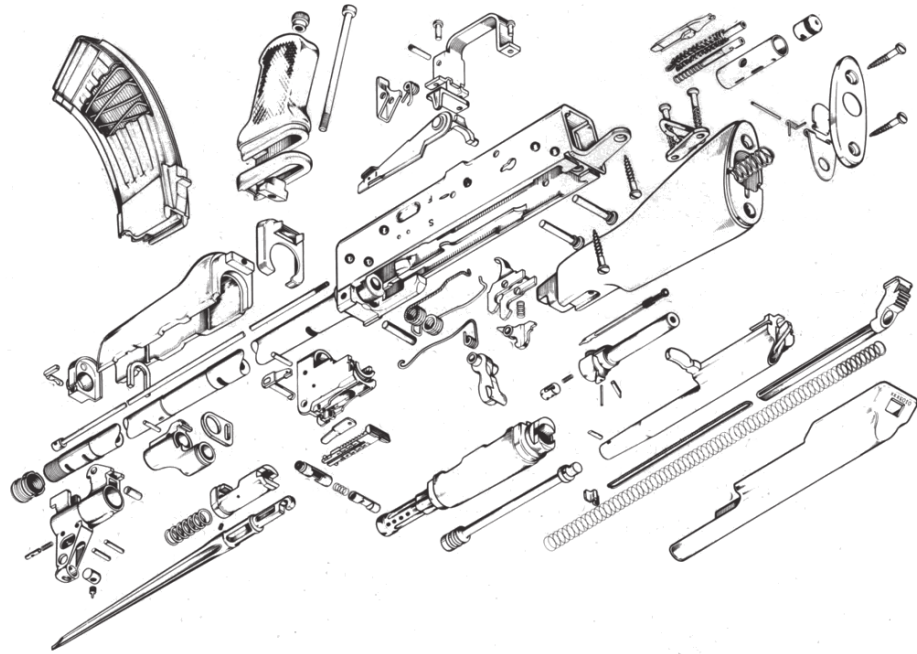
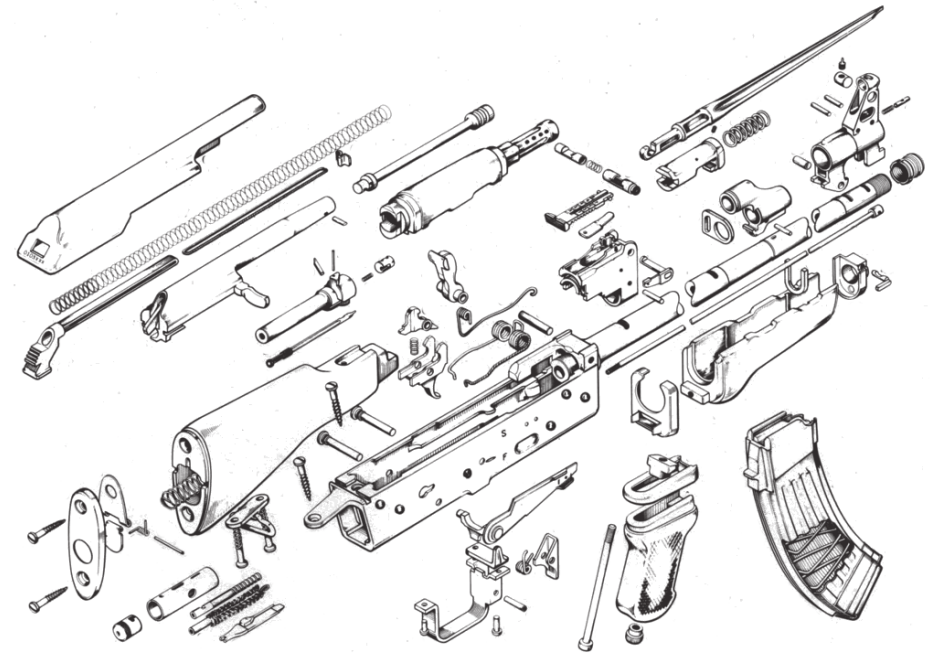


miguel amorós



**ANARQUÍA  
PROFESIONAL  
Y DESARME  
TEÓRICO**  
sobre insurreccionalismo

**PROFESSIONAL  
ANARCHY &  
THEORETICAL  
DISARMAMENT**  
on insurrectionalism



miguel amorós

**OPLOPANAX  
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Alfredo Bonanno, *Armed Joy*

**F**or ten years or so, there has existed in this country [Spain] an anarchist current that has stirred up the stagnant libertarian milieu bringing about a change of perspective in terms of approach to revolutionary action. If we limit its critique to tactical questions and ignore the rest, its contribution has not been plentiful. The real conditions of the moment (a lack of real struggles, the non-existence of a workers' movement and an anarchist milieu in decline) were not ideal ones for insurrectionalist action proposals to be able to break through the pacifist spectacle of the social pseudo-movements that have bubbled up recently. The *insu* sabotages have been regarded by the unthinking masses as something alien and external, so that repression has been easy. But we would err on the side of harshness if we failed to recognize, in the impulse that has brought them about, a true will to fight and an intelligence on a better path to the radical critique of existing conditions than that of other contemporary libertarian currents, such as the primitivist, green, communalist, municipalist, etc. This alone is a sufficient reason to examine the insurrectionalist current and to critically review its main postulates.

First of all, insurrectionary anarchism seems closely connected to the figure of its main exponent, Bonanno, even though he neither holds an official position in it, nor does he head an informal leadership, nor represents, in the movement, anyone but himself. Certainly, his opinions and actions also give rise to hostile critiques and disagreements among the groups; and there have been other important "theorists" such as, for example, Constantino Cavallieri, but Bonanno's role in the genesis of the tactics that characterize insurrectionalism and his influence on the majority are undeniable. Bonanno

Las comunidades del placer emergían de nuestro  
lucha aquí y ahora.  
Alfredo Bonanno, *El gozo armado*

is a veteran anarchist with extensive experience; he is a public enemy of domination whom the State has persecuted with various trials and imprisonments. He has published numerous texts that allow us to understand his thought clearly (it is neither complicated nor original). Due to his education and character, he has always interpreted the slightest philosophical reflection as what he calls "metaphysics". This should not surprise us; the true Bonanno has always been an agitator and a man of action rather than an analytical and enlightened thinker. My intention here is to seek out the first appearances of insurrectionalist ideas and to follow their development by following Bonanno's personal experience and trajectory with the necessary methodological precautions—acknowledging that not all insurrectionalism is Bonannism.

Alfredo Maria Bonanno was born in Catania (Sicily) in 1937 to a well-off family. We know nothing of his first thirty years; his first known writings date from 1970 and discuss atheism and the "autonomy of productive base nuclei." A piece from 1971 deals with "counterpower," which denotes *operaista* influences that could equally well come from Negri or the Maoist-spontaneist organization *Potere Operaio*. *Operaismo* was a critical current of Marxism, that, in the seventies, played more or less the role that *Socialisme ou barbarie* did in France, taking the renewal of theory all the way down to the libertarian rank and file. He also translated classics such as Rudolf Rocker or the suspect Gaston Leval. When the waters of Italian anarchism began to toss as a result of May 1968 and the strikes of the "hot" autumn of 1969, our protagonist was sufficiently ensconced in ideology to position himself clearly "on the left" in a generational debate. The young libertarians did not want to limit action to propaganda and proselytizing; they wanted to participate effectively in real struggles to contribute "to the growth of revolutionary consciousness in the masses." The organization of glories past and its followers, on the other hand, were more concerned with meetings and congresses than with the struggles themselves and aspired only to "join the greatest number under one acronym or banner," not worried about "attack[ing] Power: [rather] they try to disturb it as little as possible in order to conserve the tiny spaces they find themselves struggling in—or believing they are struggling in." It was, then, a movement that "has inherited ideas, analyses and very specific experiences, but it does not have any direct relationship with struggles" ("Fictitious Movement and Real Movement," Jean Weir trans. modified to accord with Amorós' text). The tangle of agreements and organizational procedures allowed those responsible for a small bureaucracy to paralyze any initiative that deviated from the official line, which is why the

sin problemas, que por otra parte no es nada complicado ni original: por formación y carácter siempre ha tomado la menor reflexión por lo que él llama "metafísica", lo que no nos debe extrañar puesto que el verdadero Bonanno ha sido antes agitador y hombre de acción que pensador analítico y esclarecido. Nuestra intención será la de detectar la aparición de las ideas insurreccionalistas y seguir su desarrollo acercándonos a su experiencia y trayectoria personales con la debida precaución metodológica, insistiendo en que el bonannismo no es todo insurreccionalismo.

