “Tweeting the Jihad: Social Media Networks of Western Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq [Accepted Manuscript],” 3.

¹²⁹⁴ This 1:3 ratio is based on an analysis of a USB thumb drive seized during investigations of the 2004 Madrid train bombing ad described in Klausen, 2014, 3.

¹²⁹⁵ Klausen, “Tweeting the Jihad: Social Media Networks of Western Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq [Accepted Manuscript],” 3.

¹²⁹⁶ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 37.

Foucault's perspective to work¹²⁹⁷ not *apply it* as a top down methodology in the traditional sense.

The preceding examination of corpora has been chiefly concerned with "discursive practices as constitutive of knowledge"¹²⁹⁸, in this case the constructed knowledge of a particular social milieu, critical tendency and socio-political direct action movement for insurrection. The production of communiqués and other texts through a particular linguistic reality is exemplary of discursive limiting. Speaking of Foucault's *archeology of knowledge*, Fairclough explains:

...the objects of discourse are constituted and transformed in discourse according to the rules of some particular discursive formation, rather than existing independently and simply being referred to or talked about in a particular discourse...discourse as constitutive—as contributing to the production, transformation, and reproduction of the objects...language signifies reality in the sense of constructing meaning for it, rather than that discourse is in its passive relation to reality, with language merely referring to objects which are taken to be given in reality.¹²⁹⁹

Thus the linguistic choices made by communiqué authors are constituted through the movement's macro discourse, as established through the forum of the "informal international translation and counter-information network."¹³⁰⁰ This network is therefore not simply discussing and presenting the discourse of the communiqués' struggle against the state, but rather they function to constitute the discursive content including its goals, methods, identities, lexical choices and rhetorics. While this may appear as a one-way

¹²⁹⁷ J-J Courtine, "Analyse Du Discours Politique (le Discours Communiste Adresse Aux Chretiens)," *Langages* 62 (1981): 40 [as quoted in Fairclough 1993, 38].

¹²⁹⁸ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 38.

¹²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 41–42.

¹³⁰⁰ Anarchist-nihilists against the activist establishment, "Fuck Indymedia and the Anarcho-Left."

dialogue—the clandestine speaking to the public—it is in fact a conversation occurring in the openness of the Internet, spanning the world. In this relationship, the texts influence the attacks that in turn produce more texts, which influence subsequent attacks. This dynamic relationship is modeled below in Figure 6.2:

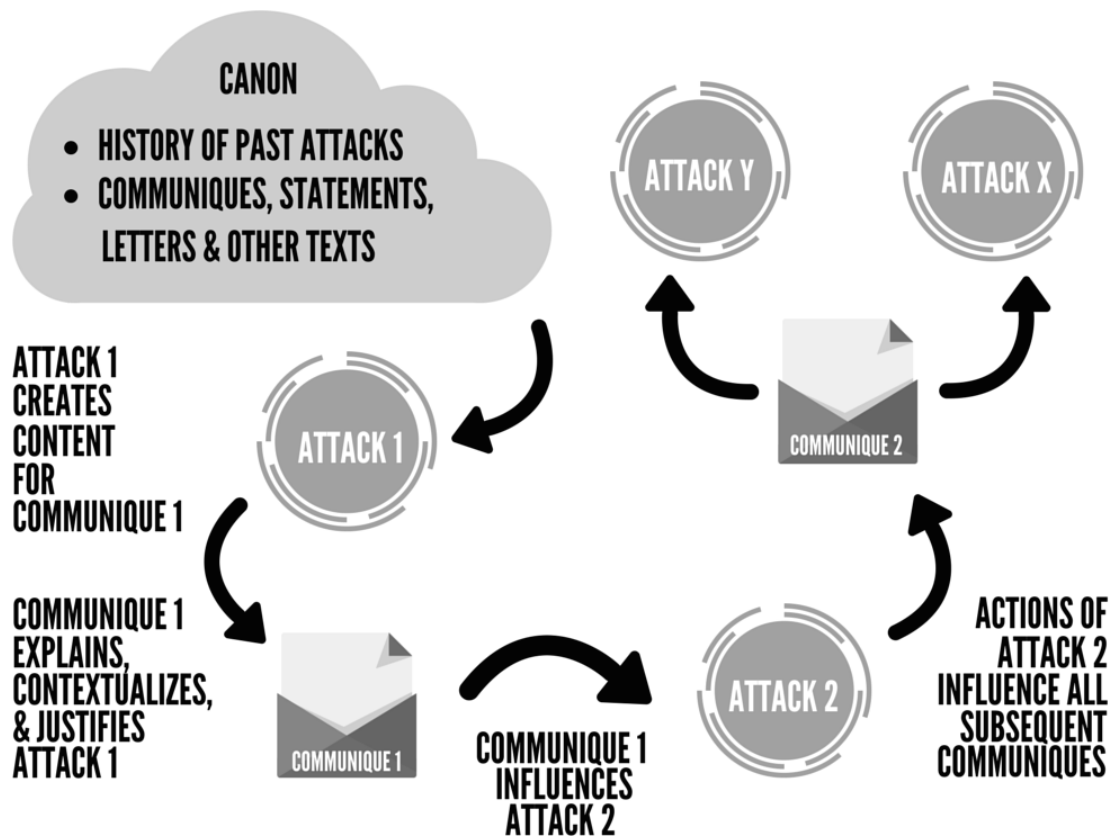


Figure 6.2: Communique/attack-form/function concept map

Sometimes, individuals even acknowledge this interrelatedness, for example, thanking those unnamed persons who translated their material. In one such example, an insurrectionary networks based in Mexico concluded their communiqué with, “PS: We give our appreciation to the effort of the translators (of our communiques and claims), through whose effort of diffusion, our words have reached countries that we never thought they would reach.”¹³⁰¹

The global network thus constitutes discourse through what Foucault describes as establishing and forcing discursive discipline—establishing power-knowledge—as to speak outside of these rules, is to exclude oneself from the network altogether. Such a public disciplinary action can be seen in the case of the now ostracized and excommunicated Bristol Indymedia which is now seen by insurrectionary actors to be complicit in state-led repression and violence. Following a police raid on the website servers of Bristol Indymedia, insurrectionary anarchists voiced their condemnation for the social movement news outlet stating:

[Bristol] Indymedia was previously part of the anti-capitalist movement from the alter-globalist era, but has been recuperated by the liberal democratic system. 325 has long regarded the Bristol IMC project to largely be passed any relevancy and considered it as in the hands of the enemy for some time... It doesn't surprise us at all that their server is now to become part of the regime's hand to be used against the new anarchist urban guerrilla operating in the UK...325 was correct to position ourselves in antagonism towards them. Their persistent attempts to denigrate the new urban guerrillas and their lack of any kind of respect when we attempted to communicate to them means they will find no solidarity from

¹³⁰¹ Wild Reaction, Coyote-Skin Cloak group, Wild Reaction, Kill or Die group, and Wild Reaction, Infamous Aboriginals group, “A short message to the distant tribes from Wild Reaction,” trans. War on Society (Contra Info (republished by War on Society), February 25, 2015), <http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=9382>.

us...Bristol IMC's recent cowardly and civil society orientated "statement" announcing that they were not going to be publishing any more communiqués for destructive attacks on their pages also confirmed that they were the worst kind of pacifist-judiciary and cowards of the tendency of civil democracy.¹³⁰²

This statement reveals the public shaming and denouncement of Bristol Indymedia for refusing to circulate insurrectionary texts, and its resulting criticism from 325's authors. Similarly, the construction of an oppositional group such as "civil anarchists" facilitates an inter-movement, discursive *othering*, wherein segments who contest bounds of illegality, violence and associated rhetoric can constitute an enemy, not ally, and as a result, be summarily excluded. This disciplining of discourse can be observed inter-textually (i.e. within a single text's word choices) and amongst various texts that constitute the movement's messaging at large.¹³⁰³

Moreover, this discussion must take into account the role played by interconnectivity, specially digitally-mediated communities fostered through a global web of exchange, and the impact these spaces have for future struggle. The Internet has allowed for a global audience of insurrectionary actors to witness attacks, integrate these critiques into their own politics, and to then strike in new, responsive ways. In other words, without the availability of sites such as 325 and War on Society, the internationalization of moniker-based networks of attacks would occur in a likely slower and more localized manner. This digital reconstruction of what constitutes a "community or network" reframes the actions of the individual, linking them in action and meaning to

¹³⁰² 325.nostate.net, "Police Investigating the Incendiary Anarchist Minority Raid Bristol IMC, Who Shut down Their Project (UK)."

¹³⁰³ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 46.

an increasingly lengthy history of attack and highlighting the moniker-based “branding” of particular networks (e.g. the FAI ‘brand’).¹³⁰⁴ This conundrum—one that problematizes the value added to revolutionary organizing with the advent of online communities—is especially tricky when discussing the networks that seek to abolish industrial civilization and technology as their basis, such as the ITS network. Discussions of this nature are certainly ongoing amongst the theorists of struggle, such as the recent article¹³⁰⁵ and interview¹³⁰⁶ put out by the CrimethInc. Ex-Workers’ Collective. The loss of physical community is certainly an acknowledged risk with increased digitalization¹³⁰⁷, yet the possibility for greater connectivity has been discussed as a strength of modern protest culture. It is important to note here that the use of online networks for communiqué distribution appear to be a function of emergent technology’s integration into a wider social scheme, and *not* a necessary component for the continuation of insurrectionary attack. In this regard, one notes the comments made by foundational social movement thinker Charles Tilly, who remarked, “Yes, activists adopt new technologies when those technologies serve their purposes...but purposes override techniques.”¹³⁰⁸ In other words, *without* the online networks, other *offline* networks

¹³⁰⁴ van Buuren and de Graaf, “Hatred of the System: Menacing Loners and Autonomous Cells in the Netherlands,” 176–177.

¹³⁰⁵ CrimethInc. Ex-Workers’ Collective, “Deserting the Digital Utopia: Computers against Computing,” *Rolling Thunder*, Spring 2014.

¹³⁰⁶ CrimethInc. Ex-Workers’ Collective, Free Radical Radio: Interview with CrimethInc. on their essay “Deserting The Digital Utopia,” interview by Doug and Rydra, Online, September 18, 2014, <https://archive.org/details/CrimethncInterview>.

¹³⁰⁷ Jennifer Grubbs and Michael Loadenthal, “The Politics of Planning: Conference Organizing as an Act of Resistance,” in *Educating for Action: Strategies to Ingite Social Justice*, ed. Jason Del Gandio and Anthony J. Nocella, 1st ed. (Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers, 2014), 137–53.

¹³⁰⁸ [Tilly, 2006; as quoted in:] Francesca Polletta et al., “Is the Internet Creating New Reasons to Protest?,” in *The Future of Social Movement Research: Dynamics, Mechanisms, and Processes*, ed.

would likely arise in their place, and while these divergent forms may dictate some manners of the action, they will not dictate its complete form.

The communiqué functions as a “transactional and bidirectional”¹³⁰⁹ message, rhetorically engaging both the attacker and the public in a discourse. The communiqué itself becomes a site of resistance as it is a reaction to violence and a urging for additional violence. This sort of dialogue between globally dispersed actors is only made possible by nearly synchronous communications and translations as offered by the Internet. The acts of violence function to allow the communiqué to be authored, to temporarily focus attention towards the politics of structural violence as manifested in the individual institution that is being targeted. Therefore, though communiqués may report acts akin to traditional terrorism, the strategy of attack-communiqué is not terrorism, but something else. It is a form of asymmetric, decentralized war carried out through networked and ideologically-linked attacks at a non-centralized, fluid target. In a dialogical sense, the violence of the attack creates the space for the critic to ‘be heard’¹³¹⁰, and in doing so, temporarily disrupts the discourse it is critiquing, for example, the infallibility of market capitalism.

This relationship that exists between the producer of texts (e.g. the attacker), their distributors (e.g. website administrators), and the consumer of texts (e.g. the supporter) is

Jacqueline van Stekelenburg, Conny Roggeband, and Bert Klandermans, 1st ed., vol. 39, *Social Movements, Protest, and Contention* (Minneapolis, MN: University Of Minnesota Press, 2013), 17–36 p. 17.

¹³⁰⁹ Tuman, *Communicating Terror*, 33.

¹³¹⁰ Toros, *Terrorism, Talking and Transformation: A Critical Approach*, 46.

similarly dynamic and fluid. In once sense, active sympathizers maintain the translation and distribution hubs that serve to liaison between the producer and consumer. Therefore, information flows from the attacker to the consumer via the sympathizer—engaging all level of actor in a process of discursive production and information transmission. This relationship between the three parties is diagramed conceptually below in Figure 6.3:

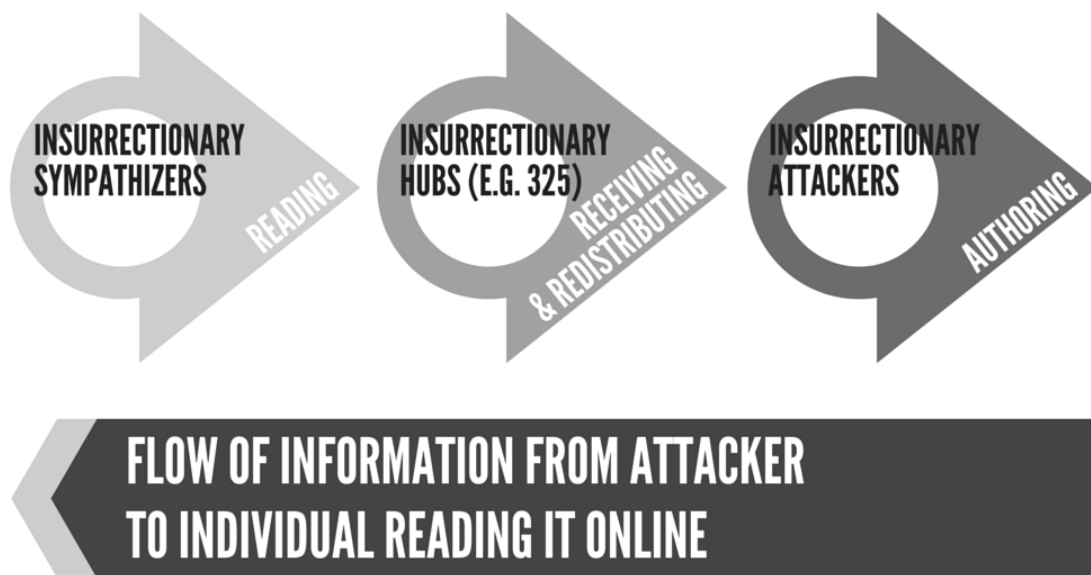


Figure 6.3: Knowledge transmission concept map

This model shows that all manner of actor remain in an active (i.e. non-passive) position, as all individuals are either creators, facilitators or recipients of analysis, critique and incitement. The politics, critical analysis and praxis of the ‘ideology’ can only be developed, refined and enacted through action, and reinforced through an inter-movement

form of ‘ideological hegemony’¹³¹¹—the means of social conditioning that inform and enforce the movement’s culture of operation. Thus only those who light fires are allowed to pontificate, only those constructing fuses and timing devices welcomed to the debate. Those that construct the insurrectionary canon are globally dispersed actors, reacting to one another’s’ actions and texts in a never-ending dialogue, carried out with relative transparency for a global audience. What connects a vandal in Jakarta, a graffiti artist in Berlin, and an arsonist in Bristol is only their epistemological framework and their critique in the broadest sense. They will likely possess different positions on ‘policies’ and ‘alternatives’, but their diagramming of society’s ills will inevitably center around the same components and in their own manner, demonstrate inter-movement hegemony. Therefore, the point of convergence for these disparate actors is precisely the site of systemic violence; what is similar amongst the thousands of pages of radical speech is a shared understanding of an ever-changing, challenging foe, that of violence, coercion, domination, exploitation, alienation and control.

