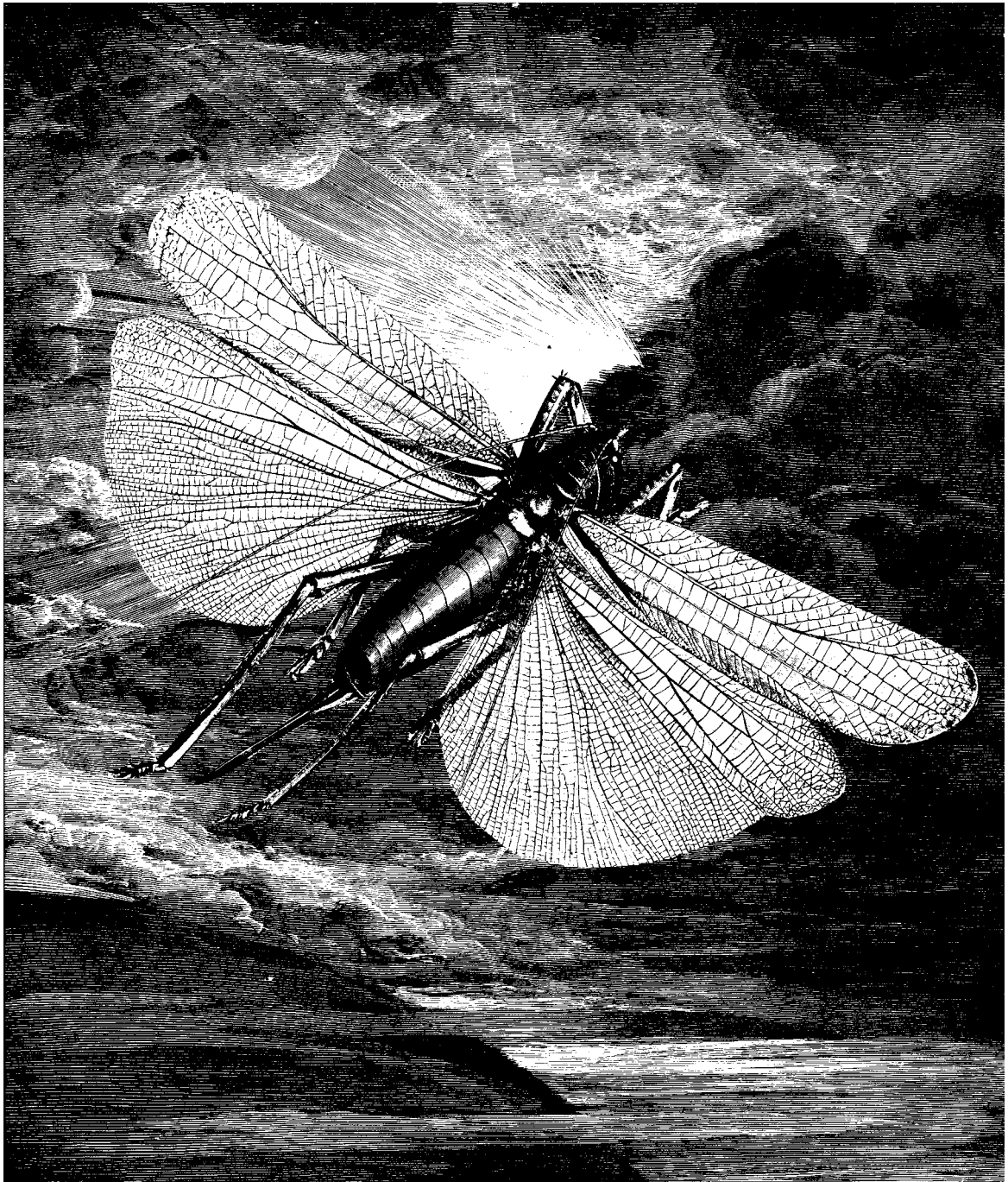


In Bergamo: Concerning an Attempted Robbery and a Democratic Frame-up



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With this dossier we mean to go further than simply providing a collection of documentary material to fill the void in information that exists in and beyond the anarchist movement concerning the arrest and subsequent frameup of anarchist comrades Alfredo Bonanno and Pippo Stasi.

We intend to examine the State's repressive strategy as it is extending over the whole of society as far as recuperating revolutionary opposition and obtaining consensus among the most emarginated strata. We also want to deepen the analysis of the anarchist insurrectional struggle as it is developing in the social terrain.

We believe that the only effective way to respond to repression today is through an interlacing of horizontal, autonomous social relations, starting from the subversive struggles already in act with a view to their possible extension. The continual search for more effective instruments in the struggle is therefore linked to the intensification of revolutionary action as it is manifesting itself in the class clash far from the domain of ideology.

This is the perspective in which we want to outline the intervention against the police and judicial frameup in course against the comrades Alfredo and Pippo.

There is an old prejudice that believes it is the struggle that generates repression. On the contrary. In the absence of the struggle repression goes ahead and spreads without encountering any brake within society, with the effect that the latter succumbs more and more to the invasion of State structures.

In this sense both the manipulative role of the great means of information and the repressive one of the police and legal apparatus work together in an attempt to eliminate any disturbing revolutionary presence. This happens in two ways: through trying to prevent groups and associations that are considered "subversive" from taking root among the most sensitive areas of the proletarian mass and by criminalising and isolating them. On the other hand they persecute individuals whom they consider "socially dangerous", not so much for the strength they dispose of at the time as for their fear that their revolutionary heritage might encounter the rebellion of the mass and give way to an explosive and irreversible process of revolutionary upheaval. This is what is happening in the case of the arrested comrades, active for years in the revolutionary anarchist struggle, and explains the State's attempt to rig up this macabre judicial farce against them.

In Italy the State has a long tradition of constructing frameups against subversives in the attempt to put a brake on the revolutionary process.

It is within this framework that the affair concerning the two comrades is taking place. From the very day of their arrest the persecution was underway, as soon as their identity as anarchist revolutionaries became known. It was one of the chiefs of the flying squad who was to give an indication of what was ahead of them when, during the beating they were subjected to for a number of hours, he made it clear to them that he "had it in for anarchists", and that he would have them "put away for life", by attributing other robberies to them, including one involving a murder.

It is clear therefore that the interest of the inquisitors is not to "ascertain the facts", but to free themselves of two individuals who, being anarchists, think and act in a revolutionary direction so constitute a danger for the State.

Far from the logic of "victimism" or the "guilty/innocent" dichotomy, we must

make it clear with force that the comrades are hostages in the hands of the State. "Justice" has nothing to do with it. The only real thing in this case is the intention to get rid of the comrades by using any means at all, even the dirtiest, such as the construction of this false castle of accusations that should offend the conscience of even the most democratic ostrich.

We consider it is important therefore for all those who are not aligned with the reasons of power to struggle to prevent this cowardly frameup from being orchestrated under the auspices of two judges in Bergamo in search of fame, Maffferri and Fischetti.

It is not only the task of comrades to prevent this frameup taking place, but of whoever believes that injustice should be fought. It is necessary to give life to a practice of freedom, creating movement and agitation aimed at stirring a silence that is the inquisitors' accomplice, and to prevent the press from creating false information which has the sole aim of lynching the comrades. To fight against the criminal procedure that is being enacted by the police and the legal apparatus aimed at getting rid of their inconvenient opposers, means:

- to show our intention to put an end to the present state of illiberty in concrete terms;*
- to refuse to accept any act of tyranny as "normal".*

Every struggle against oppression concerns us, is part of our way of life. What we are presenting here therefore should not remain circumscribed to the case in question but become a moment of struggle against power that is capable of inserting itself into the wider social clash.

Bergamo
June 20 1989



We are speaking out to say a number of things about our case, few but clear.

We were arrested here in Bergamo on February 2 during an *attempted robbery* in a jeweller's shop in the town centre. Taken to police headquarters we were immediately charged with robbery and, a few hours later, when they finally discovered our names, they informed us that due to our being anarchists they intended to "fit us up" by charging us with other robberies and a murder.

While we were held by the police we were also given the usual treatment of being beaten up for a number of hours, but we do not want to insist on this "torture" here as we have no intention of adopting a victimistic position.

We declared that we had attempted the robbery *exclusively for personal reasons*, in a word because we did not have jobs and needed the money. Finally we stated that we are anarchists and revolutionaries.

Carrying on with the frameup that they had announced right from the start, two Bergamo judges are now accusing us of a robbery with murder that took place in that town on April 7 1987, and another robbery, still in Bergamo, on March 9 1985; and things might not even stop there. Needless to say we have nothing to do with these other robberies nor the murder. These new and quite unfounded accusations that have been made against us as forecast by the head of the Bergamo flying squad are intended to strike us not because of our failed attempt at robbery, but because we are anarchists.

At this point it seems obvious that the intention of the police and judiciary is to strike all our revolutionary work and our involvement in the social struggle over the past years.

We have seen that a divergence of opinions has developed in the anarchist movement concerning this case, when not simply a convenient silence. We obviously maintain the thesis of those who say that when anarchists "need money they go and take it", and in fact that is what we tried to do. But now it seems to us that, as was foreseeable, the problem has moved away from that aspect.

Now things are clear: we are now accused of offences that carry life sentences, because we are anarchists. They want to make us pay for our anarchist activity, accusing us of things we have nothing to do with.

We are not afraid. We are proud to confirm our anarchist militancy loud and clear, both before the State and in the face of all those who in the name of a misplaced respectability would like to see us buried.

Alfredo M. Bonanno

Pippo Stasi



new dimensions in dominion

Social reality has always been characterised by a dichotomy between the ruling power structure and the rebellion of a part of those oppressed by it. But today the dominating political structure, democracy, is developing towards the ultimate in sophistication. There is a project of englobement in act that is calling on everyone to participate in the very management of their own exploitation.

Indispensable weaponry in this project of capital in its post-industrial form, are the mass media. Through a structure that now extends over the whole planet, the media enjoy not only unprecedented powers of persuasion, but carry out the precise task of forming opinions and facts of social concern. With their slogan “participation” they are creating an illusion of global communication, supplying models of artificial involvement in what is presented to us as reality: false problems channelled into sectorial cul de sacs.

Capitalist expansion is demanding a fragmentation of the huge economic and social structures of the past. Production now comes about in small units spread over the whole area not just of one country, but over the planet as a whole. With the development of telecommunications it is now possible to assemble a car from as many countries as there are parts. The new modes of production are: small productive units; an opening towards “creativity”; a flexible concept of time; great masses of people excluded from the new technology culture and its dubious benefits. We are heading towards a single management of capitalism at planetary level which requires a “softening” of the structures that have characterised countries of the Eastern block until now. Not a day passes without the media exalting the triumph of Western democracy. The ferment in Yugoslavia, Poland, Russia, China, etc., is transmitted as further evidence of the ineluctability and desir-

ability of this form of political organisation. Western heads of State are rushing around the world to convince their backward counterparts of the benefits to be gained from the democratic mechanism and to put a brake on the repressive zeal of the old guard, too sclerotic to perceive the advantages to be gained by power from this new totalitarianism with a clean face.

The essence of totalitarianism is not police patrolling the streets, the absence of trade unions and parties or tanks lined up in the avenues. These are simply crude means for obtaining what can come about in a far more refined way, as we experience every day on our own skins. It is the negation of the individual and his/her antagonistic dimension concerning his/her exploitation. Through social pacification and a levelling of values and cultural content, we see the old class counterpositions being transformed into mere social categories: proletarians, bourgeois, women, youth, pensioners, immigrants. These are becoming no more than roles where real individual identity is submerged, leaving only the superficial external aspect. These categories relate to each other through their common representative, the State, which unites them in a formal equality under a veil of reciprocal tolerance, “respect of differences”. The State is no longer a purely objective phenomenon but has become



interiorised by its subjects. All opinions bear equal weight, all behaviour tends towards the same aim, that of giving total consensus to a power apparatus based on genocide.

The media are what cement these abstract individuals. Through them everything is explained and the parametres of the totalitarian democratic discourse are supplied. Within this framework all individual impulses are considered suspect and condemned as such.