Alfredo Maria Bonanno nació en Catania (Sicilia) en 1937, en el seno de una familia acomodada. Nada sabemos de sus primeros treinta años; sus primeros escritos que conocemos datan de 1970 y versan sobre el ateísmo y la "autonomía de los núcleos productivos de base". Un escrito de 1971 habla de "contrapoder", lo que denota influencias "operaristas" que bien podrían venir de Negri o de la organización maoesponataneísta "Potere Operaio". El "operaismo" era una corriente crítica marxista que en los sesenta había desempeñado más o menos el mismo papel que "Socialisme ou barbarie" en Francia, llevando la renovación teórica hasta en las mismas filas libertarias. También realizó traducciones de clásicos como Rudolf Rocker o el dudoso Gastón Leval. Cuando las aguas del anarquismo italiano empezaron a agitarse como consecuencia del mayo de 1968 y de las huelgas del otoño "caliente" de 1969, nuestro personaje ya estaba bastante rodado en la ideología para posicionarse con claridad "a la izquierda" en un debate generacional. Los jóvenes libertarios no querían limitar la acción a la propaganda y el proselitismo, y deseaban participar efectivamente en las luchas reales, para contribuir "al crecimiento de la conciencia revolucionaria en las masas". La organización de las viejas glorias y sus seguidores estaba más pendiente de reuniones y congresos que de las propias luchas y no aspiraba sino a "sumar el mayor número de personas bajo una sigla o bandera", no tan preocupada "en atacar el Poder como en tratar de molestarlo lo menos posible a fin de seguir disponiendo de pequeños espacios donde luchar o donde ilusionar con su lucha." Era pues "un movimiento que se coloca como depositario de un patrimonio de ideas, análisis y experiencias bien precisas, pero que no tiene relación directa con las luchas" (Bonanno, "Movimiento ficticio y movimiento real"). La maraña de acuerdos y procedimientos organizativos permitían a una pequeña burocracia de responsables paralizar cualquier iniciativa discrepante con la línea oficial, por lo que la cuestión organizativa principal casaba bellamente entre los viejos militantes insurreccionalistas y la nueva generación activa. La Federación Anarquista Italiana estaba organizada en base a un "pacto asociativo" redactado por el mismísimo Malatesta. En





against the new form of Power. The Situationist International, which had an Italian section, had ended up embodying the figure of "historical evil" for the officials of the FAI, ideologues of a certain "anarchism" that was perfectly compatible with a modern class society. The tension between the officials and a contestatory sector in constant ferment that accused them of bureaucracy and ideology and that advocated a critique of everyday life, spoke of workers' councils, or defended violent methods, provoked a paranoid sort of defensive reflex among the former. The FAI bureaucrats felt themselves infiltrated by mysterious Situationist agents and reacted by calling for a congress, the tenth, in Carrara, April 10, 1971, dedicated entirely to combatting the phantom of the SI. The congress decided to exclude the "anarchosituationists" to prevent their example from spreading to local groups and federations. The insignificant FAI, obsessed by what were ultimately just the antibureaucratic effects for the first stage of proletarian autonomy, remained blind before the true danger: the instrumentalization of the anarchist movement by the secret services of the Italian State. Indeed, the police blamed the fascist bombs in Milan (April 29 1969) and Piazza Fontana (December 12 1969) on anarchists. One of them, Giuseppe Pinelli, was thrown through the window of a police station; another, Pietro Valpreda, was chosen as the scapegoat of the attentats. The issue went beyond the libertarian media and had the entire society in a state of tension. To aggravate people's morale even more, in May of 1972 the anarchist Francesco Serantini was beaten to death by the police at a demonstration, and Chief Superintendent Calabresi, the one responsible for Pinelli's death, was executed by a commando unit a few days later. The FAI, alarmed by these events, did not hesitate to distance itself from violent responses to repression, even condemning the attentats and bombs against the police and the magistrature. Bonanno, who had condemned the bombing of the Milan Police Command a year earlier, had the opposite attitude, as documented in the pages of his publication *Sinistra Libertaria*, signing his name to an article entitled "I Killed Chief Superintendent Calabresi."<sup>1</sup> For this sense of humor and courage, in October of 1972, he was awarded a sentence of two years and two months for "defense of the crime."

4 He probably read a lot in the hole, because in 1974 he published some pamphlets on the State, abstention, and revolution. Around this time he

1 There may be some confusion here on Amorós' part. Bonanno was jailed in October 1972 for an article in *Sinistra Libertaria*, but the Milan Police Command was bombed in 1973, so the article in question would have been published later—presumably after Bonanno was free. Additionally, the article Amorós seems to be referring to bears the significantly different title "I Know Who Killed Chief Superintendent Calabresi."

terminado por encarnar la figura del "mal histórico" ante los propietarios de la FAI, ideólogos de un determinismo "anarquismo" perfectamente compatible con una sociedad de clases monopartidista. La tensión entre los propietarios y un sector contestatario en constante ebullición que les acusaba de burocratismo e ideología y que proponía una crítica de la vida cotidiana, hablaba de consejos obreros o de defendida métodos violentos, provocó un reflejo defensivo entre los propietarios de tipo burocrático. Los burocratas faístas se sentían infiltrados por misteriosos agentes situacionistas y reaccionaron convocando un congreso, el décimo, que se celebró en Carrara el 10 de abril de 1971, dedicado íntegramente a combatir el fantasma de la I.S. El congreso tomó la decisión de excluir a los "anarcosituacionistas" para evitar que el ejemplo cundiese en los grupos y federaciones locales. La insignificante FAI, obsesionada por lo que era una vez más por los efectos antiburocráticos del primer estado de la autonomía proletaria, permanecía ciega ante el verdadero peligro, el de la instrumentalización del movimiento libertario por los servicios secretos del Estado italiano. En efecto, las bombas fascistas de Milán del 29 de abril y las de Piazza Fontana del 12 de diciembre de 1969 fueron atribuidas por la policía a los anarquistas. Uno de ellos, Giuseppe Pinelli, fue arrojado por la ventana de una comisaría y otro, Pietro Valpreda, fue escogido como cabeza de turco de los atentados. El asunto trascendió a los medios libertarios y puso en tensión a toda la sociedad. Para exacerbar más los ánimos en mayo de 1972 el anarquista Franco Serantini fue apaleado hasta la muerte por la policía en una manifestación y el comisario Calabresi, responsable de la muerte de Pinelli, fue ejecutado por un comando al cabo de unos días. La FAI, alarmada por los acontecimientos, no dudó en distanciarse de las respuestas violentas a la represión llegando a condenar los atentados y las bombas contra la policía y la magistratura. Bonanno, que había condenado el bombardeo en la Cuestoria de Milán un año antes, tuvo una actitud opuesta hecha constar en las páginas de "*Sinistra Libertaria*", publicación de la que era responsable, firmando un artículo titulado "Yo maté al comisario Calabresi", sentido del humor y valentía que le valió en octubre de 1972 una condena de dos años y dos meses por "apología del delito". Cabe pensar que leyó bastante en el trullo porque en 1974 publicó algunos artículos, mientras seguía con sus artículos para la revista teórica bimestral [España], mientras seguía con sus artículos para la revista teórica bimestral