Looking Forward Towards the Future

The preceding chapters have argued for a nuanced, theoretically-informed, and context-embedded understanding of political violence crafted from primary source documents. This broad approach has been an attempt to operationalize a form an action-focused, analytical perspective that asserts itself as against the logic of securitization (i.e. anti-securitization) and de-exceptionalizes *political* violence from other forms of disruptive occurrence. While critical theorists such as Slavoj Žižek have argued that *any* attempt to

¹³¹¹ Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*.

change structural inequality that leads to a disruption in the normal way of living is read as *violence*¹³¹², all violence is not read with the same lens. Violence that is often labeled as terroristic—that emanating from social movements and other non-state actors and targeting sites associated with the state and economy—is typically treated within a realm of exceptionality; marking it as substantively different from violence carried out for criminal or other idiosyncratic reasons. Why is this the case? Sociologist Robert White suggests that media and academic study of political violence tends to ignore the mundane and instead focus on the “series of spectacular and often gruesome events.”¹³¹³ This lack of connect ignores the violent conditions that may have preceded, resulted from and helped to constitute the attack.

Therefore it is essential for future scholarship to foster an understanding of political violence that incorporates “the social, political and economic ills that often surround terrorism and render it possible.”¹³¹⁴ Therefore, if we can interpret insurrectionary modes of attack through a context-embedded, de-exceptionalized, anti-security framework, the conversation will inevitably arrive at issues of inequality, hierarchy, alienation, coercion, and domestication. This approach is more familiar in discussions of criminal violence, as scholars assert a correlated and often causal linkage between, for example, revenue-generating criminal activity (e.g. distribution of drugs) and poverty. Therefore, while it is commonplace to assert that to reduce crime one must

¹³¹² Žižek, *Violence*.

¹³¹³ Robert W. White, “Issues in the Study of Political Violence: Understanding the Motives of Participants in Small Group Political Violence,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 12, no. 1 (March 1, 2000): 96, doi:10.1080/09546550008427552.

¹³¹⁴ Toros, *Terrorism, Talking and Transformation: A Critical Approach*, 35.

reduce economic inequality, improve access, and level the field of competition, the same cannot be said of *political* violence. If we were to treat *political* violence in a manner akin to that of *criminal* violence, the ‘solution’ to insurrectionary attack is revolutionary change that reduces inequality and other forms of marginalization. These solutions would likely be discounted summarily by policymakers who would prefer a list of targets than a list of arguments for better access to education, housing, transportation, etc.. In other words, to ‘solve’ insurrectionary critique would require system-level change aimed at a deconstruction of that very system, and as such, is unlikely to be embraced by power elites. Because the critique is aimed at power itself, to embrace its proscription of change would deny the brokers of that power a great deal of influence and control.

In this sense, to *de-exceptionalize* terrorism and other forms of political violence is to disrupt the discourse that constructs it. In other words, by shifting the conversation away from broken windows (or burned offices) and towards gentrification (or prisons, animal slaughter...), a discursive shift occurs which steals power from the state’s efforts to mobilize state violence for the purposes of system maintenance and repression. Furthermore, a focus on methods of conflict *transformation*—such as the work of Johan Galtung¹³¹⁵ John Paul Lederach¹³¹⁶—refocuses attention away from the direct violence of *attacks*, and towards the “structures of domination and exclusion that generate and

¹³¹⁵ See for example: Johan Galtung, “Conflict Transformation by Peaceful Means (the Transcend Method): Participants’ Manual/Trainers’ Manual” (United Nations Disaster Management Training Programme, 2000), https://www.transcend.org/pctrcluj2004/TRANSCEND_manual.pdf.

¹³¹⁶ See for example: John Paul Lederach, *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse Univ Press, 1995); John Lederach, *Little Book of Conflict Transformation: Clear Articulation Of The Guiding Principles By A Pioneer In The Field*, 1st ed. (Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 2003).

perpetuate conflict.”¹³¹⁷ In other words, by incorporating approaches from Peace Studies, Conflict Analysis, CSS, CTS and other related fields, we can shift the analytical focus from the manifestations to the structures that “generate and perpetuate”, and in doing so, de-center the state as the unit of analysis and focus of our attention.

Such predictive patterns should be of primary concern to those seeking a more peaceful society as *counterterrorism* efforts typically serve to “reinforce and reify existing structures of power in society”¹³¹⁸; the very structures insurrectionary action sees to eliminate. This creates a feedback loop wherein the structural violence causes insurrectionary attack, which causes increased securitization, which emboldens further violence at the level of the community, adding fuel to the fire of insurrectionary anger. In this case, the newly reified inequality can lead attackers to redouble their efforts to urgently and radically change the socio-political system. With this loop in mind, poststructuralism appears to once again be an appropriate perspective as it seeks to destabilize *power*—the hub through which all oppression is derived from.

Without the luxury of hindsight, we are forced to interpret these events as they unfold. While the ‘insurrectionary *turn*’ in anti-state attack began around the millennium, some movement scholars¹³¹⁹ have argued that this wave has already crested and began to decline, if this is true, the movement’s embers continue to burn quite brightly. While the movement has not succeeded in ‘totalizing the social war’, or ‘bring it all crashing down’,

¹³¹⁷ Oliver Ramsbotham, Hugh Miall, and Tom Woodhouse, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The Prevention, Management and Transformation of Deadly Conflicts* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2005), 296.

¹³¹⁸ Richard Jackson, “Knowledge, Power and Politics in the Study of Political Terrorism,” in *Critical Terrorism Studies: A New Research Agenda*, ed. Richard Jackson, Marie Breen Smyth, and Jeroen Gunning, 1st ed. (London, UK: Routledge, 2009), 67.

¹³¹⁹ Nomad, *The Master’s Tools: Warfare and Insurgent Possibility*.

it has served to raise its critique to prominence through the production of spectacular violence. In doing so, the movement has been able to build a revolutionary consciousness, and while it did not yet fundamentally change the political landscape, it has had an undeniable impact. In all likelihood, the attacks of the FAI, CCF and other will continue despite combatants' capture and imprisonment. Attacks will likely continue to draw strength and inspiration from the words and deeds of these movement forbearers, and the discourse of anti-state attack will continue to develop.

Social movements do not typically have clearly demarcated starting and ending points. The actions of individuals, cells and networks rise and fall as a combination of any number of factors. While larger political realities serve to inform and influence patterns of attack, it is incorrect to predict that the passage of new anti-terrorist laws or the induction of newly elected officials will serve to deter future violence. The nature of insurrectionary attacks understands that at its base, the problem is not found in politicians, their institutions or their initiatives, but instead in the articulation of a system-level critique which rejects political representationalism, abhors domination, and seeks nothing short of 'total liberation.' With such frameworks serving to inform the movement's understanding of success and failure, the arena of battle will extend far into the future. As wealth gaps widen, forms of state control coalesce, and ecological crisis creeps closer, it can be expected that those who choose the bomb over the ballot will continue to strike with greater ferocity.

APPENDIX

2.1 - Chronology of arrests associated with the FAI

1. October 2011: Billy Augustian and Reyhard Rumbayan (known as Eat) were arrested in Indonesia for the arson of a Bank Rakyat Indonesia (BRI) ATM in Yogyakarta's Sleman district. The two were arrested only hours after the arson, reportedly dropping identifying documents near the scene along with the attack communiqué. The attack was claimed by the "Long Live Luciano Tortuga"¹³²⁰ Cell of the FAI/IRF." Eat and Billy were charged under a 2002 anti-terrorism law which claimed that the ATM arson "deliberately used violence with the intention of creating a sense of terror and widespread fear amongst the general public."¹³²¹ The two were later resented to one and half years, and released in November/December 2012. The two Indonesian men have been the subject of movement celebritydom. After Eat and Billy's arrests, other individuals continued to carryout attacks in Indonesia using the "Long Live Luciano Tortuga" cell name. This includes an attempted arson of a power plant in Kotamobagu (August 2012), the placement of an incendiary device at an electricity station in Tuminting (31 August 2012), and the arson of luxury cars in Manado (5 November 2012).¹³²²
2. May 2012: Henry Zegarrundo was arrested in La Paz, Bolivia and linked to 20 attacks claimed by FAI/IRF. A member of an aboveground, platformist anarchist organization provided evidence against him that led to his arrest.
3. September 2012: Nicola Gai, 35, and Alfredo Cospito, 46, both from Turin, Italy, were arrested for the shooting of Roberto Adinolfi, the CEO of Ansaldo Nucleare, an Italian nuclear energy company. The two activists were convicted in November 2013; Gai receiving nine years, four months, and Cospito receiving ten years, eight months. During their sentencing the two remained unapologetic, with Cospito stating, "In a wonderful morning in May I acted, and in the space of a few hours I fully enjoyed my

¹³²⁰ Luciano Tortuga is a Chilean anarchist whom was jailed June 2011 after losing both hands in an accidental explosion of an IED he was placing at a bank. Since his injury and arrest, his namesake has become a regular mainstay of insurrectional communiqués and a large number of attacks have been specifically dedicated to him.

¹³²¹ Dominic Berger, "Indonesia's New Anarchists" (Inside Indonesia, September 2013), <http://www.insideindonesia.org/feature-editions/indonesia-s-new-anarchists-3>.

¹³²² Ibid.

- life. For once I left fear and self justification behind and defied the unknown. In a Europe dotted with nuclear power stations, one of those mainly responsible for the nuclear disaster to come fell at my feet.”¹³²³
4. July 2013: Andreas Tsavdaridis, a Greek individual was arrested for carrying out Phoenix Project attack #4, the mailing of an explosive device to “Dimitris Horianopoulos, scumbag former commander of the anti-terrorist division.”¹³²⁴
 5. September 2013: Adriano Antonacci & Gianluca Iacovacci were arrested in Italy in connection to a series of arson attacks claimed by the “Subversive Anti-Civilisation Subversive Individualities, FAI/IRF.” These included incendiary and sabotage attacks targeting banks, a fur store, a landfill, and two corporate offices (ENI and ENEL) in the area of Rome, Italy. Iacovacci has since taken responsibility for some of these attacks.¹³²⁵ According to sympathetic, inter-movement sources, the pair are accused of “terrorist association with purposes of terrorism, arson, aggravated theft, defacement and daubing of others’ property.” Like many other arrested comrades, following their capture, attacks were carried out in their name including a triple arson of power facilities in Indonesia in May 2014 as part of the Phoenix Project.¹³²⁶
 6. June 2014: An unnamed 32/33-year-old man is arrested by UK police and linked to four arsons targeting mobile phone and radio masts. The specific arsons tied to the accused were claimed as Phoenix Project #14.¹³²⁷ The attacks were claimed by “Live Wires ELF/FAI” and according to police, are part of 50 such attacks carried out 2010-2014.¹³²⁸ The man was arrested after a car stop on the suspicion he was “going equipped to commit a crime.”¹³²⁹ Though precise information is unavailable, other arrests in England may have linked a 30-year-old man (arrested 25 July 2013)¹³³⁰ to a

¹³²³ RaiNews 24, “Alfredo Cospito and Nicola Gai sentenced for nuclear boss shooting” (RaiNews 24 (republished by Anarchistnews.org), November 14, 2013), 3, anarchistnews.org/content/alfredo-cospito-and-nicola-gai-sentenced-nuclear-boss-shooting.

¹³²⁴ Commando Mauricio Morales/FAI-IRF, “‘Commando Mauricio Morales / FAI-IRF’ Takes Responsibility for the Sending of a Parcelbomb to Dimitris Horianopoulos, Scumbag Former Commander of the Anti-Terrorist Division.”

¹³²⁵ 325.nostate.net, “Direct Action Chronology,” in 325, vol. 11, 2014, 40.

¹³²⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹³²⁷ Live Wires FAI/ELF, “Phoenix Project #14: ‘Live Wires FAI/ELF’ Take Responsibility for 4 Arsons against Bristol’s Cellular Transmission Infrastructure over 24 Hours.”

¹³²⁸ David Rose, “‘Bristol Bomber’ Police Arrest Man over Arson Attacks on Phone Masts,” *The Daily Mail*, June 14, 2014, Online edition, sec. News, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2658107/Bristol-Bomber-police-arrest-man-arson-attacks-four-mobile-phone-radio-transmission-masts.html>.

¹³²⁹ Anonymous, “Two Further Arrests for FAI/ELF Actions in Avon & Somerset (UK)” (325.nostate.net, July 27, 2014), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=11260>.

¹³³⁰ *Ibid.*

- 3 January 2013 arson claimed by FAI's "New Horizons of Burning Rage" cell¹³³¹
Also on 25 July 2013, a third man, 20-years-old, was reportedly arrested for the burning of a car claimed by the FAI¹³³², but was released.¹³³³
7. December 2014: Though currently at large, police in England have identified 27-year-old Huw Norfolk, known as "Badger", as a suspect in an arson attack (3 January 2013 arson of a Bath communication tower¹³³⁴) claimed by insurrectionary anarchists in the area of Bristol and damage sustained to a newspaper office during a 2011 street demonstration¹³³⁵. Norfolk is accused of carrying out attacks causing £100,000 in damages, and police officials took the unusual step of announcing a £10,000 "bounty"¹³³⁶ for the suspect's arrest. Though officials are only identifying two specific incidents linked to Norfolk, police have stated that they are exploring his connection to one hundred other anarchist-linked attacks (e.g. sabotage, vandalism, arson) in the UK estimated to account for £20,000,000 in damages.

