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1861

**June, Siberia:** Anarchist *Michael Alexandrovitch Bakunin* escapes from Siberian exile to the California coast. After a decade of captivity (condemned to death and reprieved by the Saxon crown for his role in trying to overturn the monarchy, condemned to death and reprieved by the Czech government for rousing the Czechs of Prague against their Hapsburg ruler, and finally condemned to death by his native Russia for his revolutionary agitating—eventually mitigated to life in Petropawlawski prison where he remained for several years until his exile) *Bakunin* emerges feeling more bitter of and hateful towards authority than ever and yet still *as free as nature first made me, Ere the base laws of servitude began, When wild in woods the noble savage ran.*

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*Look at the freedom you gave the peasants!*  
After tracking *Karakozov's* trail and raiding his hotel room, police find a letter addressed to the peasantry and factory workers. *Brothers, I have long [wondered] why my beloved simple Russian people has to suffer so much! Why next to the peasant and the labourer in his factory are people who do nothing—idle nobles, a horde of officials and other wealthy people, all living in shining houses? They live on the shoulders of the*

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*simple people; they suck the peasants' blood. The man responsible is the Tsar. It is the Tsars who through centuries have built up the organization of the State and the army; they who have [given] the land to the nobles. [The Tsar] is the people's worst enemy. So I have decided to destroy the evil Tsar, and to die for my beloved people. Then we will have real freedom; land will no longer belong to the idlers but to the artels and to societies of the workers themselves; capital too will belong to the artels and the workers.*

1876

**January 24, St. Petersburg:** Narodnik **Vera Zasulich** walks into the local prison and shoots Dmitry Trepov, the Governor General of St. Petersburg. When the charismatic **Zasulich** is tried for attempted murder, the jury is sympathetic to her (knowing she acted in response

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Prince Nikolai Nikolaevich, the Tsar's brother) and is occasionally let outside to walk.

After spending 21 months in Peter and Paul, his trial fast approaching, and his rheumatism (developed in the warm, damp cells) worsening, *Kropotkin* is moved to the St. Petersburg House of Detention. His new home, a show place for foreign visitors, accommodates him with a four foot-wide cell that leads to severe claustrophobia and dizzy spells whenever he tries to pace.

Kropotkin's sister, who is allowed to visit, convinces a physician to move him to a military hospital. From there his health improves greatly (unbeknownst to doctors and guards) and makes it possible for him to concoct an escape plan.

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By the next evening the anarchist's friends are taking him to a luxurious restaurant to celebrate and to hide him while they wait for the appropriate time to smuggle him across the Finish border.

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**April 3, San Lupo:** Three revolutionaries eager to put theory into action rent a room in the Taverna Jacobelli and begin to unload large wooden crates filled with guns. The three are believed to be anarchist *Errico Malatesta*, a Russian narodniak and her lover, insurgent *Sergius Stepniak*. Twenty-four more conspirators (including

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**April 5, San Lupo:** Enticed by money, Salvatore Farina turns informer and tips off the carabinieri of the plot to overthrow governments of the surrounding countryside. The carabinieri attempt to arrest the residents of the room who greet the intruders with gunshots: paralyzing one cop and killing another. The shootout allows the other conspirators enough time to load up most of the supplies and retreat into the surrounding woods to regroup.

**April 8, Letino:** Having marched for the last two days the insurgents parade into downtown Letino, black and red flags in the front. They interrupt a meeting of the small town by sacking the records

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**Gallo:** The insurgents are met by the local priest, Father Tamopurini,

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who calms his flock saying *Fear nothing. They are honest folk; there has been a change of government and a burning of the register.* Everyone embraces each other weeping and shouting. The crowds burn the local registers, distribute the muskets of the national guard and proceed to the mill where tax records and the machines for calculating them are destroyed. The festivities are cut short, however, with the news of advancing troops. The conspirators flee into the surrounding woods where they freeze and starve over the next three days until they surrender.

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sovereign while he and his daughter, the Grand Duchess of Baden, parade in their carriage. After missing his target, the anarchist runs across the street and fires another round. In the commotion that ensues, one of the individuals trying to apprehend Hödel suffers such severe internal injuries, he dies two days later.

The State convicts **Hödel** after a photographer who took **Hödel's** picture days before the incident testifies that after he took the picture **Hödel** said he would sell thousands once *a certain piece of information was hashed through the world*.

**June 2, Berlin:** Anarchist **Dr. Karl Eduard Nobiling** uses a double-barreled gun to maim Kaiser Wilhelm I. **Nobiling** waits in his apartment, leveling the gun at the passing sovereign's head—almost at the exact location as **Hödel** had—and once the Emperor is directly

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After the two attempts on his life, Kaiser Wilhelm I leaves Berlin and, while away, receives many threatening letters concerning what might happen if he is to return home.

**August 4, St. Petersburg:** **Stepniak** stabs to death the head of the Russian secret police, General Nikolai Mezentsov. **Stepniak**, who fought alongside anarchist **Errico Malatesta** during the Benevento uprising in 1877, kills the general in retaliation for the murder of fellow revolutionary, **Ivan Kovalsky**.

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fought alongside anarchist **Errico Malatesta** during the Benevento  
Russian secret police, General Nikolai Mezentsov. **Stepniak**, who  
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Sympathy marches for the wounded spring up all around the newly-united Italy, momentarily bringing unity to the warring republican, monarchial, and clerical factions. However, at two of these marches—one of students and the other of the Corp of Veterans (at which bombs are thrown into the procession, killing three). The bombs are believed to be the work of anarchists.

