

Université de Montréal

**The Transnational Diffusion of Contemporary Violent Resistance:
The Case of New Insurrectionalism**

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Résumé :

Ce mémoire vise à comprendre la diffusion transnationale du phénomène du 'nouvel insurrectionnalisme'. C'est une forme novatrice de contestation violente, inspirée de la philosophie anarchiste, s'opposant à la domination de systèmes étatiques et capitalistes. L'intérêt pour ce sujet porte sur le fait que c'est une manière inédite d'organiser une lutte révolutionnaire, et que le nouvel insurrectionnalisme relève de formes et interprétations novatrices d'action violente. Nous situons l'étude dans le contexte contemporain de la mondialisation et de la résistance contre celle-ci, car c'est son accroissement qui contribuerait à l'émergence du nouvel insurrectionnalisme. Pour démontrer cela, seront examinés plusieurs types de littératures : écrits portant sur la diffusion transnationale de luttes ; analyses de violence terroriste et insurrectionnaire; et les communiqués et publications émis par les acteurs et penseurs insurrectionnalistes.

La méthodologie relève de l'étude qualitative d'un phénomène transnational, en la forme d'une étude comparative de cinq pays (Italie, Grèce, Mexique, Chili et Indonésie). Le cadre analytique est 'l'approche compréhensive', placée dans la diffusion transnationale, qui cherche à comprendre un mouvement social de l'intérieur, donnant parole à ceux qui y participent.

Le nouvel insurrectionnalisme est une lutte transnationale, au miroir de son adversaire la mondialisation économique et politique, et il se diffuse aisément à travers des contextes variés car portant en lui des idéaux plus aptes à être partagés du fait de leur flexibilité, de la primauté des luttes locales, la décentralisation, les relations horizontales, et la lutte contre la hiérarchie, la domination et l'exploitation.

Mots-clés : insurrection, terrorisme, diffusion, transnational, anarchisme, insurrectionnalisme, mondialisation, violence, idéologie, praxis.

Summary:

This thesis aims at understanding the transnational diffusion of the contemporary phenomenon of 'new insurrectionalism'. It is a novel form of contestatory violence, inspired by the anarchist philosophy, and in opposition to the domination of the State and capitalist systems. This subject is particularly interesting due to its innovative understanding and organization of revolutionary struggle, and because of its novel forms and interpretations of violent action. The study is situated within the contemporary context of globalization and resistance to it, since it is the growth of this phenomenon that is said to have contributed to the emergence of new insurrectionalism. In order to demonstrate this link, we will examine several types of literature: authorship concerning transnational diffusion of politics and struggles; analyses about the use of terrorist and insurrectionary violence; and, finally, communiqués and statements published by insurrectionalist actors and thinkers.

The methodology employed here is that of a qualitative study of a transnational phenomenon, in the form of a comparative study of new insurrectionalism in five countries (Greece, Italy, Mexico, Chile, and Indonesia). The analytical frame is that of the 'comprehensive approach', placed in the context of transnational diffusion, which seeks to understand a social movement from the inside, giving voice to those who participate in it.

New insurrectionalism is a transnational struggle, an opposite reflection of economic and political globalization, and it is diffused more easily due to its flexibility, the primacy of local struggles, decentralization, horizontal relations, and a struggle against hierarchy, domination and exploitation.

Keywords : insurrection, terrorism, diffusion, transnational, anarchism, insurrectionalism, globalization, violence, ideology, praxis.

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Acronyms

ALF – Animal Liberation Front

CARI – Autonomous Cells of the Immediate Revolution

CCF – Conspiracy of Cells of Fire

CI-MSA - Insurreccional Cell Mariano Sanchez Anon

CRIA – Insurreccional Anarchist Revolutionary Cell

ELF – Earth Liberation Front

FAI – Informal Anarchist Federation

ICR – International Conspiracy of Revenge

IRF – International Revolutionary Front

ITS – Individuals Tending Towards the Wild

PGG – Praxedis G. Guerrero

RO – Revolutionary Organization

TSDD-ACF - Terrorist Cells for Direct Action – Anti-Civilization Fraction

INTRODUCTION

“By moving into the nowhere of utopia, upsetting the work ethic, turning it into the here and now of joy in realization, we find ourselves within a structure that is far from the historical forms of organization.” - Alfredo Bonanno (Armed Joy, 1977: 29)

Despite the very clear consolidation of the nation-state as the primary actor on the world stage, as well as the market as the primary exchange mechanism, we nevertheless can behold an increasingly complex and divergent display of groups contesting established political, economic and social structures in great numbers. Undoubtedly, the characteristics, demands and demographics of these groups vary widely. However, their mere existence and subsequent growth manifests a potentially great ideological challenge to the dominant forms of societal organization.

In this thesis, a very specific form and phenomenon of this systemic conflict will be examined: the rise and diffusion of what will be termed the 'new insurrectionalism'. It is a modern and dynamic insurrectionalist tendency greatly inspired by anarchism, an uncompromising stance to all forms of domination, and a strategy calling for violent opposition to structures of political, economic, social and cultural power. It is 'new' because it must be fundamentally differentiated from the insurrectionist tendencies of the 1960s through the 1980s, and 'insurrectionalist' because it is a praxical organization, seeking to express ideological views always in combination with actions, and these actions are the method of constant war, the insurrection. This tendency originated in its contemporary form in 2008-2009, in Italy and Greece in particular, and subsequently spread rapidly and widely to different regions of the globe (Black International Editions, 2). However, in these five years of significant and regular activity, there have been little to no academic or serious journalistic studies of these groups, despite their very clear communiqués and sometimes spectacular attacks.

Thus, one may note that the new insurrectionalism is a growing phenomenon, diffusing itself

with relative ease through very different and divergent contexts. As such, is it possible to conceive of new insurrectionalism as carrying an ideology and a paradigm that allow for the transgression of cultural differences in order to unite in the attack against that which is perceived as harming the world: the globalization of statist and capitalist forms of domination?

Hence, the fundamental question that will lead this paper: How can one explain the transmission and adoption of the 'new insurrectionalism' in the context of the transnationalisation of anti-systemic struggles?

This study will explore whether the new insurrectionalism is indeed a transnational struggle, especially as it is a reflection of its 'adversary': political and economic globalization*. It will also be demonstrated that the ideals promoted by this tendency are easily shared and diffused in divergent contexts because they offer methods of contesting the status quo and established structures and systems of domination. The reasons for this are of several orders: new insurrectionalism bases its praxis on notions of flexibility, on the primacy of local struggles over international ones, decentralization, horizontal relations, and a struggle against hierarchy, domination and exploitation. It is fundamentally the ideological and ideational nature of the new insurrectionalism, through the mixing of anarchism (the rejection of all forms of domination and a worldview of a horizontal and cooperative nature) and classical insurrectionalist praxis, that permits the diffusion of this method of resistance. However, if the relationship of new insurrectionalism to political-economic globalization is antagonistic, it is not causal, but constitutive.

The new insurrectionalism favors the utilization of cellular organization, integrated within federations as affinity groups, with the immediate objective of physically combating the State and capitalism, seen as the two institutions *par excellence* of domination, as well as all other expressions of domination and exploitation (Tiqun; Anonymous). Although the anarchist philosophy has many

* A definition of globalization as it is understood here is provided more fully on p.12

tendencies, one of which is insurrectional, this method of resistance is particularly novel in its independent development of ideology and practice, and is the subject of much controversy within circles of anarchism. Reasons for this are primarily related to the insurrectionalists' use of violence as their method of struggle, but also to the rejection of 'civil anarchism' by these groups themselves. That is, new insurrectionalists believe for the most part that a great deal of the work of non-violent social organizing by other anarchists is ineffective, and serves no revolutionary purpose (CCF Imprisoned Members Cell). As such, this tendency is often in conflict with others, though this for them is not a disadvantage, but, as we will see later in the analysis, is seen as an opportunity to sharpen one's words and weapons (Black International Editions, 3). What fundamentally differentiates the new insurrectionalists from more classical insurrectional anarchists, is that this tendency is totally committed to a violent protracted conflict with systems of domination as an ends in itself, rather than attaining a particular goal or victory (Black International Editions, 10). It is important to note that, for this anti-authoritarian tendency, the means employed in combating systems of domination *are* the ends in and of themselves, since they are thought to allow for the creation of spaces of freedom within a presumably unfree whole (Anonymous, 19). Moreover, it is necessary to examine the actions themselves, according to their direct or symbolic destructive intentions, as well as the fundamental role played by the target itself.

Diffusion is understood here as a process that comprises and transmits relations of *affinity* among the external and internal determinants of a system, from the source to its adoption, but not necessarily in a causal fashion (Colynas et Jonsson, 31). This phenomenon of diffusion will be studied from the point of view of *transnational* relations, conceived as the interactions crossing borders, “where at least one actor is a non-state agent” and is not submitted to a “national government or intergovernmental organization.” (Risse-Kappen, 3) Moreover, the type of diffusion we will be examining is what Sidney Tarrow terms “non-relational,” the transmission of ideas and methods

through more impersonal means, where actors are generally strangers to one another, having never met or communicated formally (Tarrow, 209) The concept of transnational diffusion, once clearly established in the terms of the present subject, will provide the analytical framework for the subsequent discussion of terrorism and insurrection, the comparative study of the groups in question, as well as the specifics of the transmission of new insurrectionalism itself.

In terms of the variability of the cases studies, the existence (or not) of the phenomenon of new insurrectionalism will be evaluated according to the level of similarity in the methods and vocabulary employed. Together, these constitute *praxis*. This latter term is a fundamental concept in the new insurrectionalism, because it lays the foundation for the entirety of the model. It is a mix of theory and practice, elaborated with the reasoning that “theory without action is complacent, and action without theory is often reactionary.” (Best, 181) In a sense, this means that it is necessary to elaborate and organize a strategy *before* taking up armed action (Cockcroft, 139), because though the new insurrectionalism wants to strike everywhere it can, it does not do so at random. It must carefully choose its objectives in order to allow for practical success, as well as the symbolic and abstract projection incarnated in the target and the claim made of the attack.

The level of violence, the role of the weapons and the question of victims are fundamental considerations here. First, new insurrectionalists proposes the destruction of structures of domination at all costs to themselves. They perceive violence in the totality of contemporary society, and firmly believe that only violent resistance can change this state of affairs. As such, commonly used weapons include molotov cocktails, rudimentary incendiary devices, letter-bombs and improvised explosive devices, as well as cheap methods of sabotage (i.e. polyurethane foam in ATM slots). The choice of these unsophisticated weapons is determined by their cheap and efficient nature, as new insurrectionalists have no funding in the classical organizational sense. Moreover, they seek rapid and spontaneous actions, and so must use the most adaptable and readily-available weapons at their

disposal. But weapons do damage, and destroy both property and lives; what of the victims? Interestingly enough, and as will be seen in the comparative section of this paper, there have been no civilian casualties of new insurrectionalist actions in all the countries in which it is present. Often, building targets are attacked at night, during closing times, and are issued anonymous warnings for evacuation (day and night). Although assassination attempts take place, these are almost always carried out through directly-targeted means, usually by means of a side-arm, which has less chance than a bomb of hurting bystanders. For the new insurrectionalists, the symbolic value of the attack is extremely high, and is aimed at perceived structures of domination, rather than indiscriminate destruction.

Demonstrably, we are not faced here with a causal question, where dependent and independent variables have to be determined. On the contrary, if one is to understand the very real dynamics underlying the diffusion of new insurrectionalism, it is not in limiting oneself to the study of simple or binary causal relationships that understandings of complex phenomena can be forged. Each national, regional or local instance of new insurrectionalism responds to extremely divergent pressures, and will prioritize subjects of struggle that are sometimes radically different. It is not simple reactivity, but action motivated by an emotional desire for total liberation and for violent revolt against domination. This is not a game with pre-conceived rules, nor a system of cause and effect, and it is most certainly not a phenomenon that can be understood through the objectification of its agents. Taking this into account, it is necessary to use an analytical and critical qualitative methodology that can take into account the depth and thickness of explanations that underlie the phenomenon of new insurrectionalism.

As has cursorily been alluded to above, the subject here is what fundamentally conditions the methodology employed. If one is to understand the reasons for which this phenomenon is diffused in a transnational manner, one can opt for a comparative case study that takes into account the paradigms

and the praxis of each group in each particular instance, whether local, national or regional. The advantage of this method is that it allows for identifying and explaining differences and similarities between cases, using concepts applicable in more than one case or country, and thus allows the development and testing of novel theories and approaches (Halperin & Heath, 202-203). This small-N study affords the advantage described by Halperin and Heath to develop arguments and theories relevant to other contexts, as well as develop novel and meaningful insights into more general political phenomena (Halperin & Heath, 205). Moreover, the comparative method in qualitative methodology provides a strong basis for evaluating hypotheses, since a systematic comparison is established (Collier, 106).

Each case will be studied in the context of new insurrectionalism's praxical ideology, as well as within the internal context of choices, of impositions, and of struggles that intimately influence action at the local level. That is to say, one must study at once the action communiqués published by the groups in question, texts of an ideological nature, as well as literature that examines the diverse contexts and phenomena linked to the new insurrectionalism. The cases that will be examined here consist of myriad groups, separated into national divisions for ease of analysis: Greece, Italy, Mexico, Chile, and Indonesia. These cases were chosen for several reasons: they cover three continents and five political, social, economic and cultural situations that are diverse and divergent. Moreover, these are countries in which new insurrectionalist groups have been the most present and active, both in terms of publishing ideological texts and in terms of actions carried out. It is essential to keep in mind that it is not the countries themselves that are being compared, but rather the tendencies of new insurrectionalism within these State contexts that are put into comparison in order to better understand and illustrate its transnational diffusion.

With such a methodology, it is necessary to have a complementary theoretical frame that can help link a diffuse and malleable transnational phenomenon with an understanding and explanation of

the violent act in the local context of the cell and the individual. In consideration of this necessity, this paper utilizes the method expressed in Geoffrey Pleyers' book, *Alter-Globalization: Becoming Actors in the Global Age*, of the 'comprehensive approach.' This method seeks to understand a social movement from the inside, where its “system of meanings...directs orientations of the action [taken],” and where social movements construct themselves through conflictual relationships with their adversaries (Pleyers, 13; 18). As such, it is a perspective which gives voice to those who participate in a given movement, allowing observers to better understand the actual motivations of the actors new insurrectionalism. It also allows for evaluating the impact and diffusion of the phenomenon through the observation of the use of radical vocabulary and methods of struggle similarly inspired and legitimized across divergent contexts. It will be equally necessary to clarify what is said and written within communiqués and other documents, and in so doing it will be necessary to refer to an already established frame, that of transnational relations and diffusion.

As has been noted, new insurrectionalism as a generalized phenomenon is relatively new, and has not as yet been the subject of deeper study, especially in academia. The literature mobilized in this paper, then, is more generally linked to other phenomena of globalization, transnationalism, collective action, and direct violence in the context of anti-systemic struggles, and acts as a catalyst for more specific research on the subject.

The first aspect of the literature that will be addressed concerns the vast field of transnational studies. Here, the paper will borrow from particular perspectives concerning collective action and social movements, especially in terms of the choice of physical or symbolic violence as a strategy of struggle. That there have been so many studies of transnational phenomena in the past thirty years tells us a lot about the existence of such relationships, and to what extent these have spread in our contemporary world. Taking these studies into account and incorporating them into this thesis is a purposeful effort at unifying divergent theories of contestatory social action within the context of

increasing globalization. If authors are in agreement about the existence of transnationalisation, they radically diverge on conceptions of how it operates, who it affects, and how or how much it forms new struggles at the local level. The authors referred to here include Ulrich Beck (2003), Paul Chatterton and Jenny Pickerill (2010), Jeannette Colynas and Stefan Jonsson (2011), Valpy Fitzgerald (2006), Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye (1971), Hermann Maiba (2005), Geoffrey Pleyers (2010), Thomas Risse-Kappen (1995), and Deborah J. Yashar (2007).

Also of fundamental importance to understanding classifications of violent social movements and collective action are works concerning terrorism and/or insurrection, as well as those that try to understand the reasons for which direct violence is adopted as a principal strategy by some groups. This literature will demonstrate the contemporaneity of the new insurrectionalist phenomenon, as well as differentiate it essentially from its predecessors. This last differentiation is fundamental, because we cannot simply dismiss this phenomenon as another instance of terrorism or insurrection, at the risk of obfuscating its innovative and singular significance within our dynamic contemporary world. The authors here include Bruce Hoffman (2006), Steven Best (2009), Jean-Pierre Derrienic (1972), Ariel Merari (2007), Klejda Mulaj (2010), Ronaldo Munck (2000), D. Novak (1954), Ayse Zarakol (2011), Martha Crenshaw (2008), and Richard K. Betts (2008).

The third group of literature examined here is both ideological and praxical: the perspectives of the new insurrectionalists, as well as anarchists and other marginals of mainstream theories of social liberation. It is through the study of this literature that we can begin to comprehend what is described in communiqués by different groups, as well as to better know the heritage of direct violence as a strategy of systemic contestation. In this study, it is principally the anarchist philosophy which informs and influences the thought and action of the agents of new insurrectionalism. However, it is not the only influence on this new movement – one can equally cite theoretical and practical contributions from indigenous cultures as well as radical environmentalists. Nevertheless, it is first and foremost in the

anarchist philosophy that we find the foundations for combative contestation and for a cellular diffusion of methods of struggle. Here we find several anonymous authors, such as Tiqqun, the Informal Anarchist Federation (FAI), the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire (CCF), and other insurrectionalist groups. In addition to these, other more well-known authors from varying contexts will be studied, such as Alfredo Bonanno (1977, 1974-1984, 1993, 1996, 1998), Paulo Freire (2000), Saul Newman (2007), Emma Goldman, and Loretta Kensinger (2009).

The final group of literature to be studied is the communiqués and statements published by the acting groups of the new insurrectionalism. This paper, in its research phase, did not seek dependence on a single source, or set of sources, for its comparative study. But, due to the near-total absence of information about these groups in traditional media and in academic research, the author had to find alternative means to discover their actions and statements. Moreover, if one wants to adopt the 'comprehensive approach', and understand these groups in a complex manner from the inside, on their own terms, such resources are priceless. A fundamental source here is 325.nostate.net, a British clearinghouse for *all* information about the tendency, and the most complete resource on this subject in the English language. This site, and others like it, publish statements of action, prisoner letters, journals and newspapers of the tendency, as well as claims of acts, all in the goal of spreading new insurrectionalism. It is also through these services that new insurrectionalists indirectly communicate (by publishing statements) and learn about each others' actions, participating directly in the diffusion of this method of resistance.

This study is particularly relevant and innovative for several reasons. First, it is among the first efforts at rigorously examining this phenomenon in the context of academic research. Even newspaper or magazine articles that do not simply treat these groups as terrorists, or as romantic insurrectionaries from a bygone time of Red Brigades and Direct Action, are difficult to come by. But they are not

simply terrorists or romantics: inheritors, certainly, of the anarchist praxis of Italy's 'Years of Lead'^{*} (Merriman, 1359), but with a vocabulary and practices that are highly refined, as well as an innovative organizational model that responds to the veritable needs of an asymmetric struggle against the State and capitalism. In this sense, it is a phenomenon that directly addresses the forces of the State and the market by targeting them expressly, and as such it is clear that these structures should have an interest in understanding that which attacks them. Moreover, such a novel phenomenon begs to be seriously examined and understood by other anti-systemic militants, since new insurrectionalism is a synthesis of a plurality of experiences throughout the world, condensed into a confrontational and violent praxis which seeks the destruction of systems of domination at all costs to themselves.

More to the point, this thesis aims to study direct violence as a collective action strategy in the context of contestatory social movements. Too often we are faced with moral judgements that seek to denounce these actions as obstacles to conversation and negotiation, and as dangers to the status quo, rather than try to understand the reasons and motivations for violent actions. Although contemporary academic work has revised this position towards a more complex examination of the issue, most media and government discourses continue to adopt such explanations. This kind of thinking prevents us from examining the actions and reactions to systems that may be considered unjust and abusive.

This thesis seeks to understand and reflect on what direct violent action represents, whether symbolic or not, in the context of a social, economic and political struggle against all forms of perceived and felt domination. For new insurrectionalism, the objective is the total destruction of statist and capitalist systems that characterize our contemporary societies. At its essence, new insurrectionalism must be understood as a distinct expression of our present world.