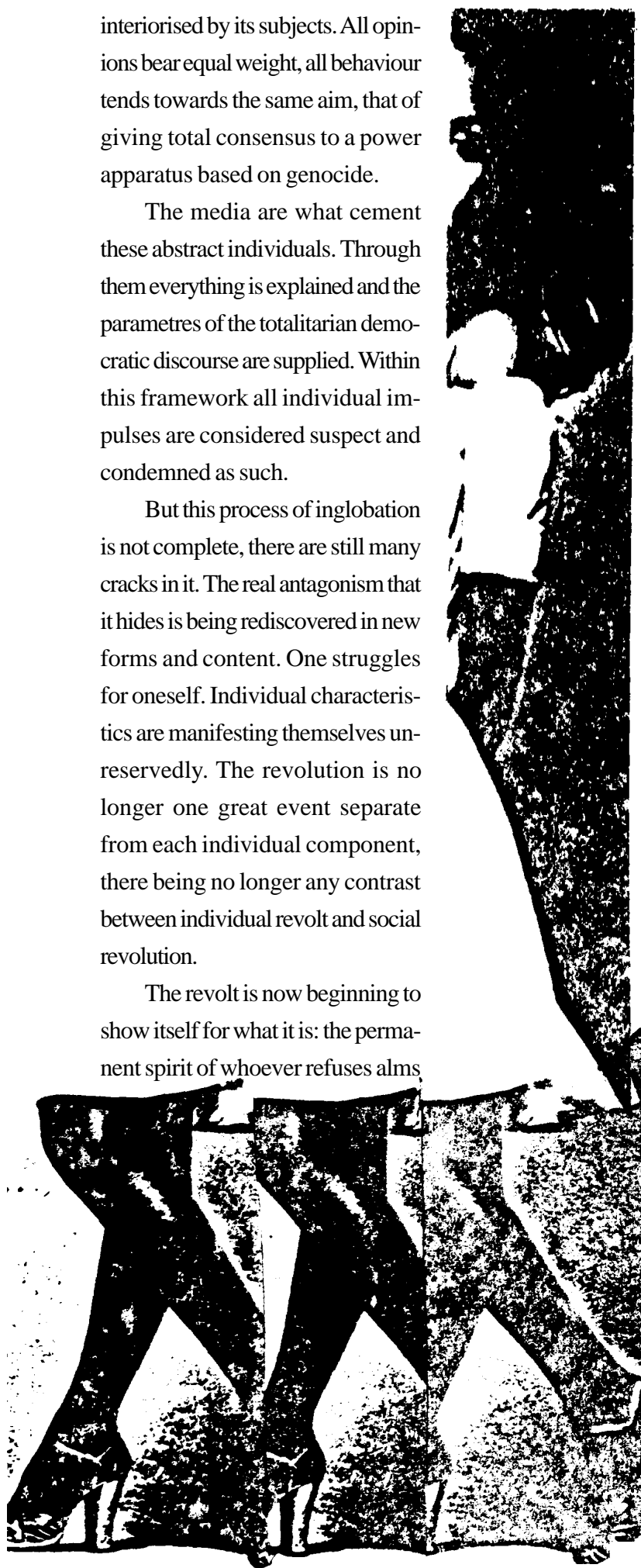
But this process of inglobation is not complete, there are still many cracks in it. The real antagonism that it hides is being rediscovered in new forms and content. One struggles for oneself. Individual characteristics are manifesting themselves unreservedly. The revolution is no longer one great event separate from each individual component, there being no longer any contrast between individual revolt and social revolution.

The revolt is now beginning to show itself for what it is: the permanent spirit of whoever refuses alms

or cowardice. Rebellion is no longer that of the slave who revolts because he is forced to remain in a situation of life or death poverty. Now that the project of dominion is based on consensus, not pure and simple repression, to revolt becomes a question of pride and dignity and will become so more and more.

The little States in the form of men will continue to say "no", using all the means they consider adequate: spectacular demonstrations, hunger strikes, committees, requests for amnesty, State-controlled community centres, papier mache effigies, murales, non-payment of taxes, boycotts. The list could go on and on: flexibility and pseudo-creativity are the slogans of present-day dominion. In their words and acts they support the end of the revolution and accomodation with power in a hotch-potch of dissenting consensus.

But the spirit of revolt and direct attack against the class enemy and its death structures is still alive and growing. Those defined "delinquents", "bad elements", "hooligans" by planetary



respectability are on the increase. In China, Italy, Germany, Haiti, Argentina, all over the world, without borders, there is a tremendous desire to live, not to put off to better days, but to act right away, in first person, without delegation, without the need for a protecting organisation. No ideological cover. Each individual's act has a place in the revolutionary process at the very moment in which it takes place. It becomes a protagonist in affinity with all the other acts of subversion, sabotage and attack against the death project of capital. There are no artificial or sectorial divisions such as ecology, the factory, anti-militarism, antinuclear, etc. Each action that comes from the desire to become the subject of one's own destiny is a revolutionary act, whether it takes place in a tiny village in Sweden or a metropolis such as

Shanghai. Of course these actions must extend, multiply, become more



and more part of a conscious project against capital. And here we come to the work of the insurrectional anarchist minority. The projectuality of these comrades inserts itself within the revolutionary process in act. They give themselves the task of supplying aimed at demystifying the swindles of power and of acting to extend the social struggle both at mass level and individually. This is not the work of "politicians". Against the logic of a recent past that is now reaching its inglorious conclusion, it cannot be recuperated and managed by power. It does not place itself in the logic of the great spectacular actions which, although they have the formal aspect of attack, are really aimed at re-organising a balance of strength. Capital must therefore operate a preventive criminalisation of the work of anarchists. History has always shown how the power structure never loses an occasion to do this, Sacco and Vanzetti are but the best known example.

It is for this reason that, having in their hands the comrades Alfredo Bonbanno and Pippo Stasi following an attempted robbery, they have lost no time in framing them in such a way as , to attempt to deny their revolutionary¹ content and to isolate them physically by having them put away for years.

Rapinatori in trasferta

Rese note le loro generali sono Alfredo Bonanno, 52 anni di Catania, direttore della rivista Anarchismo e Giuseppe Stasi, 25 anni di Palermo - Indagini per scoprire se sono protagonisti di altri episodi criminosi

BERGAMO - Alfredo Bonanno, aged 52, of Catania, very well known in the Sicilian anarchist milieu (he is director of the review "Anarchismo" and author of the book "La Gioia Armata" (Armed Joy) ordered to be destroyed years ago by the Appeal Court of Catania tribunal for condoning a crime), and Giuseppe Stasi, 25 years, of Palermo where he lives in via Ermellino, one of the "hot" areas of the island provincial capital, also suspected of having links with the milieu of anarchy: it is they who are the two robbers who on Thursday morning attacked the jewellers' "Plebani" in via Pignolo robbing about ten kilos of gold for a value of over 100 million lire and wounding the owner, Giuseppe Plebani, aged 39, of Pedrengo, struck on the head with a pistol butt while he tried to give the alarm.

The day before yesterday after preliminary questioning in the police station offices they were transferred to prison in via Gleno where this morning they will be heard by the substitute procurator of the Republic, Gianfranco Mafferi.

While the questioning was taking place, in Milan and in other cities of the north numerous house

searches were carried out in the anarchist milieu. The strictest reserve is being maintained on the inquest, but the intervention of the Uigos (the "political" section of the police) alongside their colleagues in the flying squad and the sudden series of raids on the homes of some members of the movegive reason to believe that the investigations have taken a political turn.

Perhaps the investigators are trying to discover if the other morning's action could have served to finance some terrorist group.

Obviously this is only a supposition for the time being.

The capture of Alfredo Bonanno and Giuseppe Stasi has unleashed an investigation operation that is widening as the hours pass. The investigators are not excluding in fact that the two arrested could be the authors of other robberies carried out in the past in the province of Bergamo and whose authors have never been discovered.

In some cases the way in which the robbery was carried out is almost identical to that adopted by the bandits the other morning in via Pignolo.

Among the list that the investigators are preparing it seems that there appears the tragic attack on the jew-

ellers' Turra of via Ruggeri da Stabello in Valtesse. The episode goes back to April 7 two years ago. A bandit (or perhaps two) managed to have the door opened to him by the jeweller, a very suspicious man who always kept a gun near at hand in the back shop, and usually only opened the door to clients he knew.

The jeweller reacted, in the same way as Giuseppe Plebani did the other morning: a bandit tried to knock him out by striking him on the head with a heavy marble slab, but Giuseppe Turra, tall, well built, of an aggressive nature, did not surrender.

And in this way he signed his own death warrant. A bandit shot him in the forehead, at point blank range, killing him on the spot. The inquest, which quickly came to a standstill, could be re-opened within the next few days.

The investigators have also reconstructed the latest movements of Alfredo Bonanno and his accomplice. The two Sicilians it seems left Catania by plane a few days previously aimed for Milan, where they spent the night in a hotel.

From Milan, they reached Bergamo by coach. Perhaps they spent a few days in the town to choose their objective. Perhaps someone

else, from Bergamo itself, had already arranged it for them.

On Wednesday morning Alfredo made a first "on the spot inspection" of the jewellers' shop, so that the jeweller would recognise him and open the door to him the following day when he said he would return with a nephew to complete the sale. Punctually the other morning he returned, but with a 375 magnum slipped into the belt of his trousers.

There is one curious detail. Precisely the other morning Alfredo Bonanno should have presented himself before the judges in court in Catania to be tried for being apologist to a crime, a charge for which the Sicilian anarchist has already been sentenced in the past.

The accusation referred to some articles which Bonanno had signed in the bimonthly review "Anarchismo" and in the supplement "Provocazione". In one of these he supplied the readers with the instructions "accompanied with diagrams" on how to saw down the pylons of some nuclear power stations.

While the judges in the court were pronouncing sentence absolving him fully, Alfredo Bonanno was 1400 kilometres away carrying out a robbery.

La Repubblica

3/2/89

Rubano 10 chili d'oro

In cella per rapina due terroristi

BERGAMO - Sembrava una delle tante rapine che vengono compiute quasi ogni giorno in città e provincia e invece improvvisamente, dopo la cattura di due rapinatori, bloccati all'uscita di una gioielleria del centro con dieci chili di oro in borsa, le indagini della polizia hanno avuto una svolta clamorosa. I due rapinatori catturati nella tarda mattinata di ieri nella centralissima Piazzetta Santo Spirito pare siano due noti terroristi.

Avevano appena tramortito con il calcio della pistola Giuseppe Plebani, 40 anni, l'orefice che gli aveva mostrato plateau di preziosi e gioielli di grande valore. Sorpresi dalla polizia all'uscita della gioielleria hanno tentato di estrarre una 357 Magnum e una 38 Special infilate nella cintura ma non hanno fatto in tempo.

Due pattuglie di agenti sono riuscite ad immobilizzarli dopo una feroce colluttazione e soprattutto senza fare ricorso alle armi.

Condotti in questura sono stati identificati dopo alcune ore. Così è emersa la clamorosa sorpresa. Tanto che era già stata indetta una conferenza stampa per comunicare il risultato dell'operazione di polizia e subito dopo è stata annullata.

I nomi dei due non sono stati resi noti: si sa soltanto che non sono bergamaschi e pare appartengano al gotha del terrorismo italiano.