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**March 5, Paris:** Anarchist *Charles Gallo* tosses a bottle of hydrocyanic acid into the Stock Exchange. The bottle does not explode, but spreads a bad stink and sets off a panic. *Gallo* then draws a revolver and randomly fires five shots without hitting anyone. At his trial three months later, *Gallo* insists on voicing his opinion of the proceedings, mocks the law, and is eventually thrown out of the courtroom when he stands and declares to the jury *La mort aux juges*

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From prison **Ravachol** says he chose to act, wanting a world with *No more wars, no more quarrels, no more jealousy, no more theft, no more murder, no more judges, no more police, no more administration.* On his way to the guillotine a priest offers **Ravachol** absolution for his sins and crimes, to which he yells *take away your crucifix! If you show it to me I shall spit upon it!* As the guillotine drops, **Ravachol** cries *Vive la Re-*.  
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the air shouting *Viva l'Anarquía!* The attentat only scratches Martínez, but does manage to kill the horse the general is riding, a member of the Civil Guard, and three generals. Eight other bystanders die, however many believe it is the shots fired by the soldiers in the ensuing chaos that kill most of them. Before the firing squad *Pallás* echoes the motto of the south, *Venganza será terrible!*

**November 8, Paris:** A bomb is found in the Paris offices of the Carmaux Mining Company. Police remove the bomb and take it back to their cop shop where it promptly explodes. Five cops die, and anarchist *Emile Henry* later takes credit for the action.

1893

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**February 4, Birmingham:** After a group of anarchists draws lots, one smashes a shop window, and when a bobby grabs him shouts *Three cheers for Anarchy!*

Between **Davis'** trial and the February 4 attack, fifteen shop windows are smashed and goods are taken, with police making only

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**November 7, Barcelona:** Anarchist **Santiago Salvador** (close friend of **Pallás**) buys a ticket for the opening night at the Liceu Opera House, and in the second act of Rossini's *William Tell*, tosses two bombs down into the stalls packed with the city's most notable families. Only the first bomb explodes, killing 22 and wounding 30.

In prison **Salvador** feigns a religious conversion to rally the support of Jesuits and the wives of the aristocracy, who unsuccessfully petition for a stay of execution. To the shock of his supporters **Salvador** declares from the gaffolds *Look, I die satisfied, because I have*

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*blood of the unfortunate pariahs. Then I came back to France where it was reserved for me to see my family suffer atrociously. This was the last drop in the cup of my sorrow. Tired of leading this life of suffering and cowardice I carried this bomb to those who are primarily responsible for social misery.*

From the guillotine **Vallaint** yells, *A mort la société bourgeoise et vive l'anarchie!*

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**February 12 Paris:** Eight days after the guillotining of fellow anarchist, **Auguste Vaillant**, **Emile Henry** throws a bomb into the Café Terminus, a restaurant built over a section of street violently fought over by anarchists and communards during the collapse of the Paris Commune. Twenty patrons of the Café are injured and a man named Borde is killed. As the bomber flees the scene by-standers pursue,

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It is not a defense that I present to you. I am not in any way seeking to escape the reprisals of the society I have attacked. Besides, I acknowledge only one tribunal -myself, and the verdict of any other is meaningless to me. I wish merely to give you an explanation of my acts and to tell you how I was led to perform them.

I have been an anarchist for only a short time. It was as recently as the middle of the year 1891 that I entered the revolutionary movement. Up to that time, I had lived in circles entirely imbued with current morality. I had been accustomed to respect and even to love the principles of fatherland and family, of authority and property.

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*For teachers in the present generation too often forget one thing; it is that life, with its struggles and defeats, its injustices and iniquities, takes upon itself indiscreetly to open the eyes of the ignorant to reality. This happened to me, as it happens to everyone. I had been told that life was easy, that it was wide open to those who were intelligent and energetic; experience showed me that only the cynical and the servile were able to secure good seats at the banquet.*

*I had been told that our social institutions were founded on justice and equality; I observed all around me nothing but lies and impostures.*

*Each day I shed an illusion. Everywhere I went, I witnessed the same miseries among some, and the same joys among others. I was not slow to understand that the grand words I had been taught to venerate: honor, devotion, duty were only the mask that concealed the most shameful baseness.*

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The manufacturer who created a colossal fortune out of the toil of workers who lacked everything was an honest gentleman. The deputy and the minister, their hands ever open for bribes, were devoted to the public good. The officer who experimented with a new type of rifle on children of seven had done his duty, and, openly in parliament, the president of the council congratulated him! Everything I saw revolted me, and my intelligence was attracted by criticism of the existing social organization. Such criticism has been made too often for me to repeat it. It is enough to say that I became the enemy of a society that I judged to be criminal.

Drawn at first to socialism, I was not slow in separating myself from that party. I have too much love of freedom, too much respect for individual initiative, too much repugnance for military organization, to assume a number in the ordered army of the fourth estate. Besides, I realized

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that basically socialism changes nothing in the existing order. It maintains the principle of authority, and, whatever self-styled free-thinkers may say about it, that principle is no more than the antiquated survival of faith in a superior power.

Scientific studies gradually made me aware of the play of natural forces in the universe. I became materialist and atheist; I came to realize that modern science discards the hypothesis of God, of which it has no need. In the same way, religious and authoritarian morality, which are based on false assumptions, should be allowed to disappear. What then, I asked myself, was the new morality in harmony with the laws of nature that might regenerate the old world and give birth to a happy humanity?

It was at this moment that I came into contact with a group of anarchist comrades whom I consider, even today, among the best I have ever

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The idea—as soon as I embraced it—found in my mind a soil completely prepared by observation and personal reflection to receive it. It merely gave precision to what already existed there in vague and wavering form. In my turn I became an anarchist.