¹³³¹ FAI/ELF - New Horizons of Burning Rage, "'FAI/ELF New Horizons of Burning Rage' Take Responsibility for Media Sabotage" (325.nostate.net, January 4, 2013), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=6838>.

¹³³² FAI/ELF - Rogue Fire Brigade, "FAI/ELF Claim Four Vehicle Fires in Bristol."

¹³³³ Anonymous, "Two Further Arrests for FAI/ELF Actions in Avon & Somerset (UK)."

¹³³⁴ Leon Watson, "Suspected Arson Attack at Transmitter Site Leaves 80,000 Homes without Television or Radio," *Mail Online*, January 3, 2013, Online edition, sec. News, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2256525/Bathampton-arson-attack-transmitter-site-leaves-80-000-homes-TV-radio.html>.

¹³³⁵ Steven Morris, "Hunting Badger: Police Offer £10,000 Reward after Bristol Anarchist Attacks," *The Guardian*, December 5, 2014, Online edition, sec. World: Protest, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/dec/05/hunting-badger-police-offer-10000-pound-reward-after-bristol-anarchist-attacks>.

¹³³⁶ Victoria Ward, "Police Offer £10,000 Reward to Catch Middle Class Anarchist," *The Telegraph*, December 3, 2014, Online edition, sec. News, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/11269810/Police-offer-10000-reward-to-catch-anarchist-known-as-Badger.html>.

2.2 - Chronology of attacks: CARI-PGG

1. 23 January 2010: Two IEDs (mail bombs) targeting Chilean embassy in Mexico.¹³³⁷
2. 5 October 2010: Arson of two police cars.¹³³⁸
3. 14 October 2010: IED targeting riot police bus.¹³³⁹
4. 22 February 2011: Two IEDs (mail bombs) targeting two prison directors.¹³⁴⁰
5. 22 February 2011: IED (mail bomb) to head of Monsanto in Mexico.¹³⁴¹
6. 22 February 2011: IED targeting a bank.¹³⁴²
7. 22 February 2011: IED targeting a Starbucks.¹³⁴³
8. 17 September 2011: IED targeting a police car.¹³⁴⁴
9. 23 September 2011: IED targeting the Federal Electricity Commission.¹³⁴⁵

¹³³⁷ 325.nostate.net, "Chilean Embassy Receives Explosive Anarchist Letters," *325.nostate*, January 26, 2011, <http://325.nostate.net/?p=1643>; Praxedis G. Guerrero Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution, "CARI-PGG send Explosive Packets for 2 Prison Directors."

¹³³⁸ Praxedis G. Guerrero Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution, "Práxedes G. Guerrero Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution torch two police cars in Mexico," trans. This Is Our Job (Culmine (republished by This Is Our Job), October 18, 2010), <http://thisisourjob.wordpress.com/2010/10/19/praxedis-g-guerrero-autonomous-cells-for-immediate-revolution-torch-two-police-cars-in-mexico/>.

¹³³⁹ Praxedis G. Guerrero Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution, Fanya Kaplan Commando Unit, "Mexico City SSP bombing claimed," trans. This Is Our Job (Culmine (republished by This Is Our Job), October 16, 2010), <http://thisisourjob.wordpress.com/2010/10/16/mexico-city-ssp-bombing%2%a0claimed/>.

¹³⁴⁰ Praxedis G. Guerrero Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution, "CARI-PGG send Explosive Packets for 2 Prison Directors."

¹³⁴¹ Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution – Praxedis G. Guerrero, "CARI-PGG send Explosive Packet to Monsanto multinational corporation," trans. 325.nostate.net (325.nostate.net, March 23, 2011), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=1968>.

¹³⁴² Praxedis G. Guerrero Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution, "Communiqué of actions for Mauri by Praxedis G. Guerrero Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution," trans. War on Society (Culmine (republished by 325.nostate), May 29, 2011), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=2538>.

¹³⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴⁴ Praxedis G. Guerrero Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution, "CARI-PGG communiqué for state police car bombing in Mexico," trans. This Is Our Job (Culmine (republished by This Is Our Job), September 9, 2011), <http://thisisourjob.noblogs.org/post/2011/09/19/cari-pgg-communiqué-for-state-police-car-bombing-in-mexico/>.

10. 3 October 2011: IED targeting a bank.¹³⁴⁶
11. 3 October 2011: IED targeting politician's home.¹³⁴⁷
12. 1 November 2011: IED (mail bomb) targeting Miguel Mancera, Attorney General of Mexico.¹³⁴⁸
13. 1 November 2011: IED (mail bomb) targeting Norberto Ribera, the Archbishop of Mexico.¹³⁴⁹
14. 12 December 2011: IED targeting Italian Institute of Culture, part of the Italian embassy.¹³⁵⁰
15. 20 April 2012: 1st IED (mail bomb) targeting Mexican ambassador to Greece.¹³⁵¹
16. 1 May 2012: 2nd IED (mail bomb) targeting Mexican ambassador to Greece.¹³⁵²
17. 26 November 2013: IED targeting three banks (BBVA, and two branches of EDOMEX).¹³⁵³

¹³⁴⁵ Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution – Praxedis G. Guerrero, Faction of the Informal Anarchist Federation - Mexico (FAI-M), "Mexico: Claim of responsibility for attack on the offices of the Federal Electricity Commission (CFE)," trans. War on Society (Liberación Total (republished by War on Society), September 25, 2011), <http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=1970>.

¹³⁴⁶ Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution – Praxedis G. Guerrero, "CARI-PGG claim two actions with explosive atta[ck]," trans. War on Society (Viva la Anarquía (republished by War on Society), October 15, 2011), <http://actforfreedomnow.wordpress.com/2011/10/15/mexico-cari-pgg-claim-two-actions-with-explosive-atta/>.

¹³⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁴⁸ Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution – Praxedis G. Guerrero, FAI, "The Sole-Baleno insurgent cell of the CARI-PGG claims the package bomb sent to the attorney general."

¹³⁴⁹ Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution – Praxedis G. Guerrero, Gabriella Segata Antolini cell and Informal Anarchist Federation/International Revolutionary Front, "Gabriella Segata Antolini cell of CARI-PGG claims package bomb to the Archbishop of Mexico."

¹³⁵⁰ Praxedis G. Guerrero Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution, Revolutionary Anarchist Cell - Gabriella Segata Antolini, FAI, "Communique for the attack against the Italian Institute of Culture," trans. War on Society (Culmine (republished by War On Society and 325.nostate), December 13, 2011), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=3660>.

¹³⁵¹ Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution – Praxedis G. Guerrero, Cell of revolutionary action for the destruction of the State, "Cell of Revolutionary Action for the Destruction of the State – Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution – Praxedis G. Guerrero claim responsibility for sending 2 explosive packages to the Greek embassy."

¹³⁵² Ibid.

¹³⁵³ Praxedis G. Guerrero Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution, Nucleus of the Attack Against Power- Black Fir, "Claim for attacks with explosive devices on three banks."

18. 2 December 2013: IED targeting a riot police bus, damaging the vehicle.¹³⁵⁴

19. 2 December 2013: IED targeting a Banamex bank, damaging the building.¹³⁵⁵

¹³⁵⁴ Praxedis G. Guerrero Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution, "Mexico."
¹³⁵⁵ Ibid.

2.3 - Chronology of attacks: ITS and its various formulations

1. September 2009: Liberation of “several” wild horses at a farm in Aguascalientes. At the time this was claimed by the “Informal Circle of Antagonistic Individualists.”¹³⁵⁶
2. “2009-2011”: Various arson attacks throughout Mexico, at the time claimed as part of the “Luddites Against the Domestication of Wild Nature.”¹³⁵⁷
3. “2010 and 2011”: Placement of fake IED at Pharmacological and Biopharmaceutical Research center and the detonation of an IED targeting National Ecology Institute. Both targets are located in Mexico City’s Tlalpan district. At the time this attack was claimed by the “Terrorist Cells for the Direct Attack – Anti-Civilization Fraction.”¹³⁵⁸
4. 19 April 2011: IED (mail bomb) sent to director of Nanotechnology Engineering at Valle de Mexico Polytechnic University (UPVM).¹³⁵⁹ Bomb wounds guard, Alberto Álvarez Vázquez.¹³⁶⁰
5. 29 June 2011: IED targeting Santander bank, Tultitlan, Mexico. At the time this attack was claimed by the “Informal Anti-Civilization Group.”¹³⁶¹
6. 8 August 2011: IED (mail bomb) sent to Armando Herrera Corral, injuring him as well as college Alejandro Aceves López, both professors at State of Mexico Campus Tec, specializing in nanotechnology/humanoid robotics.¹³⁶²
7. 28 August 2011: unspecified attempted attack on Center of Research and Advanced Studies, National Polytechnic Institute, municipality of Irapuato, Guanajuato.¹³⁶³
8. 9 September 2011: IED (mail bomb) sent to Flora Ganem Rondero, nanotechnology researcher at UNAM School of Higher Studies (FES) Cuatitlán.¹³⁶⁴ No injuries.

¹³⁵⁶ Wild Reaction, “Kill or Die” Group, “First communique of Wild Reaction (RS).”

¹³⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁵⁹ Individualists Tending Toward the Wild, “2nd Communique.”

¹³⁶⁰ Individualists Tending Toward the Wild, “1st Communique.”

¹³⁶¹ Wild Reaction, “Kill or Die” Group, “First communique of Wild Reaction (RS).”

¹³⁶² Individualists Tending Toward the Wild, “Individualists Tending Toward the Wild Claim Responsibility for Package Bomb That Wounded Two Professors” (War on Society, August 15, 2011), <http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=1523>.

¹³⁶³ Individualists Tending Toward the Wild, “6th Communique.”

¹³⁶⁴ Individualists Tending Toward the Wild, “Fourth Communique from Individualists Tending toward he Wild” (War on Society, September 21, 2011), <http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=2913>.

9. 14 September 2011: IED (mail bomb) sent to Pedro Brajcich Gallegos, general director of the National Institute of Forestry, Agricultural and Fishery Studies (INIFAP).¹³⁶⁵ No injuries.
10. 16 October 2011: Placement of IED that failed to explode targeting Santander bank in Mexico City's Álvaro Obregón district.¹³⁶⁶ No injuries.
11. 16 October 2011: IED targeting Banamex ATM between Tultitlan and Coacalco. At the time this attack was claimed by "Uncivilized Autonomous."¹³⁶⁷ No injuries.
12. November 2011: Failed IED (mail bomb) sent to Dr. Pedro Luis Grasa Soler, general director of Monterrey Tec campus.¹³⁶⁸ No injuries.
13. November 2011: Threat (bullets with note) sent to Dr. Manuel Torres Labansat, Director Institute of Physics UNAM and Carlos Aramburo de la Hoz, Director of scientific research, UNAM, Mexico City.¹³⁶⁹
14. 8 November 2011: Shooting death of Ernesto Méndez Salinas, biotechnologist at the UNAM Institute of Biotechnology, Morelos.¹³⁷⁰ Salinas was shot in the head and killed in Cuernavaca.
15. 16 November 2011: IED detonated targeting an ATM located in the Federal Electricity Commission in Irapuato, Guanajuato. At the time this attack was claimed by the "Earth Liberation Front—Bajío."¹³⁷¹ No injuries.
16. 9 December 2011: IED (package bomb) left for Ramón de la Fuente, director of the National Institute of Psychiatry, Tlalpan district of Mexico City. At the time this attack was claimed by "NS—Fera—Kamala y Amala."¹³⁷² Bomb defused by police. No injuries.
17. 15 December 2011: Threat (car bomb) sent via email targeting the National Institute of Psychiatry, Tlalpan district of Mexico City. At the time this attack was claimed by "NS—Fera—Kamala y Amala."¹³⁷³

¹³⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶⁶ Wild Reaction, "Kill or Die" Group, "First communique of Wild Reaction (RS)."

¹³⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁶⁸ Individualists Tending Toward the Wild, "6th Communique."

¹³⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁷⁰ contra-info and Individualists Tending Toward the Wild, "Interview with Individualists Tending toward the Wild"; Individualists Tending Toward the Wild, "8th Communique."

¹³⁷¹ Wild Reaction, "Kill or Die" Group, "First communique of Wild Reaction (RS)."

¹³⁷² Ibid.

¹³⁷³ Ibid.

18. 25 November 2011: IED (mail bomb) sent to Alejandro Olivera, Greenpeace Mexico.¹³⁷⁴ No injuries.
19. August 2012: IED (mail bomb) to neurologists at Autonomous Technological Institute of Mexico (ITAM), Mexico City.¹³⁷⁵ No injuries.
20. 6 September 2012: IED (mail bomb) sent to Dr. Flora Adriana Ganem Rondero, head of UNAM Section of Pharmaceutical Technology and chemistry laboratory, School of Higher Studies (FES) Cuatitlán.¹³⁷⁶
21. ~15 September 2012: IED sent to Pedro Brajcich Gallegos, general director INIFAP, Coyoacán neighborhood, Mexico City.¹³⁷⁷
22. 11 February 2013: IED (mail bomb) sent to Sergio Andrés Águila, UNAM Institute of Biotechnology (IBT), Cuernavaca, Morelos.¹³⁷⁸ Visible electronic components led to package being identified and handed over to security forces for destruction. No injuries.
23. 21 February 2013: IED (mail bomb) explodes in Sepomex mailbox in Tlapan, injuring postal worker illegally attempting to open package. Original target unknown.¹³⁷⁹
24. September 2013: IED (mail bomb) to Alejandra Lagunes Soto, former director of Google Mexico/current head of National Digital Strategy Coordination of the Presidency of the Republic.¹³⁸⁰
25. September 2013: IED (mail bomb) to Guillermo Turrent Schnas, Director of modernization and administration of the Federal Electricity Commission.¹³⁸¹
26. March 2014: IED (mail bomb) sent to Reactor of UNAM, Mexico City. At the time this attack was claimed by the “Obsidian Point Circle of Attack.”¹³⁸²

¹³⁷⁴ Individualists Tending Toward the Wild, “Brief Communique from Individualists Tending toward the Wild,” trans. War on Society (Culmine (republished by War On Society), December 15, 2011), <http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=2586>.