La Repubblica

3/2/89

They steal 10 kilos of gold

Two terrorists end up in a cell for robbery

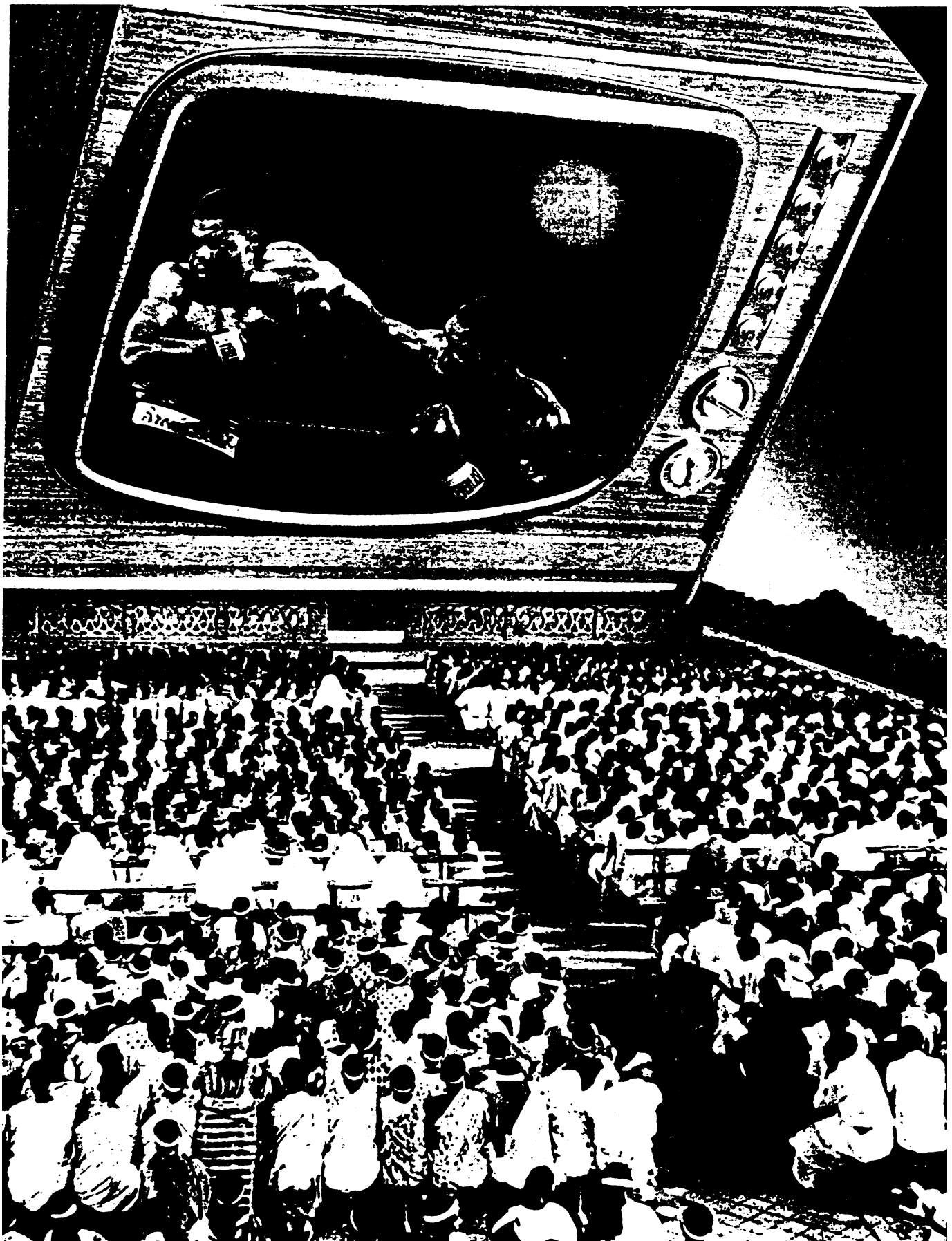
BERGAMO - It seemed one of the many robberies that take place almost every day in the city and provinces and instead, suddenly after the capture of the two robbers blocked at the exit of a jeweller's shop in the centre with ten kilos of gold in their bag, police investigations took a clamorous turn. The two robbers captured in the late morning of yesterday in the central Piazzetta Santo Spirito seem to be two well known terrorists.

They had just stunned Giuseppe Plebani with a pistol but, the jeweller who had taken out and shown them a tray of jewellery of great value. Surprised by police at the exit of the shop they made an attempt to extract a 357 Magnum and a 38 Special which they had slipped into their belts, but they did not succeed in time.

Two patrol cars of police officers managed to immobilise them after a fierce struggle and above all without having recourse to arms.

Taken to police headquarters they were identified after a number of hours. That is when the clamorous surprise emerged. So much so that a press conference that had already been announced to communicate the results of the police operation was immediately cancelled.

The names of the two have not been released: it is known only that they are not from Bergamo and it seems that they belong to the gotha of Italian terrorism.



about the case



THE great means of information, radio, TV and the national dailies, when not opting for complete silence, have dedicated little space to the affair. This blackout has served to prevent awakening the interest of that part of society who might have looked beyond the event as it was reported and turned their attention to the revolutionary identity of the comrades, with the risk of the latter becoming a point of reference. Management of the news - and with it the project of criminalisation and annihilation - was instead delegated to the local press which gave it special treatment, garnishing the event with heavy inferences concerning the comrades, inferences that had clearly been suggested by the police. The event was reported in the sensational news columns, and at the same time a number of cases still unsolved in the area were attributed to the comrades.

The cuttings reproduced here show the role of the local press as capillary support to the national information organs, demonstrating how the former are also indispensable instruments in the

project of repression by Capital and the State. Their role is to dispose public opinion favourably to a lynching of the comrades, and prepare the way for any future frame-up being accepted in advance. The convincingly domestic tone of information in the local press perfectly adheres to the project of maintaining public order in the town of Bergamo through the use of behaviour models that have been imported from the metropoli, that push the mass to adhere to the present system of social pacification and the extortion of consensus. Within the framework of spreading capillary social control, the provincial press organs are given the task of bombarding the population with persuasive messages to police their minds to the point of inducing them, under the threat of the various emergencies created for the occasion, to demand greater public security as proposed by the reformists.

The frame-up in question thus becomes a useful instrument as it comes to be accepted by the mass who take on the role of inquisitor. The local press organs are thus aimed at staving off the threat that this kind of act represents as an accusation at social level, in order to preserve the idyllic representation of a sleepy provincial town accustomed to the most absolute tranquillity, which could





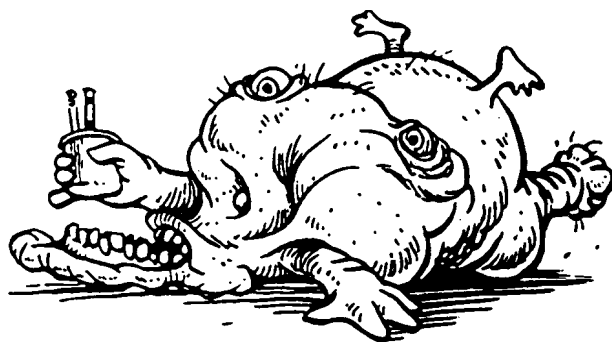
split open in the face of the evidence of what is really happening and is being well covered up today.

The emergency industry that feeds off an intensive exploitation of the frustrations, fears, anguish and resentment accumulated in the mass, always more victim of impoverished social relations, prospers in Bergamo, a provincial town with a high industrial concentration. Here the work of false accusation and calumny carried out by the local papers concerning the two arrested comrades has sunk to the usual well-tested cliché of the 'terrorist', independently of ascertaining the facts, in order to create a climate of exasperation in the mass. On the wave of an emotive and acritical adhesion to what is being sold to them to demonise the authors of the act, they project their own frustrations on to them, and, prey to an impotent collective hysteria, call for reactionary measures against the comrades. We see therefore how those who manage information falsify and manipulate reality, extrapolating every news item, no matter how small and insignificant it might be, from the social context in which it takes place and magnifying it till it becomes quite different to what it was originally, making it perfectly functional to the aims of a further demand for control. Control everywhere has become linked more than anything to information transmitted, given that this must be compatible with the economic, social, political, cultural and ideological interests of this post-industrial society dominated by the technological apparatus of capital and the State.

At the level of information we think that comrades should do as much as pos-

sible about this act of repression, being clear from the start that what we are doing is not simply showing our solidarity to the accused comrades, but is something that concerns us all directly for the development of what we believe. Prevention is not enough. It is necessary to attack, given that this is the only guarantee we have in the face of those who base their bullying on our weakness. Even though the specific inquest has been closed for the time being, the machination is still in course, and the inquisitors find themselves with the road clear, given that silence reigns in much of our movement, instead of a circulation of information and involvement linked to the extension of the struggle and opposing oneself to the repressive machinery. We are aware that the praxis of silence and censorship concerning this affair by comrades - an affair that causes discomfort to many - is the expression of an interiorisation that has come about, adopting precisely the logic one is struggling against.

As we mentioned in the introduction, we are not interested in entering into the judicial and police mechanism of the frame up in course. Nor do we think that it is useful to use democratic guarantist arguments aimed at revealing this or that unconstitutional accident. This is because our intervention does not enter the democratic way of thinking and we do not think it is the prerogative of the judges to ascertain the facts as some laudable initiatives of the humanitarians would have us believe. We are anarchist revolutionaries not tepid democrats, therefore we are for the material destruction of



every society that supports itself on the institution of justice, tribunals and prisons. Behind the derisory mask of justice hides the deception of those who govern according to their own criteria. Those who aspire to domination always bow their heads to requests for greater social equality. The gallows have always been

erected upon appeals to the religious sentiment of "justice".

Abuse of power is the prerogative of all those who possess it, and the judge makes no exception to this.

We are more interested in pointing out the role that this cold State machinery of justice plays. We give no credibility to the work of the automats of the penal code who, behind the appearance of a desire for "justice" and defence of the weak, act out the ritual of voluntary servitude towards the State, crushing on their way whoever has the courage to insurgé. A judge does his job: he sentences and absolves according to what is more functional at the time to the apparatus to which he belongs and is a part of, the State. It seems stupid to us therefore to complain about what one considers a mistake on the part of the judge. He is doing his job when he acts on the suggestions of the police, when he goes to fish out unresolved cases from the archives with the aim of pinning them on those whom he considers inconvenient at the time that he has them in his grasp, as is happening in this case. A judge knows the art of investigating thoroughly, which includes knowing how to fabricate evidence and to procure willing witnesses, taking care in the interests of the trial to smooth out the most obvious contradictions.

What interest can we have in entering into the policeman-like logic of this personage? None at all, if we do not intend to play the miserable game put into act against us. A judge carries out his dirty work, unfortunately it is often comrades who forget what it is up to them to do about it.

We can see the project of dominion clearly. But we see with just as much clarity the road we need to cover in order to respond to this machination.

Intervention concerning this case of repression must be capable of going beyond the logic of the State or of having recourse to the typical surgical operations of pitiful reformist retreat. To prevent such a frameup from succeeding we must realise that its solution will come about not from inside the walls of a court, but from the social field if comrades know what to do in this direction by intervening in the necessary way.

We cannot, nor do we want to, accept the terroristic blackmail of the State which, using the culture of prohibition and forbiddance that emanates from the politics of



emergency put into act some years ago by the relics of reformism, aims at using repression as a basis for the solution of social problems. This brain-crippling culture is supported by the immense apparatus for the policing of ideas rigged to create preventive censorship and the purging of opinions that are not aligned with the order in force.

Behind democracy's extraordinary window of tolerance lies hypocrisy, conformism, repression.

That is why we consider it important to underline the role played by the media and the organs of "justice" in this attempt to have the comrades buried for life. We consider criticism an important step on the road to a revolutionary anarchist intervention worthy of the work to be done, which goes beyond the actual case here in question. Reflection leads to greater coherence and incisiveness in the action against what one wants to undo. It must start from a clear point, that of deserting the terroristic spectacle of the State and refusing to adhere to any practices of democracy, attacking it in a social radicality throbbing with desire and passion turned towards freedom.



REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY WITH THE ARRESTED COMRADES

In the late afternoon of February 2 1989, agents of the Digos presented themselves arms in hand at the homes of a number of anarchists in Milan and in other towns, with no formal search warrants, using the now well-tested special legislation. During the raids they confirmed that the operation was due to the arrest of two comrades who - according to them - had been arrested in Bergamo following a robbery. The comrades turned out to be the anarchists Alfredo Maria Bonanno and Giuseppe Stasi.

The forces of incrimination therefore landed like vultures in our homes in search of possible incriminating evidence, with the obvious intent to extend and eventually build another repressive frame-up. But the operation was destined to go miserably up in smoke, in spite of the democratic pressure that went from psychological pressure to holding two comrades at police headquarters for about five hours. Needless to say the comrades refused to swallow any incrimination procedure by not replying to questioning.

This is a praxis that we have become accustomed to over a number of years and which has now become an integral part of that universe of control, repression and psychological terrorism selectively exercised by the heroic forces of order concerning those who have always tried to sabotage control.

We make a point of repeating that beyond the specific fact that the police and judiciary are aiming to charge the arrested comrades with, and beyond the probable fantastical frame-ups they will try to construe, we express our full revolutionary solidarity with our comrades and intend to defend them openly from this moment on, beyond any model of relationship with the State. Legality and illegality are concepts that belong to the judicial-police categories and have nothing to do with us.

We intend to make life difficult for the builders of images that always come to the fore in such circumstances, for a start by combatting the partial information black-out applied by the cancer-ridden press in the service of the institutions which - why be amazed? repeat word for word the indications supplied to them by the police.

What we want is for the authorities to make it known immediately where the arrested comrades are being held and declare what offences they are being charged with, to put an end to the obscene cowardly procedure of covering up the comrades' condition as they now find themselves hostages of the State.

Against the accomplice press silence carried out by the ostriches of democratic journalism who are burying their heads in the sand or, worse, are working like mad to build the terrorist monster of the moment.

We remain quite firm in our anarchist insurrectional positions. We confirm our irreducible will to struggle outside and against the institutions, against servile or desistent practices, and against all repression and attempts at criminalisation, to defend our comrades from any police attempts and from any moralistic lynching in the name of respectability.