I do not need to develop on this occasion the whole theory of anarchism. I merely wish to emphasize its revolutionary aspect, the destructive and negative aspect that brings me here before you.

At this moment of embittered struggle between the middle class and its enemies, I am almost tempted to say, with Souvarine in *Germinal*: 'All

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*I brought with me into the struggle a profound hatred which every day was renewed by the spectacle of this society where everything is base, everything is equivocal, everything is ugly, where everything is an impediment to the outflow of human passions, to the generous impulses of the heart, to the free flight of thought.*

*I wanted to strike as strongly and as justly as I could. Let us start then with the first attempt I made, the explosion in the Rue des Bon-Enfants. I had followed closely the events at Carmaux. The first news of the strike had filled me with joy. The miners seemed at last to have abandoned those useless pacific strikes in which the trusting worker patiently waits for his few francs to triumph over the company's millions. They seemed to have entered on a*

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*The strike went on and on, and the miners established the most intimate acquaintance with hunger, which became their habitual companion; they used up the tiny reserve fund of their syndicate and of the other organizations which came to their help, and then, at the end of two months, they returned crestfallen to their pit, more wretched than ever before. It would have been so simple in the beginning to have attacked the Company in its only sensitive spot, the financial one; to have burnt the stocks of coal, to have broken the mining machines, to have demolished the drainage pumps.*

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they are anarchist procedures. At such games one runs the risk of prison and—who knows? -perhaps one of those bullets that performed so miraculously at Fourmies? That is not the way to win seats on municipal council's or in legislatures. In brief, having been momentarily troubled, order reigned once again at Carmaux.

More powerful than ever, the Company continued its exploitation, and the gentlemen shareholders congratulated themselves on the happy outcome of the strike. Their dividends would be even more pleasant to gather in.

It was then that I decided to intrude among that concert of happy tones a voice the bourgeois had already heard but which they thought had died with Ravachol: the voice of dynamite.

I wanted to show the bourgeoisie that henceforward their pleasures

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would not be untouched, that their insolent triumphs would be disturbed, that their golden calf would rock violently on its pedestal until the final shock that would cast it down among filth and blood.

At the same time I wanted to make the miners understand that there is only one category of humans, the anarchists, who sincerely resent their sufferings and are willing to avenge them. Such individuals do not sit in parliament like Monsieur Guesde and his associates, but they march to the guillotine.

So I prepared a bomb. At one stage the accusation that had been thrown at Ravachol came to my memory. What about the innocent victims? I soon resolved that question. The building where the Carmaux Company had its offices was inhabited only by bourgeois; hence there would be no innocent victims. The whole of the bourgeoisie lives by the exploitation of the

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I have already explained my hope, in case my device was discovered before it exploded, that it would go off in the police station, where those it harmed would still be my enemies. Such were the motives that led me to commit the first attempt of which I have been accused.

Let us go on to the second incident, of the Café Terminus. I had returned to Paris at the time of the Vaillant affair, and I witnessed the frightful repression that followed the explosion at the Palais Bourbon. I saw the draconian measures which the government decided to take against the anarchists. Everywhere there were spies, and searches, and arrests. A crowd of individuals were indiscriminately rounded up, torn from their families,

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and thrown into prison. Nobody was concerned about what happened to the wives and children of these comrades while they remained in jail.

The anarchist was no longer regarded as a person, but as a wild beast to be hunted everywhere while the bourgeois Press, which is the vile slave of authority, loudly demands his extermination.

At the same time, libertarian papers and pamphlets were seized and the right of meeting was abrogated. Worse than that: when it seemed desirable to get one comrade completely out of the way, an informer came and left in his room a packet which he said contained tannin; the next day a search was made, on a warrant dated the previous day, a box of suspicious powders was found, the comrade was taken to court and sentenced to three years in gaol. If you wish to know the truth of that, ask the wretched spy who found his way into the home of comrade Merigeaud!

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turn to hunt the hunters.

Reynal's words were a challenge thrown before the anarchists. The gauntlet was taken up. The bomb in the Cafe Terminus is the answer to all your violations of freedom, to your arrests, to your searches, to your laws against the Press, to your mass transportations, to your guillotinings. But why, you ask, attack these peaceful café guests, who sat listening to music and who, no doubt, were neither judges nor deputies nor bureaucrats? Why? It is very simple. The bourgeoisie did not distinguish among the anarchists. Vaillant, a man on his own, threw a bomb; nine-tenths of the comrades did not even know him. But that meant nothing; the persecution was a mass one, and anyone with the slightest anarchist links was hunted down. And since you hold a whole party responsible for the actions of a single man, and strike indiscriminately, we also strike indiscriminately.

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Perhaps we should attack only the deputies who make laws against us, the judges who apply those laws, the police who arrest us? I do not agree. These people are only instruments. They do not act in their own name. Their functions were instituted by the bourgeoisie for its own defence. They are no more guilty than the rest of you. Those good bourgeois who hold no office but who reap their dividends and live idly on the profits of the workers' toil, they also must take their share in the reprisals. And not only they, but all those who are satisfied with the existing order, who applaud the acts of the government and so become its accomplices, those clerks earning three or five hundred francs a month who hate the people even more violently than the rich, that stupid and pretentious mass of folk who always choose the strongest side—in other words, the daily clientele of Terminus and the other great cafés.