¹³⁷⁵ Individualists Tending Toward the Wild, “8th Communique.”

¹³⁷⁶ Individualists Tending Toward the Wild, “4th Communique.”

¹³⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁷⁸ Individualists Tending Toward the Wild, “Seventh Communique from Individualists Tending toward the Wild,” trans. War on Society (325.nostate.net, February 19, 2013), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=7218>.

¹³⁷⁹ Individualists Tending Toward the Wild, “A brief note from Individualists Tending toward the Wild,” trans. War on Society (War on Society, February 26, 2013), <http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=7330>.

¹³⁸⁰ Individualists Tending Toward the Wild, “8th Communique.”

¹³⁸¹ Ibid.

27. April 2014: Bomb threats sent to various academic institutions in “ Michoacán, Mexico State, Mexico City, Puebla and Zacatecas.” At the time these attacks were claimed by the “Atatl Group.”¹³⁸³

¹³⁸² Obsidian Point Circle of Attack, “Communique for Package Bomb Sent to the Rector of UNAM”; Wild Reaction, “Kill or Die” Group, “First communique of Wild Reaction (RS).”

¹³⁸³ Wild Reaction, “Kill or Die” Group, “First communique of Wild Reaction (RS).”

2.4 - Chronology of attacks: Phoenix Campaign #1-16

1. 7 June 2013: The “Conspiracy of Cells of Fire-FAI/IRF, Consciousness Gangs-FAI/IRF, Sole–Baleno Cell”¹³⁸⁴ claimed responsibility for the bombing of a car belonging to Maria Stefi, the director of the prison where members of the CCF were being held.
2. 22 June 2013: The “International Conspiracy for Revenge/FAI”¹³⁸⁵ claim responsibility for the bombing of a car belonging to a “hated prison guard in Argos, Greece.”
3. 26 June 2013: The “Anger Unit of the International Conspiracy for Revenge/FAI-IRF”¹³⁸⁶ claimed responsibility for the arson of a Sheraton Hotel.
4. 14 July 2013: The sending of a mailed IED to a former commander of an anti-terrorist police division. The attack was claimed by “Commando Mauricio Morales - FAI/IRF.”¹³⁸⁷
5. 28 August 2013: The “International Conspiracy for Revenge-FAI/IRF” claims responsibility for the arson of a police training facility in Balikpapan, Indonesia.¹³⁸⁸
6. 8 October 2013: The “CCF-FAI/IRF Ryo Cell” claims responsibility for a mailed IED sent to the chief prosecutor in the CCF case in Greece. The authors write: “Let this attack become an invitation for such acts of revenge, to all, inside and out of the prison walls... Lets all attack them with whatever everyone can. From beatings and arsons up to bombs and executions. Only in this way will they understand there is a war.”¹³⁸⁹
7. 2 October 2013: The ELF/FAI claims responsibility for the arson of a sawmill adjacent to a hunting resort in Western Russia. The attackers write, “we suggest this

¹³⁸⁴ Conspiracy of Cells of Fire-FAI/IRF, Consciousness Gangs-FAI/IRF, and Sole-Baleno Cell, “Responsibility Claim for Explosive Attack on Vehicle of the Koridallos Prisons Director, in the District of Dafni.”

¹³⁸⁵ International Conspiracy for Revenge/FAI, “Explosion Destroys the Personal Car of a Prison Guard – ICR / FAI Take Responsibility as Part of Phoenix Project.”

¹³⁸⁶ International Conspiracy for Revenge/FAI-IRF and Anger Unit, “Anger Unit / ICR-FAI-IRF Burn down the Third Floor of Former Sheraton Hotel, ‘The Media Hotel and Tower.’”

¹³⁸⁷ Commando Mauricio Morales/FAI-IRF, “‘Commando Mauricio Morales / FAI-IRF’ Takes Responsibility for the Sending of a Parcelbomb to Dimitris Horianopoulos, Scumbag Former Commander of the Anti-Terrorist Division.”

¹³⁸⁸ International Conspiracy for Revenge/FAI-IRF and Free Mandylas and Tsavdaridis Cell, “‘ICR-FAI-IRF / Free Mandylas and Tsavdaridis Cell’ Take Responsibility for the Incendiary Attack against a School for Police in Balikpapan, East Kalimantan” (325.nostate.net, August 28, 2013), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=8682#more-8682>.

¹³⁸⁹ CCF-FAI/IRF and Ryo Cell, “Phoenix Project #6: Parcel Bomb Arrives for Dimitris Mokkalas, Chief Prosecutor in the CCF Case.”

- action to count as out input in PHOENIX project (#7), a project for the revival of direct action acts and anarchist resistance after repression of 2010-2012.”¹³⁹⁰
8. 16 November 2013: The “Ilya Romannov Cell”¹³⁹¹ attacked the Board of Elections Office in Santiago, Chile with what they describe as an “incendiary/explosive” device.¹³⁹²
 9. 18 November 2013: The “Anti-Civilization Faction of the ELF in affinity with the FAI” attacked a church, and two banks with IEDs and IIDs. Their communiqué included a six-verse poem.¹³⁹³
 10. 9 January 2014: The “Sebastian O. Seguel cell”¹³⁹⁴ of the International Conspiracy for Revenge – FAI” detonated an IED atop an ATM in East Java, Indonesia. In their communiqué, the authors describe their attack writing: “We blew up one of your money machine with our small explosive creation. We made the bomb with our limited knowledge about it from many different sources. We want you and your abiding citizens know if we will never let our limitations bound our desire to continually address our anger to all of you.”¹³⁹⁵
 11. 8 April 2014: The “Autonomous Cell Christos Kassimis”, in what they term “smoke signals from Berlin,” claim responsibility for several arson attacks. These targeted “a vehicle of the municipal regulatory authority, and the car of a security company...[and] an embassy vehicle belonging to a Greek female diplomat.”
 12. April-May 2014: The “International Conspiracy for Revenge-FAI/IRF” claim responsibility for multiple arson attacks throughout Indonesia. Targets included “two

¹³⁹⁰ ELF/FAI, Nestor Makhno Commando, “Phoenix Project #7: ELF/FAI Burn down Sawmill at Hunting Resort in Bryansk – ‘Some Thoughts on Recent Issues with FAI/IRF’” (From Russia With Love (republished by 325.nostate.net), October 5, 2013), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=9038>.

¹³⁹¹ Romanov is a 46-year-old Russian anarchist, released from prison in 2012 after 10 years, who was injured in 2013 when an incendiary device he was transporting malfunctioned and tore of his hand.

¹³⁹² Ilya Romanov Cell, “Phoenix Project #8 – Action with Incendiary/explosive Device against a Board of Elections Office and in Solidarity with Mónica Caballero and Francisco Solar.”

¹³⁹³ Anti-Civilization Faction and ELF/FAI, “Phoenix Project #9: ‘Anti-Civilization Faction – ELF/FAI’ Takes Responsibility for Several Explosive Attacks against Banks & Church,” trans. War on Society (Contra Info (republished by 325.nostate.net), January 1, 2014), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=9357#more-9357>.

¹³⁹⁴ Sebastian Oversluij Seguel was a 26-year-old Chilean insurrectionist killed 11 December 2013 by security guards while attempting to rob a state-run bank in Santiago.

¹³⁹⁵ International Conspiracy for Revenge/FAI and Sebastian O. Seguel Cell, “Phoenix Project #10: Malang, East Java – ATM Bank Bombed by Sebastian O. Seguel Cell / ICR-FAI” (325.nostate.net, January 11, 2014), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=9449>.

- offices of the general election committee”, “two cars...planned to transfer the ballots”, the “national electric company” and “three power plants.”¹³⁹⁶
13. May 2014: The “Conspiracy of Black Fire – FAI/FRI¹³⁹⁷” in Italy claim responsibility for the attempted arson and sabotage of a gasoline pump, as well as the unspecified ‘targeting’ of ATMs.¹³⁹⁸
 14. 9-10 June 2014: The “Live Wire FAI/ELF” in England claim responsibility for the arson of seven “mobile phone antennae.”¹³⁹⁹
 15. 26 March 2015: The “FAI/IRF Poetry of Fire cell” in the Czech Republic claim responsibility of the arson of a police car. The communiqué authors describe the open nature of Phoenix Project, describing it as, “[a] creative game played according to our rules. Everyone can join the game. Everyone can leave the game. When nobody plays the game it will cease to exist.”¹⁴⁰⁰
 16. 7 April 2015: The “Arsonist Anarchist Attack, ‘Fire and Consciousness’ Cell (FAI/IRF) – Chile” claim responsibility for placing a timed IID in the offices of a meat company. The attackers spoke of an anti-speciesist motivation and remarked, “The reasons are clear and abound. When we decided to fight for Liberation, we assume struggle in a full and complete way, without hierarchy between species.”¹⁴⁰¹

¹³⁹⁶ International Conspiracy for Revenge/FAI-IRF, “Phoenix Project #12 : ICR – FAI/IRF Take Responsibility for Arson Barrage in Solidarity with Adriano Antonacci, Gianluca Iocavacci, Other Worldwide Anarchist Prisoners and the Combative Memory of Sebastian O. Seguel.”

¹³⁹⁷ “FRI” is likely an alternative translation of “IRF”, the International Revolutionary Front.

¹³⁹⁸ Conspiracy of Black Fire - FAI-FRI, “Phoenix Project #13.”

¹³⁹⁹ Live Wires FAI/ELF, “Phoenix Project #14: ‘Live Wires FAI/ELF’ Take Responsibility for 4 Arsons against Bristol’s Cellular Transmission Infrastructure over 24 Hours.”

¹⁴⁰⁰ FAI/IRF Poetry of Fire cell, “Project Phoenix 2015 ‘Let’s Destroy Repression’: Arson of Police Vehicle by ‘FAI/IRF – Poetry of Fire Cell’” (325.nostate.net, March 30, 2015), <http://325.nostate.net/?p=15668>.

¹⁴⁰¹ Arsonist Anarchist Attack. “Fire and Consciousness” Cell (FAI-IRF) - Chile, “Phoenix Project 2015: Attack against Animal Exploitation Company by ‘Arsonist Anarchist Attack – Fire and Consciousness Cell – FAI/IRF.’”

Appendix Table 3.1 - Attacks claimed by the ALF and ELF, 1970-2010

Chosen moniker	Translated moniker	# of attacks	Country
ALF (Animal Liberation Front)	ALF	2140	UK
ALF (Animal Liberation Front)	ALF	1734	USA
DBF (Djurens BefrielseFronts)	ALF	656	Sweden
FLAM (Frente de Liberación Animal)	ALF	427	Mexico
ELF (Earth Liberation Front)	ELF	290	*global
TBF (Tier Befreiungs Front)	ALF	244	Germany
FLA (Le Front pour la Liberation des Animaux)	ALF	233	France
ALF (Animal Liberation Front)	ALF	169	New Zealand
FLA (Frente de Liberación Animal)	ALF	161	Spain
ALF (Animal Liberation Front)	ALF	145	Ireland
FLA (Fronte Liberazione Animale)	ALF	142	Italy
DBF (Dieren Bevrijdings Front)	ALF	113	Netherlands
RALF (Russian Animal Liberation Front)	ALF	90	Russia
ALF (Animal Liberation Front)	ALF	87	Canada
ALF/ELF jointly	ALF/ELF	69	*global
TBF (Tier Befreiungs Front)	ALF	65	Austria
DFF (Dyrenes Frigjørings Front)	ALF	63	Norway
FWZ (Front Wyzwolenia Zwierzat Polska)	ALF	61	Poland
ALF (Animal Liberation Front)	ALF	56	Belgium
ALF (Animal Liberation Front)	ALF	53	Australia
EVR (Eläinten Vapautus Rintama)	ALF	43	Finland
TBF (Tier Befreiungs Front)	ALF	41	Switzerland
FLA (Frente de Liberación Animal)	ALF	35	Chile
ALF	ALF	30	Czech Republic
FLA (Fronte Liberazione Animale)	ALF	14	Argentina
ALF	ALF	14	Estonia
ALF	ALF	8	Denmark
ALF	ALF	7	Uruguay
ALF	ALF	7	Israel
ALF (Animal Liberation Front)	ALF	6	*online
FLA (Frente de Libertação Animal)	ALF	6	Brazil
FLA (Frente de Liberación Animal)	ALF	5	Colombia
ALF	ALF	5	Croatia
Gaelic Earth Liberation Front	ELF	3	Ireland
ALF	ALF	2	Slovakia
ALF	ALF	2	South Africa
ALF	ALF	1	Iceland
ALF	ALF	1	Malaysia
ALF	ALF	1	Romania
Provisional ALF	ALF	1	UK
ALF	ALF	1	Japan
TOTAL		7231	36 countries

Appendix Table 4.1: Key to identifying corpora	
Corpus A	Global communiqué corpus of 960 <i>communiqués</i>
Corpus B	Mexican communiqué corpus of 65 <i>communiqués</i>
Corpus C	Global corpus comprised of letters, statements and other documents.
Corpus D	United States communiqué corpus of 133 <i>communiqués</i>

Appendix Table 4.2: Communiqué quantity, words per communiqué, global comparison

Rank (# of communiqués)	Country	# of communiqués	Total words	Average words/communiqué (AWC)	Rank (AWC)
6	Argentina	53	15,432	291	10
11	Australia	23	4,308	187	14
	Belarus	3	562	187	
	Belgium	3	1,137	379	
13	Bolivia	13	6,628	510	3
*	Brazil	4	2,053	513	
8	Canada	35	6,873	196	13
4	Chile	72	34,149	474	4
	Costa Rica	1	290	290	
	Croatia	2	759	380	
	Czech Republic	2	371	186	
	Denmark	1	189	189	
	Ecuador	1	619	619	
	Egypt	1	114	114	
	Finland	9	1,978	220	
12	France	22	3,452	157	15
7	Germany	44	12,351	281	11
1	Greece	166	122,803	740	2
10	Indonesia	24	9,585	399	6
10	Italy	24	10,454	436	5
	Luxembourg	1	314	314	

5	Mexico	65	73,173	1,126	1
	Netherlands	6	1,134	189	
	Peru	8	2,823	353	
	Philippines	1	101	101	
	Poland	4	2,044	511	
	Portugal	2	84	42	
9	Russia	34	8,129	239	12
6	Spain	58	22,383	386	7
	Sweden	4	635	159	
	Switzerland	2	142	71	
	Turkey	4	1,312	328	
	Ukraine	2	1,001	501	
3	United Kingdom	129	38,773	301	9
	Uruguay	7	1,146	164	
2	United States	133	44,077	339	8
Total # of communiqués: 963					