However, it is important at this point to note that there are limits to the conclusions one can

^{*} The Years of Lead were a period of notable violence in Italy, witnessing both left- and right-wing terrorist attacks and bloody street battles between radical political factions, lasting roughly from the late 1960s to the early 1980s.

make, as well as the sources used in order to arrive at these. In terms of the limits of the conclusions that can be offered, the first concerns the observability of the transnational diffusion of new insurrectionalism. Although it will be demonstrated that there are clear ties between various individuals and groups of this tendency throughout the world, there is little possibility of demonstrating definite directions and vectors of the diffusion of ideas and actions, especially in a more classical sense. That is, we are restricted to the observance of expressions and actions of solidarity between people separated by long distances, as well as to the observance of the transmission of a common vocabulary over a short period of time. Herein lies the second issue : the period of time over which new insurrectionalism has arisen is a very short one, and as such it is difficult to make solid and incontrovertible conclusions about the nature of this phenomenon. Thus, although there are some clear conclusions to be made concerning the nature of new insurrectionalism at present, the sample size in time is only of six years, and so lacks a certain amount of significance when it comes to making conclusions about its diffusion and its relative importance in terms of resistance movements worldwide. Similarly, this thesis, due to space constraints, equally lacks a more profound historical examination of what belies new insurrectionalism : a detailed history of the anarchist/insurrectionalist ideologies, and the traditions of political terrorism and insurrection that have informed this choice of praxis.

The limitations of the sources used here must also be recognized. First, one must note that the sources used to demonstrate new insurrectionalism and its diffusion are often themselves the product of the movement itself, and so will have a tendency to skew perceptions in its favor. Moreover, these are informal expressions and communiqués, and not formal studies and explanations (for the most part) of the nature of new insurrectionalism and how it spreads. As such, we must be careful about what is said and the conclusion we can make from these sources. Ideally, interviews with the actors themselves would have been useful. With a wealth of new information about the backgrounds of its actors and how they came to choose this path, we would have been able to provide a much more accurate and

ethnographical basis from which to draw final conclusions. However, due to time constraints, as well as the prohibitive costs of traveling to other countries, this important aspect of the research was not envisageable. It should finally be mentioned that the sources mobilized in this thesis are generally quite euro-centric, and so provide an inherent bias towards a primarily Western perception of the diffusion of new insurrectionalism, as well as detracting from potentially independent histories of violent resistance that may have informed the adoption of new insurrectionalism elsewhere, such as Indonesia, Mexico, or Chile. Although these problems were the result of access and language issues, more personal sources, deeper and more complex histories, and a more culturally varied approach to this phenomenon are the ingredients necessary to take this thesis farther, beyond the restraints of this exercise, for a more accurate and profound understanding of new insurrectionalism.

Having introduced the subject and the approach, it is useful to present the manner in which this phenomenon will be discussed and analyzed. The first section will discuss globalization and the diffusion of transnational resistance, and in particular the emergence of global networks of resistance, the transnationalisation of issues of struggle, and the diffusion of modes of organization and resistance. The second section will specifically discuss issues of violent direct action, terrorism and asymmetric warfare. Here, terrorism as a tactic in the short term, and insurrection as a strategy on the long term will be discussed, with an analysis discussing the rationale of opting for violent resistance. Section III will consist of a political philosophy/ideology discussion of the roles played by anarchism and insurrectionalism in the formation and transmission of the phenomenon of new insurrectionalism. This serves the purpose of situating new insurrectionalism within its ideological and praxical frame, and will permit a more clear transition towards examining its practices. Section IV will constitute the comparative study of the cases of new insurrectionalism in Greece, Italy, Mexico, Chile, and Indonesia, in order to apply lessons about transnational diffusion and violent resistance exposed earlier. Finally, the conclusion, a reflection on contemporary insurrectionalist praxis, will tie together the analytical

frame, the methodology and the cases studied in order to provide a more accurate and clear story about the emergence, but especially the diffusion of the new insurrectionalism.

I. Globalization and the Diffusion of Transnational Resistance

The new insurrectionalism did not appear out of a vacuum when it emerged, in the late 2000s. To the contrary, a broad, diverse and popular movement setting itself against globalization has been growing and emerging since the 1990s, gaining popularity the world over (Merriman, 1356-1358; Della Porta & Diani, 2-5). Indeed, it is often alongside the context of these struggles against political and economic globalization that new insurrectionalist groups emerged. Whether because of the political education inherent in such a movement (anti-globalization) or because of the lacunae often perceived within the methods of the movement against globalization, lessons were learned and both theoretical and practical views on the struggle were sharpened.

Globalization here is understood as a two-fold process. First, it represents an economic dimension, with the spreading of policies liberalizing trade and the withdrawal of barriers to capital movement (Della Porta & Diani, 44). This economic dimension of the globality of economic ties transcends the national stage, and begs the creation of intergovernmental organizations to regulate and govern capital flows. The second aspect of the process of globalization is political: the modern liberal State as the model to adopt for governing institutions, and the formation of intergovernmental organizations with a political and/or military character, in order to guarantee the stability of increasingly global interactions (Della Porta & Diani, 44-45). Here, we can first observe that globalization is a process of expansion of the State's capacity of governance, surveillance, enforcement and cooperation with other States. Second, it is a pervasive process of expanding the presence of the capitalist market by the creation of international cooperation and governance, in partnership with the expansion of the political and enforcement dynamic of the State. Essentially, what we are describing is believed by many anti-globalization activists to be 'neoliberal globalization.' (Della Porta & Diani, 2). That is, the cementing of the State and the capitalist market as the perceived political and economic

mechanisms of global domination.

It is this context of contemporary globalization that sets the bases for the possibility of diffusion of ideas, methods and organizations of resistance, not only for the anti-globalization movement writ large, but also for new insurrectionalism. It is not a question of causal effect, but rather the frame of co-constitutionality in which these interactions and innovations are set. Examining closely the emergence and diffusion of networks of resistance on a global scale provides an analytical framework within which we will be able to specify the dynamics pertaining to the transmission and adoption of new insurrectionalism. Therefore, we must examine more closely the communication of struggles on a global scale, in order to hone our understanding of the spread of this new phenomenon.

A. The Emergence of Global Networks of Resistance

Since the 1990s, an increasingly large number of global networks of different types have emerged, each focused on particular aspects of global issues and problems, combining knowledge and expertise from multiple contexts and cultures. The first question we want to answer, then, is how do networks or relationships of affinity emerge on a global scale?

Before examining these dynamics, it is fruitful to specify what is meant by a network. According to Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, “[n]etworks are forms of organization characterized by voluntary, reciprocal, and horizontal patterns of communication and exchange.” (91) Although this definition may apply to a number of types of networks, it is clear that the considerations of reciprocity, horizontality and the voluntary nature of association, are directly applicable to the conception of a global alliance (such as new insurrectionalism) based on the struggle against the State and capitalism, both of which are often perceived as the structural representatives of domination. Indeed, it is often believed that these institutions are neither voluntary nor reciprocal in their dealings with constituents. The forms that these networks take are of several orders, and may differ greatly

depending on the issue being struggled for, as well as the context and the adversary addressed. Fundamentally, though, these networks often first emerge as fluid affinity groups with few requirements to joining, demonstrating an increasing individuation of the choice of contestatory political engagement (Pleyers, 80).

Although governments are the primary agents supposed to guarantee rights of people, it is often these same governments that are rights' primary violators (Keck & Sikkink, 93). When groups and individuals find themselves being blocked from accessing meaningful participation and negotiation with the State, the international arena may be the only way that domestic activists can either gain attention for their issues, or band together in order to create stronger and broader networks and alliances to pressure a given State into complying with domestic demands (Keck & Sikkink, 93). In order to guarantee both the cohesion and strength of the emerging network, activists within it seek to effectively frame their demands in ways that “appeal to shared principles which often have more impact on State policy than the advice of technical experts...[and] frame issues by identifying and providing convincing explanations for powerful symbolic events, which in turn become catalysts for the growth of networks.” (Keck & Sikkink, 96) The emergence of American global primacy after the Cold War, and the respective economic and political pressures on other countries that accompanied it, has been one of the major causes of network creation and solidification in the past 25 years (Betts, 560).

More to the point, it is asserted by certain authors that processes of economic and cultural globalization have tended to strengthen local movements, in particular by generating popular reactions to changes in the domestic and international system, and by the concomitant weakening of states accompanying processes of contestation and globalization (Fitzgerald et al., 2). It must be noted that this last remark was provided by a study on self-determination movements by Valpy Fitzgerald et al., which constitute a specific set within global networks of resistance that accept violence as one among

many means of pressuring states. In the Cold War, and the decade immediately following it, networks focused on self-determination were indeed quite popular, and constituted some of the first major international pressure networks; the example of Palestine's diaspora is surely among the most notable, as is the Zapatista uprising of 1994.

Another aspect of the emergence of networks of resistance is the importance of the cultural shift that is imposed with globalization. The transfer from an older system to a newer one that is rather pre-formatted, and often culturally inapplicable from one context to another, generates social reactions of a variety of forms, “rooted in the dislocations and vulnerability associated with globalization.” (Fitzgerald et al., 7-8)

Popular and violent resistance is often directly related to perceived contradictions between what is promised by systems of governance, and what is actually implemented (Zarakol, 2327). It is through the existence of a conflictual relationship with their adversary that a social movement constructs itself, no matter what its tactics or strategies are (Pleyers, 18). That the State remains the primary adversary is essential to understanding the ways in which networks emerge and grow, since these movements must take into account the potential for repression on a domestic level. It is interesting to note that the literature on the subject of globalization and transnational politics often suffers from the assumption that the State is declining in relevance in contemporary politics, yet it remains the primary target of activist demands and critiques (Yashar, 173). Although borders are indeed more porous, and communication and information technologies are more widespread and decentralized, the State remains the principal actor at the national and international level, maintaining the final right of arbitration, of legislation, of regulation within given territories, and over the population they govern (Yashar, 173). The more formal and institutionalized networks of transnational resistance to globalization are themselves legal entities subject to the codes of law and customs of the country in which they were established. Organizationally, this means that the networks must play the institutional game correctly,

even in an adversarial relationship with the State, or else be punished by dissolution or other legal measures. Of course, this latter consideration does not apply to violent non-state actors, which have more often than not already chosen to violate a State's law by offering armed resistance to it.

Finally, it must be noted that the emergence of new networks, since the mid-1990s, has been greatly aided by the rapid advance in communication and information technologies (Maiba, 46). The greater potential for immediate communication between activists, despite their geographical location, allows for a much-increased spontaneity of actions and better organization in response to the State by these networks. The Internet and mobile communications, and especially the combination of these, allow people to inform themselves and communicate instantly, permitting more spontaneity and enabling the input of wider publics in organizing resistance. How, then, do networks that have emerged nationally and internationally frame their issues in such a way that these can be characterized as transnational?

B. The Transnationalisation of Issues of Struggle

According to Thomas Risse-Kappen, and as mentioned earlier, transnational relations are the “regular interactions across national boundaries when at least one actor is a non-state agent or does not operate on behalf of a national government or an intergovernmental organization.” (3) Transnational relations may also be conceived as a sort of global domestic politics, where the international system constitutes the playing field above national and international levels of decision – an open-ended meta-game of power, where borders, rules and fundamental distinctions are constantly renegotiated (Beck, 8; 11). How, then, does a network of resistance against globalization become a transnational network of resistance, and how are issues of struggle made to appeal to a transnational audience?

A first theory is that we live in a system of 'international pluralism' of sorts, where national interest groups are linked together within transnational structures (Nye & Keohane, 338). According to

this view, the transnational arena is not so much transgressive of State primacy as it is another expression of institutional politics on a world scale, by 'civil society' writ large. Thus, networks emerge because of communication and interaction on this level, and constitute transnational networks only once they have the resources and organization to spread purposefully. Moreover, it is especially where channels of participation are blocked that the international arena appears to domestic activists as a space where they can gain attention and support for their issues (Keck & Sikkink, 93).

Another explanation tells us that the unity of a movement, and its eventual strengthening, relies on social meanings shared by the actors within the movement, and on the major trial of assessing the importance of social agency in the face of global challenges (Pleyers, 4). Activists believe in incurring costs and repression for maintaining and struggling for these social meanings and the assertion of their agency in getting what they want. They thus create transnational networks when they believe that they “will further their organizational mission - by sharing information, attaining greater visibility, gaining access to wider publics, multiplying channels of institutional access, and so forth.” (Keck & Sikkink, 93)

Being an actor on the global stage does not mean that there must be a sort of deterritorialization operating, where activists become disconnected from local realities and specificities (Pleyers, 29). In fact, it is contended by members of these groups, as well as by the authorship on the question of globalization, that local, regional and national considerations more often than not take precedence over considerations of an international or transnational nature. More to the point, the transnationalisation of the networks themselves is principally due to the identification by the more local level to a broader trend of contestation that they can ally to. That is, because they share issues of struggle in a transnational manner, they ally their locality with the larger group in order to provide more resources, more strength, and a better position vis-à-vis their adversaries, in order to make good on their demands. With the increased porousness of borders, it should come as no surprise that an increasing number of

local struggles ally with broader national and transnational groups of pressure and activism. Moreover, the advent of new communication technologies in the 1990s, such as computers, fax, but especially the Internet, has enabled a dense web of exchanges between the North and South that is very difficult to control for the State, and so challenges the classic State monopoly on flows of information and interactions between its citizens and those elsewhere (Keck & Sikkink, 96).

According to Ronaldo Munck, this is principally due to the postmodern nature of contemporary transnational relations, where conflict is increasingly focused away from territorial considerations, and more towards global ideological and practical issues (1). For self-determination struggles, which now have much less clout as a movement on the international stage, their predominantly territorial aspects have been more or less exhausted, and they find themselves increasingly having to tie in their struggles with eclectic transnational movements that reflect a variety of demands and issues (Fitzgerald et al., 5). The political history of these kinds of movements has been successively bound up with geopolitical phases of colonialism, the Cold War, and the unipolar hegemony of the United States of America of the 1990s onwards (Fitzgerald et al., 8). It is contended here that these movements of self-determination have largely allied and pooled both knowledge and resources with more varied transnational militancy, in order to provide a counter-hegemony of civil society that would allow the re-emergence of issues of struggle obfuscated by the primacy of State-led international relations. In this sense, transnationalisation is a process of becoming for non-state actors of all kinds. It is a process of becoming a locus of power, at once formal and informal, in conscious opposition to, and separation from, the classical realms of the State and the market.

Although this account does not provide an exhaustive look at how issues incarnated into networks become transnational, it provides several points that enable one to see that it is at once a relatively new phenomenon – until very recently modern States could not be circumvented as they are today, particularly in terms of communication technologies – and that it depends fundamentally on the

perceptions and motivations of the people-as-actors that constitute these networks. It is their self-defined and shared meanings and perceptions that provide the basis for grouping together and pressuring, sometimes even attacking, that which they identify as their adversary. In this case, the emergence of transnational resistance against globalization, and especially the perception of continued State domination and expansion of the capitalist market, has enabled a massive network to emerge since the 1990s (Merriman, 1356), within which many tendencies meet and learn from each other, though not always in a cooperative manner. The question we must now address is how to understand the move from the establishment of an issue and network as transnational, to the diffusion of a specific transnational struggle to different and divergent contexts.

C. The Diffusion of Modes of Organization and Resistance

Having established certain ways in which networks of resistance to globalization emerge, and how they frame their issues and identify members in order to become transnational, it is now useful to describe how modes of organization and resistance are transferred and adopted across borders, in contextually-adapted ways, by other groups and networks. Diffusion may be understood as the spreading of a practice or an organizational structure within a social system, and should be understood as both a process and an outcome (Colynas & Jonsson, 31). A process because it captures causal associations among determinants in a system, from the source to the adopter; and an outcome because of the transformational process involved in interpreting and effecting the object of diffusion (Colynas & Jonsson, 31). In networks, the role of the social setting will be fundamental in determining how and where diffusion happens, as well as the relative influence of internal and external sources (Colynas & Jonsson, 35). It is important to note that the type of diffusion that is operating in the instance of new insurrectionalism is *non-relational* – diffused among people that have few or no social ties, and emulate new forms of contention learned through more impersonal means (Tarrow, 209), such as the media, the

Internet, communiqués and published statements.

As was remarked before, the world has witnessed a great rise in the number and presence of transnational networks and forms of organization since the 1990s. In large part, this is due to the spread and decrease in cost of communication and travel technologies, which “speed information flows and simplify personal contact among activists” the world over (Keck & Sikkink, 93). This is particularly important, since information is what connects members of a network together, and guarantees the effectiveness of that organization (Keck & Sikkink, 95). Moreover, the availability and reduced costs of these technologies means that members can provide information to each other, and to external sources, that would not otherwise be available, from sources that are often difficult to come into contact with. Furthermore, these networks make this information understandable, relatable and useful for distant activists and publics (Keck & Sikkink, 95-96). Through the widening and spreading of these information flows, the potential for diffusion of culturally and geographically distant ideas becomes much more pronounced. As for the State, it no longer has the ability to control as closely the kinds of information and people that flow in and out of its borders, and thus cannot prevent the contamination of ideas and methods of resistance to its own territory as it was able to 20 to 25 years ago (Keck & Sikkink, 96). This is not to say that diffusion did not exist before; national liberation and terrorist groups in the past have regularly communicated with each other and imitated each others' actions, usually by communication through standard news media, “hence the existence of patterns of contagion in terrorist incidents.” (Crenshaw, 513)

As has been noted, the conflicts witnessed in recent times are less and less concerned with issues of territoriality, and rather focus on issues of culture and identity, with more flexible and open-ended strategies (Munck, 1-2). This implies that considerations of national specificities are decreasingly relevant, and no longer inform the emergence and transnationalisation of networks of resistance, as they did in the past. Issues of identity and culture are easier to organize around, especially

in networks struggling against globalization, since what is struggled against emanates from a specific culture and context: the liberal democratic State and capitalist markets (Merriman, 1356; 1358). The perception is often that this globalization seeks to impose a certain culture and governance practices, and the assertion of one's identity and culture is expressed as an affront to it. Thus, constituting a network on the basis of the assertion *against* the imposition of forms of political, economic, social and cultural domination is what has permitted such large and broad-based networks to emerge and strengthen themselves. In this sense, then, the diffusion of forms of resistance is directly linked to the spread of forms of domination considered illegitimate by a great number of very varied publics. It is a reflection; an opposite action.

The motivations of non-state actors in general lie in their perception of their relationship to the powerful of society (Kensinger, 57). Since the relationship is increasingly viewed by activists as one in which the State is a prohibitive force that prevented certain struggles and networks from emerging, contemporary transnational relations have indeed of late evolved into forces of direct opposition to State and market policies. They believe that the more people participate and fund these networks, the more pressure will be put onto the respective institutions of power which determine laws and other institutional measures regulating people's lives. Since this is an inverse relationship, we can thus conceive that the perception of the powerful has gotten increasingly negative, and thus feeds the considerable growth of transnational networks of resistance and their diffusion throughout the world. And it is this diffusion which is fundamental here: since it is clear that there is more cooperation between States themselves in how they govern and 'keep the peace', there must be more cooperation between peoples to contest repressive policies, whether or not they know each other. In this sense, diffusion ceases being a simple fact of modern technology, and becomes a purposefully subversive means of providing strategies, tactics, and issues with which more people in more places can organize themselves and struggle against what is perceived as destroying their lives. This may also go some way

in explaining why it is that violent non-state actors have become increasingly violent, and have varied both tactics and strategies in their attacks against their adversaries (Mulaj, 2).

Because of the new global domestic politics described earlier, which functions above the national and international level as a meta-game of power, transnational links become far easier to forge and use to their fullest by transmitting and sharing theory and practice (Beck, 11). Not only are networks of resistance able to gain more members and appeal to broader audiences, they also now have the possibility to more clearly demonstrate who their adversaries are, and how they function. It becomes clearer what and who it is that must be targeted, depending on the circumstances, and as such diffusion is made easier, since a common enemy is made more obvious. Despite this growing internationalization of issues of struggle, groups continue to be fundamentally concerned with their local situations and how to struggle at that level in particular (Pleyers, 29). Increasingly, the outspoken goal of networks of resistance is to have a more global reach, but remain locally anchored, allowing for the diffusion of valuable personal and group experiences from one locality to another, and encouraging meaningful interpretations and participation in a struggle of resistance (Pleyers, 49-50). The diffusion of such ideas as the “joy of experience” and the re-forging of friendship as an alternative to capitalist individualist relations, has been a great boon to the popularization of transnational struggle (Pleyers, 51).