seems to have believed he had thrown the decisive weight of his thought on the theoretical scales of justice, compiling a cut-and-paste anthology entitled *Self-Management and Anarchism* at his own expense. The following year he had the book printed (and also made available in Spain), while he continued writing articles for the bi-monthly theoretical magazine *Anarchismo* that he had founded in Catania. He justified the rejection of dialectical method on the grounds that it goes hand in hand with "authoritarian" forms of thought that correspond to authoritarian forms of action ("Economic Crisis and Revolutionary Possibility"). Marx is not useful for Bonanno, not even as a critic of economics, since his thought is philosophical, Hegelian, and therefore "smells like metaphysics." Allergic to philosophical terminology, he dares to describe Marx's work as "a program that has its roots in the Protestant mysticism of the Middle Ages" ("After Marx, Autonomy") which could be considered an opinion if it were not for the fact that Protestantism has nothing to do with mysticism and did not take place in the Middle Ages. Bonanno always has the problem of those who have to discuss everything, whether or not they know what they are talking about, and ridiculous slips appear frequently in his extensive work. He could have easily appreciated the role of classical German philosophy in the formation of revolutionary thought by clinging to Bakunin, an insuperable exponent of Hegel's influence. His critique of syndicalism repeats something known since May '68: "Old-style capitalism has given way to a new managerial version. It is perfectly well aware that its best friend and ally is the trade union" ("A Critique of Syndicalist Methods," 1975). The rest does not differ from what councillist Marxists used to say (he even cites Pannekoek); he just extends it to anarchist unions. However, he does not bother with workers' councils, assemblies, committees, and other forms of horizontal coordination, since Bonanno is not interested in the working class "in itself", but rather how anarchism is articulated in its self-organization. Anarchists are not to inject their ideas into the masses from outside, through propaganda: "[The revolutionary anarchist project] starts from the specific context of actual struggles... Above all this cannot be the product of the minority. It is not elaborated by the latter inside their theoretical edifice, then exported to the movement in one block or in pieces.... It is necessary to start from the actual level of the struggle, from the concrete, material level of the class clash, building small autonomous base organisms that are capable of placing themselves at the point of concurrence between the total vision of liberation and the partial strategic vision that revolutionary collaboration renders indispensable" (Bonanno, "Fictitious Movement and Real Movement"). In 1975 Bonanno thought (and he was right) that Italian society was in a

pre-revolutionary phase, so the fundamental thing was the autonomous organization of workers, for which "autonomous base nuclei" or "autonomous worker nuclei" were necessary: these were just "small autonomous base organizations dedicated to the radical struggle against the present structures of production" ["A Critique of Syndicalist Methods"]. These nuclei would be the place where anarchists met the proletariat. He distrusted larger structures such as workers' assemblies, since they restricted the autonomy of groups and could be easily manipulated by bureaucrats and demagogues. He did not say much about the steps that came after that—and then a qualitative jump in social tensions put the question of arms on the table.

In the mid-70s the Italian state had weakened to the extreme. It revealed its frailty by recurring to staging terrorist acts that pointed to fictitious enemies with the complicity of the mass media and the Stalinists. The attempts at industrial restructuring aggravated social revolt, which moved from the factories to the street. In Bonanno's words, "the revolutionary movement, including the anarchist movement, was in a phase of development, and anything seemed possible, including the generalization of armed conflict." The existence of a militarized party like the Red Brigades provoked in anti-authoritarian milieus the fear that it would seize control of struggles. The debate on armed libertarian alternatives gave birth in 1977 to *Azione Rivoluzionaria* (AR), "a combat structure as open as possible to the base." The critique of arms, "the only force that can make a project credible" according to AR, was reaching the level of open confrontation among revolutionaries (no longer in the FAI, which, much more interested in syndicalism than revolution, obviously condemned armed struggle). Some saw it as a separated violence that did not lead to class conflict but to the spectacle of conflict, contributing to criminalize the "autonomist movement" and to provoke its repression. For AR the movement would not be taken seriously, and seriously feared, without an armed guerilla. It was logical for repression to follow the revolutionary offensive, guerilla or no guerilla, but thanks to the guerilla's role as lightning rod, throwing itself onto the repressive apparatus, the movement still had its bases, its newspapers, and its radio stations. Bonanno's first response was the text "Revolutionary Movement and Project," followed by the book *Armed Joy*, which had a great impact in its time owing less to breaking militant taboos than to being banned soon after publication (in Bologna close to three thousand were distributed or sold). There was a Spanish edition called *Armed Pleasure*. The book has no analysis of the moment, nor does it seriously discuss weapons: it is a book of principles, not strategy. Its novelty is not in its content, recuperated from the *Comontismo* group (1972-1974) and

encuentro entre los anarquistas y el proletariado. Desconfiaba de estructuras más amplias como las asambleas obreras porque coartaban la autonomía de los grupos y podían ser fácilmente manipuladas por burocratas y demagogos. No se definió demasiado sobre los pasos siguientes hasta que un salto cualitativo en la conflictividad social puso sobre el tapete la cuestión de las armas. A mediados de los años setenta el Estado italiano se había debilitado en gran medida y había empezado a perder terreno los montajes terroristas que señalaban enemigos ficticios, con la complicidad de los medios de comunicación y los estalinistas. Las tentativas de reestructuración industrial agravaban la revuelta social que pasaba de las fábricas a la calle. En palabras de Bonanno, "el movimiento revolucionario, incluyendo el anarquista, estaba en una fase de desarrollo y todo parecía posible, incluso la generalización del conflicto armado." La existencia de un partido militarizado como las Brigadas Rojas, provocaba en los medios autoritarios el temor a que éste tomara la dirección de las luchas. El debate sobre alternativas armadas libertarias dio lugar en 1977 al nacimiento de *Azione Rivoluzionaria*, "una estructura combatiente lo más abierta posible a la base". La crítica de las armas, "la única fuerza que puede hacer creíble cualquier proyecto" según A.R., alcanzaba niveles de enfrentamiento, no ya en la FAI (que, más interesada en el sindicalismo que en la revolución, obviamente condenaba la lucha armada), sino entre los mismos revolucionarios. Para unos se trataba de una violencia separada que no favorecía el enfrentamiento de clase sino el espectáculo del enfrentamiento, contribuyendo a criminalizar el "movimiento de la autonomía" y a provocar su represión. Para A.R. el movimiento no hubiera sido tomado en serio y seriamente temido si no fuera por la guerrilla armada. Era lógico que la represión sucediese a la ofensiva revolucionaria hubiese o no guerilla, pero gracias a que ésta hizo de pararrayos echándose encima al aparato represivo, el movimiento todavía conservaba sus sedes, sus periódicos y sus radios. La respuesta de Bonanno fue primero el texto "Movimiento y proyecto revolucionario", seguido por el libro "El goce armado", muy impactante en su momento debido más que a la rotura de tabúes militantes, al hecho de estar prohibido al poco de publicarse (en la concentración de Bolonia fueron repartidos o vendidos cerca de tres mil). Hubo una edición española que llevó por título "El placer armado". El libro no contiene ningún análisis del momento, ni discute seriamente de armas: es un libro de estrategia sino de principios. La novedad no reside en su contenido, recuperado de la obra del grupo "Comontismo" (1972-1974) y de los escritos del ex situacionista Raoul Vaneigem, "Terrorismo y revolución" (1972) y "De la huelga salvaje a la autogestión generalizada" (1974), de