Insurrection Anarchist Group Milan

E. Henry Anarchist Nucleus

Anarchist Group Jacob



IN SOLIDARIETÀ CON GLI ANARCHICI ALFREDO BONANNI E GIUSEPPE GUASTI
APPUNTATI A BERGAMO NEL CORSO DI UN ESPROPRIO

SABATO
4 MARZO
ORE 22

EL PASO OCCIDENTE
Viale S. Odone 14/9

STOCKHOLM/
CAIRA

JUST A FEW WORDS

TWO ANARCHIST COMRADES, ALFREDO MARIA BONANNO AND GIUSEPPE STASI HAVE BEEN ARRESTED FOR ROBBERY.

AT THE MOMENT WE DO NOT HAVE ANY OTHER ELEMENTS - WHICH DO NOT INTEREST US IN ANY CASE, JUST AS WE ARE NOT INTERESTED IN KNOWING WHETHER THEY ARE "GUILTY" OR "INNOCENT". WE GIVE OUR SOLIDARITY IN ANY CASE TO TWO COMRADES KNOWN FOR YEARS IN THE MOVEMENT FOR THEIR COHERENCE, THEIR ENGAGEMENT IN THE STRUGGLE AND THEIR IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION IN COURSE OF LIBERATION FROM THE CHAINS OF EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION. AS ALWAYS, THE STATE AND ITS SERVANTS ARE TRYING TO BURY THE TWO COMRADES IN YEARS OF PRISON. THEY WILL TRY TO ISOLATE THEM, CARRY OUT INVESTIGATIONS AGAINST THE COMRADES CLOSE TO THEM, WILL TRY TO CRIMINALISE THE PAPERS "PROVOCAZIONE" AND "ANARCHISMO" WHICH THE ARRESTED COMRADES ARE A PART OF.

DECIDED TO PREVENT ALL THIS, WE CANNOT FIND A BETTER WAY TO EXPRESS OUR SOLIDARITY THAN TO USE THE WORDS OF ONE OF THE ARRESTED COMRADES HIMSELF:

"...OF COURSE, OBJECTIVELY SPEAKING IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN CHANCE. A POLICEMAN'S INITIATIVE, SOMETHING THAT WENT WRONG, A REPRESSIVE INTERPRETATION OF SOMETHING THAT IN ITSELF IS MORE THAN LEGITIMATE. BUT THE REAL REASON FOR OUR IMPRISONMENT HAS ALWAYS BEEN OUR BEING ANARCHISTS..."AMB

From the meeting of anarchists
in Rome on 11.2.89 - via Sondrio 19a

ALEXANDER MAEIJUS JACOB - PAÇO ASCASO
e BUENAVENTURA DURRUTI - SEVERINO
DI GIOVANNI - CEMENT DUVAL - VITTORIO PINI
- LA BANDA BONNOT - SANTE POLLASTRO -

From the beginning anarchists have paid no attention to the laws of the State or the sacred principle of private property. On Thursday February 2 1989 the anarchists Alfredo Bonanno and Giuseppe Stasi were arrested during a robbery in Bergamo. Kidnapped by the police, we still do not know where they have ended up. Meanwhile, the repressive apparatus is preparing the usual frame-up, inflating what has happened, inventing a plot that will justify an accusation of 'armed gang' in order to implicate the greatest number of anarchists, friends and family acquaintances.

In Milan and in other cities raids by the Digos have begun without search warrants, as has been the custom since the prorogation of the Reale Law, the new-look of the "freest country in the world". But everyone has refused to swallow any possible incrimination by not answering to questioning.

Alfredo Bonanno is one of the best known theoreticians in the Italian anarchist movement, his writings are known in the whole of Europe. One can well understand that the authorities want to get hold of him. We point out to the young generations the example of human and moral coherence of those who do not separate their theory from their practice. A real slap in the face of the traditional figure of the bourgeois-marxist theoretician and the human rejects that rejoice in their existence, the empty decorations of the past few years.

May the judges and pigs have us know right away where the two comrades have been taken and what accusations they are preparing against them.

We express our complete solidarity.

Immediate freedom for Alfredo Bonanno and Giuseppe Stasi,

Nautilus

El Paso Social Centre

LIBERTÀ IMMEDIATA
PER ALFREDO BONANNO
& GIUSEPPE STASI

NAUTILUS

EL PASO
SOCIAL CENTRE

DEPRESSION, MONEY PROBLEMS?



TURN TO YOUR NEAREST BANK

COMMUNIQUE

Anarchists Alfredo Bonanno and Giuseppe Stasi were arrested on Thursday February 2 1989.

The arrest took place following an expropriation in a jeweller's shop in Bergamo. The comrades were later transferred to prison in via Gleno 61, Bergamo, Italy.

The charges against them are: armed robbery, aggravated lesions and resisting arrest:

On Monday 6 the comrades were interrogated by the instructing judge. They declared that the robbery was carried out due to their personal need for money and that as anarchists they consider the redistribution of wealth in a society based on social and economic inequality to be right, a position that historically anarchists have always shared,

The comrades made it clear that they would consider any attempt to attribute further similar actions to them, or for the judicial authorities to presume, from this one specific incident, the existence of a phantomatic armed organisation, to be a frameup aimed at striking comrades actively engaged in the social struggle against exploitation and oppression.

In fact, the case is still open, and the fantastic constructions of the repressive organs remain to be seen.

To start with, on the same day as the robbery took place, a series of raids was carried out (obviously with no result) in the homes of anarchist comrades in Milan, Bergamo and Catania.

We intend to respond to any attempt to isolate the comrades and express our revolutionary solidarity with Giuseppe and Alfredo. We also intend to spread the maximum information about the case, We will mobilise against any attempt by the judicial police organs to construct frame-ups of any kind.

At the general meeting held in Rome today February 11 1989 it was decided to open a fund to meet trial costs. Anyone wishing to contribute to it can do so through the current postal account in the name of Carmela Di Marca, Catania.

The anarchists present at the meeting in Rome on
February 11 1989

CIRCOLO CULTURALE ANARCHICO

FRANCISCO FERRER

GENOVA 20. 2. 89

Concerning the events that took place on 2.2.89 in Bergamo and led to the arrest of the anarchist comrades Alfredo Maria Bonanno and Giuseppe Stasi : we express our solidarity to the comrades detained, to the review "Anarchismo" whose precious collaboration with their editor will be limited, to all the comrades who have undergone raids and State inquisition.

The widest possible support should go to all the comrades who pay for their coherence with repression and the suppression of their freedom.

For a world without prisons.

Freedom for Alfredo Maria Bonanno and Giuseppe Stasi.

Anarchist group ROSA NERA

COMMUNIQUE

We have just heard that comrade Alfredo Maria Bonanno, editor of the reviews "Anarchismo" and "ProvocAzione" has been arrested for robbery.

On his arrest the comrade Bonanno declared that his initiative was dictated by personal reasons, thereby excluding any ideological justification of a hierarchical and neo-statist kind such as "proletarian expropriation". Both the concession to private property and the right of expropriation are in fact prerogatives of the law; anarchism on the other hand is against all legislation, even if it presents itself as "direct", "popular", "revolutionary" or "managed by the base".

We express our solidarity with comrade Bonanno from the moment in which he finds himself prisoner of the State.

COMIDAD - NAPLES

COMMUNIQUE

The general meeting of the "Self-managed Coordinating body against death production" expresses its solidarity to Alfredo Maria Bonanno and Giuseppe Stasi, arrested for expropriation, and affirms that the practice of proletarian reappropriation belongs both to the methodology and the history of the whole revolutionary movement, and denies the justice of the State that legalises the only real robbery: private property.

How do we mean to face the present police judicial frame-up against the two anarchist comrades Alfredo Bonanno and Pippo Stasi, arrested in Bergamo following an attempted robbery?

We turn our attention not to the specific act the comrades are accused of, but to the operation of fabricated evidence “witnesses” willing to rig up this macabre farce aimed at keeping the comrades out of circulation for a long time to come.

It is important to consider the real reasons behind this operation rather than dwell on the “crimes” they have been associated with and through which they have been slandered and criminalised. The comrades are not “ordinary” proletarians who made an unsuccessful attempt at expropriation. There is a surplus here, a further element that explains the repressors’ zeal. The least the latter are interested in is to examine the facts the comrades have been accused of. Irrespective of any evidence at all in the innocent/guilty logic, it is simply an occasion to liquidate them through an administrative practice within a framework of democratic legality. Any dirty trick is justified. What matters is for everything to take place according to the rules.

It is now urgent to move concerning this question because of the criminalising connotations it is assuming.

But if we are interested in presenting a detailed chronicle of the affair on the one hand, we also want to go beyond the level of simple counter-information and develop a radical critique of old models of intervention that are themselves linked to the logic of repression. We want to work out a new road of intervention and decisive action. In this perspective comrades who intend to respond to this act of repression should go beyond the perspective of simple counter-information and generic solidarity, and draw up a perspective of attack that goes beyond the immediate question so that the struggle can develop as things proceed.

We don’t want to fall into the trap of the innocent/guilty dichotomy in the logic of the legal apparatus of the State. That would lead us nowhere but to the inside of a courtroom, and delegate the outcome to the judiciary.

outside the logic of the State



Repression cannot be reduced to one single event. It is a precise project through which social control is maintained. The selective treatment reserved for offences concerning private property gives some idea of the existing social discrimination. If we want to disarticulate repression we must have a precise idea of what we are going to strike, and the capacity to relate single acts of repression to all other existing social questions and interventions. We must be able to grasp and act on objectives that most people feel strongly about, and point out their vulnerability. This is one of the tasks of a revolutionary practice of freedom, the only practice capable of unhinging what the State apparatus of control has put into act.

The affair we are speaking of here is similar to many others. It should therefore be considered part of the wide spectrum of situations of struggle that already exist. It is by involving oneself in these situations and extending them that their resolution will be brought about, not by calling on the tribunals of the State.

Intervention against repression should not be seen in a separate dimension, but rather as an extension and deepening of the struggle as a whole. All the same we are not looking simply for a greater radicality in the struggle. We want to break with any aspect that leads to a conformist and servile relationship with power. It is important for the single subjects engaged in the struggle to possess a strong individuality, a critical sociability, a way of thinking that is not standardised or homogenised by so-called “socio-collective” models. We must develop a way of thinking that does not give in to the terroristic threats made by capital and the State. Only by beginning to break the chains of conformism and hypocritical tolerance will the will to fight be born in those who are no longer disposed to passively submit to oppression and “injustice” as though they were normal events.



Many problems that are an integral part of the social clash are extracted from their real context for the sake of commodity or convention. They are transformed into single issue struggles and as such run the risk of being instrumentalised or trapped within a load of contradictions and superficialities. In this logic such things as defence committees are formed, often creating a situation of psychological submission concerning the comrade who is the object of particular repression at the time. Other dangers are those of establishing a relationship of simple assistance (prisoners' aid) or of a total dependence on the latter's political "line". All decisions become submitted to this and, beyond the ultrarevolutionary declarations of principle, reveal the abyss that exists between what is declared and what is actually lived. One ends up ankle deep in the swamp of humanitarian reformist activity in the best of liberal-democratic traditions.

There is no such thing as a purely technical committee, as in order to function the latter must make precise political choices. Every member can belong to them irrespectively of what else they are doing or how they see themselves in the social struggle in act. No one finds themselves faced with any great problems in participating in what is basically a syndical form of defence. They often develop the modalities and logic of mini-parliaments. In a word, if the individuals belonging to committees are revolutionary comrades, they have only one road open to them: to disband.

That is why we intend to go beyond this model, not only concerning State repression but in the whole field of social intervention. It is important to adopt not a defensive attitude but to move towards the practice of attack,

aimed at deepening and widening the social clash. We are against the political logic of a myriad of small groups who now live purely by derouting really autonomous and self managed struggles towards their own terminals in order to increase their own specific organisations.

We are motivated by a desire to relaunch the revolutionary social struggle with its diversity of components who really intend to move to attack social control and recuperation, creating microstructures over the whole social territory. Diversified attacks against the common enemy, respecting autonomy of intervention in the various social situations where they take place.

What charges individuals with subversion and humanity is their awareness of their capacity to really oppose themselves to the present state of affairs. There is a policing of ideas in act in Italy today that has become a part of the State's apparatus of social control. The practice of freedom, its spreading, waving the spectre of change, are the only arms capable of breaking the present framework of normalisation, repression and recuperation.

The spectacle staged by participatory democracy can be deserted and disbanded only by attacking it radically, denouncing as false and illusory any perspective aimed at mediation.