What we are witnessing is not the diffusion of a single model of transnational struggle, but rather of the *idea* that the struggle can only be successful if it originates locally, and can share its experiences globally. The lack of a universal alternative is a distinct advantage of the anti-globalization movement (Pleyers, 217), where not knowing becomes part of a revolutionary process of becoming.

Having established a frame that seeks to explain contemporary movement formation on a global scale, it is now possible to move towards an examination of methods of violence, asymmetric warfare, and why people and groups may opt for violent resistance.

II. Asymmetric Warfare: Terrorism and Insurrection

The great majority of transnational activist groups are peaceful, even pacifistic, seeking to effect change through means of bargaining, pressure and negotiation. They use boomerang patterns, networks of experts for critical research, and counter-summits, among other methods, to convince States and corporations to change their practices (Keck & Sikkink, 96). However, and this is what concerns us here, there are also a certain number of directly violent groups and movements that seek to effect change in a much more rapid and brutal manner, but that are faced with an imbalance in resources and power with their adversaries, thus constituting an asymmetry.

Broadly, these groups can be split into two categories: terrorist and insurrectionist. Although more specific definitions of these terms will be given in the following subsections, a cursory definition to differentiate the two is in order. Terrorism may be considered in a number of lights, but is often taken as the deliberate use of direct violence in order to instill fear into a government or population (or both), in order then to gain or impose changes on the society targeted. The dimension of non-discriminatory attack, generally injuring or killing by-standers, is a fundamental characteristic applied to terrorism. Insurrection is an equally directly violent method which uses force to attack an instance, or many instances, of authority that is perceived to be illegitimate. Here, however, there is a dimension of restrictive target-selection for symbolic and ideological purposes, as well as a generally more intense attachment to localities and marginalized communities. This is not to say that all insurrections are inherently more legitimate than terrorism, or that either are legitimate (this is not an evaluation of the morality of such methods), but rather that each operates on two different levels of asymmetry with their adversary, as well as on different ideological precepts that influence what kinds of violence are proper or not.

This section, then, will examine these asymmetrical strategies in order to understand the tactical

and strategic considerations bound up within such a choice (between terrorism and insurrection), and to make more clear why it is that groups opt for violent resistance or attack. This is not the place for a psychoanalysis of those who partake in violence, although remarks will be made about individual choices. Nor is this the place to make moral judgements about who, why, and how one may employ violence. Rather, we are seeking to understand, through the 'comprehensive approach' laid out in the Introduction, what the actors themselves see in these strategies and tactics, and how it is they come to adopting these methods rather than others.

A. Conceptions of Asymmetric Warfare: Defining Terrorism and Insurrection

This section offers a more detailed understanding of the classification of violent transnational action groups, in particular those that fall into the categories of either terrorism or insurrection. The goal here is not to provide two air-tight categorizations, but rather to demonstrate that categories are fluid, and that the terms applied to these groups often have little to do with their actual motivations and actions than those of their enemy, the established system. Instead of providing two parts describing each method in turn, this section focuses more heavily on terrorism, in order to get at its more fundamental differences with insurrection. The reason for this is partly source-related, partly because of contemporary context. Source-related because insurrection movements generally are classified according to what *kind* of insurrection they lead (e.g. national liberation, revolutionary insurgency, or resistance against an occupying force), and terrorism is more often discussed as a whole concept, rather than in its specified aspects. The contemporary context is important because governments and international organizations are much more concerned with defining and repressing terrorism than they are with insurrection. Therefore, sources on these two subjects are very much imbalanced, and much of the literature will focus on terrorism in particular. It must be noted that sources here were restricted, since most studies of terrorism are directly concerned with its religious incarnations, rather than a more

general study of it as a method of direct violence.

According to Bruce Hoffman, terrorism is fundamentally a political concept that is concerned with the pursuit, acquisition and/or use of power in order to achieve political change, and the threat or use of violence is opted for in the pursuit of specific political aims (1-2). This is perhaps one of the broadest definitions of terrorism that one can apply usefully, since it takes into consideration a rather wide array of influences for the choice of violence as a tactic. However, it must be noted that this definition may in fact be too broad, as there are an important number of groups utilizing direct violence, but not using the methods of terrorism (e.g. car bombing, hijacking, hostage-taking, or suicide bombing, among others). For example, the great majority of guerilla groups have been concerned with the pursuit, acquisition and/or use of power in order to achieve political change, and violence in both its applied and threatening forms are mobilized to the effect of making good on certain political aims. This definition, then, is unsatisfactory, and, as any definition of a loaded term, is necessarily indicative of the priorities and interests of the agent or organization expressing that definition (Hoffman, 31). If, however, we were to add a dimension of generalizing the fear element of the attack within a given population, we would be approaching a more just definition of the term. For example, Richard K. Betts asserts that terrorism is the “illegitimate, deliberate killing of civilians for purposes of punishment or coercion.” (560) But this definition is much more specific than Hoffman's, and this time the element of general attack avoiding civilian death is *not* terrorism. Clearly, it must be kept in mind that no single explanation for terrorist behaviour is suitable, and it is rather a contextual examination of each case that will provide a satisfactory image of what terrorism is (Crenshaw, 524).

Historically, terrorism as we know it can be traced back to the tactics of the anarchists and Irish republicans of the late 19th century, as well as a motley arrangement of revolutionary groups before the first World War. The Fenian Brotherhood, amongst others, began a pattern of attacking buildings and inanimate objects with symbolic value to the attackers and their enemies, though shied away from

killing civilians, as opposed to their contemporaries, the Skirmishers (Hoffman, 9). The anarchists of the late 19th century in Russia, France and the United States also generally avoided targeting civilians or places of large public passage (although such acts did occur), but were notorious for targeted assassinations of high-level political leaders, such as Tsar Alexander II of Russia in 1881, or President McKinley of the USA in 1901 (Hoffman, 7). Indeed, it was during this period that the idea of “propaganda of the deed” was developed, based on the ideas of Carlo Pisacane and Mikhail Bakunin, amongst many others. It contends, according to Emile Henry, that the conditions of violence are so pervasive, and make those repressed so desperate, that the only recourse to gain back one's freedom is direct violence; the kind of violence that is public, and the example of which can be transmitted without words to others in the same desperate situation (Woodcock, 195-196). It is, according to Henry, the indiscriminate targeting of all people and property who are considered enemies of the oppressed classes, in order to galvanize a great popular resistance to structures of domination (Woodcock, 195). Interestingly enough, it is this period of increased directly violent revolutionary activity from about 1880 to 1914 in which the first efforts at international cooperation on the subject of terrorism were made, specifically in relation to better organizing police forces, enabling a strong State role in political repression, and increasing the surveillance capacity of the State (Hoffman, 10). It is during this time that Scotland Yard formed its now famous Special Branch.

By the 1930s, the meaning of the term 'terrorism' was again changing, referring more to practices of mass repression employed by totalitarian states against their own citizens, rather than the violence of revolutionary groups (Hoffman, 14). By the 1960s and 1970s, terrorism was the term often applied to revolutionary and anti-imperial groups by colonial powers seeking to subdue unrest in their overseas territories and at home. The FLQ (Québec Liberation Front), for example, advocated armed revolt against the State in order to achieve independence and a radical socialist, almost anarchist, goal of total self-determination, only to be labeled terrorist and heavily repressed by both the Canadian and

Quebec States (Comeau et al., 103). Similarly, though with more violent means, the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) advocated the total liberation of Palestine through the utilization of bombings, hijackings and hostage-taking (Merriman, 1360). Equally, armed revolutionary groups with the goal of societal change through violence were also a major part of this era, with groups such as the Red Army Fraction in Germany, Direct Action in France, and the Weather Underground in the USA. Interestingly, the links between these two types of groups were generally strong, with the Western groups attacking the colonial and imperialist powers at home, while organisations such as the PLO, the Tupamarus and various Maoist and Marxist-Leninist groups took up arms against the perceived injustices by these powers in their countries. By the 1980s, the term had become so widely used, and abused, that it began to stand for any violence that set itself against the system, especially if the target was a Western state (Hoffman, 17). One can trace the political accusatory nature of the term to this period, where the United States in particular, but also European states, realized they could attempt to delegitimize movements by qualifying them as terrorist.

It is around the 1990s that we begin to see contemporary terrorism emerge in a more recognizable form. Groups became increasingly fluid during this period, forging more links between one another, and initiating a much wider pattern of non-state conflict the world over (Hoffman, 18). Arguably, the September 11th attack was the cementing event for the new terrorism, rather than a new era, demonstrating the increased power of these groups from their coordinating and diffuse action phase of the previous decade. Most importantly, however, is that these groups have, by their many actions, brought the West into a 'war on terror' that is ultimately unwinnable by the State, since it is not fighting on its own terms. Instead, the USA in particular has been goaded into a war that targets anyone and anything that arguably scares or threatens Americans, thus fomenting even more violent opposition to its actions at home and abroad (Hoffman, 19). Some contend that the power projected by the United States is itself part of the cause of terrorist antagonism, and a major cause of this country's vulnerability

to terrorist attack (Betts, 559).

Others have argued recently that by condemning terrorism, the United Nations was endorsing the power of the strong over the weak, and of the established political power over its non-established challenger, and as such appeared as a supporter of the status quo (Hoffman, 24). Although this view is quite understandable, one must take into account the basic Western-liberal nature of the institution itself, and in doing so, realize that terrorism in general is an affront to the social peace and State-centrism of its political practices.

In general, terrorists do not pursue goals of pure self-satisfaction, and are more often than not altruists – they believe in serving a 'good' cause in order to achieve a wider good for their people, that the organization purports to represent (Hoffman, 37). The terrorist is fundamentally a “violent intellectual.” (Hoffman, 38) Clearly, one must be wary of the tendency to generalize terrorists as mindless, obsessive and maladjusted people that seek destruction for its own sake, because that is something they are not (Hoffman, 12). We must “dispel the myth that terrorists are mentally ill, driven by poverty, or otherwise socially or psychologically bizarre.” (Betts, 464) Instead, the terrorist “displays a collective rationality” and “selects terrorism as a course of action from a range of perceived alternatives.” (Crenshaw, 511) As Martha Crenshaw demonstrates, the strategic analysis of choosing terrorism as a course of action is quite conscious, and, citing studies led in New York and West Germany, suggests that individuals in this situation can in fact be *collectively* rational (512). That is, that terrorism is not the illogical choice of some sick individual in a social vacuum, but rather is a conscious tactic that is informed by collective ideological and practical experiences by groups of people and individuals in particular contexts. The participant in terrorist groups and actions is “sensitive to the implications of free-riding and perceives their personal influence on the provision of public goods to be high.” (Crenshaw, 512) Therefore, it is a clear and thought-out decision of participation in collective action, informed by context, the group and individual interpretations of a

given situation.

More often than not, the option of terrorist action will be a “reasonable and calculated response to circumstances.” (Crenshaw, 513) For example, the resource imbalance between potentially terrorist groups and the power of an enemy regime is a fundamental consideration in the decision to opt for more asymmetrical tactics of struggle (Crenshaw, 514). As Richard K. Betts remarks:

To smite the only superpower requires unconventional modes of forces and tactics that make the combat cost exchange ratio favourable to the attacker. This offers hope to the weak that they can work their will despite their overall deficit in power. (560)

Although there might at times be some considerable overlap, as has been shown in this section, there are no such things as pure and definite categories of terrorism (Hoffman, 35), but rather only contexts and situational considerations that transcend generalizations about who and what consists terrorism. In the end, as Bruce Hoffman puts it: “terrorism is theatre,” (32) and like theatre, it is replicated on different stages, in a variety of interpretations.

For Martha Crenshaw, “terrorism can be considered a reasonable way of pursuing extreme interests in the political arena. It is one among the many alternatives that radical organizations can choose.” (524) One of the other alternatives a radical organization can choose, which concerns us in this paper, is the strategy of insurrection.

In terms of insurrection, there is not very much in this definitional section that can be included, save a solid differentiation from terrorism. Yet, the difference is sometimes less clear-cut than one would think. For Klejda Mulaj, the difference between the two lies in the targeting of civilians, which insurrection tends to shy away from (5). However, Mulaj remarks that methods of insurrection have increasingly adopted the asymmetrical tactics of terrorism “as a tool of attrition for accomplishing their objective; to prevent a local government or external power from exerting effective control...” (5)

We can differentiate insurrection and terrorism fundamentally in one way: insurrection is a

strategy of violent contestation that takes place on the long term, whereas terrorism is a tactic, which may be part of an insurrectionary strategy, but which is concerned with the short-term. In this fundamental differentiation, we can see that terrorism may be part of an insurrection, but insurrection does not have to be qualified as terrorist in order to be what it is. What is important, as has been remarked earlier, is that we take into account the perceptions the actors have of themselves, and from that point, note whether they term themselves terrorists or insurrectionaries. This will allow an analysis to focus on the *objectives* of groups, rather than making moral judgements about their actions; and for taking into account the dimension of the time over which a struggle takes place, which will determine the insurrectionary nature of a given conflict.

Insurrectionary violence can take a variety of forms, depending on the goals of the group taking part and leading these actions: coups d'état, Leninist revolution, guerilla, protracted riots, and certain forms of non-violent resistance such as general strikes (Merari, 19-22). The essential consideration to take into account for insurrection is the fundamental nature of political demands. Whether it is to take power, to oust someone or some group from power, or to establish an altogether different political system or way of interacting, it is this element, as well as the length of time, which defines whether or not a protracted conflict can be qualified as an insurrection.

As with terrorism, it is essential to “take seriously the motivations of those engaged in political violence, rather than dismiss them as psychopaths,” and to understand the essential role played by ideology in informing their choices of action (Munck, 8). There is nothing to be gained from the directly negative labelling of insurrectionaries, except for a truncated and incomplete understanding of their perceptions, motivations and sense of their actions.

Having established a definitional and historical framework for violent direct action in the forms of terrorism and insurrection, the paper now addresses these categories specifically in order to understand the concrete considerations of each method, and how one comes to choose these options.

B. Terrorism as a Tactic: Short-Term Considerations

In this section, we examine the short-term considerations of terrorist tactics within a general framework of insurrection, since, as was remarked above, terrorism is essentially an option within insurrectionary action, focused on the short- rather than long-term. In particular, lessons from both the theoretical literature, as well as from communiqués issued by insurrectionalist groups, will be used to demonstrate the immediate tactical concerns of participating in violent direct action. Although it can be argued that the new insurrectionalism itself is not terrorist because it does not target civilians, it is considered as such by the State (Appel 2013), and by many lay people, and even uses the term in reference to itself on several occasions (Black International Editions; 325.nostate.net, 9449, 9066, 6793)*. We are assuredly not in the presence of the generally contemporary case where there is a conscious avoiding of the term by revolutionary groups in particular (Hoffman, 21). What really interests us here is the consideration of the asymmetry of attack on the short-term as a tactic constituting part of the whole of long-term new insurrectionalist strategy.

In terms of selecting terrorism as a constitutive part of the struggle of this informal organization, it is the consideration of efficacy which is the “primary standard by which terrorism is compared with other methods of achieving political goals,” (Crenshaw, 511) and the reason for which it has been adopted here. In terms of the justifiability of choosing such a course of action, it is partly ideological considerations, and partly the expediency of the method which provides a means to overcome moral inhibitions to acting (Crenshaw, 513).

Terrorism results from a steady growth of commitment and opposition, a collective refinement which depends largely on government action (Kensinger, 57). The danger present in realizing this dependence of terrorism to State action is that a structural complicity may evolve whereby each relies

* 325.nostate.net sources are numbered according to their site page number. For example: 325.nostate.net/?p=9449

on the other to give meaning to their existence, and each provokes the other to even greater acts of violence (Newman, 5). That is, the terrorist group arises because of State action; the State then reinforces its repressive apparatus; the terrorist group increases the number and amplitude of its actions in response to repression; so on and so forth, *ad nauseam*, until all is destroyed. For some nihilists, members of the tendency, this is perhaps precisely the goal of organizing violent action. Though this is not made explicit in communiqués, one can conceive that it is a logical result of opting for this strategy and its tactics.

These groups are often constrained to methods of terrorism because of a lack of mass support, because of the superior power of the State overall, and also because of time constraints that beg for immediate action rather than long-term plans (Crenshaw, 513; 514). This last consideration of temporality may be due to any number of factors, but is nevertheless a central element to choosing terrorism: the impatience to act.

The willingness to violate social norms pertaining to restraints on certain kinds of violence is also a fundamental aspect of a terrorist strategy (Crenshaw, 517). In attacking targets that few people expect them to, terrorists cultivate fear and exploit uncertainty in order to put increased pressures on institutions and populations. These innovations, which happen regularly over time, are rapidly diffused, with sophisticated technologies of communication and travel (Crenshaw, 517). As for technology, advances in weapons, explosives, transportation and communication have greatly eased the potential for diffusion of methods and theories of terrorism, as well as its destructive potential (Crenshaw, 519).

Here, terrorism is examined as a political concept about the pursuit, acquisition and/or use of power to achieve political change (Hoffman, 2). One must be careful, however, when examining anarchist and new insurrectionalist motivations, because they are fundamentally set *against* the pursuit and acquisition of power, and actively seek the destruction of these concepts in political life. To use Bruce Hoffman's term, applied to the anarchists of the end of the 19th century, one can ultimately

conceive of the new insurrectionalism as “highly discriminate terrorism.” (9)

More often than not, these terrorists do not see themselves as others do, and will often perceive themselves as reluctant warriors, driven to violence against a repressive system by desperation (Hoffman, 22). This desperation may be of several orders, including religious and cultural repression, as well as practical political access considerations. In the new insurrectionalism, in particular, the desperation is that of perceiving domination and exploitation of humans and nature everywhere, and coming to the conclusion that it is only violent direct action that will afford the possibility of so much as conceiving a different world in which the generalized violence of society no longer exists. It is the desperation of living in a world where structural violence is constant, and where there are no other perceived courses of action to challenge it than by laying one's own life on the line. As such, and much like many other groups opting for violent methods of revolt, new insurrectionalists use the tactics they do for instrumental reasons, with terror as a partial means of achieving a better political and social situation on Earth (Betts, 464). Here, however, the link between the means and the ends is not direct. As will be further explained in section III, terrorism is used as a method of opening space that can then potentially lead to thinking about social and political change differently. The act does not in and of itself lead to a better society.

The FAI-IRF (Informal Anarchist Federation-International Revolutionary Front), for example, views itself as a temporary meeting point for acts of solidarity, acts of revenge on the enemy, and simultaneous attacks which are not intended to embrace “a better future” but to see the “collapse of the hypocritical society: Today.” (325.nostate.net, 8262) Here we can see clearly the short-term considerations expressed within a frame that is meant to be long-lasting as a central coordinating catalyst. Like terrorism writ large, the acts perpetrated by the FAI-IRF are actions in direct response to the perceived illegitimacy of the system, in a long-term perspective of the total dismantling of structures of domination.

The CCF (Conspiracy of Cells of Fire), in its general statement, *Let's Become Dangerous...For the Diffusion of the Black International*, also expresses this consideration of short-term objectives as fundamental to the struggle in its assertion that “They make political computations, we do not. We make war.” (CCF Imprisoned Members Cell) In this expression, it is clear that the immediate is the fundamental preoccupation of action. Although long-term considerations define the general direction of actions and theories in new insurrectionalism, short-term terrorist-like tactics are the asymmetrical methods privileged by this movement. In the same text, the CCF Imprisoned Members Cell continues: “...we have neither a political program for the 'relief' of the poor, nor the recipe for social salvation. We are not healers of a sick world, we are its saboteurs.” Again, what matters in the short-term, before even having the possibility of envisaging long-term political strategizing, is direct war with systems of domination, in order to eventually create free spaces of expression and action where alternative political, economic, social and cultural arrangements can be discussed and elaborated. The contemporary realization for these groups is that the world we live in, by its structures, prevents any original thinking, and thus, before planning or doing anything else, it is short-term considerations of revenge and attack that must be privileged. This is especially well illustrated by what Carlo Pisacane tells us in relation to the 'propaganda of the deed': ideas result from actions, rather than actions from ideas, and the “people will not be free when they are educated, but educated when they are free.” (Hoffman, 5) That is, their short-term consideration of using terrorism as a tactic is to open spaces of freedom through action, rather than planning actions through ideas and ideologies. It is a fundamentally spontaneous signal, a firestarter for generalized revolt (Merari, 33).