the revolutionary tasks of anarchists are. Given the premises, we should expect this kind of response: anarchists should bring the exploited to revolt. If we interpret that with ill will, this will mean: the old guard, the Leninists, the Stalinists, the workerists, all revolt. Why do anarchists limit themselves to bringing others to do it? Who will push them? Are they not once again outside of history? A well-meaning interpretation: to push the exploited to revolt in the only possible way, that is, to revolt themselves, not with rivers of ink..." (AR, "The Movement of '77 and the Guerrilla"). The general strike never happened, so that armed groups and unrealistic elements like Bonanno were more and more isolated. Although the ebb of the movement of 1977 left armed struggle as the only way out for many rebels, there were never the ten, one hundred, one thousand armed nuclei that AR announced in its founding statement. The unions imposed order in the factories and the police imposed it in the streets. The State reinforced itself; illegal acts were harshly repressed. There were waves of detentions; armed struggle dissolved like a sugar cube in water. In 1979, most of the members of AR were imprisoned and, from their cells, announced the guerilla was over. Some went over to the Leninist organization *Prima Linea*, which produced doubts about the ideological steadiness of the former organization, so roundly proclaimed in their leaflets and communiqués. At the end of 1977, Bonanno was arrested for *Armed Joy* and, on November 30, 1979, condemned to a year and a half of prison for having written it. Far from cowering or repenting, he made common cause with activist prisoners, such as those of the Red Brigades or the P38, publically lashing out against Amadeo Bertolo and Paolo Finzi, who, in *A Rivista Anarchica*, had gone all out in attacking his review of a book on Emile Henry. It was the first time he had been publically attacked in an anarchist newspaper; they laid into him for showing off in meetings. Bonanno took advantage of the occasion to deal with the question of class violence minus suspicious moralizing: "A terrorist is not someone who confronts power with violence in order to destroy it; it is one who uses violent and cruel means to secure the continuance of exploitation. That is why, since only a small minority is interested in that continuance (bosses, fascists, politicians of every stripe, union officers, etc.) it is logical to deduce that the 'true' terrorists are the latter, insofar as they use violent means to perpetuate exploitation. These people's violence is carried out in the force of laws, in prisons, in the obligation to work, in the automatic mechanism of exploitation. The rebellion of the exploited is never terrorism." ["Of the Terrorism of some Idiots and Other Matters," 1979]. Assimilating constraints to extreme forms of oppression, he identifies it all with terrorism: "Let us say that a terrorist must be one who terrorizes another,

del posicionamiento de la "crítica crítica de Catania", que "por fin quiere aclarar lo que deberían ser las tareas revolucionarias de los anarquistas. Dadas las premisas sería de esperar una respuesta de este tipo: los anarquistas habrán de empujar a rebelarse. Nada de eso: los anarquistas habrán de empujar a los explotados a rebelarse. Si lo interpretamos con malidad eso querrá decir: la vieja cantinela, los leninistas, los estatistas, los obreristas se rebelan ¿por qué los anarquistas se limitan a empujar a los demás a hacerlo? ¿Quién les empujará a la vez? ¿No estarán de nuevo fuera de la historia? Una interpretación benévola: empujar a los explotados a rebelarse de la única manera posible, es decir, rebelándose ellos, no con ríos de tinta..." (A.R., "El Movimiento de 1977 y la guerrilla"). La huelga general no tuvo lugar, quedando los grupos armados y los elementos irrealistas como Bonanno cada vez más aislados. Aunque el reflujó del movimiento de 1977 dejó la lucha armada como única salida para muchos rebeldes, no hubieron los diez, cien, mil núcleos armados que anunció A. R. en su declaración fundacional. Los sindicatos impusieron el orden en las fábricas y la policía, en la calle. El Estado se reforzó y los comportamientos ilegales fueron duramente reprimidos. Se produjeron oleadas de detenciones; la lucha armada se disolvió como un azucarillo en el agua. En 1979 la mayoría de miembros de Azione Rivoluzionaria cayeron presos y desde las celdas dieron punto final a la guerrilla, pasando algunos a la organización leninista Prima Linea, cosa que despertaba dudas sobre la firmeza ideológica de aquella organización, tan rotundamente afirmada en sus octavillas y comunicados. A finales de 1977 Bonanno fue arrestado por «El Gozo armado» y condenado el 30 de noviembre de 1979 a un año y medio de cárcel por haberlo escrito. Lejos de acobardarse o de arrepentirse, se solidarizó con los activistas prisioneros, incluso con los de B. R. o los P38, arrebatándole públicamente contra Amadeo Bertolo y Paolo Finzi que desde «A Rivista Anarchica» se habían despachado a gusto contra su recensión de un libro sobre Emile Henry. Era la primera vez que le atacaban públicamente desde una tribuna anarquista y le restregaban su exhibicionismo en las reuniones. Bonanno aprovechó la ocasión para tratar la cuestión de la violencia de clase sin entretenerse en moralismos sospechosos: «Terrorista no es el que se enfrenta al poder con violencia para destruirlo, sino el que emplea medios violentos y cruels para asegurar la continuidad de la explotación. Por eso, ya que solo una pequeña minoría se interesa en dicha continuidad (patrones, fascistas, políticos de cualquier tipo y color, sindicalistas, etc.), es lógico deducir que los «verdaderos terroristas son estos últimos, en cuanto que emplean medios violentos para perpetuar la explotación. Y la violencia de esta gente se realiza en la fuerza de

producen análisis como la Fiat automóviles.

one who tries to obtain something by imposing their point of view with actions that sow terror. Thus, it is clear that power terrorizes the exploited in a hundred ways. They are afraid of not working, of poverty, of laws, of the cops, of public opinion; they suffer from a compact psychological terrorism that reduces them to a state of almost complete submission in the struggle against power. That is terrorism" (ibid). However, Bonanno does not end up endorsing armed struggle, still debatable at the strategic level, and even less the necessity of an "armed party." What he rejects is the contrast, which he considers Manichean, between armed struggle and mass struggle, because it would lead to the delegitimation and criminalization of those who practice the former. He posed the question so as not to answer it: armed struggle is a respectable option, with which one could agree or disagree, but that no guardian of anarchy could cast out of the temple. It was not all good, it was not all bad; but it was always ethically justifiable. This issue would end up as his specialty, but he was not content with that. Around that time his thinking took on a worrisome degree of confusion and lack of style. Bonanno came down with a case of graphomania. With great confidence, he took on any issue, using a sententious tone that aspired to a sense of profundity and abundant allusions that made it seem he knew more than what he let on—typical tricks to impress less demanding readers. Facts were not of great importance and he rarely appealed to them as a basis for his peremptory assertions. If he mentioned the "real movement," it was as a simple commonplace of his convoluted rhetoric. He would move from one issue to another between outbursts, topics, gratuitous affirmations, and, once in a while, some truth half drowning in so much phraseology, stringing it all together without the least logical sequence. The end was the beginning: insurrectional action. We can gather examples of his nonsense by the dozen, but it is enough to glance at "The Bathwater and the Baby," in which he attempted to liquidate his badly digested Situationism, the "movement," the dialectic, and Marxism, among other things. The fact that Bonanno discounted theoretical activity if it did not lead to immediate and overwhelming action did not save him from becoming one of those (to say it in his own words) "lovers of the pen, who produce analysis like Fiat produces automobiles."