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*We will not spare the women and children of the bourgeois, for the women and children of those we love have not been spared. Must we not count among the innocent victims those children who die slowly of anaemia in the slums because bread is scarce in their houses; those women who grow pale in your workshops, working to earn forty sous a day and fortunate when poverty does not force them into prostitution; those old men whom you have made production machines all their lives and whom you cast on to*

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 At least have the courage of your crimes, gentlemen of the bourgeoisie, and grant that our reprisals are completely legitimate.  
 Of course, I am under no illusions. I know my deeds will not yet be understood by the masses who are unprepared for them. Even among the workers, for whom I have fought, there will be many, misled by your newspapers, who will regard me as their enemy. But that does not matter. I am not concerned with anyone's judgment. Nor am I ignorant of the fact that there are individuals claiming to be anarchists who hasten to disclaim any solidarity with the propagandists of the deed. They seek to establish a subtle distinction between the theoreticians and the terrorists. Too cowardly to risk their own lives, they deny those who act. But the influence they pretend to wield over the revolutionary movement is nil. Today the field is open to

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Of course, I am under no illusions. I know my deeds will not yet be understood by the masses who are unprepared for them. Even among the workers, for whom I have fought, there will be many, misled by your newspapers, who will regard me as their enemy. But that does not matter. I am not concerned with anyone's judgment. Nor am I ignorant of the fact that there are individuals claiming to be anarchists who hasten to disclaim any solidarity with the propagandists of the deed. They seek to establish a subtle distinction between the theoreticians and the terrorists. Too cowardly to risk their own lives, they deny those who act. But the influence they pretend to wield over the revolutionary movement is nil. Today the field is open to



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Alexander Herzen, the Russian revolutionary, once said: 'Of two things one must be chosen: to condemn and march forward, or to pardon and turn back half way.' We intend neither to pardon nor to turn back, and we shall always march forward until the revolution, which is the goal of our efforts, finally arrives to crown our work with the creation of a free world.

In that pitiless war which we have declared on the bourgeoisie, we ask for no pity. We give death, and we know how to endure it. So it is with indifference that I await your verdict. I know that my head is not the last you will cut off; yet others will fall, for the starving are beginning to know the way to your great cafés and restaurants, to the Terminus and Foyot. You will add other names to the bloody list of our dead.

You have hanged in Chicago, decapitated in Germany, garotted in

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**October 16, Cöpenick:** Wearing a Captain's uniform (assembled from various Berlin thrift store) long time petty thief and former convict, *Wilhelm Voigt*, deboards his train and proceeds to the local army barracks. Once inside *Voigt* stops four grenadiers and a sergeant who he sends to commandeer six more grenadiers from the shooting range. *Voigt* orders the ten soldiers to follow him to City Hall, where he commands them to guard the exits. *Voigt* then arrests the town secretary Rosenkranz and Mayor Georg Langerhans for suspicions of crooked bookkeeping—when asked to see warrants *Voigt* gestures to

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Police find **Voigt** after a week, and he's given four years. However, since **Voigt** is seen with such popularity—humiliating public officials and exposing Germany's ridiculous level of militarism and respect for authority—Kaiser Wilhelm II is forced to pardon him after a year and a half.

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The anarchist had tracked Heinrich all the way from Europe, where *Giuseppe* believed Heinrich had worked with authorities to crush various labor groups. Some speculate *Giuseppe* contemplated killing priests twice before, believing each to be the collaborator. Some catholic historians maintain that *Giuseppe* was wrong all three times.

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March 28, New York City: Anarchist **Selig Silverstein** attempts to blow-up a police officer after a labor rally in Union Square. **Silverstein** is blinded and maimed in the attentat when the bomb explodes prematurely. When asked if it was him or the man laying next to him that had the bomb he mumbles in Yiddish *Yes, I made the bomb, and I came to the park to kill the police with it.*

**Silverstein** says nothing to police for the next few days as he slowly dies in a prison hospital. But when asked towards the end what the bomb was made of, he says, *The top of a brass bedstead. I*

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**Argentina:** The anarchist group Federation Obrera Regional Argentina improvises a meeting with 20,000 workers in attendance. Consensus declares a general strike, which lasts until October 17.

**November 14, Buenos Aires:** Anarchist *Simon Radowitzky* kills police Chief Colonel Ramon Falcon and his secretary. Falcon had lead the charge against a crowd of workers during a May Day celebration (killing 12 and wounding 100) a few months prior. While Falcon is returning from a funeral, the 18 year old *Radowitzky* hurls a bomb into his carriage, mortally wounding him and his aid.

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**April 30, New York:** After reading a description of the letter bombs in Washington and Georgia, a post office clerk finds 16 identical packages (all of which do not have sufficient postage) that he had set aside the day before. All the return addresses read *Gimbel Brothers—Novelty Supplies*, and authorities quickly notify post offices across the country. Thirty four in all do not reach their targets, which include Attorney-General Palmer, Postmaster-General Judge Landis of Chicago, Justice Holmes of the Supreme Court, Secretary of Labor

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A time has come when the social question's solution can be delayed no longer: class war is on and cannot cease but with a complete victory for the international proletariat.

The challenge is an old one, oh 'democratic' lords of the autocratic republic. We have been dreaming of freedom, we have talked of liberty. We have aspired to a better world and you jailed us, you clubbed us, you deported us, you murdered us whenever you could.

Now that the great war waged to replenish your purses and build a pedestal to your saints is over, nothing better can you do to protect your stolen millions and usurped fame, than to direct all the power of the murderous institutions you created for your exclusive defense, against the working multitudes rising to a more human conception of life.

The jails, the dungeons you reared to bury all protesting voices, are

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Spontaneous acts of solidarity occur across Italy, but also the denouncement of a Paduan laborer whose neighbors report him for saying that *someday, we will erect a monument to Sbardello*.