Black cells: not a significant enough sample (less than 10) to calculate. Not included in “Average # communiqués per country” and “Average # words per communiqué”

Appendix Table 4.3: Word frequencies, complete corpus [Corpus A]

RANK	Frequency	Word	Notes
1	30648	THE	
2	18235	OF	
3	14111	AND	
4	11005	TO	
5	9912	IN	
6	7106	WE	PRONOUN #1
7	6769	A	
8	5158	THAT	
9	4715	FOR	
10	4541	IS	
11	4020	WITH	
12	3293	ON	
13	3184	ARE	
14	3153	OUR	PRONOUN #2
15	3027	THIS	
16	2731	AS	
17	2517	NOT	
18	2466	IT	
19	2140	BY	
20	2061	THEIR	PRONOUN #3
21	2043	WHO	
22	1903	ALL	
23	1898	THEY	PRONOUN #4
24	1722	FROM	
25	1654	WAS	
26	1653	HAVE	
27	1621	AT	
28	1592	WILL	
29	1581	BE	
30	1470	AGAINST	CONCEPTUAL #1
31	1345	AN	
32	1343	OR	
33	1298	WHICH	
34	1240	US	
35	1167	BUT	
36	1159	SOLIDARITY	CONCEPTUAL #2
37	1046	ATTACK	CONCEPTUAL #3...also 'attacks', 'attacked'
38	1030	THOSE	
39	1027	ACTION	CONCEPTUAL #4

40	1020	ONE	
41	1002	YOU	
42	996	POLICE	CONCEPTUAL #5...also cops/pigs/etc. TARGETING #1
43	980	SOURCE	
44	964	STATE	TARGETING #2
45	963	WERE	
46	945	ITS	
47	911	MORE	
48	869	THEM	
49	839	DO	
50**	834	ALSO	
52	807	SYSTEM	CONCEPTUAL #6 TARGETING #3
53	803	THESE	
54	802	SO	
55	798	HAS	
56	790	OUT	
57	789	ONLY	
58	773	COMRADES	
59	761	FIRE	
60	760	SOCIAL	
61	759	ANARCHIST	SELF/OTHER #1...also 'anarchists;
62	714	PEOPLE	
63	702	STRUGGLE	
64	695	TIME	
65	661	THERE	
66	651	WORLD	
67	645	BECAUSE	
68	637	NO	
69	631	SOME	
70	621	WHAT	
71	588	INTO	
72	584	UP	
73	577	CAN	
74	572	SOCIETY	TARGETING #4
75	569	OTHER	
77	557	NEW	
78	555	LIFE	

79	540	BANK	TARGETING #5...also 'banks'
80	540	REVOLUTIONARY	SELF/OTHER #2
81	533	NOW	
82	529	WHEN	
83	528	WAR	
84	525	PRISON	
86	512	LIKE	
87	501	BEEN	
88	500	FREEDOM	
89	498	ANY	
90	492	YOUR	
91	490	MANY	
92	486	EVERY	
93	483	HIS	
94	480	BEING	
95	467	ORDER	
96	466	IF	
97	462	SAME	
98	450	NIGHT	
99	447	ACTIONS	
100	443	POWER	
101	440	EVEN	
102	436	THROUGH	
103	436	TWO	
104	427	ATTACKED	
105	424	WOULD	
106	423	CELLS	
107	415	PRISONERS	
108	412	WELL	
109	408	INTERNATIONAL	
110	406	ABOUT	
111	405	MAY	
112	402	ATTACKS	
113	402	MAKE	
114	394	WHERE	
115	390	WAY	
116	385	ANARCHISTS	
117	385	CAPITAL	
118	385	WANT	
119	383	JUST	
120	377	WITHOUT	

121	369	HAD	
122	368	WHILE	
123	364	OVER	
124	363	KNOW	
125	363	SINCE	
126	357	FAI	GROUP #1
127	352	AFTER	
128	346	PART	
129	345	CLAIM	
130	341	GREECE	COUNTRY #1
131	341	THAN	
132	340	LIVE	
133	339	TAKE	
134	333	STREET	
135	331	DAY	
136	329	POLITICAL	
137	325	FRONT	
138	323	SECURITY	
139	321	SUCH	
140	314	PRISONS	
141	313	ACT	
142	313	RESPONSIBILITY	
143	310	IMPRISONED	
145	307	ANTI	
146	300	MOST	
147	299	HE	PRONOUN
148	295	OURSELVES	
149	292	CITY	
150	292	LONG	
151	291	OWN	
152	287	NET	
153	285	ALWAYS	
154	283	FIRST	
155	281	HUMAN	
156	281	SEE	
157	279	MEXICO	COUNTRY #2
158	272	FIGHT	
159	270	LAST	
160	270	YEARS	
161	269	ANOTHER	
162	269	MEANS	
163	268	BEFORE	

164	264	GREEK	
165	264	INFORMAL	
166	263	I	
167	263	NOSTATE	
168	263	WINDOWS	
169	261	MADE	
170	260	BANKS	
171	260	INCENDIARY	
172	260	THEN	
173	259	THEMSELVES	
174	258	CELL	
175	258	NEVER	
176	256	AROUND	
177	256	ECONOMIC	
178	254	LIVES	
179	253	DESTRUCTION	
180	249	CONSPIRACY	
181	248	UNDER	
182	247	SET	
183	246	CAPITALISM	
184	246	NOTHING	
185	245	LEFT	
186	242	HOW	
187	241	DURING	
188	240	WITHIN	
189	237	BACK	
190	233	DEATH	
191	233	DOMINATION	
192	232	CIVILIZATION	
193	232	DON'T	
194	232	NOR	
195	231	CHILE	COUNTRY #3
196	230	COPS	
197	230	SHOULD	
198	230	WORK	
199	229	ATHENS	CITY #1
200	229	EACH	
201	228	CONTINUE	
202	228	MUCH	
203	227	AGAIN	
204	227	SMALL	
205	226	STRIKE	

206	225	COMPANY	
207	224	TOTAL	
208	223	FEDERATION	
209	223	GROUP	
210	223	IT'S	
211	222	CRISIS	
212	222	GO	
213	222	PLACE	
214	221	DID	
215	221	DIRECT	
216	221	EARTH	
217	221	END	
218	218	EVERYTHING	
219	216	CONTROL	
220	216	FEW	
221	215	MARKET	
222	214	INFO	
223	211	PUBLIC	
224	211	VIOLENCE	
225	210	USE	
226	209	STILL	
227	208	DOWN	
228	207	FREE	
229	207	STREETS	
230	206	DOES	
231	206	GROUPS	
232	205	CASE	
233	204	AUTHORITY	
234	204	GET	
235	204	WILD	
236	201	SAY	
237	200	BELIEVE	
238	200	COMRADE	
239	200	INDIVIDUALS	
240	199	USED	
241	198	ALREADY	
242	198	DEVICE	
243	198	NATIONAL	
244	198	REPRESSION	
245	197	CAPITALIST	
246	197	LIBERATION	
248	197	VERY	

249	196	EARLY	
250	196	OFF	
251	195	CAR	
252	195	ITSELF	
253	193	CALL	
254	193	TODAY	
255	192	ARSON	
256	190	HERE	
257	190	INDUSTRIAL	
258	189	YEAR	
259	188	HOURS	
260	186	APRIL	
261	186	AREA	
262	186	CONTRA	
263	186	DECIDED	
264	186	MARCH	
265	185	COULD	
266	184	WORDS	
267	181	EXPLOSIVE	
268	181	PUT	
269	181	STRENGTH	
270	181	UNTIL	
271	180	COM	
272	180	WHY	
273	178	MUST	
274	178	RIGHT	
275	177	GOVERNMENT	
276	177	TECHNOLOGY	
277	176	ANARCHY	
278	176	CARS	
279	175	BETWEEN	
280	175	SEND	
281	174	CLEAR	
282	173	LET	
283	173	SABOTAGE	
284	172	INSIDE	
285	172	OTHERS	
286	171	FINANCIAL	
287	171	NATURE	
288	170	DIFFERENT	
289	169	BUILDING	
290	168	ST	

291	167	DAYS	
292	167	FACE	
293	166	AM	
294	166	BOMB	
295	166	COMMUNIQUE	
296	164	PAINT	
297	163	CLASS	
298	163	COME	
299	163	DECEMBER	
300	163	ENEMY	
301	163	WHOLE	
302	162	ARRESTED	
303	162	FIND	
304	162	MEMBERS	
305	162	SUPPORT	
306	161	DESTROY	
307	161	FEAR	
308	159	KEEP	
309	158	CARRIED	
310	158	MEDIA	
311	157	GIVE	
312	157	STOP	
313	156	INFORMATION	
314	156	MONEY	
315	154	BLACK	
316	154	SAID	
317	153	CALLED	
318	153	SELF	
319	153	STATION	
320	152	DE	
321	152	LAW	
322	151	COMPANIES	
323	151	REALITY	
324	150	SMASHED	
326	148	ARMED	
327	147	BOTH	
328	147	SOMETHING	
329	146	OFFICE	
330	145	INDIVIDUAL	
331	145	STOCK	
332	145	TOOK	
333	144	AWAY	

334	144	BECOME	
335	144	ORGANIZATION	
336	142	LARGE	
337	141	CONDITIONS	
338	141	HUNGER	
339	140	BRISTOL	
340	140	DEVELOPMENT	
341	140	HANDS	
342	140	SPREAD	
343	140	VEHICLES	
344	139	BROTHERS	
345	139	ETC	
346	139	KNOWN	
347	139	NEXT	
348	138	HIM	
349	138	THUS	
350	137	BEHIND	
351	137	DAILY	
352	137	EXPLOITATION	
353	137	FAR	
354	137	FEBRUARY	
355	137	JUNE	
356	136	ANIMALS	
357	136	EVERYONE	
358	136	LOCATED	
359	136	LOVE	
360	136	ONCE	
361	136	RAGE	
362	135	DONE	
363	135	LITTLE	
364	135	ONES	
365	133	COURSE	
366	133	OUTSIDE	
367	132	HER	
368	132	INSTITUTIONS	
369	132	MORNING	
370	132	PRIVATE	
371	131	TARGET	
372	131	THREE	
373	130	DESTROYED	
374	130	FACT	
375	130	GOOD	

376	130	REVOLUTION	
377	130	TECHNOLOGICAL	
378	129	LIVING	
379	129	MOMENT	
380	128	CANNOT	
381	128	REASON	
382	128	SEVERAL	
383	128	THINK	
384	127	GOING	
385	127	HIGH	
386	127	JANUARY	
387	126	FEEL	
388	126	HAVING	
389	126	POINT	
390	126	SIDE	
391	124	ACCUSED	
392	124	MILITARY	
393	124	POSSIBLE	
394	123	COUNTRIES	
395	123	THINGS	
396	122	FORM	
397	122	OCTOBER	
398	121	RESPONSIBLE	
400	120	OFFICES	
401	119	ANONYMOUS	
402	119	BETTER	
403	119	FIGHTING	
404	119	NECESSARY	
405	119	NOVEMBER	
406	119	TAKEN	
407	118	LA	
408	118	MASS	
409	118	NEED	
410	117	ANYONE	
411	117	SHOW	
412	116	PROJECT	
413	115	ALTHOUGH	
414	115	BRANCH	
415	115	BURNED	
416	115	EVERYWHERE	
417	114	FRIENDS	
418	114	IDEAS	

419	114	PAST	
420	114	WALLS	
421	113	BOMBS	
422	113	EXAMPLE	
423	113	PROFITS	
424	113	RESISTANCE	
425	112	FORGET	
426	112	PROPERTY	
427	111	FUTURE	
428	111	HISTORY	
429	111	PARTY	
430	111	REAL	
431	111	VEHICLE	
432	110	HOWEVER	
433	110	REMAIN	
434	110	TIMES	
435	110	TOWARD	
437	109	CHANGE	
438	109	COUNTRY	
439	109	TOWARDS	
440	108	ATMS	TARGET
441	108	DUE	
442	108	MOVEMENT	
443	107	ANYTHING	
444	107	FASCIST	
446	107	TOO	
447	106	FUCK	
448	106	PEACE	
449	106	THOUSANDS	
450	105	AUTONOMOUS	
451	105	BASED	
452	105	NAME	
453	105	THEREFORE	
454	105	WORKERS	
455	104	AUTHORITARIAN	SELF/OTHER
456	104	FORCES	
457	104	MEMORY	
458	104	TARGETS	
460	103	CCF	GROUP
461	103	FORCE	
462	103	IRF	GROUP
463	102	AUGUST	

464	102	COMPLETELY	
465	102	HOPE	
466	102	IMMEDIATE	
467	101	ANIMAL	
468	101	ATM	TARGET
469	101	FOUND	
470	101	GENERAL	
471	101	GOT	
472	101	GREETINGS	
473	101	MODERN	
474	101	NEITHER	
475	101	PRESENT	
476	101	RECENT	
477	101	TRIAL	
478	101	VARIOUS	
479	100	AGO	
481	100	EVER	
482	100*	STAND	

*All other words = <100 occurrences

**Several rows were removed from the chart. These rows represented single letter/symbol errors created by formatting and file conversion. Words whose rows were removed are [written as “word/frequency rank”]: 🍏/51, th/76, Û/85, s/144, n/247, Í/325, g/399, i/436, m/445, Ò/459, e/480

Appendix Table 4.4: Word frequencies, complete corpus [Corpus C]

RANK	Frequency	Word	Notes
1	36353	THE	
2	21367	OF	
3	17160	AND	
4	13768	TO	
5	10741	IN	
6	8359	A	
7	6641	THAT	
8	6020	IS	
9	4846	WE	PRONOUN #1
10	4597	FOR	
11	3993	WITH	
12	3647	ARE	
13	3588	IT	
14	3527	AS	
15	3327	THIS	
16	3144	NOT	
17	3033	ON	
18	2913	OUR	PRONOUN #2
19	2677	I	PRONOUN #3
20	2559	FROM	
21	2524	BY	
22	2500	WHO	
23	2458	THEY	
24	2455	THEIR	
25	2238	BE	
26	2107	HAVE	
27	2080	ALL	
28	1995	OR	
29	1916	AN	
30	1851	WHICH	
31	1792	BUT	
32	1728	US	
33	1715	WAS	
34	1678	WILL	
35	1642	AGAINST	CONCEPT
36	1408	YOU	
37	1406	AT	
38	1372	THOSE	
39	1322	STRUGGLE	CONCEPT
40	1252	ONE	