In May 1980, the police carried out a raid against the anarchists associated with the magazine *Anarchismo*. Bonanno and his comrades were accused of belonging to AR, but the set-up failed in the drill stage. The end of the revolutionary movement came about in the midst of an endless stream of informants and reformed repentants. Toni Negri himself was at the head of

the "dissociated", those who promised never to fight the state in exchange for penitentiary benefits, and he signed up for the chorus of those who asked for amnesty. Bonanno rightly attacked them in the 1984 booklet entitled *And We Will Still Be Ready To Storm The Heavens Another Time*, which earned him another trial. From the easy defeat of the revolutionaries he drew conclusions that went against those of the surviving anarchist organizations, since they indicated the need for violent action against persons and things that embodied repression, bourgeois justice, technobureaucracy, syndicalism, and capitalism, all of which must "be translated into precise act, acts of attack, not just in words, but in deeds" ("The Illogical Revolution," 1984). True anarchists must be in permanent revolt and begin to attack: "We insistently reaffirm that the use of organized violence against exploiters, even if it takes the form of minoritarian and limited action, is an indispensable instrument in the anarchist struggle against exploitation" (*And We Will...*) After years of beating around the bush, finally the step was to be taken. The prison cell discussions and the shameful spectacle of the repentant and dissociated had each contributed something. Bonanno, who we thank for forgetting Spinoza and the "diffuse worker", pronounces obvious truths that are fortunately not disguised by his pretentious verborrhea: "They will not give us an amnesty. We will have to pay for it." The price will be the revolutionary spirit, ideas, dignity, bravery. "By accepting the agreement today, tomorrow at best we might perhaps struggle inside the ghetto where power will have parked us. ... Collaborating means surrendering to the enemy outright." For the extremist Stalinists: "The reduction of class war to a mere military confrontation carries within it the logical conclusion that, if we undergo a military defeat on this terrain, the class war ceases to exist as such. From this we come to the not just theoretical but practical absurdity that in Italy today, after the defeat of the combatant organizations, there is no longer an actual class war, and that it is in everyone's interest (and in the State's interest first of all), to negotiate a surrender in order to avoid the development, or the continued development, of a process of struggle that is absolutely nonexistent and completely useless as well as dangerous for all of us" (ibid). In fact, the betrayal of Negri and the collaborators resided in their weird Leninism, which translated everything into terms of separated power. As self-proclaimed representatives of the working class, they were the privileged interlocutors of the State and their salvation was to crudely depict the central question. As a defeated party, they were not going to fight for their freedom, but to negotiate their freedom to take up the struggle again by other means. With their future mortgaged by the agreements with the State, what would that struggle look

En mayo de 1980 la policía realizó una razza contra los anarquistas vinculados a la revista «Anarchismo». Bonanno y sus compañeros fueron acusados de pertenecer a Azione Rivoluzionaria, pero el montaje resultó fallido en los días siguientes. El final del movimiento revolucionario se produjo en medio de un sínfin de delatores y arrepentidos. El mismo Toni Negri encabezó a los «disociados» que se comprometían a no combatir jamás al Estado a cambio de beneficios penitenciarios, y se apuntó al coro de los que pedían la amnistía. Bonanno arremetió justamente contra todos en el libro de 1984 «Y nosotros estamos siempre dispuestos a empujarnos mutuamente en el cielo», lo que le valió otro proceso. De la fácil derrota de los revolucionarios sacó conclusiones que iban en sentido opuesto al de las organizaciones anarquistas supervivientes, pues apuntaban hacia la acción violenta contra las personas y objetos que encarnaban la represión, la justicia burguesa, la tecnoburocracia, el sindicalismo y el capitalismo, todo lo cual debía «traducirse en actos precisos, en actos de ataque, no sólo verbal, sino en los hechos» («La Revolución ilógica», 1984). Los verdaderos anarquistas debían estar en revuelta permanente y pasar al ataque: «Reafirmamos con insistencia nuestra convicción de que el uso de la violencia organizada contra los explotadores, incluso cuando reviste el aspecto de acción minoritaria y circunscrita, es un instrumento indispensable de la lucha anarquista contra la explotación» («Y nosotros, etc.»). Después de años mareando la perdiz, por fin se había decidido a dar el paso. Las discusiones de la cárcel y el espectralo de los arrepentidos y disociados habían contribuido a suyo. Bonanno, a quien agradeceremos simplemente el haber llevado a la conclusión lógica de que si sobre Para los estalinistas existía la reducción de la guerra de clases a un simple enfrentamiento militar lleva en sí la conclusión lógica de que si sobre dicho terreno sufren una derrota, la guerra de clases deja de existir como tal. Se llega al absurdo, no sólo teórico, sino práctico, de que hoy en Italia, después de la derrota de las organizaciones combatientes, no se trata ya de una guerra de clases en actos, y que interesa a todos (y en primer lugar al Estado) negociar una rendición para evitar que se desarrolle un proceso contra-funcional absolutamente ficticio y completamente perjudicial para cada uno de nosotros. Efectivamente, la traición de Negri y los colaboradores residió en

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figure of international anarchism. His great theoretical discovery—that any sort of action, minoritarian though it may be, was possible and desirable at any time—would invariably mark his path.

In the beginning was the act. The separation of theory and practice reduced one to a simple accompaniment and the other to mere technique. For Bonanno, the "not waiting" of the "specific" anarchist organizations and "passing into action" required a different type of organization, impermanent and defined as "informal", and he thought he had found it in his affinity groups. Said groups were to elaborate a "project," product of their analyses and discussions, which would orient and stimulate action. Using the technical language of management and marketing, in one of the articles in *Anarchismo* he described the project as "the site of the conversion of theory into practice", specifying the four conditions sine qua non of that elaboration that the revolutionary was to bring together, to wit: courage, perseverance, creativity, and "materiality" (meaning something like common sense). The Milan gathering in October of 1985 around the motto "Anarchism and the Insurrectional Project" allowed Bonanno to expound his vision of the transformations of capitalism in broad strokes. The ease with which he employed trivial ideas made fashionable by American sociology (for example, to describe society as "post-industrial") and the professorial tone he took on are surprising. In his intervention we can read this bit of nonsense: "From the productive point of view capital's capacity is no longer based on the resources of financial capital, on investment in other words, but is essentially based on intellectual capital" ("From Riot to Insurrection"). Believe it or not, Bonanno was repeating the words of Professor Negri. "Capital no longer needs to rely on the traditional worker as an element in carrying out production" so "[...] workers have been displaced from their central position. First, timidly, in the sense of a move out of the factory into the whole social terrain [Negri again]. Then, more decisively, in the sense of a progressive substitution of the secondary manufacturing sector by the tertiary services sector." One wonders if he knew what he was saying, since tertiary services have nothing to do with production, but Bonannist prose has always been a tortured prose, above all when it theorizes. According to him, the working class was progressively moving to the margin of production, losing its protagonism; also, the revolution could just as well happen as not, since in post-industrial society the relation of cause and effect between struggles and their outcomes disappeared. Bonanno had noticed the uprisings of marginal districts in English cities and gratuitously pontificated about the anarchists' task: "to transform irrational situations of riot into an insurrectional and revolutionary reality" (ibid). The matter was