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At his sentencing five days later, **Zangara** explains *I decide to kill him and make him suffer. I want to make it 50-50. Since my stomach hurt I want to make even with capitalists by kill the president. My stomach hurt long time.*

When a judge tells **Zangara** Cermak had died form his wounds, the assassin explains *You give me electric chair. I no afraid of that chair! You one of capitalists. You is crook man too. Put me in electric chair. I no care!*

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*Today Easter day of the Holy Year here under the emblem of Notre-Dame of Paris I accuse the universal Catholic Church of the lethal diversion of our living strength toward an empty heaven.*

*I accuse the Catholic Church of swindling.*

*I accuse the Catholic Church of infecting the world with its funereal morality of being the running sore on the decomposed body of the West.*

*Verily I say unto you: God is dead. We vomit the agonizing insipidity of your prayers for your prayers have been the greasy smoke over the battlefields of our Europe.*

*Go forth then into the tragic and exalting desert of a world where God is dead and till this earth anew with your bare hands, with your PROUD*

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Today Easter day of the Holy Year, Here under the emblem of the  
Norte-dame of Paris, we proclaim the death of the Christ-god, so that man  
may live at last.  
With the congregation in uproar, the Swiss guards draw  
their swords and rush the blasphemers, successfully slicing one's  
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With the congregation in uproar, the Swiss guards draw  
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Sub-Mack Sennett filmmaker, sub-Max Linder actor, Stavisky of weeping unwed mothers and little orphans of Auteil, hail Chaplin, swindler of emotions, master-singer of suffering.

The cinematographer needed its Dellys. You have given it your works—and your good works.

Since you claimed to stand for the weak and oppressed, attacking you seemed like attacking the weak and oppressed; but in the shadow of your rattan cane some have seen the cop's nightstick.

You are 'he who turns the other cheek'—the other ass cheek—but for us, the young and beautiful, when we hear suffering we reply REVOLUTION.

You are a Max du Veuzit with flat feet, and we don't believe in the 'absurd persecutions' you say you are the victim of. In France the Immigration Service calls itself the Advertising Agency. The kind of press conference you

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 The footlights have melted the make-up of your so-called brilliant  
 May your latest film be your last.  
 Elizabeth.) Die soon: we promise a first-class funeral.  
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Numbers quickly swell with work stopping at the steel works of Henningsdorf, the Bergmann-Borsig factory, the foundries of Calbe and Furstenberg, the Zeiss works, the BMW motor works at Gera, the Max foundries at Unterwellenborn, the munitions factories of Schonebeck, and the Olympia works at Erfurt, to name only a few. In short, work stops everywhere.

Twelve thousand Henningsdorf workers, some with their protective spectacles still hanging from their necks, march 12.5

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Upon arrival the suburban workers join various groups (tens of thousands strong) already marching around town, occasionally rioting.

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Fighting continues into the night—escalating with the arrival of plain-clothed soldiers to reinforce workers. The soldiers had arrived earlier in the day to defend the radio station and MDP headquarters, only to be disgusted with the luxurious MDP interior and realizing the insurgents were ordinary people.

Public support is immediate, with armed rebels having no trouble getting food and shelter. Resting soldiers and police freely turn over arms to reinforcements.

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**October 24, Budapest:** The arrival of Soviet tanks at 4 in the morning prompts the building of barricades throughout the city. People of all ages participate in ripping up cobblestone and collecting debris to fortify the streets. One insightful group in the Corvin Passage builds their barricade near petrol pumps, ensuring a steady supply of molotov fuel.

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On his way home, a chemical engineer spots some children with empty bottles. He tells them to use nitroglycerine instead of gasoline, so they all go to their school laboratory where the engineer helps them to synthesize enough nitroglycerine to make 100 bottle bombs. The engineer goes home to eat and sleep, and the kids go out to have some fun.

While the army and police are generally sympathetic, insurgents hunt down and kill the secret police (AVH or AVO) by the dozens. AVO are paid three times more than workers, shop in special subsidized stores, and vacation in a holiday village by Lake Balaton and cooperate with the Russians, are subsequently seen

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Even Russian soldiers are not treated in the bitter way of the AVOs. No Russian corpses are found lynched or mutilated, in fact, many Soviet troops avoid fights with the population they've been peacefully stationed with for years. Some troops—primarily from Russian minorities—desert and encourage others to also.

A general strike spreads across Hungary, while workers ransack the Soviet stores, removing and burning the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Black flags appear to mourn the dead, and heavily fought over barricades hold consensus-based

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Even Russian soldiers are not treated in the bitter way of the AVOs. No Russian corpses are found lynched or mutilated, in fact, many Soviet troops avoid fights with the population they've been peacefully stationed with for years. Some troops—primarily from Russian minorities—desert and encourage others to also.

A general strike spreads across Hungary, while workers ransack the Soviet stores, removing and burning the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Black flags appear to mourn the dead, and heavily fought over barricades hold consensus-based

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On the 26th, rebels storm the police building in Csepel and release its prisoners. Thousands are let out of forced labor camps and 17,000 from the country's prisons. Most prisoners' crime: petty theft. Police Chief Kopacsi, who later receives a life sentence, lets out all political prisoners and rebels on the first day of fighting.