41	1216	ITS	
42	1210	MORE	
43	1210	STATE	
44	1190	MY	
45	1127	SOCIAL	CONCEPT
46	1092	ANARCHIST	CONCEPT
47	1086	HAS	
48	1077	PEOPLE	
49	1046	SOLIDARITY	
50	1034	THEM	
51	1013	ONLY	
52	1012	PRISON	
53	1005	COMRADES	
54	971	WERE	
55	943	THESE	
56	937	DO	
57	933	ALSO	
58	911	OTHER	
59	911	THERE	
60	881	CAN	
61	879	BECAUSE	
62	873	SO	
63	865	WHAT	
64	840	POLICE	
65	834	IF	
66	832	WHEN	
67	812	NO	
68	775	POLITICAL	
69	754	BEEN	
70	750	ABOUT	
71	730	ANY	
72	726	ME	
73	725	TIME	
74	720	EVEN	
75	712	POWER	
76	712	UP	
77	701	OUT	
78	685	REVOLUTIONARY	
79	684	ACTION	
80	675	INTO	
81	668	SOME	
82	648	EVERY	

83	635	LIFE	
84	628	ORDER	
85	625	WOULD	
86	619	LIKE	
87	618	NOW	
88	618	SYSTEM	
89	601	NEW	
90	601	WORLD	
91	590	BEING	
92	586	SAME	
93	574	WITHOUT	
94	570	MANY	
95	568	WAY	
97	564	THROUGH	
98	552	WHERE	
99	546	SOCIETY	
100	539	WELL	
101	531	WAR	
102	529	THAN	
103	513	PRISONERS	
104	502	WANT	
105	501	HAD	
106	499	AFTER	
107	497	YOUR	
108	492	FREEDOM	
109	484	OWN	
110	481	HIS	
111	469	SINCE	
112	467	ANARCHISTS	
114	459	YEARS	
115	457	WHILE	
116	445	ATTACK	
118	439	NEVER	
119	438	HE	
120	435	MAKE	
121	431	KNOW	
122	428	TAKE	
123	425	PART	
124	411	DAY	
125	408	EACH	
126	407	MOST	
127	406	GREECE	

128	406	SHOULD	
129	397	ANTI	
130	396	HOW	
131	392	JUST	
132	392	SUCH	
133	390	CASE	
134	388	ALWAYS	
135	384	PRISONS	
136	382	DON'T	
137	377	OVER	
138	372	ACTIONS	
139	369	FIRE	
140	363	CELLS	
141	359	FIRST	
142	358	GREEK	
143	353	LIVE	
144	353	REPRESSION	
145	351	ECONOMIC	
146	342	LONG	
147	335	ORGANIZATION	
148	334	HERE	
149	332	WITHIN	
150	331	MEANS	
151	329	MEDIA	
152	327	ANOTHER	
153	326	FIGHT	
154	322	VERY	
155	321	MUCH	
156	320	PLACE	
157	318	BETWEEN	
158	314	END	
159	314	MUST	
160	312	SUPPORT	
161	312	THEMSELVES	
162	311	LIVES	
163	311	MAY	
164	309	THEN	
165	308	AUTHORITY	
166	308	COMRADE	
167	306	DURING	
168	305	NOTHING	
169	303	ITSELF	

170	303	PUBLIC	
171	302	TODAY	
172	296	MADE	
173	296	TWO	
174	292	FACT	
175	292	MOVEMENT	
176	283	BEFORE	
177	283	COPS	
178	283	SELF	
179	282	AM	
180	282	NOR	
181	282	WORDS	
182	279	AGAIN	
183	279	IMPRISONED	
184	279	IT'S	
185	279	VIOLENCE	
186	278	UNDER	
187	272	INTERNATIONAL	
188	271	DIFFERENT	
189	271	DOES	
190	271	OTHERS	
191	271	OURSELVES	
192	270	CAPITAL	
193	269	CONTINUE	
194	264	STILL	
195	260	DID	
196	259	ENEMY	
197	259	GOVERNMENT	
198	259	SAY	
199	257	GET	
200	255	ATTACKS	
201	252	COULD	
202	250	AROUND	
203	249	COURSE	
204	248	FEW	
205	248	GO	
206	248	STREETS	
207	248	STRIKE	
208	247	EVERYTHING	
210	244	IDEAS	
211	242	ALREADY	
212	242	FREE	

213	242	REVOLUTION	
214	240	SEE	
215	237	BECOME	
216	237	MOMENT	
217	236	UNTIL	
218	235	CONSPIRACY	
219	234	ACT	
220	234	DEATH	
221	234	GROUPS	
222	232	LAST	
223	229	THUS	
224	226	CLASS	
225	225	DAYS	
226	225	PUT	
227	225	WORK	
228	224	RESISTANCE	
229	223	CONDITIONS	
230	223	TRIAL	
231	221	NEED	
232	221	USE	
233	219	ATHENS	
234	219	BACK	
235	219	GIVE	
236	219	WHY	
237	218	INSIDE	
238	218	LETTER	
239	216	CANNOT	
240	216	FEAR	
241	215	SOMETHING	
242	213	FACE	
243	213	THEREFORE	
244	212	CRISIS	
245	212	FIND	
246	212	TOWARDS	
247	211	INDIVIDUAL	
248	210	COME	
249	210	FAI	
250	209	POINT	
251	208	CALL	
252	208	RIGHT	
253	207	THINK	
254	206	CAPITALIST	

255	206	HOWEVER	
256	205	POSSIBLE	
257	204	ARRESTED	
258	204	AWAY	
259	203	CONTROL	
260	203	HUNGER	
261	203	OUTSIDE	
262	203	SECURITY	
263	203	STRUGGLES	
264	202	HUMAN	
265	201	PRESENT	
266	200	DESTRUCTION	
267	198	ANARCHY	
268	198	GROUP	
269	197	HANDS	
270	196	CALLED	
271	196	EVER	
272	194	DOWN	
273	191	BELIEVE	
274	190	AUTHORITARIAN	
275	190	DIRECT	
276	190	LEFT	
277	190	LET	
278	190	ONCE	
279	189	REALITY	
280	189	REVOLT	
281	186	REPRESSIVE	
282	185	FORM	
283	184	CLEAR	
284	184	HER	
285	183	BOTH	
286	183	GOING	
287	181	MARCH	
288	180	MEMBERS	
289	180	SITUATION	
290	179	ARMED	
291	179	COURT	
292	179	INDIVIDUALS	
293	179	KEEP	
294	179	REAL	
295	178	HIM	
296	178	NECESSARY	

297	174	THINGS	
298	174	TIMES	
299	174	TOGETHER	
300	173	CHILE	
301	172	FAR	
302	171	BUILDING	
303	170	ACCUSED	
304	170	EVERYONE	
305	170	OFF	
306	169	CITY	
307	169	LAW	
308	168	DOMINATION	
309	168	FORCES	
310	168	TOTAL	
311	168	WORKERS	
312	167	ONES	
313	167	STRENGTH	
314	167	YEAR	
315	166	EXPLOITATION	
316	166	SIDE	
317	166	STREET	
318	165	BEHIND	
319	165	COUNTRY	
320	165	DAILY	
321	165	DEMOCRACY	
322	165	HAND	
323	165	MONTHS	
324	165	SAID	
325	164	REASON	
326	163	FRONT	
327	162	RESPONSIBILITY	
328	162	STOP	
329	162	TOO	
330	161	CCF	
331	161	IMPORTANT	
332	161	INFORMAL	
333	160	ATTEMPT	
334	159	LIBERATION	
335	159	MASS	
336	159	PRACTICE	
337	159	USED	
338	157	ANYTHING	

339	157	FEEL	
340	156	MILITARY	
341	155	NAME	
343	154	COLLECTIVE	
344	154	COMMON	
345	154	EXAMPLE	
346	153	CAPITALISM	
347	153	RATHER	
348	152	DECEMBER	
349	152	PROJECT	
350	152	REGIME	
351	152	TOOK	
352	151	HAVING	
353	151	SMALL	
354	150	OPEN	
355	150	PRISONER	
356	150	TAKING	
357	149	AMONG	
358	149	ARREST	
359	149	FORCE	
360	149	PROCESS	
361	149	SPACE	
362	149	SPREAD	
363	148	DOESN'T	
364	148	FORMS	
365	148	INFORMATION	
366	148	REMAIN	
367	148	SET	
368	147	HISTORY	
369	147	LIVING	
370	147	THREE	
371	146	ABLE	
372	146	ETC	
373	145	ANYONE	
374	145	FIGHTING	
375	145	NEXT	
376	145	WHOLE	
377	144	FUTURE	
378	144	HELD	
379	144	LEGAL	
380	144	MYSELF	
381	144	NEITHER	

382	143	PERSON	
383	142	SIMPLY	
384	142	WHETHER	
385	140	CELL	
386	140	CERTAIN	
387	140	ORGANIZED	
388	140	POSITION	
389	140	TEXT	
390	139	JANUARY	
391	139	KNOWN	
392	139	SPEAK	
393	138	GOOD	
394	138	STAND	
395	137	ABOVE	
396	137	TRY	
397	137	VIOLENT	
398	136	DESPITE	
399	135	MAKING	
400	135	TERRORIST	
401	135	URBAN	
402	134	ITALY	
403	134	JUNE	
404	134	LESS	
405	134	PAST	
406	133	BASED	
407	133	ROLE	
408	131	GENERAL	
409	131	HIGH	
410	131	SEVERAL	
411	131	WALLS	
412	130	MATTER	
413	130	OPPRESSION	
414	129	GUERRILLA	
415	129	LATER	
416	128	LET'S	
417	128	PROPAGANDA	
418	128	SPACES	
419	127	FOUND	
420	127	FRIENDS	
421	127	STRUCTURES	
422	126	STRONG	
423	125	TAKEN	

424	125	TRYING	
425	124	BROTHERS	
426	124	MEMORY	
427	124	OFTEN	
428	124	RELATIONS	
429	123	AREA	
430	123	GREAT	
431	123	IMPOSED	
432	123	NIGHT	
433	123	PROJECTS	
434	122	SPECIFIC	
435	121	BLACK	
436	121	GIVEN	
437	121	LITTLE	
438	121	QUESTION	
439	120	HOUSE	
440	120	NATIONAL	
441	119	BOSES	
442	119	CONDITION	
443	119	ESCAPE	
444	119	LOVE	
445	118	DECIDED	
446	118	SHOW	
447	117	BIG	
448	117	VALUES	
449	117	VARIOUS	
450	116	ACCORDING	
451	116	CONSTANT	
452	116	DUE	
453	116	INSTEAD	
454	116	JUSTICE	
455	116	LEAST	
456	116	POOR	
457	116	THOUSANDS	
458	115	ALONG	
459	115	IDEA	
460	115	SHE	
461	115	SILENCE	
462	114	CHOICE	
463	114	CREATE	
464	114	EVENTS	
465	114	HEART	

466	114	LOOK	
467	114	MEXICO	
468	114	TERRORISM	
469	113	ENEMIES	
470	113	LOCAL	
471	113	STATEMENT	
472	113	TRUE	
473	113	UNDERSTAND	
474	112	DECISION	
475	112	MONEY	
476	112	OLD	
477	112	PATH	
478	112	PERMANENT	
479	112	RAGE	
480	111	AUTHORITIES	
481	111	ESPECIALLY	
482	111	FEBRUARY	
483	111	FINALLY	
484	110	ALONE	
485	110	BREAK	
486	110	DIGNITY	
487	110	I'M	
488	110	LEAVE	
489	110	REALLY	
491	109	AFFINITY	
492	109	LARGE	
493	109	SPECIAL	
494	108	EXISTENCE	
495	107	BEGINNING	
496	107	CARRIED	
497	107	ENOUGH	
498	107	PLACES	
499	106	ACTS	
500	106	COUNTRIES	
501	106	FOLLOWING	
502	106	HAPPENED	
503	106	IMPRISONMENT	
504	106	KIND	
505	106	MAKES	
506	106	NOVEMBER	
507	106	SEND	
508	106	WHOSE	

509	106	YET	
510	105	CONSIDER	
511	105	DIDN'T	
512	105	TURN	
514	104	PARTICULAR	
515	103	ANARCHISM	
516	103	ENTIRE	
517	103	EXPERIENCES	
518	103	HOURS	
519	103	SENSE	
520	103	SOMEONE	
521	102	CAME	
522	102	EITHER	
523	102	IMMIGRANTS	
524	102	NATURE	
525	102	SISTERS	
526	102	THING	
527	101	CASES	
528	101	NEWS	
529	101	NON	
530	101	PARTY	
531	101	TERROR	
532	100	BANK	
533	100	COMES	
534	100	DEVELOPMENT	
535	100	WANTED	

*All other words = <100 occurrences

**Several rows were removed from the chart. These rows represented single letter/symbol errors created by formatting and file conversion. Words whose rows were removed are [written as "word/frequency rank"]: *ä*/96, *th*/113, *û*/117, *s*/209, *í*/342, *ò*/490, *c*/513

Appendix Table 4.5: Word frequencies, Mexican corpus [Corpus B]

RANK	Frequency	Word	Notes
1	4972	THE	
2	3053	OF	
3	2324	AND	
4	1940	TO	
5	1665	IN	
6	1345	THAT	
7	1303	WE	PRONOUN #1
8	1089	A	
9	982	IS	
10	753	FOR	
11	743	WITH	
12	651	THIS	
13	638	NOT	
14	622	ARE	
15	586	IT	
16	490	AS	
17	462	HAVE	
18	454	OUR	PRONOUN #2
19	440	THEY	PRONOUN #3
20	407	OR	
21	388	ON	
22	360	WHO	
23	354	BE	
24	347	THEIR	
25	344	BY	
26	313	AGAINST	CONCEPT #1
27	300	WHICH	
28	298	ALL	
29	289	FROM	
30	287	WILL	
31	285	SYSTEM	CONCEPT #2
32	280	BUT	
33	247	AN	
34	240	ONE	
35	216	HAS	
36	216	MEXICO	
37	214	THESE	
38	212	US	
39	210	DO	
40	200	AT	