En un principio fue la acción. La separación entre teoría y práctica reducida a una simple acompañamiento y la otra a mera técnica. Para Bonanno el «no esperar» como hacían las organizaciones anarquistas «específicas» y «pasar a la acción» requería un tipo de organización diferente, no permanentemente, definido como «informal», y creyó encontrarlo en los grupos de afinidad. Dichos grupos habrían de elaborar un «proyecto» producto de sus análisis y discusiones, que orientaría y estimularía la acción. Usando el lenguaje técnico del marketing empresarial, en uno de los artículos de «Anarchismo» describía el proyecto como «el lugar de la conversión de la teoría en la práctica», especificando las cuatro condiciones sine qua non para su elaboración que debía reunir el revolucionario, a saber, coraje, constancia, creatividad y «materialidad» (algo así como sentido práctico). El encuentro de Milán en octubre de 1985 bajo el lema «Anarquismo y proyecto insurreccional» permitió a Bonanno exponer a grandes trazos su visión de las transformaciones ocu-rridas en el capitalismo. Sorprende la ligereza con que usaba trivialidades mundestas en boca por la sociología americana (por ejemplo calificar a la sociedad de «post industrial») y el tono profesoral que se gastaba. En su interve-nción podíamos leer esta enorme capacidad del capital desde el punto de vista productivo hoy no se basa en los recursos del capital financiero, estos, sobre las inversiones, sobre el dinero, sino que está basada esen-cialmente, casi en su totalidad, sobre el capital intelectual. «Aunque parezca-mente, Bonanno repete al profesor Negri. «El capital ya no necesita recu-rrir a obreros para realizar la producción» así que «la centralidad de la clase obrera ha sido trasladada a otra parte. De primeras, tímidamente, en el sen-tido de una difusión de la fábrica en el territorio [de nuevo Negri]. Después más decisivamente, en el sentido de una progresiva sustitución de los proce-sos productivos terciarios al clásico secundario. «Uno se pregunta si sabía lo que decía, pues los procesos terciarios no tienen que ver con la producción, y por lo tanto la producción ha sido siempre un asunto de otra cosa, sobre todo

Al teorizar. Según el la clase obrera quedaba progresivamente al margen de la producción perdiendo protagonismo y, además, la revolución podía tanto ocurrir como no pues en la sociedad post industrial desaparecía la relación de causa a efecto entre las luchas y sus consecuencias. Pero sin decir por qué, «justo por eso la revolución se vuelve posible». Bonanno se había percatado de las revueltas de las barriadas marginadas en las ciudades inglesas y pontificaba gratuitamente acerca de la tarea de los anarquistas: «transfor-  
mar las situaciones irracionales de sublevación en la realidad insurreccio-  
nal y revolucionaria.» El tema quedó apartado sine die, pero ya hemos dicho que la teoría no era su fuerte y al tener que rellenar un par de publicaciones regularmente, procedía sin escrúpulos con los materiales que pirataba. Por ejemplo, en 1987 copió la compaginación y la presentación tipográfica de la revista «Encyclopédie des Nuisances» para presentar la nueva serie de «Anarchismo», anecdota inocente si no fuera por el fusilamiento de tres artículos de la EdN en sendos números del portavoz de Bonanno. Cortes no indicados, interpolaciones abusivas, retoques arbitrarios y numerosos erro-  
res sin intención aparente que forzaron a la EdN a emitir un comunicado que concluía: «Aquellos que exhibiendo una crítica que no es la suya, comien-  
zan por disimular su origen todo lo que pueden, así como ocultar las luchas de donde proviene y las relaciones que estas implican, demuestran con ello ser incapaces de usarla y de descubrir los secretos de su época o de com-  
prender las diversas operaciones especiales de la democracia espec-tac-  
lar. Donde la ficción domina en grande, las pequeñas falsificaciones pueden no tener importancia. Sin embargo aprovechamos la ocasión para declarar nuestra modesta convicción de que estas explican el triunfo de aquella, y de que el hundimiento de una pasa por el fin de las otras.» Bagatelas que no pre-  
ocupan a Bonanno. Su problema era por un lado el «ataque» y por el otro,

shelved indefinitely, but I have already said that theory is not his forte and, having to regularly fill up a couple of publications, he unscrupulously proceeded with the materials he was pirating. For example, in 1987 he copied the layout and typography of the magazine *Encyclopédie des Nuisances* for the new series of *Anarchismo*, which would be a harmless anecdote were it not for the fact that three articles of the *EdN* were copied in two successive issues of Bonanno's organ. Unexplained cuts, abusive interpolations, arbitrary revisions and numerous unintentional errors forced the *EdN* to propagate a communiqué that concluded "Those who, showing off a critique that is not their own, begin by concealing its origin as much as possible, as well as hiding the struggles from which it emerges and the relations they imply, show, in this way, that they are not capable of using this critique and discovering the secrets of their time, or of understanding the diverse specialized operations of spectacular democracy. Where fiction rules the large stage, small falsifications are of no importance. We nevertheless take advantage of the occasion to declare our modest conviction that the latter explain the triumph of the former, and that the collapse of the former comes through the end of the latter." Such trifles did not concern Bonanno. His problem was, on one hand, "attack", and, on the other, the police's attempts to implicate him in various attentats.

He was the first agitator since Blanqui to declare the possibility of an offensive against Power during a complete retreat of the working class. It was evidently an attempt to escape historical conditions through the overwhelming action of minorities. The main role was, according to Bonanno, to be given to informal groups, the only ones capable of acting effectively. The masses were not interested in revolutionary revelry. He condemned mass demonstrations as peaceful and useless; in their place, in addition to demonstrations "organized in the insurrectional way" he called for "the need for small destructive acts, for direct attack against the structures of capital." The responsibility for those attacks should be fully taken on by the groups and not depend on favorable or unfavorable consequences, or the level of general consciousness. The decision to directly attack Capital and the State was the business of revolutionaries, repositories of the insurrectional essence of conflict. "We either attack or retreat. We either accept the class logic of the clash as an irreducible counter-position or move backwards towards negotiation and verbal and moral deception" ("Propulsive Utopia"). If they wanted to live their lives, liberate their instincts, negate bourgeois ideals, satisfy their authentic needs or whatever other trivialities from the liberated vocabulary of the dissatisfied rebels, words were not enough. Anarchists had to overcome

the political and moral barriers that impeded them from acting. Bonanno described such efforts as "the great work of liberating the new ethical man" ("The Moral Fracture," in his magazine *Provocazione*, March 1988). He disdained assembly-style methods because they slowed down or stopped the more decisive actions; he also disdained initiatives that sought to bring together the maximum number of adherents: "the mania for quantity". For that reason he paid no attention to the protest movements at the base, such as the COBAS [*Confederazione dei Comitati di Base*], constituted in November 1987. The Bonannist model was that of the "self-managed leagues" formed at the beginning of the eighties by the people of Comiso (Sicily) to oppose an American missile base. They were informal "nuclei" advised by anarchists with only one objective: the destruction of the military base. With no program, autonomous (i.e. independent of parties, unions, or any other entity), they remained in "permanent conflict" with domination and "attacking" without engaging in dialogue, negotiations, or agreements. Probably so as to distinguish them from non-immediately destructive struggles, he called these sorts of conflicts "intermediate struggles", to contrast them with others with wider objectives, motivated by the "insurrectional task", like the "struggle against technology" that resulted in the dynamiting of more than one hundred high voltage towers between 1986 and 1988. The translation of a German pamphlet that detailed how to blow up one of these towers earned Bonanno a new stay in prison. In the campaign of the pylons, in which rebels of various countries participated, the mania for quantity returned through the back door: the syndicalists counted membership cards, and the activists, bombings. The quantitative spirit prevailed equally in all. For the efficacy of an attack does not depend on the number of explosions, nor on the degree of destruction brought about. There are not "intermediate" struggles and real struggles; there are practical struggles and useless struggles—struggles that awaken the consciousness of oppression and struggles that put it to sleep. The police was unable to implicate Bonanno in any violent act, but it did treacherously implicate him in a jewelry store robbery. He was arrested on February 2, 1989, and freed without charges two years later. Once free, he seized the opportunity to travel to Spain and put the finishing touches on insurrectionalism, an ideology that had its influence in the anarchist milieus of various countries where anarchism was stagnant, dormant, and controlled by factions.