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**January 27, England:** The Press Association receives the following communiqué: *We are no mercenaries. We attack property not people. Carr, Rawlinson, Waldron, would all be dead if we had wished. Fascists and government agents are the only ones who attack the public—the fire-bombing of the West Indian party in South London, the West End cinema bomb. British democracy is based on more blood, terror, and exploitation than any empire in history. Has a brutal police force whose crimes against people the media will not report. Now its government has declared vicious class war. Carr’s Industrial Relations Bill aims to make it a one-sided war.*

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of urban life. It exists in the daily exploitation of our Labour, which gives big Bosses the power to control our lives and run the system for their own ends. How many Rolls Royce... how many Northern Irelands... how many anti-Trade Union bills will it take to demonstrate that in a crisis of capitalism the ruling class can only react by attacking the people politically? But the system will never collapse or capitulate by itself. More and more workers now realise this and are transforming union consciousness into offensive political militancy. In one week, one million workers were on strike... Fords, Post Office, BEA, oil delivery workers... Our role is to deepen the political contradictions at every level. We will not achieve this by concentrating on 'issues' or by using watered down socialist platitudes. In Northern Ireland the British army and its minions have found a practising range: the CS gas and bullets in Belfast will be in Derby and Dagenham tomorrow. OUR attack is

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February 27, London: After a meeting for an underground newspaper,  
COMMUNIQUE 6. *The Angry Brigade*.  
Our violence is organised. The question is not whether the  
revolution will be violent. Organised militant struggle and organised  
terrorism go side by side. These are the tactics of the revolutionary class  
movement. Where two or three revolutionaries use organised violence to  
attack the class system... there is *The Angry Brigade*. Revolutionaries all  
over England are already using the name to publicise their attacks on the  
system. No revolution was ever won without violence. Just as the structures  
and programmes of a new revolutionary society must be incorporated into  
every organised base at every point in the struggle, so must organised  
violence accompany every point of the struggle until, armed the revolutionary  
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COMMUNIQUE 6. *The Angry Brigade*.

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later-alleged **Angry Brigade** members *Anna Mendelson* and *Jim Greenfield* and friends get arrested at a pub after the owner calls the cops concerning his shady-looking customers. Police find speed, dope, and a stolen checkbook, which the group gets charged with. Everyone gives fake information and is bailed out.

**March 18, London:** During a major strike of Ford workers in England the main offices of the Ford Motor Company at Gants Hill, Ilford, is wrecked by a powerful **Angry Brigade** explosion. A communiqué arrives shortly after:

*COMRADES! Two months ago we blew up Carr's house. Revolutionary violence through the high walls of English liberalism. Apart from a short communiqué we remained silent since... Why?... who is The Angry Brigade... what are its political objectives... a lot of criticism was directed toward vague*

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directions... they called us the Special Branch, the Front, Anarcho-nuts, Commies, Bomb-mob, the lot... we believe that the time has come for an honest dialogue... with any comrade who cares to address us... through the Underground Press... through anything. Look around you brother and sister... look at the barriers... don't breathe... don't love, don't strike, don't make trouble... DON'T.

The politicians, the leaders, the rich, the big bosses, are in command ... THEY control. WE, THE PEOPLE, SUFFER... THEY have tried to make us mere functions of a production process. THEY have polluted the world with chemical waste from their factories. THEY shoved garbage from their media down our throats. THEY made us absurd sexual caricatures, all of us, men and women. THEY killed, napalmed, burned us into soap, mutilated us, raped us.

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*It's gone on for centuries.*

*Slowly we started understanding the BIG CON. We saw that they had defined 'our possibilities.' They said: You can demonstrate... between police lines. You can have sex... in the normal position and as a commodity; commodities are good. You can rally in defence of the TUC... The 'leadership' is wise.*

*THEY used confusing words like 'public' or the 'National Interest.' Is the Public some kind of 'Dignified Body' which we belong to, only until we go on strike? Why are we reduced then to dreaded scroungers, ruining the country's economy? Is 'National Interest' anything more than THEIR interest?*

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**The Angry Brigade** BECAME A REALITY we knew that every moment of badly paid boredom in a production line was a violent crime. We had rejected all the senile hierarchies and ALL the structures, the liars, the poverty pimps, the Carrs, the Jacksons, the Rawlinsons, the Bob Hopes, the Waldrons ...

To believe that OUR struggle could be restricted to the channels provided to us by the pigs, WAS THE GREATEST CON. And we started hitting them.

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January 12 was important ... we shattered the blackouts of the yellow Press ... hundreds of years of Imperialism... millions of victims of colonisation were breaking up... all the suppressed frustration, all the glow of unleashed energy was blowing our minds... Carr was totally unimportant... he was just a symbol... we could have killed the bastard... or Powell or Davies ... or any pig.

Then we were scared... like any newly born baby opening our eyes to a gigantic glow—we got frightened... every knock, every word became a menace... but simultaneously we realised that our panic was minute compared to the panic of the Mirrors and the Habershons AND IT FLASHED: WE WERE INVINCIBLE... because we were everybody.

THEY COULD NOT JAIL US FOR WE DID NOT EXIST

We started daring out into the open, talking to friends, to neighbours,

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WE WERE ALIVE AND GROWING!

COMRADES!

Brothers and sisters we hardly know have been picked up, framed, intimidated, harassed. The McCarthy's, the Prescotts, the Purdies are all INNOCENT. The pigs need scapegoats.

Our Power is the 6 Conservative Offices petrol bombed on January 13, the Altringham generator which was blown out are all answers of the Revolutionary movement to our call .

We are certain that every single day that these comrades stay behind bars will be avenged... Even if it means that some of the Pigs will lose their lives.

Three weeks ago we nearly blew up Jackson's headquarters. We

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knew he had to sell out. We wanted to hit him BEFORE he did the damage. But inside us we carry the remnants of liberalism and irrationality... burdens of our past we have tried to shed. He beat us to it... HE SOLD OUT... Let the working brothers and sisters be our jury.