Illustrating even more clearly the terrorist aspect of the new insurrectionalism, is a statement written by *Edizione Cerbero* and *Parole Armata*, two translation and publishing clearinghouses of new insurrectionalism in Italy:

To sow Terror in the assuredness of those who, like the jailers, thought they could continue

to undisturbedly torture free individuals even though locked-up in the cages of society, and more generally in the assuredness of those who bow their heads, glad to be and to remain willing slaves in the service of Capital and its metropolises. - Black International Editions, p.37

This statement illustrates not only the willingness to use the term 'terror' itself as a noun for what it wants to spread, but the targets of this tactic. The potential for targeting civilians is also present when they remark that they wish to sow terror on those who accept the system willingly, but may be more significant in terms of rhetoric than in terms of calling for such attacks. One can be sure, however, that these groups do indeed wish to make 'regular folks' fearful, but this may be more for reasons of jolting people out of their perceived torpor than for reasons of deliberately targeting them (which has not as yet happened). Their emphasis on individual action carried out by cellular organization of similar people makes these groups particularly difficult to detect and repress, which contributes to the heightening of tensions and of public fears of the next attack (Hoffman, 7).

At the heart of the legitimation and choice of terrorist action is the compounding of both the violent act and the threat of violence, “deliberately conceived to have far-reaching psychological repercussions by the actual target of the act.” (Hoffman, 32) Citing Bruce Hoffman yet again, “terrorism is the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of political change,” and is designed to create power where there is none, or to consolidate it where there is very little (Hoffman, 40-41). These are largely apt descriptions of the new insurrectionalism in the sense that they seek serious psychological repercussions on the State by challenging its domination and security/surveillance systems. Furthermore, they expressly seek to make those who have interests in the status quo fearful, and shake from their slumber other potential agents of new insurrectionalism by showing that fear can go both ways. Finally, the new tactic of terrorist insurrectionalism does indeed create power where there once was none, in the form of a struggle for

total liberation that had not yet been able to express its strength in a war with the State. According to Martha Crenshaw, organizations evaluate the effectiveness of particular strategies of opposition on the basis of observation and experience, as much as on the basis of group ideological considerations (511). In this sense, the new insurrectionalism is a space of social learning for each of its members, since it does not provide a set ideology or program to follow, but rather affords the possibility to those that identify with it to learn about the world and themselves while acting. With the creation of informal transnational organization and with greater means of communication, groups of this tendency share methods and experiences, aggregating diffuse power as they grow in number, and thus creating an amorphous counter-power that fights the State on its own terms. It is through the informal organization that they seek to “obtain leverage, influence, and power they otherwise lack to effect political change on either the local or international scale.” (Hoffman, 41) In this case, however, leverage, influence and power are not measured by the classic balance of resources that determines the outcome of a State conflict, but rather by the creation of a new, heretofore non-existent locus of resistance which acts externally of the State and institutions. Terrorism demonstrates that a regime *can* be challenged where it has not been successfully in the past, and that illegal action is indeed an option. Terrorism as such “acts as a catalyst, not a substitute, for mass revolt.” (Crenshaw, 520)

A quote by Carlos Marighela describes aptly the reasoning behind insurrectionalist groups opting for a terrorist tactic within their larger strategy:

Revolutionary terrorism's great weapon is initiative, which guarantees its survival and continued activity. The more committed terrorists and revolutionaries...there are, the more military power will be worn down, the more time it will lose following false trails, and the more fear and tension it will suffer through not knowing where the next attack will be launched and what the next target will be.” (Crenshaw, 519)

Having established that terrorism may be conceived in a variety of ways, and understanding it

as a tactic of short-term consideration in the new insurrectionalist tendency, we will now address the larger context of insurrection as a long-term strategic consideration, of which terrorism constitutes a tactical aspect.

C. Insurrection as a Strategy: Long-Term Considerations

“Insurrection means to ask, authority means to consider that you possess the right answers.” (CCF Imprisoned Members Cell) “Insurrection alone does not bring answers, it only begins to ask questions.” (Anonymous, 24) For the new insurrectionalists, then, the strategy is one that is a process of becoming. Rather than plan an end towards which means will bring them, they conceive of an amorphous struggle over the long term that seeks to weaken and eventually destroy systems and structures of domination. This, for them, is insurrection - “the unknown which arises in all our lives; the possibility of an exaggerated practice of freedom.” (Anonymous, 43) In acting as such, no methods are taboo, and, we have seen, the terrorist tactic of cultivating the uncertainty of the next attack is highly privileged. These tactics of terrorism are especially useful as a tool of attrition, often preventing a local government or external power from exerting effective control over certain areas of its territory (Mulaj, 5). Of course, any acts leading or contributing to destroying elements of perceived domination are considered legitimate by these groups. A quote from the CCF Imprisoned Members Cell illustrates this point:

We have no moral problem using the masses of demonstrating promenaders so as to attack, through hit-and-run tactics, the police, the banks, the journalists. And if this move of ours brings about repression and police strikes against a peaceful demonstration, we don't care.

For them, any opportunity that gives the informal organization an opportunity to attack the forces of domination is a good opportunity. Since the struggle is continuous and ongoing on the long term, any event that can catalyse additional resistance must be taken advantage of.

In the same communiqué, the CCF expresses their explicit will to “intensify the permanent war”, and to create an “international informal network of attack cells” to plan, coordinate and act, contributing to the overall strengthening and evolution of the movement. They seek to “promote the diffusion of hundreds of points of rupture and action” in order to attack the system at as many places and times possible, and in the greatest numbers. The aspect of diffusion is central to our story here, but will be more deeply and accurately addressed in section III of this thesis.

New insurrectionalism seeks to “create bridges” through 'social struggles,' so that rebellious and unsatisfied minorities can cross over to the anarchist urban guerilla, where the attack is continuous.” (CCF Imprisoned Members Cell) This is again a clear demonstration of the long-term preoccupation with constant warfare against the perceived oppressor, which is a central characteristic of insurrection.

The Indonesian FAI-IRF groups have selected as a strategy the attack on *all* institutions of perceived domination, rather than limiting their attacks to specifically capitalist and statist targets (FAI-IRF Indonesian Section, 4). For the Long Live Ilya Romanov Cell of Chile, the expressed strategy, illustrating the general long-term planning of new insurrectionalist groups, is “irregular warfare against domination,” and fighting “Power in a multiform manner, with autonomous action, organized from informality.” (325.nostate.net, 9256). A note written by the 325 collective (a British clearinghouse for new insurrectionalist texts and actions; also the major source of communiqués for this thesis) also emphasizes the aspect of a drawn-out war of insurrectionalist attrition, where “the collapse of society has already begun and the choice is resignation to modern fascism or insurrection.” (Black International Editions, 40)

Alfredo Bonanno, arguably the most famous proponent of modern anarchist insurrectionalism, explains very clearly in *For an Anti-Authoritarian Insurrectionist International* the logic behind insurrectionalism as a long-term strategy in fighting systems of domination. He considers that the form best suited to the present state of conflict is the insurrectional one, which he clarifies as the

revolutionary activity that seeks to take the initiative of attack in a struggle rather than wait for the right moment or simply act defensively against attacks by State power (Bonanno 1993, 20). He argues that the strategy of a protracted insurrection, utilizing tactics of asymmetrical armed warfare, is the only means by which the State can be challenged effectively, not in order to bring about reform or measures of social change, but to destroy the State and other institutions of domination (Bonanno 1993, 20). As Jean Weir states in his introduction to Bonanno's work *The Insurrectional Project*, insurrectionalism is “faced with the problem of creating a project whose immediate aim is destruction, which in turn creates spaces for the new.” (3) It is seen as a long-term and constant effort in which members must not let up. In the same work, Bonanno proposes that in order to build this project, they should form “affinity groups based on the strength of mutual personal knowledge...[that] should be capable of carrying out specific coordinated attacks against the enemy.” (18)

Part of the reasoning for choosing insurrection as a method of organization and of revolutionary struggle is that this is a time of 'postmodern' war, defined by irregular armed formations, lesser time constraints on informal combatants who can increasingly afford long conflicts, insurgents operating below the levels of sophistication of State weaponry, and a decreased focus on territory as an objective of conflict (Munck, 1). For Ronaldo Munck, the determinants of the rise of insurrectional groups is principally due to questions of “identity and the formation of political identities in particular.” (4) Moreover, this identity and the formation of political identities must be understood as part of an overall context of relations of power and agency, rather than as a kind of independent reasoning (Munck, 5).

D. The Rationale of Opting for Violent Resistance

In the previous subsections, it was established that certain asymmetrical aspects of terrorism are a tactical choice that, in the case of new insurrectionalism, take part in a larger strategy of insurrection against institutions and forms of domination. The question that remains to be answered in this section

about forms of insurrectionalist violence is that of the rationale of opting for violent resistance, rather than other more non-violent or systemic courses of action.

The use of violence is *never* a simple choice or strategy, “but rather the outcome of specific historical circumstances building over time to produce or legitimize armed conflict.” (Fitzgerald et al., 10) The symbolic role of violence is essential, and will often have far greater political effect than direct destruction (Fitzgerald et al., 10). Of course, we must keep in mind that the choice of courses of violent resistance is a purposeful one made by an organization for political and strategic reasons, rather than by a pathological desire to destroy (Crenshaw, 511). Moreover, according to Emma Goldman, a Jewish-Russian immigrant to the United States who became one of the loudest voices of anarchist organization and action in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Woodcock, 374), it is essential that the distinction be made between violence as a coercive force by oppressive powers, and violence as a means to hasten or defend a revolution (Kensinger, 54).

For some of the new insurrectionalists, planning and taking part in an attack is “an act of overcoming fear.” (325.nostate.net, 2639) Certainly, the psychological effect of pervasive police forces and surveillance is such that many people question their ability to have any effect at all on the system, no matter the pressure strategies chosen. But for the new insurrectionalists, it is precisely this perception of the generalization of repression that motivates them to act, and to transgress the forces of order in a given context. It is overcoming this fear of prison and/or death which pushes members to be able to conceive of more and stronger actions, and demonstrates to others that these institutions can indeed be attacked. The crucial point of this revolutionary struggle, according to Nicola Gai, is precisely overcoming the fear of really putting one's life at stake (Gai).

Another explanation towards the adoption of violent resistance by this tendency, and perhaps others, is that they seek to “provoke by creating new authentic questions of life.” (CCF Imprisoned Members Cell) As was remarked before, insurrection is viewed as a question, posing the possibility of

an unknown world which can only be seized in a singular moment of action and thought. The insurrection as a question is seen as authentic because it is an expression of both a sense of utter revolt against what exists, thus pitting the unknown against the existent, and because it puts one's own life on the line, and confronts both the attacker and the attacked with their own mortality. "Life is choices and actions, that are being tried on the street. Enough with theory. We try to give duration in the tension of the moment, turning life into an adventure." (CCF Imprisoned Members Cell) For Nicola Gai, it is in the realization of a perspective of direct attack that one can free oneself from defensive struggles, and move towards "opening infinite possibilities of action and freedom." (Gai) Since the perception is that one cannot act freely in this world, the only possibility to do so is to commit the ultimate transgression of modern society, and break the social peace of obedience and self-abnegation. Furthermore, the attack asks questions that are transmitted to others, rather than existing in a vacuum. The carrying out of the action is viewed as an expression of the concept of destruction as theory, affording the possibility of being understood by other people through attacking particular targets (Bonanno 1996, 4). It is also important to keep in mind that insurrectionalists see themselves as speaking a different language than that of traditional Western metaphysics: they speak the language of the event as gesture; the event as language itself (Tiqun, 53). The Western tradition has classically believed in causal relationships where thought precedes action, or action precedes thought, but we are here in the presence of a theory of *confluence* and *co-constitution* where theory and practice are expressed as one: the praxis.

There also exists, within this tendency, a fundamental "desire of attack" as an expression of one's total opposition to the system (CCF Imprisoned Members Cell). In this interpretation, ideology plays a central role in determining violence as political intervention (Munck, 8). Such is one's revolt with the system, that one is willing to lay life and limb on the line to confront much stronger forces in as violent and uncompromising a manner as is possible. "Defining who you are...is our own way of being aggressive against the social apparatus of the anonymous crowd." (CCF Imprisoned Members

Cell) Here, the logic of the desire of attack is inverted, and we find them describing the attack as an expression of how new insurrectionalists define who they are. Moreover, this is accompanied by the assertion that this struggle is fundamentally a “struggle for happiness,” against a sordid reality that has made them “embattled” and willing to fight to the death (Black International Editions, 19). Often, we find utter discontent, and commitment to violent resistance, which expresses itself in such statements as “I prefer to die believing that I can change the world than believe that everything is all rosy.” (Black International Editions, 29) The rationale for choosing violent resistance here is a sentiment of total non-compatibility with the system, which insurrectionalists express through the sacrifice of their lives:

...let's face it, prison and death are part of the continuous anarchist insurrection. Whoever does not accept this does not accept the insurrection itself. - CCF Imprisoned Members Cell

A further reason given for the recourse to violent action as an expression of total revolt, is that, for this tendency, “we all take part of the social machine of Power. The question is whether we are oil or sand in its gears.” (Mavropoulos & RO-CCF) This comes back to the late-19th century terrorist philosophy, especially of the anarchist tradition, that there are no innocents in the social arrangements of domination. For new insurrectionalism, “nothing better than revolt reveals that it is the exploited themselves that run the machine of exploitation.” (Anonymous, 34) No innocents, because it is believed that everyone has a certain measure of agency, minimal as it may be, within this overall system. Thus, if one does not act on this agency, and attack that which destroys one's peers, then that person is seen as supporting the system. This is a very black and white argument that demonstrates the position of absolute non-compromise with institutions of domination. It shows quite well how an insurrectionalist motivates oneself: one must realize their potential agency by attacking that which prevents them from exercising it freely. A quote from José Miguel Sanchez illustrates this point well: “Our goal is complete freedom and the vanquishing of the exploitative system that sinks and humiliates

our people.” (Black International Editions, 19).

Within the new insurrectionalist tendency, there is a philosophical discourse about the imposition of one's own time onto the machinery of society, rather than the other way around. By attacking, and through direct action, these groups seek to break away from stagnant thinking, to “sabotage the clocks of discipline, creating free time and space within the hostile environment of the metropolis.” (Black International Editions, 5) In this rationale, it is the subversion of the temporal regimentation of society which motivates violent resistance, since it is seen as restricting people's ability to act by imposing industrial schedules of work and consumption. Following from this reasoning, actions of direct violence are perceived as a “means of agitation to draw people from their torpor” by targeting known institutions, powerful people, and places of public notoriety (Crenshaw, 520).

A more practical consideration of opting for violent resistance is that of the balance of power and resources between the State and insurrectionalists. The use of diffuse violence, as has been examined in the previous subsections, is an asymmetrical tactic which is highly efficient and expedient in fighting the disproportionately stronger forces of governing institutions.

...We grow in each movement when we confront the enemies face to face, instances that are daily marked by the liberatory violence that strikes fear into the oppressor. Violence that you have vindicated as a generator of novel movements capable of jeopardizing the security and intelligence systems of power. - Black International Editions, p.20

As Martha Crenshaw remarks, groups choosing tactics of direct violent resistance have restricted options of action due to the lack of active popular support, as well as an imbalance of power and resources with their enemies, which has grown in accordance with greater centralization and administrative organization of the State (513). An analogous, yet highly important, consideration is that of surprise: it is a key advantage, especially when one takes into account the asymmetry of forces, for

insurrectionalists to cultivate uncertainty about where and when they will strike next, forcing the State to spend more resources and time looking for, and preventing actions (Crenshaw, 517; 519). For the revolutionary militant resistance always follows oppression, in the sense that the latter precludes the former (Chatterton & Pickerill, 476-477).

Violent resistance also emerges according to the violence exerted by the system itself that is being fought. That is, the new insurrectionalists choose violence in order to respond to economic exploitation and political repression, which they see as an affront to all of society. After all, structural violence is among the primary causes of personal violence (Derriennic, 361).

Like several other revolutionary organizations, the new insurrectionalist tendency also attempts to make obvious the structural violence of society in order to give legitimation to their own violent revolt, in a sort of 'continuous dimension' of potential and actual violence (Derriennic, 363). As Bonanno writes, the Western cultural tradition's apparatus of governance “is a death machine,” a “reign of the fictitious that has accumulated every kind of infamy and injustice, exploitation and genocide.” (1977, 43) It is partly one's utter discontent and revolt at such perceived crimes that will motivate a sentiment of revenge best expressed through the arming of one's passions (to employ Bonanno's terms). Moreover, the struggle is presented as one in which we are increasingly faced with growing centralization of power and the growth of surveillance systems. As such, with the increase of latent and potential violence exerted by the State in society, it becomes essential, according to new insurrectionalism, to “fight a violent system with means that are violent.” (Bonanno 1974-1984, 7) For this tendency, there is no alternative. Again, according to Bonanno, there is no limit or moral obstacle to State violence and the “terrorism of the bosses,” and so it is justified to respond to this with revolutionary violence.

Essentially, the new insurrectionalism is a strategy that can *only* exist if the State, or some sort of hierarchy of enforcement, exists. This tendency is viewed as the necessary and natural response

arising from a conflictual context of repression imposed from above. As we will see in the following sections, it is this defining point of the total uncompromising struggle against all forms of domination which lends strength and determination to the movement, and which gives it its ability to be diffused in an extremely wide and divergent array of contexts and situations.

III. The Role of Ideas and Ideology in the New Insurrectionalism

At the heart of the aforementioned processes of diffusion of the new insurrectionalism is the ideological and ideational nature of this method of resistance. As is hypothesized, it is this facet of the informal organization that permits its adoption in a variety of divergent contexts, in spite of borders, language and cultural differences. What, then, are concepts and ideas that lie at the heart of new insurrectionalism, and that allow it to be transmitted with such apparent ease? The answer presents itself in two parts: first, the anarchist philosophy provides the ideological basis for the rejection of all forms of domination, a worldview of a horizontal and cooperative nature, and gives suggestions on the means by which to challenge institutional arrangements; second, classical insurrectionalism as the *praxis* which interprets anarchist ideology in the light of action and practice, and proposes novel ways in which to organize and foment resistance.

A. The Anarchist Philosophy

In this section, the philosophy of anarchism will be examined and evaluated in order to understand the role it has played in the formation of insurrectionalist ideas. First, we will briefly study the classical approaches and theories of anarchism, so as to provide knowledge on the subject for the reader less familiar with this idea. Here, the goal is not to provide a general understanding of anarchism, but rather the essential points that lend themselves to the eventual elaboration of an insurrectionalist praxis. Second, the contemporary state of anarchism in new insurrectionalism will be examined, in terms of the worldview adopted by the latter, as well as the innovations on old and new ideas and methods of resistance.

i. Classical Approaches and Theories of Anarchism

Here we will discuss briefly a few points in classical anarchism relevant to the construction and

conception of an insurrectionalist praxis, before moving on towards the state of contemporary anarchism within the context of an insurrectionalist praxis.

First, anarchism is a philosophy and ideology which posits that all forms of domination of people over people, and in many cases of people over nature, are illegitimate, and contribute to political, social and economic violence and injustice. Instead of systems of authority and exploitation, they seek to establish relations of cooperation by both individual and collective means, by subverting hierarchical structures and substituting them for horizontal, participative and decentralized modes of organization. Fundamentally, however, anarchism is *not* about attaining a final utopia where all conflict is resolved and resources are forever shared equally: it is about moving towards non-hierarchical and non-authoritarian means of human interaction that can adapt to changing situations and resolve conflicts in the most horizontal manners possible; an unending resolution of conflict and contradictions (Marshall, 639-640) . As such, anarchism is both idea and practice, providing means of thinking and acting freely within restrictive and often repressive systems of domination (Marshall, 639). Nevertheless, it must be reminded that anarchism is in no way standardized, and has many tendencies within it (feminist, syndicalist, communist, primitivist, nihilist, individualist, queer, pacifist, christian, insurrectional, and so forth), as well as many variations depending on the context in which it is present. In this sense, it must be seized as a philosophy which, at its heart, calls for the subversion and destruction of all forms of domination, and their replacement with decentralized, unhierarchical and cooperative organization.