We must not respond to repression in a way that is also repressive as is happening today, but by practicing and extending practices of freedom.

on the arrest of alfredo bonanno and pippo stasi



The arrest of the anarchists Alfredo Maria Bonanno and Pippo Stasi on February 2 1989 following an expropriation in a jeweller's shop in Bergamo is undoubtedly something that touches us closely. We do not consider what has happened as something strange or distant from us, on the contrary we feel particularly involved in it.

The very way events are described is a way of taking a position, of showing solidarity with our comrades. It is a way of preventing, through information, any possible police and judicial instrumentalisation, as well as of putting an end to any moralistic respectability that wants to lynch the comrades and create a vacuum of isolation around them.

The media - in particular the press - in collusion with the police and the judiciary, have carried out the usual manipulation of information about the events.

Here we want to briefly reconstruct the affair, starting from the general context in order to better understand the specific situation concerning the comrades' arrest. The first thing one observes in the social context of the present day is that the organs of information, both national and international, report on various problems such as the ecological emergency, Aids, criminality, drugs and so on, while so-called 'terrorism' seems to have gone out of fashion and takes up little space on the pages of our newspapers. Of course not much time has passed since the disgrace the papers suffered when they lost credibility by swallowing whole the story by the direc-

tor of Rebibbia prison that he had been a victim of a "terrorist" attack, while in fact he had deliberately had himself shot in the legs.

However a distinction should be made between the national daily papers and the local ones who live political journalism by reflex, as is clear in the way the news of the arrested comrades was reported.

The national daily "Repubblica" published on 3.2.89 a couple of lines on the affair with the significant title: "Two terrorists in a cell for robbery". Faithfully copying the report passed on to them by the police they gave a summary description of the event, adding a series of heavy inferences, such as "... it seems they belong to the gotha of Italian terrorism" to justify the investigators' reserve in not releasing the comrades' names. After the police had cancelled the press conference they had called to communicate the results of their investigations, the interest of the large dailies waned, in fact none of them reported any news after that, in view of the negative results of the police raids.

The news was managed in quite a different way at local level, where things are lived with considerable delay compared with the metropoli. Needless to say the papers have aimed on the one hand at criminalising



the comrades, and on the other with denying their revolutionary anarchist identity.

In the Bergamo daily "L'Eco di Bergamo" and in "Bergamo Oggi" detailed articles were published which patiently followed all the details supplied by the police. Apart

from the obvious inevitable rhetorical descriptions of the heroism of the police who carried out the arrests without having recourse to arms, and the courageous behaviour of the shopkeeper who had managed to give the alarm, all the articles contained heavy insinuations about the comrades, trying to attribute to them responsibility for all the robberies that had taken place in the area whose authors still remain unknown. This is obviously aimed at creating a certain vision of the comrades with a view to the possibility of having them removed from circulation for a very long time. So, preparing the field for their lynching operation through a mass adhesion to the police and judicial operation that was now underway, they attached the "terrorist" label on to them. Their criminalisation and the police operation that extended to their closest comrades was the next phase that they put into act. It becomes necessary to deny their identity as anarchists and as enemies of all authority and private property in order to prepare the field for such a judicial-police operation, with the help of the manipulatory work of the media. The possibility of further repressive actions emerges from the partial silence and distortion of information carried out preventively. The revolutionary identity of the subjects must be kept hidden at any cost, because a robbery is always a social fact that reveals the inequality that exists in this society at all levels.

Reporting on the arrested comrades is in itself an operation that is quite dangerous



for the power structure because their act represents an accusation against the wellbeing of institutionalised society and an invitation to the mass to take back directly what has been legally expropriated from them, beyond the specific motivations of the comrades themselves.

This fact merits reflection. We think that as well as working to make sure that the repression against the comrades is circumscribed, it is necessary for as much as possible to be done at the level of counter-information, in the first place to prevent any possible criminalisation within some areas of the anarchist movement itself. So long as this case remains open, so long as silence reigns concerning this affair, the machinations of the inquisitors will find the road ahead of them clear.

For our part, we do not intend to give in without reacting in the necessary way. We are against all cowardly acts of disarmament. We refuse to adopt a victimistic attitude, not are we looking for solidaristic umbrellas in the movement under which to shelter. We believe that the doubts, the questions that comrades are asking themselves, can only be dissolved by themselves, by going beyond the immediate circumstances. The act of supporting the comrades or keeping silent must be the fruit of a free choice based on an unprejudiced debate outside any juridical-police relationship, and consequently outside the dimension of moral bigotry or intellectual silence.

For our part we give our unreserved solidarity to our comrades.

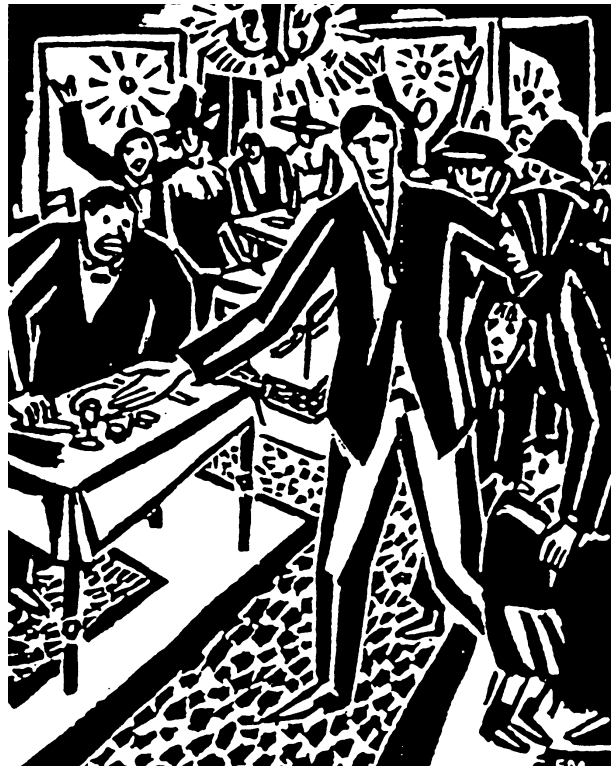
Anarchists are enemies of the State and capital, they are in permanent revolt. In order to have the foundations for a free and egalitarian society it is necessary to attack authority and private property, to declare the justice of expropriation of social wealth by the exploited. Every self-respecting anarchist tries, with his own ways of acting, his own ideas and actions, the maximum coherence possible.

The two arrested comrades declared that they attempted this expropriation for personal reasons, which each one of us understands perfectly and has no need to make further comment. We believe that the validity of any choice should be measured at social level, and a robbery is always a social fact that unmasks those who have appropriated themselves of social wealth to the cost of proletarians. To take what a



shopkeeper has accumulated, certainly not by his own efforts, is an act of social justice by those who, having chosen not to succumb to the logic of oppression or by exploiting others, live from day to day. Anyone who carries out this kind of action purely to enrich himself does so exclusively because of the fundamental choice of life he has made.

Property remains theft, to attack it is part of revolutionary anarchist action. To forget that or to act as though nothing has happened is an act of cowardice in tacet agreement with the enemy. Our intention is



always to attack the State, and everything that allows the society of dominion.

We shall leave the discussion on the opportunity of using such means in the struggle or simply "surviving" to the judges and the pigs. The ideas and perspectives that are opening up ahead of comrades are quite different - if we intend to go beyond the commands that are being instilled into domesticated animals by means of laws and swindles.



IN SOLIDARITY WITH PIPPO AND ALFREDO

On February 2 1989 two anarchists, Pippo Stasi and Alfredo Bonanno were arrested in Bergamo during a robbery.

The usual acts of repression (house searches without warrants, questioning at police stations, etc.) immediately took place against comrades in Milan, Bergamo and Catania, pointing to an attempt to build, starting from a very ordinary robbery, fantastic political constructions that smell of a frame up aimed at striking as many comrades as possible.

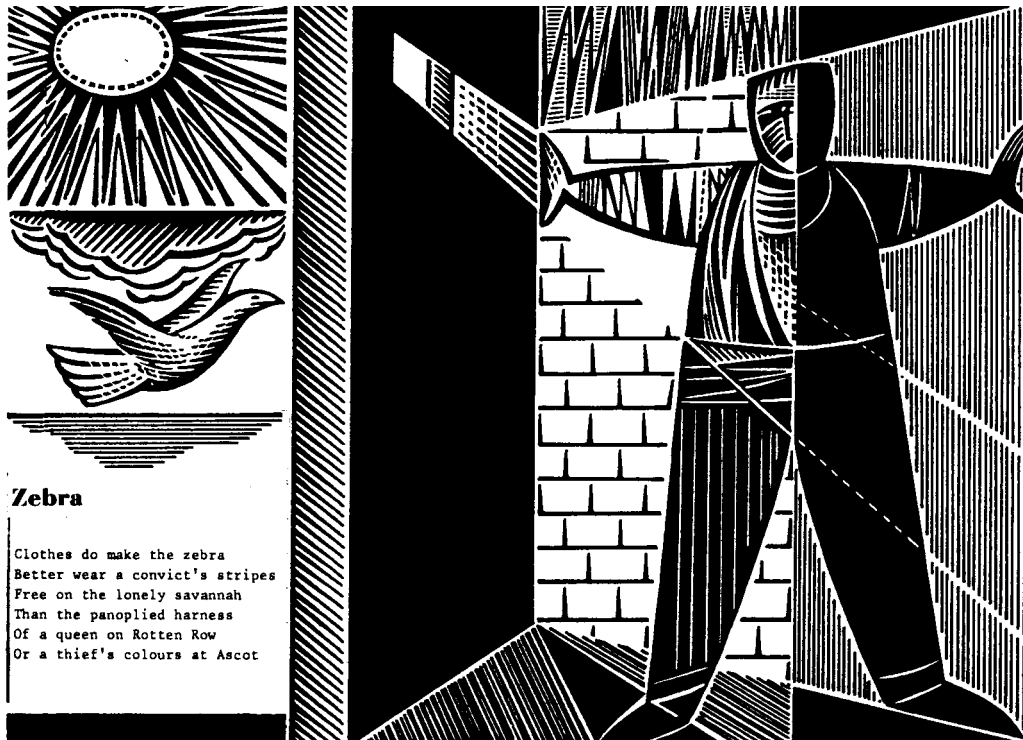
We are ready to respond to any attempt to frame other comrades or the two arrested comrades themselves (as already indicated by the fact that an immediate trial date has not been fixed as usually occurs when one is arrested in flagrancy), who have done nothing more than simply confirm one of the main elements of anarchist theory: the negation of the sacred principle of private property. For this reason we want to express our revolutionary solidarity with the comrades struck by repression and our intention to defend them openly from this moment on, in the knowledge that legality and illegality are concepts that belong to the realm of the judiciary and police and have nothing to do with us.

Pippo and Alfredo are comrades who have been known for years in the anarchist movement for their involvement in the struggle, for their theoretical and practical contribution which has also been spread through the review "Anarchismo" and the monthly paper "ProvocAzione".

Pippo Stasi is particularly well known in Palermo for his political and social involvement in the situations of conflict that have been created in recent years. The struggle against the missile base in Comiso, antimilitarist solidarity with the arrested total objectors, active revolutionary participation in the struggles of the students and the unemployed where Pippo's presence has never lacked both as an individual and as militant of Palermo Anarchist Group.

For all this, and for what the future struggle of revolutionary anarchists both inside and outside prison will produce on the road towards freedom and a society without oppression, we feel close to our comrades, hostages in the hands of power.

Palermo Anarchist Group
The friends and comrades of Pippo
Some Catania anarchists



Zebra

Clothes do make the zebra
Better wear a convict's stripes
Free on the lonely savannah
Than the panoplied harness
Of a queen on Rotten Row
Or a thief's colours at Ascot

Zebra

Clothes do not make the zebra
Better wear a convict's stripes
Eyes on the lonely savannah
Than the panoplied harness
Of a queen on Rotten Row
Or a thief's colours at Ascot

A LEAFLET HANDED OUT IN SOME TOWNS IN ITALY

Orestea
heaven's dew
life's bagpipe

Night of spiders
of innumerable invasions
inexorable game of tears
oh sun long sword of death in my breast

Rest along my bones
rest you lightening
rest viper
rest my heart

The rivers of love are taking on the colour of blood
the winds have ruffled my murderer's hair.

G. Bataille

Retching through a defecable power-of-powers-object it makes me sick that people die contaminated with the poor power trip. Rage thrown for good in the arse of those who want to seduce us with peace, there is no road, no rebellion that does not lead to free thought, to acting free from claustrophobic constrictions of the kind "don't do it".