In 1992, Bonanno and other comrades decided to take a qualitative leap in "attack", seizing an "organizational occasion". To that end, they brought together the group that instigated an Anti-Authoritarian Insurrectionalist

general. La decisión de atacar directamente al Capitol y al estado no competía más que a los revolucionarios, depositarios de la esencia insurreccional del conflicto: «D atacamos o retrocedemos. O aceptamos hasta el fin la lógica de clase del enfrentamiento como contraposición irreductible y sin solución o vamos para atrás, hacia los pactos, los detalles, los embrollos lingüísticos y bur-  
gueses, satisfacer sus necesidades auténticas o cualquier otra zarañandaja del vocabulario liberado de los rebeldes insatisfechos, las palabras no bastaban. Cada anarquista tenía que superar las barreras políticas y morales que le impe-  
dían actuar. Bonanno calificaba esos esfuerzos de «el gran trabajo de liberal al hombre nuevo de la ética» («La fractura moral», en «Provocazione», publicación dirigida por él, marzo 1988.) Desdénaba los métodos asamblearios porque retrasaban o paraban las acciones más decididas, así como las iniciativas que buscaban agrupar el máximo de adherentes, «la manía de la cantidad». Por esa razón no prestaba atención a los movimientos reivindicativos de base como los COBAS, constituidos en noviembre de 1987. El modelo bonannista eran las «ligas autogestionadas» que formaron a principios de los ochenta los habitan-  
tes de Comiso (Sicilia) para oponerse a la construcción de una base americana de misiles. Se trataba de «núcleos» informales asesorados por los anarquistas con un solo objetivo, la destrucción de la base militar, sin programas, autogestión o independencia de partidos, sindicatos o de cualquier otra entidad, en «con-  
flicto permanente» con la dominación y «al ataque», sin prestarse al diálogo, a la transacción o al pacto. Seguramente para distinguirlo de las luchas no inmediatadamente destructivas, denominaba a este tipo de conflictos «luchas intermedias», a diferencia de otros con objetivos más amplios y motivados por el «trabajo insurreccional» como la «lucha contra la tecnología», que se saldó con más de cien torres de alta tensión dinamitadas entre 1986 y 1988. La traducción de una octavilla alemana que precisaba detalles de cómo echar abajo una de esas torres le valió a Bonanno una nueva estancia en prisión. En la campaña de los postes, donde participaban rebeldes de varios países, la manía de la cantidad volvía por la puerta de atrás: los sindicalistas contaban carnets y los activistas, atentados. En todos prevalecía el espíritu cuantitativo. Pues la eficacia de un ataque no depende del número de explosiones, ni del grado de destrucción causado. No hay luchas «intermedias» y luchas reales, hay luchas prácticas y luchas inútiles, luchas que despiertan la conciencia de la opresión y luchas que la duermen. La policía no pudo implicar a Bonanno en ningún hecho violento pero lo involucró artatamente en el asalto a una joyería. Fue arrestado el 2 de febrero de 1989 y puesto en libertad sin cargos dos años más tarde. Una vez libre aprovechó el tiempo para viajar a España y a dep

el todo definitivo al insurreccionalismo, ideología que influyó en los movimientos anarquistas al revivir sus pasados y al mismo tiempo en el anarquismo es encontrado en la época de la revolución y controlado por camarillas.

The idea of an organization, the elements of which had been being formulated for the last twenty-five years, completed the ideology. Bonanno just put a sticker on it with which many would be unhappy. "The revolutionary anarchist insurrectionalist organization" consists in affinity groups formed in times of struggle with the goal "of carrying out specific coordinated actions against the enemy" and "aimed at creating the best conditions for mass insurrection". The insurrectionary character is granted by "permanent conflictuality," that is, knowing one is at war with the oppression of capitalism and the State. Such groups will rely on "base nuclei", the old Bonannist idea, whose function "to take the place of the old trade union resistance organizations — including those who insist on the anarcho-sindicalist ideology — in the ambit of intermediate struggles" in a terrain consisting of "what is left of factories, neighborhoods, schools, social ghettos, and all those situations that materialize class exclusion." For Bonanno, it was the destructive aspect, not the degree of consciousness provoked in the masses that established the appropriateness of the action. So it goes without saying that the preferred form is sabotage, "the classic weapon of all the excluded" ("Another Turn of the Capitalist Screw"), valid for any occasion and good for all ages. Sabotage is like desire—it has neither schedule nor calendar date.

Analyses of social reality continue to be Bonanno's unfinished business. He states there is no "factory mentality" and asserts the "deskilling" of the individual and the "pulverization" of the working class, so he thinks it unfounded to refer to "ridiculous dichotomies such as that between bourgeoisie and proletariat", only to move from there to similar dichotomies taken from pop sociology: "specific social reality... always presents a constant: the class division between dominators and dominated, between included and excluded." The dichotomies do not stop there, since he alludes to "the confrontation between rich countries and poor countries" that takes on, or tends to take on, the form of national liberation struggles or religious wars. This confrontation, occasioned by capitalism's incapacity to "resolve the economic problems of poor countries", leads him to find positive aspects in nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism, whose brief appearances around the Mediterranean lead him to conclude that this will be the "theater of the coming social confrontations". Reading newspapers has convinced him that he is an expert in geopolitics, since he claims, without bothering to prove it, that in the Mediterranean countries "conflicts will develop that will be able to heighten the tensions already underway"; he does not clarify if they will be conflicts between classes or states (probably both) but in any case they will have to be confronted with the most adequate practice: the insurrectional one ("Proposal for a Debate", 1993). Actually, Bonanno is referring to the Palestinian conflict, in which he has placed great hopes. As always, armed struggle, having attained the heights to acquire a global vision, remains in the clouds of Third-Worldism.

I say that revolutions, in societies of class antagonism, are made by the oppressed masses, not by formal or informal minorities. Organization will be the product of social struggles, not the artificial fruit of activist voluntarism or propaganda. If the times are not ripe, it is because there are no movements of conscious masses. Because we can't do better, we do what we can, but the lack of massive struggles will never be compensated for by the activism of a few groups. A strategic defense would be to organize the theater of social war with the objective to fight the class enemy. That would mean to free up spaces for the development of consciousness in the masses, that is to say, for the emergence of autonomous struggles. In the opposite context, activism not only substitutes for such struggles, it sets itself up as the radical spectacle of such struggles. As much as it tries to contribute to the resurgence of revolutionary protest, it prepares the terrain for its perversion. This incredible confusion of insurrectionalist theses was unacceptable, but the inconsistency and superficiality of the analyses did not matter to Bonanno, possessed by a

Y por todo esto se apegan a la exclusión de clase. » Para Bonanno era la faceta destructiva y no el grado de conciencia provocado en las masas la que establecía la idoneidad de la acción. Ni que decir tiene que la forma preferida es el sabotaje, «el arma clásica de todos los excluidos» [«Otra vuelta de tuerca del capitalismo»], válida para cualquier ocasión y bueno para cualquier edad. El sabotaje es como el quere, que no tiene horario ni fecha en el calendario.