In its more classical forms, although this interpretation remains fundamental today, anarchism expressly rejects the concept of private property and social hierarchy (Black International Editions, 23). Private property is anathema to anarchism because it enables the division of labor and the ability to exert rents, as well as the ability to exclude the other from usage of that property (Proudhon, 59). As Pierre-Joseph Proudhon once famously stated: “Property is theft.” (57) The rejection of social hierarchy

is rather more self-explanatory for a philosophy that rejects domination: it will always be illegitimate for people to have arbitrary power over others, or an imbalance of power according to social position, according to anarchism. A quote by Steven Best demonstrates these ideas:

The domination of humans, animals, and the Earth stem from the same violent mindsets, instrumentalist attitudes towards nature and all life, and a pathological will to transform difference into hierarchy. These complexities can only be understood and transformed by a multi-perspectival theory and an alliance politics broader and deeper than anything yet created, evolving as a struggle for total liberation. - Best, p.190

Anarchism also expresses the desire to create 'autonomous spaces,' independent of present structures of authority, in order to move towards a stronger challenge to the established system. These are spaces in which people question the laws and social norms of society, and which express “a creative desire to constitute non-capitalist, collective forms of politics, identity and citizenship.” (Chatterton & Pickerill, 476) In these spaces it is believed that the potential future of non-hierarchical practices of social organization can be experimented with and envisaged (Chatterton & Pickerill, 476).

In anarchism, the dimension of action itself is fundamental. The strong calls for organizing against structures of domination are an invitation to the direct subversion and attack on these structures. For the revolutionary militant, which the anarchist must fundamentally be, resistance must always follow oppression – what essentially matters, in the end, is what one *does* to struggle against illegitimate systems, and through this one constructs their own political identity (Chatterton & Pickerill, 477). No political authority is considered legitimate, and instead of creating more structures that decide how people should live and interact, anarchism proposes that society move towards an ethic of responsibility, where all become intimately involved in the leading of their own lives, in cooperation with their fellows (Derriennic, 371; Marshall, 642).

Mikhail Bakunin, the Russian anarchist philosopher, suggested that despotism resides “not so

much in the form of the State, but in the very principle of the State and political power.” (Newman, 7). That is, not only can people not be free unless they rid themselves of the structures and institutions which dominate them, but they must rid themselves even of the *ideas* of domination as viable or legitimate forms of social, political and economic organization. This is a clear indication of the desire to combat without compromise both the ideas and practices of the existing structures of power, and all systems and structures that propose domination as a societal arrangement. These ideas are clearly reflected in the theories and practices of insurrectionalism.

ii. The Contemporary State of Anarchy in Insurrectionalism

In this subsection, we examine the relevance of the anarchist philosophy and ideology to insurrectionalism, particularly in its contemporary expressions. In order to do so, the subsection will proceed in two parts: first, with an examination of the worldview afforded to insurrectionalism by anarchism, and how this has become more complex as time goes on; and second, the innovations on old and new ideas and methods of resistance.

a. *A worldview in becoming*

In this part, the ideas of anarchism within insurrectionalism are explicated, in order to better understand the role played by the former in the latter. Here, we are expressly concerned with the philosophy of anarchism, rather than its practical component, which will be addressed in the following part.

Only with the destruction of the economy will the divisions of property die. Along with the economy we want to destroy work and mass industrial production. But pushing a magic button is not enough to break our chains. Economy, production, consumption, commodities, all represent specific social relations. Relations between slaves and masters, but the whip and the chains are (usually) invisible. - CCF Imprisoned Members Cell

In this quote from the imprisoned members of the insurrectionalist group Conspiracy of Cells of Fire, the anarchist philosophy is referred to clearly: destruction of present social, economic and political relations, getting rid of private property, and breaking down the dialectic of slave and master. In the same text, the imprisoned members state that authority is not simply the physical structures it erects, but a social relationship which pervades the simplest gestures of human life (CCF Imprisoned Members Cell). The new insurrectionalists express this disdain for authority and its domination in very clear ways: for example, the CCF outwardly declares in court their constant and total contempt for the justice system and the State it serves (325.nostate.net, 8428). As the CCF states in their text *Do Not Say that We are Few...Just Say that We Are Determined*, “we have banished from our minds the idea of central governance.” (Mavropoulos & RO-CCF) It is believed by this movement that legality prevents any prospect of deep change, and only affords concessions which do not threaten authority (Black International Editions, 30). Moreover, democracy is simply viewed as the production of illusions, to guarantee that all intentions for a meaningful change are in fact yet another return to legality, the game of the State (Black International Editions, 30). A letter from 325 to the CCF and Theofilos Mavropoulos makes explicit the rejection of legality and authority:

There is zero anticipation that there will be any 'social change' from the established regime, only unending economic misery and urban prison; but without the trappings of ideology, revolutionary and anarchist principles are the first spoken from many lips when given time to express their ideas and question the existent order. - Black International Editions, p.40

In a communiqué dated from the 26th of March, 2013, the CCF declares that they “fight for the complete destruction of Power,” a highly anarchist expression of revolt (325.nostate.net, 7961). But these new insurrectionalists harbor fewer illusions than the classical anarchists about the revolutionary potential of society: “we do not believe in legends about the phantom of the proletariat.” (Mavropoulos

& RO-CCF) That is, they do not believe that their actions are meant to galvanize a mass revolution where the system will suddenly be turned on its head, but rather that they create the potential for more ruptures within society, which themselves create the possibility of thinking freely of novel societal arrangements. Further, they do not believe that the proletariat is in a sort of pre-revolutionary stasis, waiting to be led to a better world – rather, they often express a general contempt for the passivity of laboring classes, and as such do not believe in the revolutionary potential of the masses (CCF Imprisoned Members Cell). This, again, is a fundamental difference with many classical anarchist theories, which have often idealized the power of the masses as inherently revolutionary. As Theofilos Mavropoulos and the RO-CCF state: “Silence is never innocent. We hate both the hand that holds the whip and the back which passively endures it.”

For the new insurrectionalists, “society is a pervasive social factory that produces attitudes, values, ethics and habits.” (Mavropoulos & RO-CCF) The image of the factory is fitting in this context, since its subversion would be termed sabotage, a classic method of industrial revolt proposed and heavily supported by classical anarchism. As the Swiss insurrectionalist Luca Bernasconi states, the movement must “bring a fundamental critique to the economic humiliation and the techno-scientific evolution in their totality, without stopping at limited matters of technology.” (Black International Editions, 29) The system of domination is understood as a whole process, regulating all aspects of human life, and thus one must revolt against *all* aspects of these structures in order to so much as conceive of a different world. For them, “our very existence, every aspect about it, is war,” and thus those who want to resist are left with no choice but to take up arms (Tiqqun, 67)

The new insurrectionalism is an interesting case of the application of the philosophy of anarchism because it is inherently so differentiated according to context. In the publication *Mapping the Fire*, published by Black International Editions, the CCF remarks on the variety of points of view emerging internationally within the movement, with some referencing class war and the proletariat,

while others reference nihilism and anti-socialism (3). Importantly, and as the case of Mexico will demonstrate, some of the groups in the movement are not even anarchist (325.nostate.net, 7218). Yet, these tendencies remain cooperative, coordinated and compatible because they unite in their uncompromising will to combat authority and domination (Black International Editions, 3). Moreover, it is precisely these disagreements between acting members that, for them, consists the most ideal “beginning of an authentic dialogue between the tendencies of the anarchist movement, who honor their words with their actions.” (Black International Editions, 3) Unlike the classical debates within anarchism, which opposed sometimes very similar tendencies, the new insurrectionalism believes that the more tendencies there are, the stronger the organization against domination is, since there is the construction of a solid and complex worldview from a large variety of viewpoints. As the Italian insurrectionalist Federico Buono says: “If you don't exasperate the contradictions you live in, you create asphyxiating normality.” (Black International Editions, 34) What they fundamentally care about is very simple: that those who participate act, and through acting legitimize their expression of a theoretical point of view. As they say, these groups are compatible in the destruction of authority and domination, and this is the basis of the constitution of the international informal organization of new insurrectionalism. “We seek accomplices for the same crime: the fight for anarchy and freedom.” (Black International Editions, 5) José Miguel Sanchez puts it this way: “Our goal is complete freedom and the vanquishing of the exploitative system that sinks and humiliates our people.” (Black International Editions, 19)

Despite having a large number of nihilist and individualist anarchists within its tendency, the new insurrectionalism foments very strong social affective ties between its members. The following quote by the CCF illustrates this point very well: “it is from your expressions of solidarity and the attacks carried out by anarchist direct action groups that we draw the courage to look our prosecutors directly in the eye.” (Black International Editions, 5). It is in particular the contacts established between

imprisoned members in different places across the world, at an international level, that “transforms solidarity into a revolutionary workshop,” emphasizing the variety of different interpretations that enable a more complex worldview and that shape a more coordinated joint “anarchist action front.” (Black International Editions, 6). As one of the accused in the Chilean Bombs Case states: “from the distance, words arrive translated in the only language we all understand: that of the struggle for freedom.” (Black International Editions, 13) Actions in solidarity with strangers of the same movement elsewhere in the world are strong messages of affection and caring, and serve to break the often-felt isolation of the insurrectionalist lifestyle. But more than that, through actions and ensuing communiqués, the new insurrectionalists create strong ties of deep friendship, which for them subvert society's relations of instrumentalization and commodification of human relationships. Freddy Fuentevilla Saa, a Chilean insurrectionalist, describes it this way:

Brothers and sisters, I send you my strength, my dignity, my solidarity. Borders and flags do not exist between peoples, solidarity and internationalism are not only words in the mind, they are a weapon. - Black International Editions, p.19

As much of classical anarchism proposed, the new insurrectionalist groups support the idea that authorities must be undermined where the insurrectionalists live, rather than “travel around hotbeds of anarchist resistance, and 'savor' this riot here or that march there.” (Black International Editions, 21) This implies a fundamentally diffuse nature of the new insurrectionalism, where strength is gotten from generalized action everywhere, rather than the army-like focusing of forces on certain contexts. The idea is to foment resistance everywhere possible, and to use other contexts of revolt as “inspiration, not to follow, but to join.” (Black International Editions, 22) The CCF notes that they are not “enrolled soldiers whose duty is revolution,” but that they see “the link between rebellion and life as a requirement for action.” (Black International Editions, 34) Their duty is to revolt as a human in one's own human context, as an expression of the will to live free and for total liberation. Moreover, new

insurrectionalism seeks to provide tools and resources to individuals so that they can better understand their context and act within it: by giving the theoretical means to reflect and deepen one's self-liberation, starting from the assumption that everyone has the means to do this, one can focus their struggle to be as radical as possible (Black International Editions, 51). According to Nicola Gai, new insurrectionalism's job is partly to “demonstrate that anyone can concretely oppose the status quo by arming their passions.” (Gai)

Having demonstrated the role of the anarchist worldview in the context of the new insurrectionalism, we can now move on towards the second aspect of anarchism's impact on the movement: innovations on old and new ideas and methods of resistance.

b. *Innovations on Ideas and Methods of Resistance*

There was and is no illicit anarchist association, there are no informal leaders, centers of power or terrorist funding. These delirious investigations only attempt to frame us in a logic of organization and life that we negate in practice. - 325.nostate.net, 9198

The first among the innovations by new insurrectionalists on methods of resistance is the informality of a broad horizontal organization of cells and individuals with the aim of attacking in a diffuse and asymmetrical manner, constantly. Formerly, anarchist organization was such that more formal federations of committees and tendencies were used as tools to mobilize and organize larger numbers of people. In the perspective of the direct attack proposed by new insurrectionalism, this method is too open to defeat by the State, and as such a different method to guarantee surprise and effectiveness must be employed. For them, “the starting point is informal anarchist organization.” (CCF Imprisoned Members Cell) It should be noted here that innovation references not the novelty of a certain tactic, but rather how its use has been transformed in different contexts. One cannot expect the same kind of communication methods and strategy elaboration for today as existed in the late 19th century. These are not novelties, they are innovations on existing methods and ideas.

Because they do not believe in any absolute and objective truth, the new insurrectionalist groups seek to set a starting point for thought and action, rather than a utopian or idealistic goal to attain. They seek the sharpening of anarchist insurrection through a continuous search of theory and praxis, to “keep anarchy alive and dangerous,” and “far from ideological stiffness.” (CCF Imprisoned Members Cell) Through this consideration, they seek to rouse a never-ending insurrection:

A plan that combines the mind with the feeling, the ice of strategy with the fire of praxis, here with now, the tension with the duration, with the direct aim of destroying the social apparatus and the liberation of our lives. - CCF Imprisoned Members Cell

They seek in particular to operate through small and flexible direct action cells, which favor intimate and circular debate, rather than a centralized mode of organization that resorts to authoritarian measures in deciding matters of importance (CCF Imprisoned Members Cell). The Informal Anarchist Federation is “simply the invisible community where the desires of attack against our era meet.” (CCF Imprisoned Members Cell) They specifically propose the creation and organization of armed cells and affinity groups, in order to form an international network of anarchists of praxis: “Direct action and diffuse anarchist guerilla warfare, this is our proposal.” (CCF Imprisoned Members Cell) By choosing the method of cellular organization, they leave everyone the maximum freedom to find their own path in their search for “an intensification and an improvement in the present conditions of struggle.” (Bonanno 1993, 19) This mode of organization marks a decisive break with anarchism's past, which, even when it promoted diffuse terrorist action, as in the late 19th century, generally organized from popular bases, and not through cellular informal groups. Clearly, the new insurrectionalists have learned much from more contemporary terrorist and insurrectionary groups, such as certain Islamist groups, which partly organize from the point of decentralization of small cells in geographically distant places.

Through direct action, the practical watchword of the anarchist philosophy, new

insurrectionalism seeks to replace power in the individual's hands, and to break away from stagnant thinking, creating free space and time within “the hostile environment of the metropolis.” (Black International Editions, 5) For the insurrectionalists, direct action, understood as directly violent, is what will contribute to destroying the social hierarchy bit by bit, and consequently the sabotage of all structures is an essential aspect of the search for autonomy (Black International Editions, 29).

Another aspect of the new insurrectionalism that is rather novel is the utter and total solidarity for strangers a world over within the movement. Although local in focus, members take inspiration and example from others around the world, going so far as to attack their local authorities in retaliation for the harm or arrest of a fellow insurrectionalist in another country. The CCF expresses this point well:

For each sentenced comrade, for each disciplinary measure, for each prohibited letter or visit, for each vindictive transfer: no guard, no embassy, and no police officer should feel safe. When prisoners have the potential to communicate in their hands, there will be decisive comrades everywhere responding with action, sabotage and fire. - Black International Editions, p.6

In this vein, the new insurrectionalists have expanded on a classical anarchist method, which consists of spreading propaganda and information as widely as possible, with the stated goal of giving each person the possibility of thinking freely and envisaging subversion as an expression of their political agency. In particular, insurrectionalists focus heavily on the translation and diffusion of texts and communiqués of action, thought and praxis, without which a transnational diffusion process would be unimaginable. Projects of diffusion and communication on the Internet in particular have enabled the creation of new channels of communication and exchange between prisoners and free insurrectionalists of different countries, speaking different languages (Black International Editions, 41). The value of such networks is extremely high and necessary to the existence and expansion of the movement. This goes a long way in explaining why it is that the Italian and Greek states have repeatedly pressured and

arrested blog writers and translators of the tendency. “Through pamphlets, books and action it is our intention to spread the message of the here and now as a method of struggle for total individual and definite liberation from any ethical-moral and repressive structure.” (Black International Editions, 51) As Alfredo Bonanno says, and this applies directly to the new insurrectionalism, “the joy of the revolutionary act is contagious.” (1977, 38)

A more partial innovation on the classical anarchist methods of resistance is the role of violence. Classically, there were many divisions on this subject, with people such as Errico Malatesta and Emma Goldman declaring that violence should only be used in select defensive situations, rather than as a diffuse offensive strategy, depending on the context. However, there are many notable examples of the use of violence by anarchist groups in the 20th century. The first notable one is the participation of many anarchists in the Russian Revolution of 1917, who would eventually be turned on by the Bolsheviks in the Kronstadt revolt (a revolt of naval personnel and workers) as well as during the period termed the Makhnovshchina, in Ukraine (Fremion, 119). From 1917 to 1920, Nesto Makhno and many Ukrainian anarchists led a campaign of violent revolt against property and factory owners, as well as a drawn-out defensive war against both the conservative Whites and Bolshevik Reds during the Russian Civil War (Fremion, 121-123). Although they were defeated, many of the surviving makhnovists headed to Spain in the 1930s to aid the anarcho-syndicalists in their struggles there (Fremion, 128). In the inter-war years, anarchists were present as fighting members in several revolutionary events, including the Councils Republic of Bavaria, the Hungarian Councils Republic, and the Spanish Revolution (Fremion, 136; 142; 154). This last event would be the final large scale organized violent anarchist movement of the 20th century, and remains a milestone in anarchist history for all its potential, to this day (Fremion, 154-157). Although many supported methods of violence, this aspect of anarchist philosophy significantly waned throughout the 20th century, until the Italian Years of Lead, but especially until the period we are concerned with: the 2000s. Now, new insurrectionalism

expresses a novel interpretation of violence as a method of struggle:

If we want anarchy and consider it as the best and more just form of social organization in all fields of life, it will only come through a violent and direct struggle, without ambiguities and on all levels, against the noose of decrepit Nation-States that gnaw at us collectively and individually all over the planet; and through revolt against all the structures of domination. - Black International Editions, p.10

It is fundamental to underline that new insurrectionalism innovates in its realization of the role of balancing of forces in the revolutionary struggle. For them, revolutionary force cannot be equal and opposite to the State and Power, since this would acknowledge the legitimacy of the grounds on which the State acts, and would provoke a continued interchange of masters from one pole to another (Tiqqun, 29). They believe that what domination ultimately fears is the generalized and anonymous revolt that it cannot comprehend with its structures (Tiqqun, 40).

As opposed to the classical method of mass organizing and mobilization, the CCF and the FAI bring about a new way of understanding methods of action which is not based on the difference among classes, and so the mobilization of the masses, but rather on the opposition to all 'classes' in general (Black International Editions, 34). Their class war is not the classical objective of the proletariat overthrowing their masters and taking power – it is a war against class as a concept of societal differentiation and organization, which seeks to destroy the very possibility of being able to differentiate one's social position in this way.

We can clearly see that the new insurrectionalism is a direct inheritor of anarchism. Yet, it has innovated both in terms of the ideas expressed by the philosophy, and in terms of the practice and action that anarchism affords the revolutionary. It is thus established that we are in the presence of a novel and innovative phenomenon, which remains dynamic and changing according to the context in which it finds itself, but is determined always to fight the same thing: all domination. From this

understanding, we now move towards an analysis of insurrectionalism as a praxis in and of itself, expressed most completely in its initial form by the Italian insurrectional anarchist, Alfredo Bonanno.

B. The Advent of Insurrectionalism: Alfredo Bonanno

Having examined the role played by anarchist philosophy within insurrectional thought, in particular in relation to new insurrectionalism, this paper now moves towards an examination of insurrectionalism as an idea and praxis, in order to understand what makes it so easily transmittable. To do so, we examine the first instances of insurrectionalism as a self-contained anarchist praxis, expressed most completely by Alfredo Bonanno. This section is fundamental to our story because the praxis he describes is one of the fundamental bases of new insurrectionalism's methods and interpretations.

This Italian theorist and practitioner of insurrectionalism was the first author to put into words the idea that this could be a method of its own for revolutionary resistance and action. Although the method of insurrection has existed for a very long time, and although insurgency is a common method of asymmetric warfare, until Bonanno there was no distinct expression of the insurrection as the basis for ideological, ideational, and practical considerations. It is with the application of the anarchist philosophy to the immediate concern of an ongoing insurrection (the Years of Lead) that the idea of a stand-alone insurrectionalism emerged.