This time we knew better: it's FORD TONIGHT. We are celebrating the hundred years of the Paris Commune. We are celebrating our REVOLUTION which won't be controlled.

Our revolution is autonomous rank and file action—we create it OURSELVES. We have confidence now... we don't have to wait for them to dangle something tempting like a Powell, a Bill, or a bad apple in front of our faces, before we jump like rabbits. We don't clutch desperately at the illusion of FREEDOM. Our strategy is clear: How can we smash the system? How can the people take Power?

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We must ATTACK, we cannot delegate our desire to take the offensive. Sabotage is a reality... getting out of the factory is not the only way to strike... stay in and take over. We are against any external structure, whether it's called Carr, Jackson, IS, CP, or SLL is irrelevant—they're all one and the same.

WE BELIEVE IN THE AUTONOMOUS WORKING CLASS. WE ARE PART OF IT. AND WE ARE READY TO GIVE OUR LIVES FOR OUR LIBERATION.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Communiqué 7. *The Angry Brigade*

**March 30, Belfast:** Warriors attempt to firebomb Queens University. **April 1, London:** The home of the headmaster of Roydale School is firebombed.

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*From the Vengeance Squad, The Angry Brigade, the People's Army. We will*

**April 28, London:** The Times receives a liquid bomb in the mail.

Productivity.

December 9th bombing of the Department of Employment and the November 20th firebombing of the Miss World van and the explosions between July 1970 and March 1971, as well as executing *Ian Purdie*. The State charges them with conspiring to cause arson occurs the first day of the trial of anarchists *Jake Prescott* and **April 22, London:** The Whitechapel Barclays Bank is firebombed. The Tory Club and a bomb is left in Leicester Square.

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successfully alienating the political and fashion wings of the English underground from each other.

IF YOU'RE NOT BUSY BEING BORN, YOU'RE BUSY BUYING.

All the sales girls in the flash boutiques are made to dress the same and have the same make-up, representing the 1940s. In fashion as in everything else, capitalism can only go backwards—they've nowhere to go—they're dead.

The future is ours. Life is so boring there is nothing to do except spend all our wages on the latest skirt or shirt.

Brothers and Sisters, what are your real desires? Sit in the drugstore, look distant, empty, bored, drinking some tasteless coffee? Or perhaps BLOW IT UP or BURN IT DOWN. The only thing you can do with modern slave-houses—called boutiques—IS WRECK THEM. You can't reform profit

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Police computers cannot tell the truth. They just record our `crimes'. The pig murders go unrecorded. Stephen McCarthy Peter Savva, David Owale—The murder of these brothers is not written on any secret card.

We will avenge our brothers.

If they murder another brother or sister, pig blood will flow in the streets.

168 explosions last year. Hundreds of threatening telephone calls to govt, bosses, leaders.

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 OFF THE SYSTEM AND ITS PROPERTY.  
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*Communique 9. The Angry Brigade.*  
**June 1, England:** *The Times* receives another communiqué.  
*If Heath and Rippon contrive to enter the Common Market without seeking the opinion of the British people they will be on the receiving end of a bullet. This is no idle threat. The Angry Brigade*  
**June 22, England:** At the height of a labor dispute between Ford and militant workers, **The Angry Brigade** bombs the home of Ford Chairman, William Batty, and the Ford Dagenham Plant.

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**July 31, England:** Despite round-the-clock police protection, **The Angry Brigade** bombs the home of Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, John Davies, who has recently announced the closing of the Upper Clydeside shipbuilding yard.  
DAVIES IS A LYING BASTARD  
He hides the deliberate rundown of heavy industry, the rundown of investment in the traditionally depressed areas, that's never been much anyway, by saying that the closures at UCS are just the result of bad

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Davies 'courageously' says the government won't support lame ducks. Yet 2 weeks ago the government put a massive investment in Harland and Wolff. A political move to keep capitalism going at any cost in the face of the people's uprising.

VICTORY TO THE WORKERS ON THE CLYDESIDE.

We'd like to say to you to watch out for all the vultures who'll be flying to Clydeside to tell you what to do. The same people who signed the productivity deals that started the redundancy ball rolling are now trying to feed off your struggle. If there's going to be an occupation it's got to be for real. Take the

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YOU ARE YOUR OWN LEADERS. HAVE YOUR OWN TACTICS. CONTROL YOUR OWN STRUGGLE—SOLIDARITY

BOGSIDE, CLYDESIDE, JOIN THE ANGRY SIDE

*Communique 11. The Angry Brigade.*

**August 15, Holloway:** A bomb explodes at an army recruiting office.

**August 17, London:** Authorities find an **Angry Brigade** communique while raiding 90 Talbot Road, headquarters of the Notting Hill People's Association. The communique becomes known as The Moonlighter's Cell Communique, a nod to 19th century Irish

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Over 5,500 refugees, 2,000 homeless, over 20 dead in two days, 230 imprisoned without charge or trial, the six occupied counties of Ireland are terrorised by the gunmen in khaki. This war of terror is carried out in the name of the British people. THIS IS A SLANDEROUS LIE. The British Imperialist Campaign in Ireland is waged only to safeguard the fat profits of a few rich pigs and power crazy politicians.

We warn all unemployed brothers and sisters.