It is against obsession, it is against silence, it is against the apathy of opting for convenience that a rage is imposing itself, the choice of life is never balls, never.

In whatever way life and its needs express themselves, an act of expropriation fears no rival on the subject: the brotherhood of "good for nothings" is decided, more and more decided to avenge, to solidarise with whoever has chosen the present - life itself - in an act that disturbs on the margins of this miserable society of Judgement.

Out with your filthy money, stupid boss, out with the money cretin, and above all, above all, above all, out you State/Power of any kind, piss off, get out of it for good.

Wherever I see you mad power
without wasting too many words
I'll try to do you in.

Total solidarity with the comrades in prison,

Total indiscutable l o v e for their action,

War to all prisons (and those who run them)

an encircled A for you, comrades.

IN THE MARGIN OF A "ROBBERY"

In reference to the arrest of the comrades Alfredo Bonanno and Pippo Stasi (La Sicilia 4/2/89), in Bergamo immediately after an attempted "robbery" in a jeweller's shop, as far as we are concerned, the fact can present itself according to various interpretations:

1 - The method of expropriation has in various situations been practiced by anarchist and revolutionary groups and individuals, which should scandalise no one: we at least are not scandalised.

2 - Starting off from certain premises, and remaining coherent with them, one cannot fail to arrive at this type of practice; the comrades in question have therefore shown themselves to be coherent with their premises and their methodology.

3 - At the present time where parties, unions, editorial groups, so-called cultural organisms, churches, contractors, etc, claim their hands are clean, while they are continually dipping them into the coffers of the State and public institutions (financing of parties, laws on editorial ventures, grants to religious and cultural groups, contributions to industry and various kinds of tax reductions), where the so-called scandals break out: golden sheets, golden prisons, golden spoons, Irangate, petroleum companies, mischief-makers, golden pensions, golden bureaucrats, etc - and, finally, even groups of carabinieri who organise themselves to carry out robberies - we must show up the fact that the attempt to expropriate a "poor" jeweller on the part of a group of anarchists differentiates itself because it is not aimed at personal appropriation, but is aimed at the development of propaganda and ideas and the positions that the group refers to.

While the anarchist hunt is underway - as always - we have pleasure in ending with this phrase of Galleani: In the face of the castrated who are horrified by it, of the pharisees who abjure it, the well-fed who curse it, the tartufe who chafe it, the indolent who betray it, the scoundrels who persecute it, now and always : LONG LIVE ANARCHY!

Ragusa February 6 1989

for the Anarchist Group of Ragusa - Franco Leggio

for the editorial group of "Sicilia Libertaria" - Pippo Gurrieri

Tra Rapina e rapina

The concept of robbery - inflated term for use and consumption by the official and officious organs of information - has a meaning today that is extremely mystified and imprecise. A meaning that corresponds to the short articles of the crime chronicles where, with the journalistic facility of those who have miserable social privileges to defend, the figure of the defenceless victim and the executioner devoid of any human sensitivity is created.

Too often one forgets about the daily robbery suffered with anguished resignation in every aspect of our existence, not only in economic terms and not only in the material goods that are necessary or induced by our western kulture. Today we are expropriated of our free time, the management of our social territory, our social relations with those close to us, and of our relation with the rest of the animal and vegetable world.

In a society in which profit is considered the maximum value, each one of us is obliged to have to deal with money: to exploit directly to consume more and better, to use the mechanisms of exploitation to enrich oneself in the face of those who show themselves to be less capable businessmen or have more (economic) sense of dignity: to live "honestly" in the dimension of exploitation in order to survive the lesser of evils in a society of faceless abundance or ... to attempt risky illegal ways to recuperate from the rich of the moment, part of the booty accumulated in the optic of profit as an end in itself.

Now, whatever way one looks at it, even making an effort, it should be difficult to find reasons to be scandalised by an act of theft (or robbery) carried out at the cost of someone who in any case will certainly not die of hunger for the loss suffered.

If then, on February 2nd it was two anarchists, Alfredo Maria Bonanno and Giuseppe Stasi, who carried out the(failed)expropriation to the cost of a jeweller, the thing should shock us even less. The raids that followed on the homes of comrades residing in Milan and Bergamo will surely not cause a scandal or shock any of those who have tasted the bitter taste of our blithe and happy Italian republic.

Capillary social control can dictate its own rules and codify all social behaviour, without for this claiming to make babies born under cabbages cultivated with the biotechnology of the Montedison, convincing solitary sharks of a vegetarian diet, or anarchists to silence in the face of two comrades who have dared to put the mathematics of profit in discussion.

Moreover, in the present sociological confusion where even carabinieri themselves - well trained in the use of arms and the "who goes there" - take on the role of armed robbers, they only trace a clear and honest point of demarcation between quantitative accumulation and the qualitative logic of subtraction.

piero tognoli

Clothes do not make the zebra - Better wear a convict's stripes Free on the lonely savannah - Than the panoplied harness - Of a queen on Rotten Row- Or a thief's colours at Ascot

Alfredo Bonanno and Giuseppe Stasi, the anarchist comrades arrested on February 2 in Bergamo, Italy, following an expropriation from a jeweller's shop in that town, are still being held in the local prison in via Gleno 61, Bergamo.

A straightforward case of a robbery that went wrong: the police were waiting for the two comrades as they left the shop. They were immediately immobilised, arrested, taken to police headquarters where they were beaten and held for ten hours before being transported to the local prison. So far, no different to the usual treatment reserved for proletarians in such situations.

What is different is what has happened since: a series of raids locally in other parts of Italy, a total blackout in the national press, a highly coloured chronicle in the local press alluding to other cases of robbery that have taken place in the area and have remained unsolved, insinuating the comrades' involvement. And more: instead of being brought to trial within 2 to 3 weeks as usually happens in such cases, the comrades' case has now been consigned from the Public Prosecutor to an instructing judge, which means they could wait up to three years for trial. All this points to the probability that there is a frame up in course. This could take the form of a wide political frame up - such as that which happened in 1980 where Alfredo Bonanno was one of twentyone comrades accused on charges that went from robbery to armed insurrection against the State to civil war... All charges were dropped due to complete lack of evidence. At that time the response of the Italian anarchist movement was, in spite of the lacerating differences that divide the various tendencies, that of a united protest against the imprisonment of the arrested comrades.

The other possibility is that the Italian State judiciary will concentrate on attempting to isolate and "criminalise" the two comrades, using every means at their disposal to make sure they will be given maximum judicial sentences in order to keep them in prison indefinitely.

As editor of "Anarchismo" and the anarchist monthly "ProvocAzione", Alfredo has many trials pending for instigation to rebel, condoning criminal offences, etc. What in the past have been suspended sentences now risk crashing down upon him; the State will not let such an occasion escape it. That is why it is necessary to actively express our solidarity with Giuseppe and Alfredo, and to continue the struggle that they have been an active part of for many years.

We intend to resist any attempts to isolate our comrades or to annihilate their revolutionary identity, by providing continual counterinformation, spreading their theoretical works, and continuing the revolutionary anarchist struggle which they main an integral part of and a constant point of reference.

comrades of Insurrection

B.M. Elephant, London WCIN3XX

A defence fund has been opened c/o Carmela Di Marca CC 16464950, Catania, Italy

ANARKIVIU NO 4

March - April

Special supplement:

The letter reproduced below was sent, as well as to comrades Alfredo M. Bonanno and Giuseppe Stasi, to various anarchist publications to make it of public dominion. Unfortunately, however, it has not been published. It was a simple clear way of expressing solidarity with our imprisoned comrades before we even knew with certainty what had actually happened in Bergamo that 2nd February.

At the level of the movement, only on March 11, in a meeting held in Rome, was a position taken publicly in solidarity with Alfredo and Giuseppe. For the rest nothing. Following that there were only "news" items, or positions that in any case were quite distant. The only voice that stood out was that of "Sicilia Libertaria", which claimed in no uncertain terms, ALL the actions that belong to anarchism.

We want to remember the imprisoned comrades in the way that is their own. Alfredo M. Bonanno is in fact, without doubt, a milestone in international theoretical anarchism of the last twenty years. Very probably the list that follows is incomplete because of his encyclopaedic interest that ranges over almost the whole field of human knowledge.

May the whole movement, beyond the different positions of each one, look with honour at Giuseppe and Alfredo because they are comrades worthy of the maximum esteem and solidarity. All the more so because, coherently with their principles, they voluntarily renounced the economic/financial possibilities that political/economic power had offered them.

We remind comrades that a fund has been opened for the trial costs of Giuseppe Stasi and Alfredo M. Bonanno. Whoever desires to show their solidarity can send their contribution to postal current account 16464950 in the name of Carmela Di Marca - Catania.

ANARKIVIU N°4

Dear comrades,

You will both receive a copy of the following. I learned only the day before yesterday of what happened, thanks to a phone call from a comrade. Yesterday, after sending telegrammes of solidarity, confirmation of your arrest reached me through a letter from another comrade,

The news I received was what appeared in the press: that is, that your arrest came about following a robbery that took place "if I remember rightly" in a jeweller's shop. Some comrades were incredulous, believing it was yet another police frame up to keep dangerous class enemies out of circulation. Others, on the contrary, have shown that they believe the version reported in the press, according to which you were caught in the act, at least with the goods on you. So, at the moment of writing, I still do not know the truth. Nor do I know with certainty whether you will be able to receive this letter or not. This is just an attempt. If all goes well, if you get the letter, I shall let the other comrades know, who will then communicate with you directly. Otherwise... Patience! I'll try again later, myself and other comrades,

I hasten to tell you though that, in my opinion, it matters not what the "truth" is. I mean that beyond your "innocence" or "guilt" according to the cannons of the laws of the State all aimed at guaranteeing the sacred principle of private property and therefore the privilege of the few on the backs of the multitude - you have and will have in future ALL MY PERSONAL SOLIDARITY.

If you are "innocent" of the fact you are accused of I shall use all my strength to undo the State frame up. If you are "guilty" I shall fight with just as much force to claim the right of the proletarian/revolutionary to reappropriate what the State and capital have expropriated from them. In the latter case THE WHOLE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT and revolutionary movement in general must defend the comrades with at least the same energy as they would have done had they been "innocent".

Those who know me can confirm that my position is not an instrumental one or dictated by the contingency of events, but is a fundamental political ideological position that I have matured and demonstrated in the course of more than fifteen years' anarchist militancy.

Unfortunately at the moment I am speaking in a personal dimension in that I have not had the opportunity to contact the other - few - Sardinian comrades who still wave the anarchist flag in Sardinia. I don't want to and cannot in any case say in advance what the position of their "group" will emerge in the island concerning this specific deed.

I also understand that Sardinia, a nation quite poor in anarchists and distant enough from the continent so as to remain practically isolated concerning what the movement operates within the confines of the Italian State, it could turn out to be very little. There remains however the fact the everything that can be done will be done.

For you a fraternal and revolutionary embrace.

For the social revolution
Costantino Cavalleri

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE CASE OF BONANNO AND STASI
immediate revolutionary solidarity

On the day of February 2 1989, anarchist comrades Alfredo Maria Bonanno and Giuseppe Stasi were deprived of their freedom following an expropriation carried out in Bergamo against a jeweller's shop, which unfortunately did not succeed due to a series of negative circumstances: the shopkeeper managed to set off a "silent" alarm that was directly linked to a private vigilantes corps: they in turn contacted the police. The latter arrived on the scene, identified Bonanno outside the jeweller's shop due to a bloodstain on his coat that had come about in a struggle with the jeweller.

A month after the event it still makes sense to write about the dynamic of the event because "our" press has only dedicated a few miserable lines to them. In our opinion it deserves a lot, but a lot more attention on the part of comrades, both for the debate it should open up and because one of the comrades arrested, Bonanno (without detracting in any way from Stasi) is very well known for his editorial work which has been translated in various European languages.

On the subject we note that the boss and bourgeois press, even if of a local character, has taken an interest in the case, attaching considerable importance to it.

Given the gravity of the situation, we think it is absurd for such behaviour to exist, beyond the divisions that exist within the anarchist movement, recently confirmed at the Forli conference, as it leads to isolating comrades and to a more or less explicit condemnation of certain ways of acting that are defined illegal by the State. Comrades risk making the same mistake as they did when they used the term "terrorism" to define certain actions in the struggle which, although criticisable, were based on propaganda by the deed, forgetting that terrorism is only that carried out by the State and Capital, in that they are the cause of exploitation which is maintained with ruthless and violent means. In these times of doubt, of ideological crisis, of rethinking, the behaviour of Bonanno and Stasi who, following their arrest declared themselves anarchists and that they did not recognise private property, and that they had carried out the robbery for personal needs of survival, is of considerable social significance.