Armed struggle is often a symbol of death. Not because it gives death to the bosses and their servants, but because it wants to impose the structures of the dominion of death itself. Conceived differently it really would be joy in action, capable of breaking the structural conditions imposed by the commodity spectacle such as the military, the conquest of power; the vanguard. - Bonanno 1977, p.28

What Bonanno essentially proposes is a new conception of armed struggle, which does not seek

to struggle with the State in order to take some measure of power, but as the expression of a liberatory joy in the attack on structures of power themselves. He states in particular that there are new conditions of the anti-authoritarian conflict that must be addressed by different means, and that the insistence of imposing revolutionary models of the past participates in “the commodity spectacle,” as ineffective symbolic gestures of discontent (Bonanno 1977, 28). Rather, he calls for the creation of a mode of struggle in which armed violence is the expression of the total rejection of domination, becoming a “joy in realization” of one's liberation (Bonanno 1977, 29). This “attack on the commodity spectacle” is a call for specific actions such as the looting of shops and arms depots, the burning of luxury cars and the destruction of supermarkets (Bonanno 1977, 30).

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.

- Bonanno 1977, p.31

Not only are the structures of capitalism and the State made primary targets for insurrectionalist action, but so are its central agents. The police as the direct repressive force of the State; the judge as the incarcerator; and the boss as the exploiter, the executor of the market's will. This is a call to the realization of one's own agency and freedom *against* the existing system, and suggests that the only way to break the habits and ingrained systemic beliefs we are inculcated with is through arming oneself and participating in a diffuse attack on power. The game of capital, the “commodity spectacle,” is believed to be an illusory one, which insurrectionalists must subvert by armed attack, which, in its expression of a joy in realization, is contagious, and “breaks into a thousand meanings, all productive and unstable.” (Bonanno 1977, 35; 38) Bonanno believes that one must arm oneself to attack the logic

of profit, the market, “the programming of life,” and it is the violent explosion of armed joy, for him, which “overturns the order of dependency, the nomenclature of positive and negative, the code of the commodity illusion.” (Bonanno 1977, 43). More philosophically put, the insurrectionalist idea is that communities of joy will emerge from a struggle in the present, where “for the first time life will triumph over death.” (Bonanno 1977, 45)

The arms themselves are seen as mere tools to be used by revolutionaries according to their determination, conscience and decision to act, and as such weapons must always be submitted to critical evaluation (Bonanno 1977, 39). The concept of destruction, rather than expressed through the weapon as a tool, is expressed “through the totality of the person who carries it out in deeds, and at the moment she carries it out in action, it is theory, the possibility of being understood by the other.” (Bonanno 1996, 4) There is evidence here of the expression of a very real praxis: theory emerging from direct action in a way understandable in the immediate.

The diffuse nature of the insurrectionalist praxis has a number of advantages, the principal one of which is the ability of a cellular revolutionary structure to decide its own timing and means of attack against the system, becoming unpredictable and making the system vulnerable (Bonanno 1977, 39). This is certainly one of the many innovations of insurrectionalism on past revolutionary theories of anarchism, and communism, considered by Bonanno to now be inconceivable given the structures and systems they fight against (Bonanno 1996, 1). That is, these two ideologies remained largely convinced of the need for mass organizing and mass action as the only way to challenge structures of power. For Bonanno, the strength and pervasiveness of the State-Capital system is such that there is no hope for a mass movement against it (since it controls the means of living our lives), and instead only diffuse insurrectionary attack may have the possibility of breaching the system, causing ruptures through which yet more struggles can emerge.

Alfredo Bonanno is also among the first to call for a new mode of organizational coordination:

the informal organization: “individuals, groups, structures, movements, and other more or less stable forms of relationships between people who attempt to enter into contact in order to deepen their reciprocal knowledge.” (Bonanno 1993, 18) It is the role of knowledge, and information, which plays a central role in deciding to opt for informality: it provides greater anonymity, more scope of more numerous actions, and gives the ability to diffuse information and communication with the aim of coordinating attacks in a dynamic and adaptive manner. As we will see in the comparative section of this thesis (Section IV), the informational-knowledge aspect of new insurrectionalism is one of the fundamental determinants of its ability to spread and gather strength. For Bonanno, this informal organization should not have the quantitative aim of gathering more members, and growth should only happen when it is deemed useful for practical purposes to expand the network of action and knowledge (Bonanno 1993, 19). In opting for a non-quantitative concept of organizing, the informal organization makes “no claim to draw into it the whole reality of struggles in their various national and international expressions,” and as such does not seek mass action (Bonanno 1993, 19). Instead, it is seen as a point of reference, an occasion to form links of affinity and friendship in struggle, and thus widen their own revolutionary capacity to act on reality (Bonanno 1993, 19). This informal organization, then, must have two essential distinctions for Bonanno: anti-authoritarianism (the heritage of anarchism and the fight against domination), and insurrectionalism (Bonanno 1993, 20).

By insurrectional practice we mean revolutionary activity that intends to take the initiative in the struggle and does not limit itself to waiting or to simple defensive responses to attack by the structures of power. - Bonanno 1993, p.20

In this novel theory of insurrectionalism, an important element of its strength is the active complicity of members in intensifying the attack, and extending the struggle informally and horizontally (Bonanno 1974-1984, 3). It aims at the “destruction of power of all colors” through the creation of minimal structures that “turn the organizational question upside down.” (Bonanno 1974-

1984, 3) The forms of organization in particular that are believed to enable self-organizing and an informal organization of violent attack are the “base nuclei,” small affinity groups of action deciding the time and place of attack autonomously (Bonanno 1974-1984, 3). The perceived task of this active minority must not be to act as a vanguard, but rather to “transform the atmosphere and prepare it for the struggle against authoritarian ideologies.” (Bonanno 1974-1984, 5) In order to do this, they believe “it is necessary to fight a violent system with means that are violent. There is no alternative.” (Bonanno 1974-1984, 5) These 'autonomous base nuclei' are the smallest revolutionary organizational forms possible, allowing the construction of close personal ties between actors, and better organized and planned attacks on the structures of power (Bonanno 1974-1984, 13; Bonanno 1998, 18). For Bonanno, the nucleus could become “the small grain of sand that jams the machinery of capital.” (Bonanno 1974-1984, 17)

Why the choice of insurrectionalist anarchism? For Bonanno, there are several reasons, aside from those already given. First, it is viewed as a struggle with the excluded to alleviate and ultimately abolish conditions of exploitation imposed by the included, and that it is possible to contribute to the development of these struggles spontaneously, turning them into insurrections (Bonanno 1998, 20). Moreover, they seek to destroy the capitalist order, and the State, along with all their structures, individuals and organizations (Bonanno 1998, 20). Through this organizational form, they also seek to bring a stronger critique of those compromising with power. Finally, rather than wait, they want to proceed with action, even if the time is not ripe, and want to put an end to this system right now (Bonanno 1998, 20).

Revolutionary violence is preventive organization and preventive attack on the bourgeois forces. It is the struggle against State institutions, it is the specific search for confrontation, aimed at the surrender of the State superstructure. Revolutionary violence is initiative, the preparation of guerilla organizations, the formation of the forces of resistance, and the

thinking out of new programs of attack.(...) In fact the institutions, the State, the bourgeois structure, the military repressive forces, the police and every other expedient put into effect by the shrewd pillage organized by the bosses, is itself a provocation, an attack, a sentence, a systematic blow. Even when all these repressive forms take on the loose aspect of dialogue and tolerance, even when we feel a familiar hand on the shoulder, precisely then is the moment to strike harder, more deeply. - Bonanno 1998, p.8

Having sketched out the fundamentals of the original insurrectionalist praxis, as expressed by Alfredo Bonanno, and having established a general understanding of the ideological roots of the new insurrectionalism, we will now move to the comparative study of this paper, which will concretely demonstrate the processes of transnational diffusion of the ideas and practices of new insurrectionalism.

IV. New Insurrectionalism in Action: A Comparative Exercise in Transnational Diffusion of Violent Resistance

This section departs in a different methodological direction, in order to provide a descriptive basis for the forthcoming interpretation of new insurrectionalism in its contemporary state. Here, then, is a short comparative study of new insurrectionalism in five different countries, each with an extensive experience, since 2008-2009, of the movement's actions. However, this comparative study is not meant to be representative of the entire context of each country presented: it will not address specific institutional arrangements, nor will it address cultural differences and varying social arrangements. What *will* be addressed in this comparative study are the expressions of the groups themselves, in terms of the ideologies and theories expressed, the types of actions and the targets chosen, as well as the levels of coordination and transnational interaction and diffusion of methods, theories and actions.

This section, then, in no way purports to be exhaustive in its examination of each case, and rather seeks to act as a bridge between the knowledge we have developed about transnational diffusion, methods of violent resistance, and the philosophical bases of new insurrectionalism in the three previous sections, and to move towards a conclusion that reflects on the complexity of the diffusion of new insurrectionalism. In this way, it is hoped that the conclusions eventually arrived at will be clearly and coherently supported by the examples, quotes and citations provided within the present section, leaving the reader with a more intimate knowledge about the various facets of this novel tendency.

A. Greece

Greece is one of the originating zones of the new insurrectionalist tendency, and the country has without doubt experienced the most attacks by this movement than any other. This section endeavours to tell the story of Greek new insurrectionalism in a chronological fashion, to demonstrate (at least

partially) the process of evolution and solidification of the tendency in national and transnational terms.

The story begins in December 2008: during a series of mass demonstrations, the young anarchist Andreas Grigoropoulos is murdered by police. During the weeks following this act, hundreds of banks, shops, car dealers and offices were attacked and set on fire, and rudimentary cellular organizations of attack emerged (325.nostate.net, 410). The most notorious and active of these informal groups of action is the Revolutionary Organization: Conspiracy of Cells of Fire, accused in September 2009 of about 180 arson attacks targeting banks, car dealers, shopping centres, governmental institutions, police stations, offices of political parties, houses of politicians, judges, criminologists and journalists, private security firms and companies building prisons (325.nostate.net, 410). The many claims and communiqués published for these acts universally condemned the existence of the State, Capital and Authority [their capitalization], but also the “resignation of the exploited, their herd mentality, their collaboration with the system.” (325.nostate.net, 410) In the communiqué currently cited, the CCF – Nihilist Fraction expresses a position that has remained constant as of today: revenge for the perceived violence and domination the State exerts on society, the freeing of destructive feeling and forces within the anti-authoritarian movement, the initiation of urban guerilla warfare (insurrection), and an expression of solidarity with the FAI (Informal Anarchist Federation) in Italy (325.nostate.net, 410).

In December of 2009, following the arrest in September of several presumed CCF members, three vehicles of the Stavroupoli municipality in Thessaloniki were set on fire as revolutionary solidarity with “anarchist comrades that have been captured in the hands of the State for their decision to take part in the social war.” (325.nostate.net, 615) They dedicate their action to fellow insurrectionalists in many countries, including Switzerland, France, Mexico, Chile, USA, Italy and Serbia, expressly. The communiqué ends with the group claim by the International Rebellious Front, asserting “Fire to the Prisons – Smash the State.” (325.nostate.net, 615)

A short time after this attack, another action was carried out in Athens, where letter bombs were sent to embassies in Athens. Though this action went unclaimed by any group, the expressions in the communiqué following the arrest of the two presumed attackers are such that the *rapprochement* to the new insurrectionalist tendency can be made through statements like “The State is the terrorist – revolutionary solidarity to the insurgent fighters.” (325.nostate.net, 1220) Incidentally, on the 3rd of November, two days after the aforementioned arrest, three cars were set on fire in Athens' Exarchia neighbourhood “in solidarity with the arrested revolutionary hostages...accused of sending letter bombs.” (325.nostate.net, 1220) The element of diffuse attack and sharing of solidarity among unknown fighters is a central element of new insurrectionalism, and serves to galvanize more action every time another person is arrested, acting as a sort of warning and show of strength to the forces of the State.

In November 2010, Alfredo Bonanno was sentenced to four years imprisonment in Greece for a bank robbery in Trikala, along with Christos Stratigopoulos (325.nostate.net, 1276). Alfredo Bonanno, being 70 at the time, was released, but not before having spent the previous two years in detention. It is illustrative of the insurrectional situation in Greece at the time that such a person was present and active there. During the same time, in late November 2010, proceedings were underway for what would become one of the longest and biggest trials in contemporary Greek history: the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire Case (325.nostate.net, 1420). In solidarity with their fellow comrades in prison, members at large of the CCF led a letter-bomb campaign beginning on the 1st of November, 2010, against 14 different targets: the embassies of Belgium, Mexico, Chile, Germany, France, Switzerland, Bulgaria, and Russia; Angela Merkel, Silvio Berlusconi, Nicolas Sarkozy; the European Court, the Eurojust and Europol (325.nostate.net, 1420). There were no casualties or damages as a result of this campaign, but it served as a clear message of solidarity, and publicized the tendency's existence in certain circles. This being one of the longer communiqués, it is possible to analyze at least cursorily the nature of its

contents: the refutation of any truce with institutions of power; recognition of a growing network and idea of militant anarchy/new urban guerilla warfare, incarnated in the CCF with their more than 200 arson and bomb attacks in the three previous years; the anti-social tendency as an expression of their total rejection of society as we live and know it; economic crises as opportunities for new insurrectionalism to become more visible and more active; Anarcho-individualism as an expression of a differentiated collective lifestyle; revenge as a motor of action; and the ever-present solidarity to those imprisoned for their actions (325.nostate.net, 1420).

On December 30th, 2010, coordinated attacks in Athens and Buenos Aires target a court building and the Greek embassy, respectively (325.nostate.net, 1472). The courthouse bomb in Athens was a rather large one, exploding in a 200 meter radius, but did not cause any death or injuries due to a evacuation warning called in by an anonymous tipster.

In early January, 2011, one can witness the first text expressing direct solidarity and complicity between the CCF in Greece and the FAI, the latter of which had by this time spread to a great deal of other countries and regions. As the CCF tellingly writes: “We as Conspiracy will be next to [the FAI] in the common battle in order to stop the exploitation of person by person once and for all.” (325.nostate.net, 1539) Interestingly, the CCF cell that published this communiqué calls itself Commando Horst Fantazzini, after the Italian bank robber and anarchist who advocated anti-authoritarian insurrection, much along the lines of Alfredo Bonanno (325.nostate.net, 1539). Almost as an illustration of this new-found explicit alliance, and perhaps it was, an incendiary package is sent to the Greek Minister of Justice, Harris Kastanidis, claimed by Illegal Sector, of the FAI/CCF (325.nostate.net, 1750). As with many communiqués, this one is rather lengthy, and discusses the condition of comrade prisoners around the world, and commends international insurrectionalist action. Their interpretations and expressions are very much in line with what has already been described, which this quote will help illustrate:

Now or never there is a need for our most decisive step...the need for strategy is now more clear than ever before. Lightning never travels in straight repetitive lines. It bursts out suddenly. Even a phenomenal 'silence' is not a retreat, but the silence before the thunder.. -

325.nostate.net, 1750

Shortly thereafter, on March 6th, an arson attack was carried out against an Emporiki bank in Athens, as a part of the diffuse struggle, but also in direct solidarity with the CCF and other revolutionary struggle groups (325.nostate.net, 1928). A few months later, two revolutionary anarchists with indirect ties to the CCF engaged in a shoot-out with police after the latter proceeded to an identity check, injuring both police and one of the anarchists (325.nostate.net, 2473). The injured anarchist, Theofilos Mavropoulos, was apprehended by anti-terrorist police, and has been imprisoned alongside CCF members ever since (325.nostate.net, 2473). As the CCF writes of him:

This is the living picture of a person that ran up to freedom instead of giving up to silence and the resignation of our times. It is a clear trace from the future of a better world... -

325.nostate.net, 2473

In a solidarity action with Mavropoulos, the Revolutionary Groups for the Spreading of Terror - Core of Vandalisms group of the International Revolutionary Front (IRF) – CCF, attacked a bank and other targets in downtown Athens in early June 2011 (325.nostate.net, 2832). The legitimization of the target is particularly interesting for our purposes: it is situated near the central headquarters of the police, and so it is a message to them that they do not have control over even the areas closest to their bases; and secondly, the bank is in a high-class shopping district of the city, and so the many broken windows act as a signal of revolt to the more privileged classes of society (325.nostate.net, 2832). For them, “the revolutionary remains for ever free.” (325.nostate.net, 2832)

Several months having gone by, another action was carried out against six bank ATMs in Athens on the morning of the 7th of October, 2011, in solidarity with an arrested comrade who had been shot in

the back by police after refusing to stop at a traffic control (325.nostate.net, 3273). In particular, their action aimed at demonstrating that the acts of state forces will not go without resistance, and that there is strength in practical solidarity.

During this same time, the CCF trial continued unabated, and it is in a communiqué of December 20th, 2011, that we first see the mention of the Black Anarchist International as an expression of the coming together of the FAI, the IRF and the CCF within one diffuse and transnational insurrectionalist movement (325.nostate.net, 3758). As we move on through time, it is clear that ties are being forged across borders and a learning process of praxis is operating. This will only be made clearer as we continue, and as we examine the other cases.

2012 saw slightly fewer actions on the part of this tendency, however, several actions are notable during this time: on February 4th, a group of about 60 people attack the personal guard, guard booth and official vehicles outside the residence of President Karolos Papoulias with sticks and rocks, claiming solidarity with anarchists and the CCF (325.nostate.net, 4100). In June, the Deviant Behaviours for the Spread of Revolutionary Terrorism group of the IRF claims a car-bomb attack on Microsoft's headquarters in Greece, detonating a vehicle carrying 150 liters of gasoline inside the building (325.nostate.net, 6793). Several months go by, and in August an arson of the Trastor real estate investment company, a subsidiary of Piraeus Bank, is claimed by the Fire to the Sweatshops group of the FAI-IRF, expressing solidarity with just about every individual in the world arrested as part of the insurrectionalist tendency (325.nostate.net, 6211). Finally, a series of actions in early December would finish the year off rather spectacularly. First, two cars of the ex-minister of Economy and National Defence, Giannos Papandoniou, were set on fire at his residence, but not his house, since a young child was inside (325.nostate.net, 6725). The next day, fourteen banks in downtown Athens are sabotaged with polyurethane foam, in direct solidarity with the FAI, IRF, ELF (Earth Liberation Front), CCF, the Militant Minority and the International Arsonist Union, and claimed by the Night Jackals Action Cell

(325.nostate.net, 6770). As we move on, we can see the multiplication of action groups, as well as the larger federations and informal international alliances, each forging increasingly stronger links of affinity and solidarity between each other, cementing the tangible existence of an intangible network of violent resistance.

Aside from the massive bombing and arson campaign of 2008-2009 by the CCF, 2013 was the most active year for this tendency and its allies. First, a double robbery in Kozani goes wrong, and four are arrested despite being armed (325.nostate.net, 7164). On the 18th of the same month, a coordinated attack against various targets in the suburbs of Athens is organized by the Collaboration of Teams – ALF//Chaotics (sic) group, in solidarity with the CCF, FAI-IRF, ALF (Animal Liberation Front) and ELF (325.nostate.net, 7264). Again, the network grows. Three days later, a molotov cocktail attack against a police station in Exarchia, Athens, is claimed in solidarity with the arrested for the aforementioned double robbery (325.nostate.net, 7262).

March 2013 was an equally active month: March 4th sees the burning down of an ATM in the Trizinia area of Greece, where the Lone Wolf Cell of the FAI-IRF sought to “expropriate the money, but couldn't, so [they] burned it down instead.” (325.nostate.net, 7416) On March 10th, there were two simultaneous actions carried out: an attack on a police station with molotov cocktails in Athens damages two police motorcycles and the guard outpost (325.nostate.net, 7332); and a incendiary device placed at the entrance of the offices of Swift Mail express courier in Pagrati, Athens – the company owner's wife having made a statement leading to the arrests of CCF members who had sent a mail bomb to the embassy of Mexico using this service, claimed by the Untouched Revenge Cell of the FAI-IRF (325.nostate.net, 7418). The next day, March 11th, a coordinated attack on three Gold Market shops and a fur shop was led by Anarchists for Direct Action, citing no group affinity, but strongly resembling the pattern of attacks existent in new insurrectionalism (325.nostate.net, 7412).