Los análisis de la realidad social siguen siendo la asignatura pendiente de Bonanno. Consta la inexistencia de una «mentalidad de fábrica» y la «des- cualificación» del individuo, así como la «pulsión» de la clase obrera, por lo que encuentra infundado referirse a «dilectos dicotomías como la de burguesía y proletariado», para acto seguido pasar a dicotomías similares extrínsecas de la sociología vulgar: «la realidad social específica... presenta siempre una constante: la división de clase entre dominantes y dominados, entre incluidos y excluidos.» Las dicotomías no se paran ahí por cuanto alude a «la confrontación entre países ricos y países pobres» que adopta o tiende a adoptar la forma de luchas de liberación nacional o de guerras de religión. Dicha confrontación, ocasionada por la incapacidad del capi- talismo en «resolver los problemas económicos de los países pobres», le conduce al hallazgo de aspectos positivos en el nacionalismo y en inte- grismo islámico, cuyos asomos por el Mediterráneo le llevan a concluir que éste será el «teatro de los próximos enfrentamientos sociales». La lectura de periódicos le ha convenido de ser un experto en geopolítica, pues afirma sin molestarse en demostrarlo que en los países mediterráneos «se desarro- llarán en los años venideros conflictos capaces de agudizar las tensiones en marcha»; no nos aclara si serán conflictos de clase o de Estados, probable- mente ambos, pero en todo caso habrán de afrontarse con la práctica más adecuada, la insurreccional («Propuesta para un debate», 1993). En realidad, Bonanno se refiere al conflicto palestino, en el que tiene puestas grandes esperanzas. Como siempre, la lucha armada, al coger altura para adquirir una visión global, se queda en las nubes del tercermundismo.



«...»

desire for action that he was able to transmit to anarchists disappointed by the inactivity of traditional organizations. They became followers of his ideas, beyond all logic, especially because logic was not their most attractive characteristic. Insurrectionalism permeated certain youth milieus not because of its lucidity or theoretical superiority. Nor did it do so through the efficacy of its actions, often seasoned with the vinegar of prison and personal tragedy. Even less so because the Mediterranean prophecy came true. The reasons for its relative success were of a psychological nature: those who wanted action got action. Action had something of an emotional release to it. Bonanno had realized that "anarchism is a tension, not a realization" (*The Anarchist Tension*, talk in Cuneo, January 1995), and he insisted on this fact. Bonanno described the anarchist coming to consciousness as an "insurrection of a personal nature, that illumination which produces an idea-force inside us," a kind of revelation that determined a way of life and not simply a way of seeing things. It produced an intimate liberation, the elevation to a state of anarcho-grace that helped to free oneself from the bonds of one's surroundings: "insurrectionalism is a personal thing; each one should accomplish their own insurrection, modify their own ideas, transform the reality that surrounds him, beginning with the family, with school, which are structures that keep us imprisoned..." (Interview with Bonanno on Radio Onda Rossa, 20 November 1997, trans. modified). Anarchists, if they wanted to be real anarchists, had to question themselves daily in terms of what they did and what they thought, since doing and thinking could not go separately. Either "metaphysics" or anarchism—that is, action. Action therefore took on an existential dimension. An anarchist without action was like a garden without flowers, or like an officer without a uniform. Why stop, if one was in "permanent conflictuality"? Action became a moral criterion: one was a good anarchist or a bad anarchist depending on whether one did or did not act. Bonannism, that peculiar revolutionary version of American *do it yourself*, offered all the charms of sectarian militancy with none of its organic servitudes. The lack of true social movements was not so much a handicap as a condition of insurrectionalism: the illegal character of agitation suggested, for obvious reasons a certain distance from prosaic work with masses. An extreme individualism called "autonomy" protected the professional anarchist from all critique (a few passages from Stirner perhaps tended to reinforce it). The insurrectos could believe themselves to be in the limelight whatever the relevance or pointlessness of their actions; because they were indifferent to the masses, they had no one to answer to. They were their only judges. Due to a historical irony, old Bonanno has survived his contradictions and defects, thanks to acne.

La ausencia militancia seccionaria sin ninguna de sus servidumbres orgánicas. La ausencia de verdaderos movimientos sociales no era un hándicap sino una condición del insurreccionalismo: el carácter ilegal de la agitación aconsejaba por cuestiones evidentes de seguridad mantener una cierta distancia con el pro-saico trabajo de masas. Un extremado individualismo llamado "autonomía", al que si al caso unos pasajes de Stirner contribuían a reforzar, protegía al anarquista profesional contra las críticas. El insurrección podía creerse en la pomada cualquiera que fuera la pertinencia o la insensatez de sus actos, pues indiferente a las masas, no rendía cuentas ante nadie. El era el único juez de sí mismo. Por una ironía de la historia, el viejo Bonanno había sobrevivido a sus contradicciones y carencias gracias al acné.

La internacional insurreccionalista se reunió en Atenas en otoño de 1996, poco antes o poco después de que Bonanno fuera encarcelado por pertenencia a banda armada. La represión también había pasado a la acción con detenciones y montajes judiciales desde 1994. «Anarchismo» había dejado de salir, pero en «Cane nero», editado en Florencia, confluyeron durante un momento las distintas facciones informales de la internacional. Los insurreccionalistas habían sobreestimado las posibilidades revolucionarias de los países mediterráneos y subestimado la capacidad represora de un Estado sobreequipado. La estrategia más elemental hubiera planteado antes que nada la pregunta: ¿podía sobrevivir la práctica insurreccional a la represión que desencadenaría de inmediato? Por supuesto que no. El proceso Marini fue la respuesta del Estado italiano al aguijoneo insurreccionalista. Hubo respuestas similares en Grecia y en España (Bonanno no hizo de Fanelli: el insurreccionalismo debutó aquí en 1996 con el fiasco del atraco de Córdoba). Bonanno salió de la cárcel en octubre de 1997. Las divergencias entre los distintos grupos acentuadas por la represión estallaron como era de prever. La internacional se reunió una segunda vez el 2000 en algún lugar de Italia y dio por terminada su existencia. Cuatro años más tarde acababa el proceso Marini con duras sentencias para la mayoría de los encartados. No obstante de una forma u otra los insurreccionalistas siguen en la brecha y no han olvidado a sus presos. «Ofreced flores a los rebeldes que fracasaron», dijo Vanzetti. Nuestras críticas no nos impiden reconocer su coraje y nuestro desacuerdo no supone un obstáculo para que exijamos su liberación.

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The Insurreccionalist International met in Athens in fall 1996, a little before or a little after Bonanno was imprisoned for belonging to an armed group. Repressive forces had also begun to act, with detentions and media-judicial montages beginning in 1994. *Anarchismo* had stopped coming out, but in *Cane nero*, published in Florence, the different informal factions of the International momentarily converged. The insurreccionalists had overestimated the revolutionary possibilities of the Mediterranean countries and underestimated the repressive abilities of an over-equipped State. The most basic kind of strategy would have posed this question first of all: could insurreccionalist practice survive the repression that was about to break out? Of course not. The Marini trial was the Italian State's response to the insurreccionalist pinprick. There were similar responses in Greece and Spain (Bonanno did not pull a Fanelli: insurreccionalism had its debut here with the Córdoba robbery fiasco in 1996). Bonanno left prison in October 1997. The divergences between the different groups, exacerbated by repression, blew up as could have been predicted. The International met a second time in 2000 somewhere in Italy and concluded its existence. Four years later the Marini trial ended with harsh sentences for most of the defendants. Nevertheless, in one way or another the insurreccionalists keep at it and have not forgotten their prisoners. "Offer flowers to the rebels who failed," Vanzetti said. My critiques do not prevent me from acknowledging his courage, and our disagreement is not an obstacle for me in demanding his freedom.

Written at the request of some friends.

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