Let us go into the case in more detail: first of all we want to make it clear that concepts such as "legal" and "illegal" do not belong to us as they are an integral part of the State that imposes its power through its laws.

On the basis of this, comrades must therefore relate by elaborating a project and a social strategy where they provide themselves with suitable instruments, using them in the most opportune way in order to reach their objective.

In other words, an action should not be carried out because it is illegal or otherwise, but be evaluated in terms of its possibly being counterproductive.

This does not mean that we exalt all gestures where propaganda by the deed and direct action have been used. The important thing is, we repeat, that they do not clash with the ends that have been pre-established: in such a case they should be criticised in a debate within the movement.

The so-called illegal choice therefore depends upon purely the relations of strength that exist between ourselves and the State, bearing in mind that it is necessary to push things forward at times.

Those comrades who make a net distinction between illegal and legal action are making a fundamental mistake in our opinion. First, because by using the spaces and instruments put at our disposition by power we will never be able to contribute to the development of the movement in the revolutionary sense, as the laws have been conceived for the maintenance of and reinforcing of capital and the State. Second, because a purely illegalist strategy risks separating itself from the social issue because those who practice it are constrained to a preventive isolation.

The behaviour of Bonanno and Stasi cannot in any way be criticised in ideological terms. It also takes on a social value as such an action falls within certain collective dynamics where expropriation for their personal needs is seen as a means of redistributing wealth. The wealth of others is nothing other than the poverty of all.

Those who carry out petty thefts at the cost of other people should be criticised because it leads to that war between poor that is so dear to the bosses, just as anyone who steals simply in order to get rich should also be condemned.

The anarchist concept of private property is not something that was born by chance, but is one of the fundamental elements of our idea, which should be modified and adapted to the times, but which cannot be totally altered. On the subject we would like to remember, without for that wanting to be dogmatic, a piece from Proudhon's "What is Property?"

"If I were to reply to the following question, what is slavery? and if in a word I were to reply "murder", my idea would be understood immediately... Why then to this other question, what is property? can I not equally reply "it is theft" without being certain of not being understood, although this second proposition is no more than a transformation of the first."

What should we do in this very delicate situation? It is easier than one might think: first of all express anarchist solidarity not only in words but in deeds, through letters, telegrammes (via ,Gleno 61) and articles, to the imprisoned comrades, which, as well as having the effect of moral support will also serve to show the repressive forces that the comrades are not abandoned by the anarchist area thereby limiting the harassment they might be subjected to. The other road to take up is that of carrying out as much counter-information as possible about the case, ie:

a) that the comrades acted according to their anarchist convictions;
b) that the gesture was done for their own personal needs for survival. This in order to put an end as soon as possible to investigations and have the case closed before some judge invents who knows what whimsical "eversive" theory to draw in a whole area of comrades. It seems that the things to be done for the time being are not all that complicated, it is enough for them to be done intelligently.

Controcultura anarchist group

.. Theft for theft, I prefer the unemployed who empties a jeweller's shop pushed by poverty and risks getting arrested, to Mongest and other spokesmen of the budget of Tunisia who, bloated, full of everything that is good, convinced of their impunity, have vilely plundered the Tunisian peasants."

Gustave Herve' (La Guerre Sociale,

11 January 1911)

SOLIDARITY WITH BONANNO AND STASI

The trial against the two anarchist comrades Alfredo Bonanno and Giuseppe Stasi is due to take place at the end of September. They were arrested during an attempt at an expropriation against a jeweller's shop in Bergamo on February 2 1989 and are still in prison in that town.

In the trial proceedings against them, conducted by the public prosecutor Maffferri and other forces of Italian repression, they are trying to attribute to them a series of other robberies that have taken place in the area and which have remained unsolved, as well as the attempted robbery at the jeweller's in question. (In one of these robberies the jeweller was found dead.)

To charge them with offences other than the attempted robbery for which the two comrades were arrested, is a clear attempt by the State to frame them, intending to strike two anarchist militants for their political, social and editorial involvement in the struggle. This work has always led them to contest and to struggle against the objective situation of exploitation and the bourgeois laws that support it.

This is not the first time that class justice has tried to strike Alfredo Bonanno and other anarchist comrades with charges that have collapsed as they had been deliberately fabricated. This, on the other hand, is the tactic of the regime of dominion and the forces of repression at international level, aimed at striking the ideas and criminalising any political revolutionary action and to isolate the militants of the class movement.

Particularly at this time capitalism is tenaciously mobilising itself, putting into act all of its terroristic mechanisms, using advanced technologies and signing international agreements (ie the TREVI) with the aim of striking any initiative that endangers its interests and contrasts the dominant "justice".

This "justice" cannot but express the dominant will of the exploiting class, and is indistinguishable from the class structure and exploitation in the present society. This social structure is inhuman and unjust for the oppressed social strata.

"Legality" becomes submission to exploitation and "illegality" a reaction against the injustice of the dominant class.

This is the "justice" that the militants Bonanno and Stasi contested when, during questioning, they claimed their act of expropriation declaring that "as anarchists they considered the concept of the redistribution of goods within a society where social and economic in equality exists, to be Right". This same "justice" is being contested practically every day by the proletarians of the Third World, Argentina, China, Palestine.

The comrades' action cannot but be a way of expressing their subversive revolutionary theory which is opposing itself to the immense brigandish system of daily exploitation and injustice.

Freedom for Alfredo Bonanno and Giuseppe Stasi and for all those who are languishing in prison cells because they have dared to reappropriate a part of what belongs to them.

For a world without prisons, banks, multinationals, armies, technocrats, jewellers and passive observers.

INTERNATIONALIST SOLIDARITY FOR THE ITALIAN ANARCHIST MILITANTS
ALFREDO BONANNO AND GIUSEPPE STASI.

Anarchist Initiative in solidarity with comrades Bonanno and Stasi Greece

FREEDOM FOR THE COMRADES A.M. BONANNO AND G. STASI

Greek comrades have carried out a series of initiatives in the context of solidarity with the anarchist Bonanno and Stasi.

More precisely, the Patras anarchist group assembled in the port of the town on July 6 1989. The comrades carried a banner demanding "Immediate freedom for A.M. Bonanno and G. Stasi".

This was done at the point where the ships that link Greece to Italy leave from. Leaflets about the two comrades were handed out to passengers and other people. On July 18 there was a picket in front of the Italian embassy in Athens. It had been organised by various of the city's anarchist groups.

Various banners demanding "immediate liberation of the two comrades" were displayed on the gates of the embassy. Above is one of the leaflets handed out during these demonstrations.



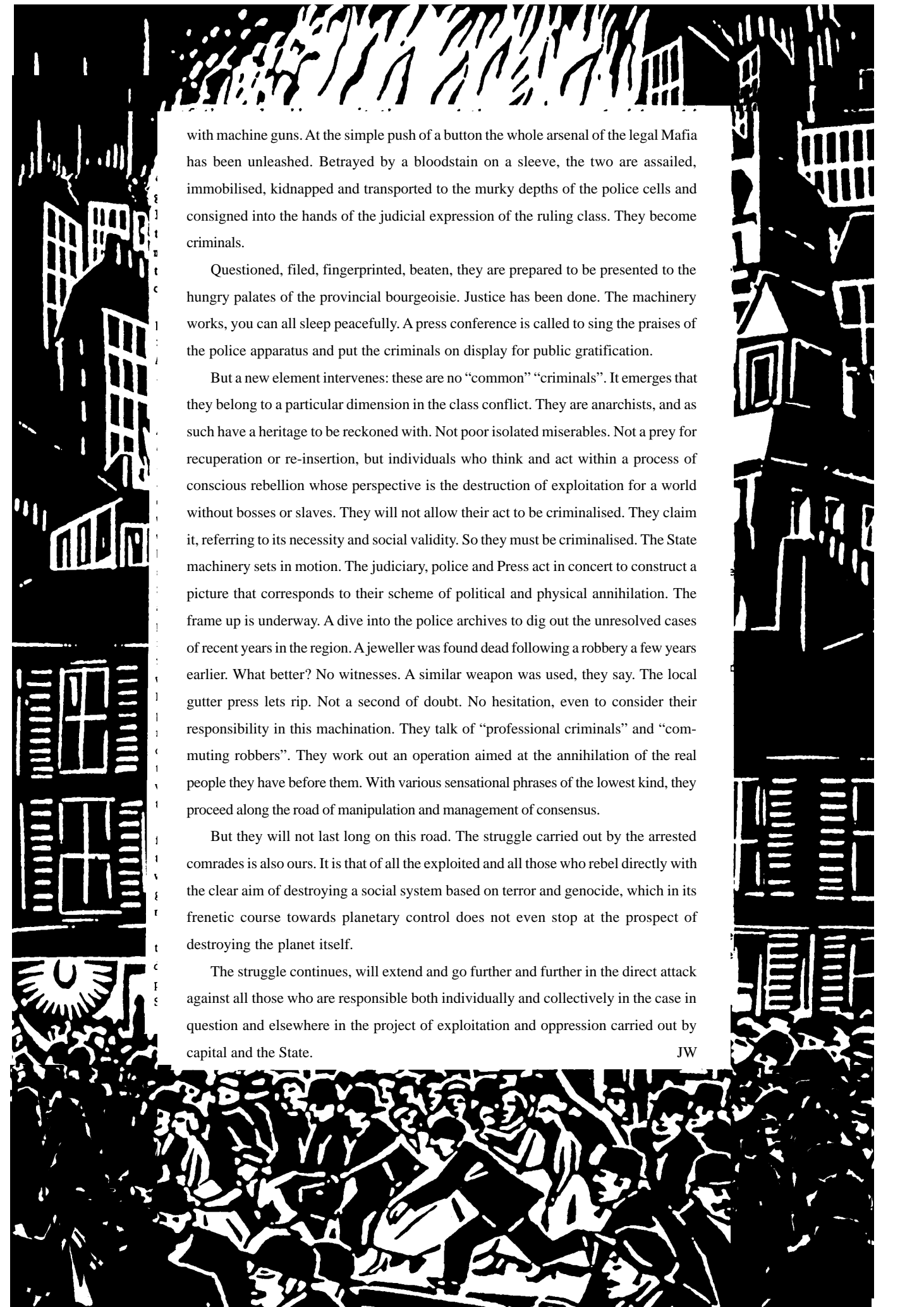
a day like any other

2 February. A day like any other. A robbery takes place in a jeweller's shop in Bergamo. Nothing strange. A simple news item. A manifestation of the only logic open to the dispossessed in a society based on the looting and exploitation of the earth's resources by the few, to those who refuse the condition of submission, hunger, humiliation and collaboration in their own misery: that of acting in first person to take back some of what has been stolen from them. A day like any other.

As on all such occasions, the outcome is not certain. The decision has been made. The means required to confront the situation have been procured. The adversary is faced. On the one side the real criminal, the "upright man", defends the merchandise extracted from the depths of the earth by the sweat and blood of other hands. Hands black with dirt, black hands. This upright man is aware of his true essence as robber, plunderer, and perpetrator of greed and accumulation in the full logic of capital. He is aware of the fact that he possesses what others do not, of his relative wealth exposed in glittering displays to titillate and seduce those desirous of a pathetic symbol of status and success, and has surrounded himself with all the devices and services that capital offers him as a member of their class. Locks, safes, electronic devices, private vigilantes, State police, carabinieri, the army, special forces, the Press, the judiciary. These are some of the arms he disposes of. As in his act of robbery, they are delegated arms. No responsibility in first person. Just as there is no dirt on his hands, nor is there blood. Everything is once removed. Clean crime. A continual process of daylight robbery supported by the consensus of the respectable herd.

On the other side of the counter stand two men, two individuals holding small firearms and the conviction that what they are doing is not only necessary, but is also right. They have extracted themselves from the world of resignation and complicity and aligned themselves with those who combine word and deed.

A few moments and the action is underway. The charade of willing victim to the act of organised capitalist crime is discarded and the true roles emerge. The jeweller reacts, turning to his protectors. The two men respond to defend their freedom of movement. A sharp hit on the head: ancestral response to the machinery of repression. The safe is emptied: individual response to the plunder of centuries. The two men walk out into the street, calm, sure in the rightness of their being. But, too late, the apparatus of repression awaits them. The flankers of the real robber are waiting for them round the corner, armed



with machine guns. At the simple push of a button the whole arsenal of the legal Mafia has been unleashed. Betrayed by a bloodstain on a sleeve, the two are assailed, immobilised, kidnapped and transported to the murky depths of the police cells and consigned into the hands of the judicial expression of the ruling class. They become criminals.