On May 26th, 2013, another molotov cocktail attack is carried out, this time against the

administrative offices of the Eastern Macedonia and Thrace regions, in the city of Komotini, and is claimed by Destructive Consciousnesses, in direct solidarity and affinity with the CCF (325.nostate.net, 7961). In the communiqué, the actors clearly express their reasons for attacking: “We fight for the complete destruction of Power.” (325.nostate.net, 7961)

In June, the CCF-FAI/IRF launches an international bombing campaign called the “Phoenix Project,” which begins with an explosive attack on the vehicle of the Koridallos prisons director, in Dafni (325.nostate.net, 8080). This is specifically in retaliation to brutal prison treatment and conditions for all prisoners, not only the insurrectionalists. The second act of the Phoenix Project takes place somewhere around the beginning of June (no date is specified in the communiqué), when the FAI/IRF-ICR (International Conspiracy of Revenge) claims the exploding of the car of a prison guard in response to him directing and participating in the beating of prisoners in Navplio prison (325.nostate.net, 8149). Part four of the Phoenix Project was led by the Commando Mauricio Morales cell of the FAI-IRF, named after a deceased Chilean insurrectionalist, when a parcel bomb was sent to Dimitris Horianopoulos, the former commander of the anti-terror division of the Greek police, but the bomb was triggered before it arrived at its target (325.nostate.net, 8334). We can see here the emphasis on attacking agents of the State's repressive forces in particular. June was also witness to diffuse attacks in the city of Athens, without direct claims, but solidarity in the places we would expect for new insurrectionalism: four ATMs burnt down on the 13th; a series of incendiary attacks on the offices of the New Democracy party, two ATMs in Palaio Faliro, one ATM in Kypseli, and three private police motorcycles in various Athens neighbourhoods; and finally the arson of an ATM in the Neapoli neighbourhood of Athens (325.nostate.net, 8208).

In mid-July 2013, the ten imprisoned members of the CCF-FAI/IRF are accused of 'instigation', following the four attacks carried out in the context of the “Phoenix Project,” but refuse to testify in court, citing their total contempt of the system (325.nostate.net, 8428; 8914). Yet, the campaign

continues, and a sixth action was carried out in October, by the sending of a parcel bomb to judge Dimitris Mokkas, a specialized 'terrorism' judge (325.nostate.net, 9066). It was claimed by the Ryo Cell of the CCF-FAI/IRF, and was specifically aimed at acting as an “invitation for revenge.” (325.nostate.net, 9066). The final act of this very busy year was an explosive device placed at a tax office in northern Athens, by the Forces of the Revolutionary Arc (325.nostate.net, 9315).

2014 has not yet been as fiery a year in the annals of Greek insurrectionalism. Several communiqués of theory and practice have been published, including *Let's Become Dangerous...For the Diffusion of the Black International*, which has been and will be referred to as a primary source on the state of contemporary new insurrectionalism (325.nostate.net, 9490). Aside from these, a March 8th molotov cocktail attack against a police station was carried out, and an arson attack was led against a tax office in the city of Volos on March 21st, both unclaimed by the major groups, but expressing solidarity in practice and thought with them nonetheless (325.nostate.net, 9859; 9914).

As we have seen, Greece is what one would call a 'hotbed' of new insurrectionalist organizing in both the practical and theoretical senses. With over 250 attacks attributed to the CCF alone since 2008 (325.nostate.net, 8428), it is unsurprising that Greek insurrectionalists have such clout and have played such a fundamental role in the galvanizing and diffusion of a transnational network of violent resistance. We now move to the second major generator of the tendency, the Italian insurrectionalists and the FAI.

B. Italy

The Italian insurrectionalists have a long tradition of political action in the country's history, which begins notably with the Years of Lead (late 1960s to early 1980s), a period of violent political turmoil where diverse radical political groups fought using terrorist tactics against the system as well as against each other. The new insurrectionalist tendency partly finds its origins in the anarchist

insurrectionalist tendency of those years, expressed most clearly and popularly by one of its primary actors, Alfredo Bonanno. The beginnings of the movement of *new* insurrectionalism as differentiated from other more Marxist or classically anarchist tendencies, can be traced to 2003, after a series of letter-bomb attacks against State targets across the European Union, where a communiqué declares: “the first Informal Anarchist Federation struggle campaign has started.” (FAI). They describe themselves in this way:

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...to fulfill our need for freedom here and now. - FAI

The informal character of a federal arrangement of independent but coordinated cells and groups, the adoption of a strategy of insurrection that aims at a long-term struggle with short-term tactics, and action as an expression of the will for total freedom, as the defining organizational tenets of the new insurrectionalism, are all present in this affirmation of the struggle. For them, the message is in the means, where it is realized that violent struggle is not the harbinger of mass revolution, but rather the condition of a possibility of becoming free (FAI).

In terms of actions, the FAI and its Italian allies have not been nearly as active as the CCF and its Greek allies. It is particularly in 2009-2010 that we see a steady re-appearance of the FAI, which had remained relatively quiet since the massive 2003 campaign mentioned earlier. Until 2010 specifically, the FAI had maintained a low profile which mostly consisted in publishing new insurrectionalist statements and propaganda calling for the diffusion of this mode of organization, irrespective of borders.

In 2010, however, we begin to witness an increase in the explicit activity of the FAI. On the 23rd of December, parcel bombs explode at Chilean and Swiss embassies in Rome, claimed by the FAI-Revolutionary Cell Lambros Foundas (named after a Greek insurrectionalist); and on the 27th, a parcel

bomb is sent to the Greek embassy in Rome, claimed by FAI-Italy, in response to a call by the CCF for such an action (FAI). Although this takes place before the official alliance of the two groups under the Black International, there are already clear channels of communication and influence between the two countries.

2011 marked a rather active year for the FAI, beginning with the sending of a parcel bomb to the Ruspoli barracks in Livorno, the centre of the Parachutist Brigade Commando serving in Afghanistan at the time, severely wounding a Lieutenant-Colonel (325.nostate.net, 2059). One has to wait yet another few months until December 2011 to witness a major bombing campaign led by the FAI-Italy. On December 3rd, the cell Anarchists for the Destruction of the Existent – Black International, explicitly inspired by the CCF, commits arson against a Unicredit Bank in Ravenna, expressing direct solidarity with a number of prisoners (325.nostate.net, 3586). A quote from the communiqué explains much about their motivations:

Everywhere, brave comrades decide to attack the system with direct action of any kind against any of its aspects – offices, banks, schools, churches and so on – carrying forward the war against all authority. We have decided to take part in this war...leaving a clear message to the exploiters of Ravenna and of the whole world and to all their guards: the powder keg is about to explode. We will reappropriate all that they have taken by force and with all means. - 325.nostate.net, 3586

Following this action, and the very clear statement of intent stated above, the Free Eat and Billy Cell (Eat and Billy are two Indonesian insurrectionalists) of the FAI-IRF Italy lead a letter-bomb campaign targeting several corporate and state agents in December 2011 (325.nostate.net, 3668). On the 7th, CEO Josef Ackerman of Deutsche Bank has a letter-bomb intercepted; on the 9th, a parcel explodes at the office of the chief director of Italy's tax collection service; on the 12th a parcel is intercepted at the Greek embassy in Paris; and on the 15th, a letter-bomb is intercepted on its way to Equitalia tax agency

(325.nostate.net, 3668). On December 22nd, a new Deutsche Bank in Rome is destroyed, and a Banco Popular di Sondrio is leveled by arson; these acts are all claimed by the FAI-IRF Italy (325.nostate.net, 3816). Again, a quote here is fitting to explain, in their own words, the reasoning for taking up violent action in this manner:

We have chosen the path to follow, you already know at what risk, but, above all, we have chosen to give ourselves an expectation of life consistent with our ideas and our instincts. Our struggle is against the domination of technology and industrial waste, toward total liberation, placed at the forefront of our lives. - 325.nostate.net, 3816

In 2012, there were three actions of note claimed by the new insurrectionalist tendency, principally from the FAI and its associated cells. On March 9th, a bomb explodes at a branch of Monte dei Paschi di Siena Bank in Rome, claimed by the Anti-Social Nucleus of the FAI-IRF Italy, in solidarity with Eat and Billy, insurrectionalist prisoners at the time in Indonesia (325.nostate.net, 4497). Two months later, on May 7th, an assassination attempt is made on Roberto Adolfini, CEO of Ansaldo Nucleare (a nuclear energy firm with interests in the production and trading of arms), in Genoa, and claimed by the Olga Cell of the FAI-IRF Italy (325.nostate.net, 5259). It is in the statement of intent for this action that the FAI finally recognizes a direct and ineffable link with the CCF in the Black International, as participating in the same struggle: “For the strengthening and diffusion of FAI-IRF and the Black International of Anarchists of Praxis.” (325.nostate.net, 5259) Finally, on July 18th 2012, two banks in Rome are attacked, one is entirely destroyed, and the action is claimed by the Subversive Anticivilization Individualities cell of the FAI-IRF Italy, with direct solidarity and complicity to the CCF (325.nostate.net, 5923).

As one reads the communiqués, one is struck by the increasing preoccupation with solidarity to prisoners arrested for presumed complicity and responsibility in the aforementioned actions. It appears that the Italian state has been quite active and efficient at repressing the possibility of action by

arresting as many potential participants as possible. Yet, several actions took place in 2013 which must be addressed, despite the generally lower level of activity from new insurrectionalists. First, a series of attacks in March, 2013, targeted three banks in Torino in revenge for the expulsion from the country of anarchist comrades, as well as an arson of the Geo Studio Servizi architects of the TAV rapid train line in Val Susa (325.nostate.net, 7471). A month later, on April 20th, parcel bombs were sent to Europol and *La Stampa* newspaper in Torino, claimed by the Damiano Bolano Cell of the FAI-IRF (325.nostate.net, 7697).

Since these last actions, there has been very little activity by the FAI and its related cells in Italy. This can be primarily attributed to effective repression of the movement by the Italian state, which is expressed in repeated raids of anarchist community centres, squats, and info-shops. Of late, the new insurrectionalist community in Italy has been preoccupied with the arrest and trial of many of their comrades, as well as those participating in translation and diffusion efforts of texts and propaganda by various new insurrectionalist groups around the world. In particular, Culmine, an anarchist blog, and Parole Armate, a clearinghouse of new insurrectionalist communiqués, have been brought to trial and their assets seized, although so far members of both have been released on parole (325.nostate.net, 9089).

Here, then, we can begin to see a strengthening of transnational links, and an increased focus on the diffusion of the methods and theories of the movement across borders. It is in the realization of this diffusion that we will depart from the European continent to examine the context and state of new insurrectionalism in the Americas, and in particular in Mexico.

C. Mexico

The case of Mexico is important for several reasons. First, the country has had a long historical experience with various forms of armed uprisings, from civil wars to guerillas of different intensities,

to indigenous insurrections, and terrorist campaigns. More importantly, however, is that Mexico has a long tradition of radical political activism and youth involvement in marginal politics that is strong, and as such represents a fertile ground for adopting the diffusion of new insurrectionalism on their own terms. It is interesting to note that the Mexican groups consistently and repeatedly express a direct solidarity and affinity with European groups, notably the CCF in Greece and FAI in Italy. A final consideration to keep in mind while perusing this chronology of new insurrectionalist actions in Mexico is that, contrary to almost every other case presented here, the anarchist tendency is not predominant: considerations of indigeneity, of radical environmentalism, and of individualistic nihilism are much more pronounced in Mexico than elsewhere, and it serves to show that the new insurrectionalism is *fundamentally* contextually adaptive in the way that its only real focus of cohesion is the violent struggle for total liberation from structures of domination.

The Mexican new insurrectionalist tendency can be traced back to early 2010, by an attack on the Chilean embassy in Mexico City by means of two letter-bombs, claimed by the Autonomous Cells of the Immediate Revolution – Praxedis G. Guerrero (CARI-PGG), in direct link with the FAI as the larger informal organization, and especially the CCF in terms of direct solidarity and as the example to imitate as widely as possible (325.nostate.net, 1643). On the 23rd of May, 2011, the Insurreccional Anarchist Revolutionary Cell (CRIA) claims the bombing of the Spanish BBVA-Bancomer Bank in Mexico City, the second largest bank in North America, and the first in pensions and securities (325.nostate.net, 2533). The group targeted this bank not only for the fact that it is a primary actor of global capitalism, anathema to new insurrectionalists, but more specifically because of its dealings in the arms trade and the maintenance of global conflict, drug trafficking, and generally financing environmental destruction through urbanization and mining projects in Libya, Ecuador, Bolivia, Uruguay, Chile and Peru, among others (325.nostate.net, 2533).

The year 2011 would witness a veritable boom in activity by these groups, beginning with a

series of planned and coordinated attacks now known as Black September. On the 1st, the Individuals Tending towards the Wild (ITS) sends an explosive package to the nanoscience research division of the University of Mexico (UNAM) (325.nostate.net, 3207). The 5th, the Terrorist Cells for Direct Action – Anti-Civilization Fraction (TSDD-ACF), claim an explosive attack against the National Institute of Ecology, as well as a dud bomb at Bio-Pharma IfaB in Mexico City (325.nostate.net, 3207). All three of these targets were selected for environmental reasons, citing the commodification of nature, and the violence that modern science inflicts on the environment and the people depending on it for survival, as is still the case of many indigenous communities in the country. On the 12th, several actions are carried out in the Zumpango municipality of Mexico State by the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), aimed primarily at direct animal liberation from laboratories and farms (325.nostate.net, 3207). The next day, an anonymous bombing of a Banamex Bank is carried out in the highly securitized Mexico City zone of Lomas de Chapultepec (325.nostate.net, 3207). On the 15th, the CARI-PGG claims an explosive attack on a Mexico State police truck in Nezahualcoyotl, Mexico State (325.nostate.net, 3207). The ITS, on the 21st of September, claims the sending of two explosive packages to scientific research institutes, which were not specified in the statement of intent published by the group (325.nostate.net, 3207). On the 23rd, an explosive device is detonated at the offices of the Federal Election Commission in Iztacalco, Mexico City, by the CARI-PGG (325.nostate.net, 3207). Finally, a campaign of five arson attacks in Mexico City, Guadalajara and Jalisco, targeting various commercial targets as well as an airport staff training school, would close the month (325.nostate.net, 3190). It is interesting to note here that the two resources used (325.nostate.net, 3190 and 3207) are respectively the second and third communiqués from Mexico declaring their affinity with the CCF and FAI, and expressing their tendency as the CCF-FAI Mexico, combining eleven anarchist insurrectionary and radical environmental groups (325.nostate.net, 3190). Clearly, this month-long campaign was a rousing call for the cementing of the new insurrectionalism as an informal organization through which groups

operating both nationally and internationally could exchange ideas and information, as well as coordinate direct actions more effectively.

On October 26th of 2011, the fourth communiqué of the CCF-FAI-Mexico is published, stating that this informal organization had indeed been created only 45 days before, and confirming the diffusion of the model to Mexico (325.nostate.net, 3362). In the same statement, they claim two attacks: an arson at a lumber warehouse in Mexico State, and an arson destroying a Wal-Mart on the outskirts of Veracruz the night of the 25th (325.nostate.net, 3362). On November 8th, the ITS led an attack which led to the assassination of UNAM biotechnology researcher Ernesto Mendez Salinas for his work on genetically modified organisms (325.nostate.net, 3539). In an ensuing statement in December of the same year, the cross-border and transnational expressions of solidarity and affinity are made very clear: the link between all of these diverse and geographically distant groups is their struggle against all structures of domination (325.nostate.net, 4815). In particular, they point to the FAI as ideologically fundamental in the formation of this tendency, by their assertion that the informal organization only exists when the struggle happens, and only by the impetus of those who declare their affinity with it (325.nostate.net, 4815). Though they may not all be anarchists, as is expressly stated, their tactics and targets are the same (325.nostate.net, 7218).

Much as in Greece, 2012 would be an active year for the Mexican insurrectionalists. In late April and early May of that year, the CRIA-PGG sent two explosive packages to the Greek ambassador in Mexico, in response to the imprisoning of new insurrectionalist members in that country (325.nostate.net, 5601). On September 18th, the Insurrectional Cell Mariano Sanchez Anon (CI-MSA) of the FAI-M claimed a small-arms attack on a police car in the Valley of Chalco, Mexico State, killing the three policemen inside (325.nostate.net, 6377). Through this act, they claim solidarity with other Mexican insurrectionalists, as well as those in Chile, Greece, Italy, Indonesia, the USA and Switzerland, and assert the existence and vibrancy of the new insurrectionalism (325.nostate.net, 6377).

In late August and early September, another campaign like the previous Black September was carried out, and its actions were published by the insurrectionalist Mexican magazine *Conspiracion Acrata* (2012). On August 20th, a bomb was set at the Mexican Council for Science and Technology (COMECyT), in Toluca, and claimed by the Anti-Civilization Fraction of the ELF-FAI. On the 21st, an arson attack is claimed by the CCF-FAI-M against the Museum of Mexican Revolution in Puebla. On September 17th, three coordinated attacks are claimed respectively by the CCF-FAI-M, FAI-M, and ELF: an attack against a pharmaceutical producer in Veracruz; a bomb at a BBVA-Bancomer in Veracruz; and an arson attacks against the Prosecutor General's office in the Federal District. The next day, on the 18th of September, an explosive device is placed at a BBVA-Bancomer branch in the Federal District, and claimed by CRIA-PGG/FAI-M. Again, on September 19th, an arson attack is carried out against an electricity distribution company and claimed by the ELF. Finally, on September 23rd, another arson takes place against PepsiCo offices in Oaxaca, as well as against a Tucdosa bus. (All actions above in *Conspiracion Acrata*, 2012).

The next two years, 2013 and 2014, did not witness nearly as many actions as the two previous years, but the tendency continues to exist nevertheless. On November 18, 2013, an explosive attack on a church and a bank in Toluca is claimed by the ELF/FAI-M (325.nostate.net, 9357). A month later, on December 21st, another explosive attack is claimed by these same groups in Toluca, at a bank near the city's airport (325.nostate.net, 9357). In this present year, we have not as yet received any direct communiqués of attacks from this tendency, and though there have been several actions, none have been claimed by new insurrectionalist groups.

Interestingly, since April 2013, the Mexican and Italian states, along with Europol, have begun to cooperate in gathering and sharing information about anarchist terrorism in both of their countries (Appel). In their April 25th report, Europol emphasizes the role of the FAI as a central node of theory and ideology, and considers it “one of the anarchist groups with the greatest strength and determination

in Europe.” (Appel) The link was already made clear in 2011 in the statements and communiqués published by both the Mexican and Italian groups of the tendency, especially by the adoption in Mexico of the FAI-CCF model as that which permits the most decentralized as well as the most coordinated possibility of informal organization and action.

From Mexico we can now move southwards to Chile, where a long history of political violence plays an equally important part in the construction of new insurrectionalist action and identity, even if the actions themselves are sometimes few and far between.

D. Chile

The Chilean new insurrectionalist groups are an excellent example of an intermediary case of the tendency. In general, actions are less commonplace than in the three previously mentioned countries, due in part to a culture of protests which is more permissive of violent direct action than in other places, but also due to the variety of other revolutionary and insurrectionary organizations on the radical left, most notably Marxist-Leninist tendencies that have remained relevant since the Pinochet era. It is interesting to note that the new insurrectionalist groups of Chile are mentioned more often in the statements of other new insurrectionalists than any other country, for reasons that remain unclear, though possibly related to the aforementioned history of revolutionary organization there.

The story of informal insurrectionalist organizing in Chile begins with a rather notable failure: the death of Mauricio Morales in a premature explosion of a bomb on his way to plant it, on May 22nd, 2009 (325.nostate.net, 1463). After this event, his name has been consistently referred to, and several cells in different countries have adopted it as their group name. The direct identification with the new insurrectionalist tendency can be traced to a communiqué published in late December 2010, in the form of a letter from “Chilean Insurrectionalists” to the FAI, saluting the recent European bombing campaign led by the latter (325.nostate.net, 1463).

It is from 2011, however, that one can witness the veritable beginnings of enacting an insurrectionalist praxis in Chile. On March 11th, the Aracely Romo Insurrectional Commando of the IRF claims an explosive attack against TV studios on San Cristobal Hill in Santiago (325.nostate.net, 2027). The attack was committed in response to the extension of a prisoner's preventive detention period, and especially against the media in general for portraying what was perceived as State interests, rather than telling the story of the accused, or remaining somewhat neutral (325.nostate.net, 2027). The next month, on April 21st, an attack on a BBVA branch in downtown Santiago with gasoline and rocks was claimed in solidarity with the prisoners of the Bombs Case: revolutionary Marxists and anarchists accused of a series of bombings in the early 2000s (325.nostate.net, 2220). Another month later, two incendiary actions are claimed by the Carlo Giuliani Informal Cell: an arson of a bus near the headquarters of the Chilean national investigative police in Curico on the 21st; and a spontaneous fire barricade in Curico on the 23rd (325.nostate.net, 2534). In June, an unaffiliated molotov cocktail attack in solidarity with an imprisoned insurrectionalist, Luciano Tortuga, is claimed against Santander Bank (325.nostate.net, 2639). In the statement, an essential expression of new insurrectionalism is made clear: the attack on the bank was “an act of overcoming fear,” like Luciano Tortuga (325.nostate.net, 2639). As a side note, Tortuga was imprisoned after his explosive device exploded prematurely, maiming him in the process, but not killing him. Ever since, and though he is now out of prison, he has been a living martyr for the Chilean insurrectionalists, as well as the tendency in general.