42	196	WHAT	
43	194	WAS	
44	185	MORE	
45	183	ITS	
46	180	ONLY	
47	178	ANARCHIST	CONCEPT #3
48	175	THOSE	
49	171	WOULD	
50	169	SO	
51	168	STATE	CONCEPT #4
52	154	SOME	
53	151	ATTACK	CONCEPT #5
54	151	BECAUSE	
55	148	THEM	
56	144	CIVILIZATION	
57	141	ACTION	
58	136	SOLIDARITY	
59	136	THERE	
60	132	ALSO	
61	125	FIRE	
62	125	STRUGGLE	
63	125	TECHNOLOGY	
64	124	MANY	
65	124	SINCE	
66	120	CELLS	
67	120	PEOPLE	
68	119	YOU	
69	118	HIS	
70	118	INDUSTRIAL	
71	118	WILD	
72	117	CAN	
73	113	LIFE	
74	112	IF	
75	110	OTHER	
76	109	SOCIETY	
77	106	HUMAN	
78	104	LIKE	
79	102	CITY	
80	102	WITHIN	
81	101	BEEN	
82	101	BEING	
83	101	DOMINATION	

84	101	NATURE	
85	101	WITHOUT	
86	100	ORDER	
87	100	WAR	
88	99	WANT	
89	98	OUT	
90	96	SAME	
91	96	TECHNOLOGICAL	
92	96	WORLD	
93	95	ACTIONS	
94	95	INTO	
95	89	MAKE	
96	89	SOCIAL	
97	88	NOW	
98	87	WERE	
99	86	ATTACKS	
100	86	EVEN	
101	86	TIME	
102	85	WAY	
103	80	ANY	
104	80	NEW	
105	80	POLICE	
106	79	COMRADES	
107	78	EXPLOSIVE	
108	78	FREEDOM	
109	77	WHEN	
110	76	INDIVIDUALS	
111	75	KNOW	
112	75	SAID	
113	74	HE	
114	74	POWER	
115	73	OURSELVES	
116	72	NO	
117	72	NOR	
118	70	DIRECT	
119	70	EARTH	
120	70	LIVE	
121	70	SAY	
122	70	TWO	
123	68	DESTRUCTION	
124	68	GROUP	
125	68	TOWARD	

126	67	UP	
128	66	THAN	
129	66	THEMSELVES	
130	65	ANTI	
131	65	SUCH	
132	64	LIBERATION	
133	64	REALITY	
134	64	TECHNO	
135	63	ANARCHISTS	
136	63	CAPITAL	
137	63	ETC	
138	62	ALWAYS	
139	62	ANOTHER	
140	62	DOES	
141	62	GROUPS	
142	62	PART	
143	61	ABOUT	
144	61	MEANS	
145	61	VERY	
146	60	CLAIM	
147	60	CONTINUE	
148	59	EVERYTHING	
149	59	MADE	
151	58	PACKAGE	
152	58	SEE	
153	58	WHERE	
154	57	IDEAS	
155	56	INFORMAL	
156	56	NANOTECHNOLOGY	
157	56	TAKE	
158	56	USE	
159	56	WELL	
160	55	HAD	
161	54	BELIEVE	
162	54	INDIVIDUAL	
163	54	MAY	
164	54	TOTAL	
165	53	DEVELOPMENT	
166	53	NATURAL	
167	52	ALTHOUGH	
168	52	DAY	
169	52	FIRST	

170	51	COMMUNIQUE	
171	51	DEVICE	
172	51	JUST	
173	50	FAI	

*All other words = <50 occurrences

**Several rows were removed from the chart. These rows represented single letter/symbol errors created by formatting and file conversion. Words whose rows were removed are [written as “word/frequency rank”]: Û/41, n/127, 🍏 /150

US 'Phrase Dataset' [Corpus D]¹⁴⁰²

Group name

1. "some anarchists" (7), "Some anarchists" (1), "Some Anarchists" (2): 10
2. "Anarchists" (7), "anarchists" (2): 9
3. "allied #anonymous and #antisecc vessels", "Antisecc & Anonymous", "Anonymous & Antisecc", "AntiSec... Anonymous" [one used in title, one in body of text], "Antisecc / Anonymous" (2): 6
4. "Antisecc", "ANTISECC... the #OCCUPYWALLST CRACKDOWN RETALIATION TASK FORCE... Anti-Security... #AntiSec", "#AntiSec", "#Antisecc", "AntiSec... #ANTISECC": 5
5. "Anonymous": 2
6. "Animal Liberation Front": 2
7. "(A)": 2
8. "A.A.W. (Anarchists Against Windows)": 1
9. "Portland Anarchists": 1
10. "The Blood Thirsty": 1
11. "some anarchists on the grey coast": 1
12. "A few anarchists": 1
13. "THE RIGHT HONORABLE WICKED STEPMOTHERS' TRAVELING, DRINKING AND DEBATING SOCIETY AND MEN'S AUXILIARY": 1
14. "Rocky Mountain Antifa": 1
15. "The Gordon Shumway Brigade": 1
16. "anarchistcrabpplz": 1
17. "The Terry Merrorista Brigade": 1
18. "some ticked off trannies with knives": 1
19. "Some angry proles": 1
20. "some folks": 1
21. "hooligans": 1
22. "The Malaka Brigade": 1
23. "Vengeance Committee": 1
24. "Matthew Mattison Accountability Committee": 1
25. "The CeCe McDonald Brigade": 1
26. "Network of Wisconsin Snapper Turtles": 1
27. "Queer Attack Squadron": 1

¹⁴⁰² This dataset is based on 133 communiqués.

28. "Some Animals in Human Attire": 1
29. "Brigada Maricones": 1
30. "FAI – OREGON": 1
31. "Friends in struggle": 1
32. no group name listed: 73

Tactical Analysis

Tactics involving paint (or other drawing/writing/coloring substances)

1. "some paint thrown on the facade", "had paint thrown on its exterior", "paint was thrown on", "had paint thrown on it [police car]", "Black paint was also thrown of *[sic]* the facades", "Paint was also splattered on the side of the building", "paint splattered on its facade", "had paint thrown all over its sign", "put... out of commission by splattering paint on it": 9
2. "anti-police graffiti was painted across the buildings *[sic]* facade", "'Dont *[sic]* Fuck With Oakland' being painted", "painted the phrase 'LONG LIVE ANARCHY' on the street-facing garage doors", "painting 'Rapist get out of town' on the front door", "A circle 'A' was painted on the building", "anti-state/anti-capitalist slogans were painted", "anarchist graffiti painted on it": 7
3. "throwing a paint bomb through the shattered window", "gave it a new paint job... Five paint bombs gave the storefront a beautiful facelift", "attacked... with another paint bomb", "paint bombed", "had its windows and walls paint bombed", "was paint bombed": 6
4. "'NO PRISONS (A)' was spray painted on the side of the building", "the words 'Yuppie Scum' spraypainted on the exterior", "had been subject to the vandalism of the trans symbol, circle a's, the largely sprayed proclamation 'Too Many Trans Deaths, Not Enough Dead Pigs' and 20 feet of silver letters across a darkly painted business rooftop reading 'Vengeance for Shelley Hilliard!!!! (A) Bash Back!'", "spraypainting 'Stop Northwest FBI Oppression'" ["visited with knives and spraypaint"], "had a door defaced with spraypaint with another message of solidarity", "spray-painted 'FUCK THE GRAND JURY— <3 FOR PNW (A)'": 6
5. "anti-development slogan *[sic]* written on the wall", "'Against Prison' was written on the building", "wrote, 'Vengeance for Kenny'", "had graffiti written on it with the message, 'Destroy All Prisons (A) FTP (A)'": 4
6. "re-decorated the building with a few anti-snitching slogans", "left two messages. One being a circle A, and the other being ' For Oakland'", "leaving the painted message 'YOU ARE NEVER SAFE. GO LOG IN HELL (A).'", "Leaving where is yr god on the wall *[sic]*": 4

7. “covered the building and windows in black paint”, “had its door and façade covered in paint”, “had windows covered in paint”: 3
8. “attacked... with paint”: 2
9. “had paint thrown on it with the message ‘Oscar Grant was here, Rest In Power Brother’”: 1
10. “spray painting the building”: 1
11. “tagged it with a big ACAB and the words ‘Ya’ll [*sic*] are murderers.’”: 1
12. “cover up the filth [‘Nazi graffiti’] and leave an antifascist message” [accompanying pictures show use of spraypaint]: 1
13. “took extinguisher paint to [targets], damaging the buildings, windows, and security cameras”: 1

***Total # of references in attack communiqués to this tactic*¹⁴⁰³: 46**

Tactics involving damage to windows (paint not specified)

1. “A window got smashed”, “3 windows where [*sic*] smashed”, “had all its windows smashed out”, “had their windows smashed”, “had its windows smashed”, “had it’s [*sic*] windows smashed”, “smashed the windows”, “smash out the windows”, “smashed the windows out of” (2), “smashed the windows”, “smashed several windows”, “smashed every window we could”, “Multiple windows were completely smashed”, “smashed out the windows”, “smashed... had multiple windows smashed out”, “3 windows... 2 Windows... smashed”, “smashed out many windows”, “smashed the windows”, “smashed out the front windows”: 20
2. “etching fluid was used to ruin at least three windows”, “etching fluid was thrown onto their windows [of police vehicles]”, “had all of its windows covered in etching fluid”, “corrosive material splattered on its windows”, “the windows were permanently etched”, “had its windows etched out”, “covered the windows and windshields... with glass etching fluid”, “covered the door and 5 windows... with etching fluid”, “windows were etched”: 9
3. “windows broke”, “break all the windows of”, “About a dozen windows were broken”, “had its windows broken”, “broke out the windows”, “had some of its

¹⁴⁰³ This number (“**Total # of references in attack communiqués to this tactic**”) is closely correlated to, but not precisely the same as the total number of *individual communiqués* which reference the tactic. As a single communiqué may contain multiple references (e.g. author writes “[We added] some paint thrown on the façade” [and it] “had paint thrown on its exterior”), this would be counted as two incidents as it utilized two distinct phrasings. Similarly, if a single communiqué mentioned a broken window and an arson, this would be counted in two distinct phrase headers but be representative of a single communiqué. Thus the numbers indicate the total number of references to this tactic in the total communiqué corpora.

- windows broken”, “breaking out all 24 of their windows”, “had some of its windows broken”: 8
4. “smashed with rocks the windows of”, “9 windows... where [*sic*] smashed out with rocks”, “rocks took out the windows”, “rocks shattered their large external windows”, “cracked the front windows with rocks”: 5
 5. “windows were smashed out with bricks”, “two bricks shattered the window”, “was attacked and windows cracked when several bricks were thrown at it”, “Three Bricks [*sic*]... were launched through the windows”, “threw bricks through the windows”: 5
 6. “windows... shattered to the ground”, “had their windows busted out”, “busted all of the front windows out”: 3
 7. “had the majority of its windows ruined”, “an attack... was made. One window was damaged”: 2
 8. “Rocks and bricks were thrown through its windows”: 1
 9. “A garbage can was also sent through a plate glass window”: 1
 10. “smashed out the windows... hammers through their windows”: 1
 11. “multiple broken windows and doors”: 1
 12. “a brick was thrown through [a window] with a note attached”: 1

Total # of references in attack communiqués to this tactic: 57

Tactics involving other or mixed forms of vandalism

1. “were smashed up... received a few love taps that they won’t be forgetting anytime soon”, “smashed-up”, “smashed up” (3), “being smashed to shit”, “fucked up” [paired with descriptions of smashing other targets]: 7
2. “Bricks and paint bombs”, “vandalized” [pictures show spraypainted messages and a broken window], “poured pink paint into light bulbs, grabbed hammers, and went party party party! all over [the HRC gift shop]” [tactics also described as “trash and glamdalize” earlier in the same communique]: 3
3. “damaged the plumbing in both the male and females [*sic*] bathroom with quickset cement”: 1
4. “covered up” / “putting a bag over”: 1 [alternate descriptions of the same action within the same claim]
5. “destroyed by climbing the street lamps and smashing the spy cameras with a large poll [*sic*]”: 1
6. “removing [several fascist stickers in the area] in preceding weeks”: 1
7. “attacked... changing the signs to say suicide our cops [*sic*]” [changing letter boards, not using a paint/drawing medium]: 1
8. “a concrete planter was also liberated into a few pieces during the action”: 1

9. “shoved a dumpster into”: 1

Total # of references in attack communiqués to this tactic: 16

Tactics involving cyber attack

1. “have stolen massive amounts of confidential documents and personal information... to be released very soon”, “releasing the User Info Database of MyBart.gov”, “leaking over 38,000 private emails”, “dumped 6GBs of private mail spools [and] cleartext credit card, password, and home addresses”, “dropping the md5-hashed passwords and residential addresses... sharing several private mail spools [and] moar private police documents”, “[stole and released] 1,000,001 Apple Devices UDIDs linking to their users and their APNS tokens”: 6
2. “defacing their websites and destroying their servers”, “defaced with a youtube hip-hop video... and a statement from Antisec [sic]”: 2
3. “hacked, defaced, and destroyed... leaking over 600MB of private information”: 1
4. “defacing their website and giving out live backdoors... dumped a few of their mail spools and forum databases... passed around [and dumped] their private password list”: 1
5. “BACKDOORED [antivirus software]”: 1
6. “leak of Norton source code”: 1
7. “downed... conducted an easily reproducible D0s... launched multiple instances of pyloris”: 1
8. “servers were rooted and rm’d... .bash_history and mail spools spilled... doxed... live passwords [stolen]... used company credit cards to make donations to dozens of charities and revolutionary organizations... transferred to ourselves... anonymous currency... sold or traded... cc dumps and password lists... making off quick with their private documents which we then published on tor hidden services and BitTorrent”: 1
9. “dumping their mysql databases, stealing their private ssh keys, and copying hundreds of employee mail spools... used and abused their customer credit card information... dumping all 75,000 credit cards and 860,000 md5-hashed passwords of their ‘private client list’”: 1

Total # of references in attack communiqués to this tactic: 15

Tactics unclear or vague

1. “sabotaging”, “were sabotaged”, “sabotaged” (2): 4

2. “attacked” (3), “was attacked” [link included to news article with headline “vandals break out windows of olympia”]: 4
3. “[vehicles] were disabled”, “[ATMs] were disabled” (2): 3
4. “struck”: 1
5. “attacked... with rocks”: 1
6. “Rocks and bottles were thrown”: 1
7. “vandalism”: 1
8. “[vehicles] detoured. beautiful, inoperative art installations.”: 1