Questioned, filed, fingerprinted, beaten, they are prepared to be presented to the hungry palates of the provincial bourgeoisie. Justice has been done. The machinery works, you can all sleep peacefully. A press conference is called to sing the praises of the police apparatus and put the criminals on display for public gratification.

But a new element intervenes: these are no “common” “criminals”. It emerges that they belong to a particular dimension in the class conflict. They are anarchists, and as such have a heritage to be reckoned with. Not poor isolated misérables. Not a prey for recuperation or re-insertion, but individuals who think and act within a process of conscious rebellion whose perspective is the destruction of exploitation for a world without bosses or slaves. They will not allow their act to be criminalised. They claim it, referring to its necessity and social validity. So they must be criminalised. The State machinery sets in motion. The judiciary, police and Press act in concert to construct a picture that corresponds to their scheme of political and physical annihilation. The frame up is underway. A dive into the police archives to dig out the unresolved cases of recent years in the region. A jeweller was found dead following a robbery a few years earlier. What better? No witnesses. A similar weapon was used, they say. The local gutter press lets rip. Not a second of doubt. No hesitation, even to consider their responsibility in this machination. They talk of “professional criminals” and “commuting robbers”. They work out an operation aimed at the annihilation of the real people they have before them. With various sensational phrases of the lowest kind, they proceed along the road of manipulation and management of consensus.

But they will not last long on this road. The struggle carried out by the arrested comrades is also ours. It is that of all the exploited and all those who rebel directly with the clear aim of destroying a social system based on terror and genocide, which in its frenetic course towards planetary control does not even stop at the prospect of destroying the planet itself.

The struggle continues, will extend and go further and further in the direct attack against all those who are responsible both individually and collectively in the case in question and elsewhere in the project of exploitation and oppression carried out by capital and the State.

JW

AGAINST THE SILENCE

We feel it is a duty to point out how the arrest of Alfredo Maria Bonanno and Giuseppe Stasi has not had an adequate echo in our press, perhaps because it was for what are considered "common" law offences. As far as we know the two comrades admitted the facts, motivating them with their personal need for survival. Or perhaps it is due to the lacerating experience at Forli on the theme of antimilitarism that saw the division that has remained unresolved for years, express itself openly within the movement.

Beyond all that, the figure of Alfredo M. Bonanno is very well known in the anarchist movement and he continues to represent an indiscutable point of reference for his activity as agitator, his editorial work, and as a theoretician of libertarian and insurrectional problems.

We believe that neither the declared personal motivations for the act nor the obvious worsening of the fractioning within the movement since Forli should permit such an attitude of dismissal even if it is justified with the alibi of not wanting to invade or aggravate the comrades' defensive and judicial position.

As far as the personal motivations go, one forgets that they were openly based on the comrades Bonanno and Stasi's declaring themselves anarchists and on the legitimacy of expropriation for redistributive ends.

If, as is more likely, the silence is secretly due to an implicit condemnation of the illegal act as such, we think that such discriminating criteria should not find comfort in the anarchist theses that we all say we adhere to.

Legality or illegality of behaviour should be considered no more than an authoritarian partition to the advantage of and imposed by the management of dominion. The decision concerning the opportunity or not of an individual act, its intrinsic danger and possible self-injury, is a contingent factor that needs to be thoroughly gone into on each single occasion, far from theorisation and generalisation. When a comrade gives the reason for his action as personal, it should not be necessary to take a position concerning the individual act (which is not being presented to us as a theoretical-practical model of militancy, nor for its practicability, possibility or success, social and political validity, etc). The accusation that such acts run the risk of criminalising the whole extrainstitutional community is one that we find ridiculous and unfounded, even when it was used against projects that theorised and practiced "militaristic and subversive armed struggle".

To attribute repression not to the state but to those who adopt the means to oppose it, becomes a very serious choice of sides, even if it is unconscious.

It means, yet again, to exchange the cause for the effect and vice versa.

The silence on the affair is also unjustifiable in the light of the ideal of solidarity, also concrete, not just moral, that is an intrinsic part of anarchist "doctrines".

To make known to a comrade, through telegrams, articles and other manifestations of solidarity, that he is not isolated but that the attention of many is turned to his sort, means not only giving psychological support to the comrade so that he does not feel totally abandoned, but often constitutes an effective deterrent against the clandestine and totally arbitrary action of the judges, and against the mad sadism of his jailers.

"E. Malatesta" Anarchist Group Rome



Work?
Work takes every
passion from life...



Reducing it to a
frenzy of producing
and consuming...
Depriving it of time to dream,
fantasticise, desire.



One works for a boss,
a leader, for the
State...

I'LL NEVER work.

SOLIDARIETÀ CON ALFREDO BONANNI
E PIPPO STASI

BONANNO AND STASI ARRESTED



"If we intend to change our situation we cannot continue with ideology. We must examine the relations within exploitation and repression and take an unreservedly active part in the struggle. We must single out precise objectives and back them up with methods that show a subversive strategy capable of expressing a global project of proletarian self-liberation. (...) A correct analysis imposes the need to use violence. The bosses will not give up what they have spontaneously. The only thing that will be effective is the organized material strength that proletarians have at their disposition. (...) In this dimension conflictuality should be seen as a permanent element in the struggle against those in power (...) No synthesis is possible between dominator and dominated, between exploiter and exploited. Our logic leads to the suppression of one or other of the terms. To reach this we must extend permanent conflictuality. Every experience of daily life becomes valid if it is expressed as part of an antagonistic struggle that is openly and violently against the present state of affairs."

- P.P., Insurrection #4

On Thursday, February 2, 1989, Alfredo Bonanno and Giuseppe Stasi were arrested in Bergamo, Italy, following a robbery of a jeweller's shop. The police were waiting for the two comrades as they left the shop. They were immediately immobilized, arrested, and taken to police headquarters in Bergamo. They were both beaten, held for ten hours, and then transferred to the local prison, where they are still being held. They are accused of armed robbery, assault, and resisting arrest.

On the same day, DIGOS (the Italian political

police), without warrants, carried out a series of raids on the houses of anarchists in Catania, Bergamo, and Milan. They found nothing, and the comrades refused to answer police questions.

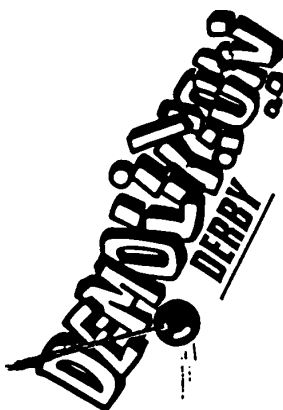
On Monday, February 6, Alfredo and Giuseppe were questioned by the instructing judge. They declared that the robbery was carried out due to their personal need for money and that, as anarchists, they considered the redistribution of wealth in a society based on social and economic inequality to be just, a position that anarchists have always shared in the past.

Alfredo and Giuseppe specified that any attempt to attribute other similar actions to them, or to presuppose, starting from this specific incident, the existence of an imaginary armed organization, will be considered a frame-up intending to strike comrades actively engaged in the social struggle against exploitation and oppression.

Their case was then transferred from the Public Prosecutor to an instructing judge. As a result, they may have to wait for up to three years for their case to be brought to trial. This, coupled with a total news blackout in the national press and an attempt in a local newspaper to link Giuseppe and Alfredo to unsolved robberies in the area, points to a frame-up.

In 1980, Alfredo Bonanno and twenty anarchists were arrested on charges ranging from robbery to armed insurrection against the State to civil war. All charges were later dropped due to lack of evidence.

On the other hand, the authorities may choose to isolate and criminalize the two comrades by seeking the maximum judicial sentences, which would keep them in prison indefinitely.



Alfredo already has many trials pending for “instigation to revolt”, “condoning criminal offences”, and other charges. The authorities may decide to unleash all his suspended sentences, which have accumulated over years of judicial harassment, and bury him alive.

Alfredo Bonanno has been an active anarchist revolutionary for more than twenty years now. He is also one of the best theoreticians of the Italian anarchist movement. His writings are known throughout Europe and have circulated all over the world. He edits and writes for Anarchismo, a quarterly magazine of anarchist theory, ProvocAzione, a bimonthly anarchist agitational paper, and Anarchismo Editions, which publishes a series of anarchist, communist, and situationist books and pamphlets. All of these projects grew out of the revolutionary wave in Italy which peaked in 1977 and was characterized by a massive rebellion of youth and all the marginalized strata in society: the unemployed, street people, the psychiatrized, prisoners, women, gays and lesbians, students, and workers. There were riots, pitched battles with the police, wildcat strikes, occupations, and physical attacks on exploiters of all kinds, in short, class war. The unions were denounced as reactionary, bureaucratic organizations and the mainstream left was attacked as well, beginning with the Euro-stalinist PCI. There are still thousands of political prisoners languishing in Italian prisons as a result of the repression that followed this upheaval. A few years ago, Anarchismo distinguished itself by denouncing the current attempt by certain ex-revolutionary organizations in Italy to negotiate an amnesty for political prisoners in return for the cessation of all revolutionary activity.

In the writings of Anarchismo there is an ongoing attempt to take what is best in anarchist theory and practice and fuse it with the analyses of other revolutionary currents. The revolutionary current represented by Anarchismo is unique among anarchist groupings by virtue of its emphasis on an insurrectionary method and its insistence that the anarchist movement must renew itself completely if it is to be effective in the decades to come. This attempt at a rigorous and coherent revolutionary practice is marked by a refusal of all that is tired and useless in the anarchist movement today: our preoccupation with gradual social reform, our withdrawal from involvement in the struggles of everyday people and from confrontation with the capitalist state in favour of purely cultural activity, the circulation of the most abject conformity and repressive morality in anti-authoritarian circles, our refusal to undertake even the most minimal preparations for our own collective self-defence or to engage in revolutionary violence, the falsification of anarchist theory and its degeneration into a fossilized ideology, a plaything for

Brave New anarchist bureaucracies, our involvement in senile unionism of all kinds, and the pro-work, pro-sacrifice, pro-“progress” attitudes engendered by unions and the whole spectrum of “alternative” institutions which, in so many cases, turn out to be not so alternative after all, because they reinforce resignation and social peace.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Spread news about this case where you live and discuss it with your friends. Prepare to put pressure on the Italian government and Italian-owned corporations, especially if you receive news of a frame-up.

Write to the arrested comrades, Alfredo Bonanno and Giuseppe Stasi, at this address: via Gleno 61, Bergamo, Italy. Your letters to them will show the authorities that support for Alfredo and Giuseppe is widespread and international in scope. The more support they are seen to have, the less likely the authorities will be to harass them or frame them up. In addition, correspondence breaks down the isolation that the system forces on imprisoned revolutionaries.

Read and circulate their theoretical work; not only because it is interesting and informative in its own right, but also because the actions for which these comrades were arrested and the theory which guided their actions form a whole. Support for the projects they participated in is a way of continuing and strengthening their efforts for which they were clearly ready to risk their lives and which have been interrupted by their imprisonment. If these arrests draw increased support for Anarchismo and its sister projects, then the Italian state’s attempts to repress them will have backfired. The Italian state will use these arrests to attack anarchist activism in general: your support for Anarchismo, ProvocAzione, and Elephant Editions will reinforce our friends’ projects and strengthen their efforts to defend the arrested comrades and their ideas.

Anarchismo and ProvocAzione

C. P. 61, 95100 Catania, Sicily, Italy.

Insurrection and Elephant Editions

BM Elephant, London WC1N 3XX, Britain.

Correspond with Elephant Editions to receive news about the case.

Send money to help pay for legal expenses, in the form of international bank drafts (In Italian lire or British pounds only, payable to Jean Weir and addressed to Elephant Editions, BM Elephant, London WC 1 N 3XX, Britain.

Thanks for your support.

— Rip van Winkle

Dear Alfredo,

As a long-time reader and distributor of your Bratach Dubh and Workers' Autonomy translations, I assure you that your freedom is now an objective of many even here in the US; We are and will circulate any attempts to frame you for unsolved police cases.

I am sending funds and a request to Jean Weir to keep me up to date on your trial and any particular needs you have that I may help you with.

Please let me know how your treatment can be improved.

To your health and will,

Gary Brown P. O. Box 541
ORLANDO, Florida 32802 USA

Dear Giuseppe,

Although I do not know you, I am a reader and circulator of Alfredo's works here in the U.S. and now your freedom is in the thoughts and actions of many of us.

We will put an obstacle in front of any attempts to blame you for unsolved police cases.

Do you have any particular needs that I may be of assistance?

Salud,

Gary Brown