For the next two years, the Chilean insurrectionalists would not act, and the only information emerging from the country concerned the aforementioned Chilean Bombs Case and Luciano Tortuga, as well as their respective publications. Eventually, on May 17th, 2013, an incendiary attack against an OS9 Police Station (riot police) in Santiago was claimed by the Incendiary Cell for the Subversion of the Existent (325.nostate.net, 7927). The action consisted of 13 'urban guerillas' creating a barricade and throwing about 40 molotov cocktails at various buildings, retreating after about 45 seconds of

action (325.nostate.net, 7927). Later in the month, an incendiary attack on the National Association of Prison Guards building in downtown Santiago in solidarity with prisoners in Temuco prison was claimed by the Insurreccional Anti-authoritarian Cell Panagiotis Argyrou, of the FAI-IRF (325.nostate.net, 7947). The statement for this action mourns the lack of actions in past years, and calls for a renewed campaign of violent direct action against the State and corporations (325.nostate.net, 7947). At around the same time, on May 22nd, more than a dozen people spontaneously attack police at an intersection on the outskirts of the University of Chile, erecting barricades and ambushing police with about 100 molotov cocktails for thirty minutes (325.nostate.net, 7997). The action marked the commemoration of the death of Mauricio Morales, and the statement expressed clear new insurreccionalist demands: “Freedom to the political prisoners and fire to the prison society!” (325.nostate.net, 7997).

Finally, the last major action by the Chilean groups of the new insurreccionalist tendency that has been published took place on November 16th, 2013. The action was the 8th of the Phoenix Project, an international action campaign initiated by the Greek CCF, and consisted in an incendiary and explosive device being placed at the office of the Board of Elections in La Reina, Santiago (325.nostate.net, 9256). The communiqué states that the action was directly inspired by “comrades a world away,” and mentions nearly all the movement's prisoners in its statement of solidarity and affinity (325.nostate.net, 9256). The action was claimed by the Long Live Ilya Romanov Cell, in affinity with the Black International, and states that they wish to accentuate “irregular warfare against domination,” and fight “Power in a multiform manner, with autonomous action, and organized from informality.” (325.nostate.net, 9256) It is difficult to be more clear in the expression of one's affinity in this case.

As we have seen, the Chilean case is interesting principally because it is an example of intermediate diffusion of the new insurreccionalism, and because it demonstrates a different political,

social and cultural situation than the previous cases. Although there are less direct affiliations than in the case of Mexico, the general idea of new insurrectionalism seems to have been relatively easily adopted and transferred to struggles already in progress. From this intermediate example, we will now move towards the final example of the diffusion and transnationalisation of new insurrectionalism in this section: the Indonesian insurrectionalists.

E. Indonesia

The case of the Indonesian insurrectionalists is extremely useful here for several reasons. First, it is the first (and so far only) example of an Asian insurrectionalist tendency along the lines of anarchist informal organizing. Second, its beginnings are traced to 2011, among the most recent of serious and consistent adoptions of the movement, its language and its praxis. Third it is among the only cases where there is direct media corroboration of actions; statements are often accompanied by photographs and videos from Indonesian media. Fourth, it is the only group of the tendency that cohabitates with violent religious terrorist groups, notably Jemaah Islamiyah and Darul Islam, and so provides a very peculiar and singular context for the radicalization of insurrectionalist action. Finally, Indonesian groups have been among the most active in the past two years in terms of actions, and in publishing more theoretical statements for international diffusion.

In 2009, resistance begins against the construction of a new airport on community lands, in the Kulon Progo regency of the Yogyakarta Special Region. For two years, radical leftist struggles in Indonesia will be primarily focused on this issue, and street fighting with the authorities in this context. However, in April 2011, a group calling itself the ICR (International Conspiracy for Revenge), similarly to the group in Greece, claims the bombing of a BCA bank ATM, in solidarity with the Kulon Progo struggle (325.nostate.net, 2070). The adoption of such a name suggests that transnational diffusion of new insurrectionalism had already begun in Indonesia by this time.

With the next action, on June 30th, 2011, the previously mentioned ICR declares its affinity with the FAI and its membership within that informal federation (325.nostate.net, 2902). The action itself was a molotov cocktail attack against a BNI ATM in Bandung, again in solidarity with the peasants' struggle in Kulon Progo (325.nostate.net, 2902). In late 2011, a series of events seems to have galvanized and upsurge in action on the part of new insurrectionalism in the country: the arrest of 64 punks; a revolt in Makassar on the 26th of December and its ensuing arrests; a revolt in Bima on the 24th of December, which ended with several people killed by police; and, finally, the arrest of Eat and Billy, two insurrectionalists of the FAI tendency. They were sentenced to two years in prison on May 15th, 2012 (325.nostate.net, 5283).

On January 29th and 30th of 2012, the Vandals for Solidarity Cell of the ICR-FAI claims the heavy vandalizing of four ATMs in Gorontalo, North Sulawesi (325.nostate.net, 4425). On August 23rd of the same year, the Long Live Luciano Tortuga Cell of the ICR-FAI/IRF claims an incendiary attack at a power plant in Kotamobagu, North Sulawesi, which failed to ignite; but they repeated the exercise at an electrical substation in Tuminting, Manado, which was successful (325.nostate.net, 6295). In early November of 2011, the ICR-FAI/IRF issues an international call for direct action in solidarity with Eat and Billy, as well as with Luciano Tortuga, among many others (325.nostate.net, 6572). As to make good on this call, the same group claims the planting of an explosive device at a high-class Karaoke pub in Manado, specifically targeting the cars of the wealthy inside, but the device was discovered by the police and detonated (325.nostate.net, 6561). On the 11th of November, the ICR-FAI/IRF also claims the arson of a state elementary school in Manado, citing that “school is prison.” (325.nostate.net, 6558) The reasoning for this action follows the new insurrectional interpretation that all institutions emanating from the State are institutions of domination, and so must be fought against.

The year 2013 was without a doubt the most active for the Indonesian new insurrectionalists. On the 10th and 14th of January, the ELF-Indonesian Fraction, in solidarity with the CCF, ELF, ALF,

ITS and FAI/IRF, claimed responsibility for arson against a car and a shop belonging to the Vice Secretary of Demokrat (a political party) in South Sumatra, as well as four incendiary attacks against ATMs in Makassar, and attacks on two electrical substations in Jakarta (325.nostate.net, 6881; 6995). They dedicated these actions to the farmers' struggle in Ogan Kemilir Ilir, to rebels in Papua, to struggles against mining on the southern coast of Java, and to the native peoples of Kalimantan, Mentawai, Jambi and Papua (325.nostate.net, 6995). On February 6th, actions in which anarchists and fisherfolks of Serio-Tumpaan sabotaged and blockaded a coastal reclamation mega-project across Manado Bay, were partly claimed by the Anti-Authoritarian Fraction of the FAI/IRF Indonesia (325.nostate.net, 7064). Later in the month, on the 22nd, the Anger Unit of ICR-FAI/IRF claimed responsibility for the arson of a shopping area in North Jakarta:

All the buildings are the walls against our sight to see the stars, the same stars which our imprisoned and guerilla comrades in other parts of the world are also seeing. -
325.nostate.net, 7254

On March 31st, the Anger Unit cell struck again, burning down three buildings owned by the Mayor of Aceh Tamiang, Hamdan Sati, the first action in Aceh (325.nostate.net, 7492). On June 26th, the same unit claims responsibility for the arson of the third floor of the former Sheraton Hotel in Jakarta, the Media Hotel and Tower, as the third act in the context of the Phoenix Project, initiated by the Greek CCF (325.nostate.net, 8227). As we move forward in time, it becomes clear that communication ties between geographically distant groups of the new insurrectionalism are becoming stronger, and a more clear and coherent strategy, with better coordination, is evolving. For the Indonesian insurrectionalists:

FAI-IRF must be seen as an international project between individuals, cells or groups who share the passion and anger. FAI-IRF is not an umbrella organization or union which collects only those who are called “nihilist-individualist” and “the radical anti-civilization.” But FAI-IRF is a temporary meeting point for acts of solidarity, an act of

revenge on the enemy, simultaneous attacks which are not intended to embrace “a better future” but to see the collapse of the hypocritical society: Today. - 325.nostate.net, 8262

On August 20th, the ELF-Indonesia burns down part of the Arts Institute of Jakarta, as a symbolic gesture against the 'culture' of elites and artists, which, for them, are inherently complicit in the system of domination (325.nostate.net, 8615). A few days later, on the 24th, the Free Mandylas and Tsavdaridis Cell of the FAI/IRF takes responsibility for an arson against a police school in Balikpapan, in particular in response to the arrest of Steki Nadir and others by Greek police, as well as other FAI/IRF actions (325.nostate.net, 8682). On September 23rd, the ELF Indonesian Fraction places incendiary devices at a factory producing bulletproof vests for the police and the military, in Bandung (325.nostate.net, 8942). In this statement, they expressly salute the actions of CCF Russia and ELF Russia, as well as Amigos de la Tierra-FAI in Argentina, and CCF-ICR in the Phoenix Project (325.nostate.net, 8942).

The final and most recent action yet published, is the tenth action in the context of the Phoenix Project, in which the Sebastian O. Seguel Cell of the ICR-FAI claims the bombing of an ATM bank (325.nostate.net, 9449). A statement here makes much of what has been said throughout this entire thesis much clearer:

And yes, we are terrorists, the ones who fought for freedom from hundreds of years ago with fists, rocks, molotovs, incendiaries, and of course, bombs. - 325.nostate.net, 9449

From Europe, to the Americas, to Asia, the new insurrectionalism has spread, and continues to be diffused in a manner irrespective of national borders and classical cultural differences. What unites these groups is the will to fight indefinitely against all structures and systems of domination, without compromise, and with total practical and ideological dedication. At present, the tendency has spread to many other places as well: Argentina, the United Kingdom, Spain, Switzerland, Russia, Canada, the United States, Germany, Belgium, Belarus, Ukraine, Bolivia, Ecuador, Brazil, the Netherlands, Bulgaria, Denmark, Turkey, and France (325.nostate.net).

Conclusion: Reflections on Contemporary Insurrectionalist Praxis

As explained earlier, the new insurrectionalism is a mode and movement of international resistance and attack on structures of domination emerging concretely from 2008-2009 onwards. Its methods are drawn from terrorist and insurrectionary sources, and its worldview and practical approach are directly inspired by anarchist philosophy and the insurrectionalist praxis developed and expounded by Alfredo Bonanno and other ensuing authors such as Tiqqun. What, then, are the tenets of this new insurrectionalism? Broadly, how does it constitute a cohesive and coordinated revolutionary organization of action, despite being geographically dispersed in contexts that differ, as it has been demonstrated, in important ways? At the heart of this evaluation is the goal to provide an understanding of what it is in this praxis that permits its diffusion and adoption in a transnational manner.

For the new insurrectionalism, the enemy is no longer specifically the State and capitalism, but is increasingly expressed as “the totality of society.” (FAI-IRF Indonesian Section) It is believed by this tendency that the revolutionary process can and must be set in motion from any point “in the biopolitical fabric,” the conception of society as a totalizing force of domination (Tiqqun, 13). This idea comes from the theoretical view that the interests of Power are expressed throughout a variety of institutions and behaviors, many of which people internalize. As such, society as a whole is seen as marked by the pervasive domination of these forms of social organization (the State and capitalism), and it is this totality which is to be struggled against. This is evidence to the effect that there is a realization of the global nature of forms of perceived domination, and that a struggle against society in general is an easier method of struggle to adopt in divergent places than one which focuses on restricted local structures and issues. That is, the assertion of new insurrectionalism that it is the totality of society that must be fought against, is an assertion of its fundamentally adaptable and diffuse nature, not focusing on one country or region, but on the *totality* of relations of power in the world. As

Edizioni Cerbero and Parole Armate state: “Reject every compromise, every attempt of repositioning within society, and act by all means for its total downfall.” (Black International Editions, 37) Moreover, for the new insurrectionalists, it is essential to act against society as a whole in the immediate, since “the plunder and injustice is too blatant, unapologetic...and is intolerable.” (Black International Editions, 40)

One can observe in new insurrectionalism a growth in radicalization of violent and vindictive positions, especially the aspect of revenge, which was not present in the insurrectionalist interpretation put forward by Bonanno (FAI-IRF Indonesian Section). In fact, there is a decidedly macabre tone that is adopted by the new insurrectionalists: it is no longer a story of joy in armed action, but of revenge, of terror, of destruction. In act six of the Phoenix Project, for example, the Ryo Cell CCF-FAI/IRF declares that their attack should “become an invitation for revenge.” (325.nostate.net, 9066) These terms, as can be seen in the comparative section of this thesis, are used repeatedly, as opposed to the optimism of joy and friendship expressed by Alfredo Bonanno. Yet, it may be precisely this anger and feeling of revenge that enables such different people from divergent contexts to struggle together against that which revolts them. Again, the potential for clear transnational diffusion. However, there are gleams of hope through the dark exterior of new insurrectionalism:

This reality has made us embattled, not by our seeking nor desire, but we make a mission of our dreams, our choice of conscious struggle, the unrenounceable struggle for happiness. -

Black International Editions, 19

In this novel praxis, there is also an added emphasis, as compared to its more classical form, on the disdain for those who both actively and passively sustain the existence of the system: “every part of work, values, property, actions and everyone who enjoy the benefits from civilization are enemies for us.” (325.nostate.net, 8615)

As for the goal of the informal organization FAI-IRF, it is an “international project between

individuals, cells or groups who share the passion and anger...a temporary meeting point” for diffuse attacks on the enemy (325.nostate.net, 8262). As Chilean insurrectionalists put it in their communiqué for the eighth act of Project Phoenix, it is “irregular warfare against domination...in a multiform manner, with autonomous action, and organized from informality.” (325.nostate.net, 9256) They have no leaders of any sort, no centers of power from which they lead their actions or spread their propaganda, and no terrorist funding like so many other violent action groups the world over (325.nostate.net, 9198). New insurrectionalism operates through “small flexible direct action cells,” which favor decentralization of struggle, and subvert hierarchical means of exchange (CCF Imprisoned Members Cell). In this way, the organizational form inherently enables the input of a variety of viewpoints, with no central locality as the organizational focus, and thus gives it an inherently diffuse and transnational nature. It is the essence of the informal organization to be amorphous, uncentered, and necessarily transnational.

Life is choices and actions that are being tried on the street. Enough with theory. We try to give duration in the tension of the moments, turning life into an adventure. - CCF Imprisoned Members Cell

The uncertain nature of knowledge in the new insurrectionalism also plays a central role in determining a multiplicity of interpretations that unite in the fight against domination. That is, since they do not believe in any absolute and objective truth, all that matters are the expressions in the present of ideas and actions that are themselves real (325.nostate.net, 9490). “This continuous search of theory and praxis keeps anarchy alive and dangerous, far from ideological stiffness.” (325.nostate.net, 9490) They believe that the more sharp and able they are to strike in the right places, the more practices of direct attack will spread, since this creates knowledge about the possibility that “anyone can concretely oppose the status quo by arming their passions.” (Gai 2013)

Another difference with Bonanno's insurrectionalism, and more classical forms of revolutionary

resistance, is that much of new insurrectionalist interpretation rests on the individual as the primary agent. This enables a vast differentiation of theoretical and practical inputs, from a number of very different individualities, which come together to form a nebulous informal organization. For them, the new insurrectionalist organization:

...is a way to express our 'I'. An 'I' that wants to stand out from the herd of slaves, and 'I' that does not bow the head down, and 'I' not waiting for the crowd to revolt, an 'I' which claims its own name, its own 'acronym', and does not hide behind anonymity. - CCF

Imprisoned Members Cell

In this differentiation of individuals, the organization maximizes individual input and its worth, and so is fundamentally dynamic and changing in its contextual adaptation. Essentially, it is meant to be adaptive to the individual, rather than demanding that the individual adapt to it, as they reproach of many other revolutionary organizations. As the CCF Imprisoned Members Cell states, “FAI has no exclusivity,” and as such is constantly open to innovations and changes, establishing a fundamental adaptability to each different situation and context which makes it ideal for being diffused transnationally as a method of resistance. Another example of this individualization as an expression of decentralized diffusion, is the publication that has been heavily cited in this thesis: *Mapping the Fire*, published by Black International Editions. In it are about 60 pages of texts from prisoners and information diffusion groups, which express a large variety of viewpoints within the context of new insurrectionalism, from many different countries and regions. As a document, it is express evidence of the individual viewpoint as constitutive of the whole organization and its actions, and demonstrates a deeply adaptable form of struggle, heretofore unequalled in its potential for transnational diffusion. It is this contact between prisoners and free actors at an international level which is believed to “transform solidarity into a revolutionary workshop, revealing the different perceptions that shape a joint anarchist action front.” (Black International Editions, 6)

Another interesting aspect, which in this case does not differentiate the new insurrectionalism from the old, is that struggles happening elsewhere within the same tendency act as inspirations to join and form one's own methods, rather than be followed as the defining examples of how to act (Black International Editions, 22). This is what Tiqqun terms “transgressive social communication,” a fundamental aspect of challenging the informational monopoly of the system for new insurrectionalism (51). It is also evidence towards the non-relational method of transnational diffusion described by Sidney Tarrow (209). An essential part of this effort of spreading information in order to inspire comrades in other parts of the world, is the massive work put forward by allies of new insurrectionalism to establish communication and information exchange on a global level. This technological aspect of communication is a fundamental characteristic of the contemporary ability to spread discourses and methods of resistance, allowing for a greater degree of transnational diffusion of ideas, tactics, frames and resources (Maiba, 46). If today the new insurrectionalists around the world can interact, it is because of the work of international Internet and publishing projects that have created “channels of communication between prisoners of different countries, between direct action groups,” and that bring information about new insurrectionalism to and from anarchist circles worldwide (Black International Editions, 41).

The development of the Informal Anarchist Federation and the International Revolutionary Front is also to a great degree because of the work of comrades who, by translating and publishing texts and communiqués of prisoners and groups, contributed to the promotion of this informally organized model of action. - Black International Editions, p.41

Such information networks include: 325, ContraInfo, Parole Armate, Culmine, War on Society, Black Bloc Collective, Conspiracion Acrata, Edizioni Cerbero, and many more.

In the end, it is the notion of diffuse guerilla warfare, incarnated in the new insurrectionalism, that is believed to be the only strategy that can bring down the present system (Tiqqun, 81). The

“dissemination of the self into a multiplicity of foci, like so many rifts in the capitalist whole,” is exemplified by the diffusion of the struggle to individuals and groups across the world (Tiqqun, 84). The necessary characteristics of such an organization are believed to be indistinction, informality, decentralization, and making its component parts capable of developing their own strategies, and making rapid decisions in terms of acting for total liberation (Tiqqun, 85; 87). Today, it is the Black International, the FAI-IRF, which is the informal locus of organization for new insurrectionalism:

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...and fulfill our need for freedom here and now. - 325.nostate.net, 1434

Ultimately, this is a story about the existence of structures of domination, incarnated tangibly in the State and the capitalist market, and the resistance to them. While borders are indeed more porous, these institutions remains the principal actors in our societies (Yashar, 173), and are thus the representatives of oppression for anti-systemic militants such as the new insurrectionalists. It is in sharing these particular social meanings about globalization, the State and capitalism, and in asserting their social agency in the face of these perceived global challenges that new insurrectionalists guarantee their diffuse unity (Pleyers, 11). In this sense, an uncompromising fight against all forms of authority and for total liberation is seen by new insurrectionalism as a clear and logical response to global institutions that support the contrary, and galvanizes participation and support from very different contexts, made similar in one realization: the struggle against domination.

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