Total # of references in attack communiqués to this tactic: 16

Tactics involving sabotage specific to animal oppression

1. “wire cutters were used to successfully remove a large section of fencing from one of the pens”, “dismantled a huge section of an aviary that held between 75-150 pheasants”, “cutting holes in their fences”: 3
2. “opening cages... approximately 300 mink were released from cages”, “opened approximately 3/4 of the cages, many of which had more than one animal”: 2
3. “the breeding records we took from your sheds and throw into our fire”, “took down every breeder card in one of the two large, main sheds”: 2
4. “took 3 individuals and released them at different locations”: 1

Total # of references in attack communiqués to this tactic: 8

Tactics involving vehicle sabotage (not window- or paint-specific)

1. “Their tires were slashed”, “slashed their tires... defaced [their vehicle]”, “slashing all the tires”, “tires were slashed”, “slashed several tires”: 5
2. “used 4AWG copper wire with the ends stripped of insulation and wrapped around the two sides of the track with the rest of it buried in the middle, which falsely indicated to a sensor that there was a train stopped on the railway”, “Copper wire was wrapped around railroad lines which caused a false signal, blocking the line”: 2
3. “poured a mixture of sand and water into the fuel tanks”: 1
4. “dismantled” [vehicles]: 1

Total # of references in attack communiqués to this tactic: 9

Tactics involving information distribution (separate from noise disturbances/paint)

1. “Leaflets were thrown”, “Fliers were thrown”, “Flyers were strewn”, “fliers were left”, “hundreds of fliers were thrown into the air”: 5

2. “a banner was dropped”, “dropped a banner... reading, ‘Fare Strike for Kenneth Harding/ Fuck the Police.’”: 2
3. “dozens more leaflets were distributed to motorists and passersby”: 1
4. “Posters... were simultaneously wheat-pasted on walls throughout the area”: 1

Total # of references in attack communiqués to this tactic: 9

Tactics involving fire

1. “molotovs were thrown [into the parking lot]”, “a Molotov cocktail has been tossed through a large window”: 2
2. “A large rock and subsequent molotov cocktail were tossed [at a window]”, “another window has been shattered along with a molotov cocktail tossed inside”: 2
3. “containers of accelerant were placed beneath a row of 14 trucks with 4 digital timers used to light 4 of the containers and kerosene-soaked rope carrying the fire to the other 10”: 1

Total # of references in attack communiqués to this tactic: 5

Tactics involving gluing or sealing

1. “The locks to several doors were glued shut”, “gluing the locks”, “glued the locks on ten doors”, “their locks were glued”, “glued the locks”: 5
2. “had an ATM card slot glued”, “glued the ATMs”, “[the ATMS] were glued shut”, “sabotaged... had their credit card slots sealed shut”: 4
3. “had all of its locks and ATMs glued shut”, “had all of their locks and ATMs glued shut”: 2

Total # of references in attack communiqués to this tactic: 11

Tactics involving sabotage of ATMs or fare machines (beyond simply gluing/sealing)

1. “sabotaged the fare machines, turnstiles and facade... Our spray cans dispensed slogans and our hammers shattered screens and ticket readers”, “employed a variety of tactics to sabotage the machines... used hammers to smash their display screens and keyboards... Spray paint was used to obscure their hidden cameras... Expanding spray foam was sprayed into the card readers and cash dispensers.”, “destroyed... by filling all of the slots with expandable foam and spray painting the screen and hidden cameras”, “were made inoperable with glue, paint and hammers”, “used industrial adhesives and a hammer to dismantle”: 5

2. “The ATM got smashed”, “[2 ATMS] smashed and few windows [sic]”, “smashed out its windows and ATMs”: 3
3. “the banks [sic] ATM machine was destroyed”, “[ATM] was destroyed”, “destroyed the windows and doors and ATM”: 3

Total # of references in attack communiqués to this tactic: 11

Tactics involving public disruption: noise disruption

1. “chanting at the top of our lungs”: 1
2. “yelled at”: 1
3. “fireworks were set off... anti-police chants were screamed into the night”: 1

Total # of references in attack communiqués to this tactic: 3

Tactics involving public disruption: street blockades

1. “dumpsters were being turned over every hundred feet, blocking both directions”: 1
2. “[The intersection] was blocked and held for 15 minutes... trash cans and other debris were thrown into the street”: 1

Total # of references in attack communiqués to this tactic: 2

Tactics involving theft (non-cyber)

1. “relieve KATU of a 25,000\$ news camera... figured they were no worse off filming their story from the muddy bottom of the Willamette”: 1

Total # of references in attack communiqués to this tactic: 1

Tactics involving explosives (not incendiaries)

1. “bombing”, “bomb”, “bombed”: 1

Total # of references in attack communiqués to this tactic: 1

Target Analysis

Target: Corporate

1. “Starbucks”, “a Starbucks” (2), “the Starbucks”, “that ugly beige Starbucks on Federal”: 5
2. “the Street of Dreams Corporate Office”: 1

3. “an American Apparel”: 1
4. “a Wal-Mart”: 1
5. “three Upper Crust Pizzerias”: 1
6. “a Modesto Property Management company and landlord’s office”: 1
7. “the development company Triway Enterprises”: 1
8. “architecture office... development office”: 1
9. “Duke Energy... four of their meter-reader trucks”: 1
10. “Bloomingfoods, an eco-capitalist cooperative”: 1
11. “The Human Rights Campaign (HRC) gift shop in Dupont Circle... that tacky testament to the transformation of radical queer liberation into consumer junk”: 1
12. “[5 websites associated with] prison for profit scumbags GEO group... GEO GROUP PRISON INDUSTRY”: 1
13. “Panda Labs... pandasecurity.com”: 1
14. “The Little Tattoo Shoppe owned by Matthew Mattison” [“recently outed as a rapist and a sexual predator”]: 1
15. “the NYPD (pizza shop)” [is actually a pizza shop, but tactic used changed signs to say “suicide our cops”]: 1

Target: Capital/banking

1. “bank”, “a bank” (4), “a bank and an attached ATM”, “a bank and ATM”, “16 ATM’s... Also 3 banks”, “four ATM’s *[sic]*”, “two banks”, “two ATMs”, “3 Bank atms”: 12
2. “Wells Fargo” (3), “a Wells Fargo... ATMS *[sic]*”, “two Wells Fargo banks”, “a wells fargo”, “a Wells Fargo bank ATM”, “a Wells Fargo branch”, “a Wells Fargo bank”, “A Wells Fargo” (3): 12
3. “Chase bank” (7), “chase bank”, “2 Chase bank ATMS *[sic]*”: 9
4. “Bank of America” (2), “a Bank of America”, “a bank of america”: 5
5. “the Hollywood district Key Bank”, “Key Bank”, “a Key Bank”: 3
6. “24 ATMs... in addition to other surveillance cameras”: 1
7. “Marathon bank”: 1
8. “West Coast Bank”: 1
9. “Columbia Bank”: 1
10. “the Chase Bank and Wells Fargo Bank”: 1
11. “the Umpqua Bank”, “The Ravenna branch of the eco-insidious Umpqua Bank”: 2
12. “three banks on capital *[sic]* hill... The banks Chase, Key bank and an U.S. Bank *[sic]*”: 1
13. “the US Bank”: 1
14. “the downtown M&I bank”: 1

Target: Government

1. “BART” [Bay Area Rapid Transit], “the Glen Park BART station”, “an outbound T train... the train”, “MUNI transit construction... the construction happening on the N Judah”: 4
2. “160 city parking meters” [Denver, CO], “more than 50 parking meters in a bar district and an up-and-coming artist district” [against gentrification and environmental destruction as well as state control], “every parking meter on Edgewood Avenue... (45 parking meters total)”: 3
3. “a municipal court building in Seattle’s bedroom community-Kirkland”, “The Madison County courthouse”: 2
4. “the Greek Consulate General”, “the facade and crest of the Greek consulate”: 2
5. “Greek embassy” [Washington, DC]: 1
6. “the building housing the Chilean consulate in San Francisco”: 1
7. “the new city hall” [Olympia, WA]: 1
8. “two tractors used in the construction of a new Atlanta streetcar” [“one of many major development projects the city has initiated in the past few years as a part of a general plan to revitalize downtown. We know that this plan only means more police and unaffordable housing”]: 1
9. “the City of Seattle website” [also described as “the Seattle government website”]: 1
10. “the obama campaign center *[sic]*”: 1

Target: Law enforcement, security, military

1. “the lead cop car”, “two police vehicles”, “a police car”, “Two Santa Cruz County Sheriff Department vehicles”, “a truck belonging to the Santa Cruz County Sheriff’s Department”, “their vehicle” [title describes as “undercover police vehicle”], “three police vehicles”, “two CPD squad cars”, “a police patrol car”, “cop car... a police car parked outside a private residence”, “the St Louis City Police Department Probation van” [one of many “vehicles of pig mobility” or “pig cars”], “2 unmarked Oakland Police Department vehicles”, “eight San Francisco Police Department cruisers and one San Francisco Sheriff’s van”, “3 police cruisers and 1 paddy wagon”, “several police cars”: 15
2. “police station”, “the ‘community’ police station”, “a Tacoma Police Department building”, “the Portland Police contact office” (“police substation”), “the station itself”, “the FPOA”, “the ‘community police’ contact office”, “a cop shop (snitch station)”, “the police substation”, “district 4 denver cop shop”, “the Portland Police Bureau’s offices”, “a police station”, “the Little 5 Points police precinct”, “an Oakland police substation”: 14

3. “several dozen law enforcement websites... over 70 US law enforcement institutions”, “International Association of Chiefs of Police... several law enforcement targets... the police, military and other government websites hosted by [MatrixGroup.net]... the Boston Police Patrolmens’ Association (www.bppa.org)... Alabama law enforcement systems”, “the California State Law Enforcement Association (CSLEA.COM)”, “multiple law enforcement targets in the state of New York” [claim makes clear that the attack targeted websites], “DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE INTEREST COMPUTER SYSTEM (DODICS)”, “a Dell Vostro notebook, used by Supervisor Special Agent Christopher K. Stangl from FBI Regional Cyber Action Team and New York FBI Office Evidence Response Team”, “servers... sysadmins... cops... police departments”: 7
4. “a Department of Corrections office”, “the Department of Corrections Office”, “the Downtown Brooklyn Parole Office”, “your probation center”, “the west seattle community building” [identified in title as “Department of Corrections building”]: 5
5. “the line of police waiting there for us”, “a ‘Special Agent Cybercrime Supervisor’ of the CA Department of Justice... Fred Baclagan”: 2
6. “the online piggie supply store SpecialForces.com” [“customer base is comprised primarily of military and law enforcement affiliated individuals”], “security firm Stratfor... IT MANAGER FRANK GINAC” [described in summary release as “Stratfor.com... A MULTI-MILLION DOLLAR INTELLIGENCE CORPORATION”]: 2
7. “the parking lot of the Fresno SW substation where police cars and pig’s personal vehicles are parked”: 1
8. “the nearby OPD recruitment center” [nearby to targeted police vehicles]: 1
9. “the pig memorial in front of FPD HQ”: 1

Target: Public spaces

1. “Burnside Avenue”: 1
2. “the intersection of Bowery and Houston street in Manhattan... Bowery... the entire street”: 1
3. “7th and Market”: 1
4. “a bridge over the I-90/94 in Chicago”: 1
5. “several walls and surfaces”: 1
6. “a large wall”: 1
7. “a nearby building”: 1
8. “throughout downtown”: 1

Target: Animal industry

1. “Damascus Elk Farm” [Clackamas, OR]: 1
2. “the mink farm on Savola Road... the Western Star Fur Farm” [Astoria, OR]: 1
3. “Miller’s Mink Ranch” [Washington]: 1
4. “14 cattle trucks... at the harris feeding company in coalinga, ca”: 1
5. “Queener Ridge Pheasant Company”: 1
6. “company vans at Sunshine Dairy Foods” [“To continue the momentum of direct action targeting speciesist companies”]: 1

Target: Surveillance technology

1. “ID-card scanners at the Hunter College campus”: 1
2. “red light cameras... traffic cameras”: 1
3. “5 surveillance cameras”: 1

Target: Fascism

1. “MCL Cafeteria” (for hosting a speaking event by “holocaust denier and nazi sympathizer David Irving”): 1
2. “a rash of Nazi graffiti in East Arvada [at] the Lutz soccer field, Vanderhoof elementary school, a park adjacent to Vanderhoof, a wall dividing the nearby neighborhood from 58th Avenue, and the Arvada Plaza... several fascist stickers in the area... including Combat 18 and for an Arvada-based Neo-Nazi merchandise distributor DRP Industries”: 1
3. “the nazi publishers at counter currents”: 1

Target: Railways

1. “a rail line in Southern Oregon”: 1
2. “a railroad line in occupied Samish and Lummi territory, also known as northern Washington state”: 1

Target: Media

1. “the media parasites standing by with their cameras”: 1
2. “KATU” [Portland news station]: 1

Target: Religion

1. “Vatican... Vatican.va... the corrupt Roman Apostolic Church and all its emanations”: 1
2. “Mars Hill Church” [because “notoriously anti-gay and anti-woman”]: 1

Target: Environmental

1. “the Washington State Loggers’ Association building”: 1
2. “the Department of Natural Resources (DNR)”: 1

Target: Consumer/luxury goods

1. “a luxury SUV”: 1

Target: Education

1. “Brooklyn College’s administrative building”: 1

Target: Healthcare

1. “the University Health Services at the Tang Center”: 1

Target: Residential

1. “a residential neighborhood”: 1

Target: Scientific research (not specifically targeted for animal oppression)

1. “Emory’s Department of Human Genetics”: 1

Target: Other social institutions

1. “the Chi Psi frat house” [because “All fraternities are sites of conscious self-organization for patriarchal power and the homophobia that supports it.”]: 1

Country where the attack occurred

1. [USA]: 130
2. “U\$A”: 2
3. “US”: 1

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BIOGRAPHY

Michael Loadenthal completed his Bachelor of Arts at American University in 2006, and his Masters of Letters in 2010 at the University of St Andrews. Since the late 1990s, he has been active in a diverse array of social movements around the world, and since 2011, has taught courses on terrorism and political violence for Georgetown University, George Mason University and Jessup Correctional Institution. During his doctoral study, Michael authored and published over a dozen peer-reviewed journal articles, delivered over 60 conference presentations, and published a variety of book chapters, encyclopedia entries and other written works. Currently he resides in Cincinnati, Ohio with his partner, two daughters, and a canine companion.