Do not be fooled by the army recruiting campaign. An army career isn't fun in the sun and learning a useful trade, if you join you'll be trained in Belfast, Derry and all the other working class ghettos in Northern Ireland to murder and brutalise ordinary working class people. The training will come in useful when the boss class sends the troops into Clydeside, Merseyside,

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Tyneside, Birmingham, London and all the working class districts throughout Britain. To any unemployed worker thinking of joining up we ask you one question: — WHICH WAY WILL YOU POINT YOUR GUN WHEN THE OFFICERS ORDER YOU AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF YOUR OWN TOWN? Who will you shoot when your parents, brothers and sisters are in sight of your gun? The British boss class has lined its pockets with the accumulated profits of 700 years of exploitation of the Irish working people. Now they are killing to defend these profits. **THE ANGRY BRIGADE** ADVISES THE BRITISH RULING CLASSES TO GET OUT OF IRELAND AND TAKE THEIR PUPPETS (LYNCH, FAULKNER, ETC) WITH THEM.

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ANGRY BRIGADE, MOONLIGHTER'S CELL. POINT YOUR GUN.

**August 20, London:** The home of *Hillary Creek*, *Anna Mendelson*, *John Barker* and *Jim Greenfield* is raided by the Special Branch. *Mendelson* and *Greenfield* are immediately hauled off. Authorities allegedly then find the Beretta from the 1967 machine-gunning of the American Embassy, detonators, gelignite and the John Bull printing set supposedly used to produce communiqués. Police bring *Creek* and *Barker* into the kitchen to show them the evidence, to which the two gesture and say it belongs to **The Angry Brigade**. Both burst out laughing and *Creek* makes for the kitchen window.

The four libertarian-socialists who have been working on *Purdie* and *Prescott*'s defense, as well as *Chriss Bott* and anarchist *Stuart Christie* are all charged with conspiring to cause explosions

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The blast badly damaged the front of Bryant's six bedroomed house but as with other AB bombings, didn't hurt anyone .

Capitalism is a vicious circle.

People's sweat and blood is used and exploited. They make us produce shit... they give us next to nothing while their class pockets huge profits... the ruling class... the Bryants of this world.

Then, when we put the overalls aside, we clean up the muck from our faces and we take the boring bus or train home and they suddenly transform us into consumers. In other words when we are not working they

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*Prisons we helped build. And paid (more specifically promised to pay over the next twenty years for we never have enough dough to pay for a house or a car or anything for that matter—they have to exploit us even more by making us pay interest) for them. We build the prisons and then we live in them. We produce shit and then we eat it.*

*Producers of shit—consumers of shit.*

*There are many of our brothers and sisters inside. An old revolutionary once called prisons 'an occupational hazard'. A hazard which may hit any person who chooses to take a action. But to lose a finger, a limb, your lungs—any accident at work—this too is an occupational hazard. Look*

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Chris Bryant made £1,714,857 profit last year—a 25 per cent rise on 1969. He does it by a cocktail of high society, high finance and a lot of corruption. He has clinched his deals for the redevelopment of Birmingham on the golf courses of Solihull with Corporation Councillors. The Councillors oblige by charging high rents on the Council estates—like Chelmsley Wood—to pay high prices to Bryant for his contracts. Now he's buying up land around Solihull to sell to the same Council who will give him the contracts to develop it, with our money. No one should be conned that the Birmingham Mail is anything other than the Bryant broadsheet either. A man who lives in a mock Tudor village ('Windways', Jacobean Road, Knowle) doesn't have to worry about the next HP installment, doesn't have to nick a can of paint

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Twenty five years we've waited in Birmingham for a building strike. Bryant hit us and bullied us with the lump. By hitting Bryant we're hitting the lump too. The Woodgate Valley stands for class solidarity and Revolution. The Workers have taken their stand. Sabotage in the place of work is a reality. The bosses are beginning to feel the undiluted power of the people. The people are hitting back.

The Brigade is hitting back.

Now we are too many to know each other.

Yet we recognise all those charged with crimes against property as our brothers and sisters. The Stoke-Newington 6, the political prisoners in

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 We are not in a position to say whether any one person is or isn't a member of the Brigade. All we say is: the Brigade is everywhere.  
 Without any Central Committee and no hierarchy to classify our members, we can only know strange faces as friends through their actions. We love them, we embrace them as we know others will. Other cells, sections, groups.  
 LET TEN MEN AND WOMEN MEET WHO ARE RESOLVED ON THE LIGHTENING OF VIOLENCE RATHER THAN THE LONG AGONY OF SURVIVAL; FROM THIS MOMENT DESPAIR ENDS AND TACTICS BEGIN.  
 POWER TO THE PEOPLE. THE BRIGADE IS ANGRY.  
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Inspired by the chronologies in *Green Anarchy* and the tenacity of revolutionaries in Paul Avrich's *The Russian Anarchists* I tried to do something impossible: find and document every anarchist attack since Bakunin escaped Siberian exile in 1866 up to the time I was writing in 2005-2006.

I knew *Smert* would always be incomplete, but where I left it ten years ago ended up being incredibly lopsided. It started off strong, dealing mainly with Propaganda by the Deed, followed by a dry spell through most of the 1930s and '70s, punctuated with some Lettrist stunts and a few Angry Brigade communiques. Then came a

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careful researching of the latter would help sort the greyness a little and likely uncover a few genuine anarchists as well as some plain tenacious and engaging individuals. There's also the years leading up to the Russian and Spanish Revolutions, which if thoroughly documented could probably bring to light the same level of exploits as the ALF of the 1980s and '90s.

Another element largely missing from the work is the context in which these attacks occurred. Focusing less on collective revolt and uprisings was a disservice to the entries since many of the attacks happened as part of a larger uprising: in response to the repression following one, in the vacuum of its aftermath, or antagonistically in response to different forms of collective struggle. As the text stands now, these are only partially addressed if mentioned at all. Gaetano Bresci, for instance, was a well-respected comrade in

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In general, projects like this for me are meant to be incomplete and humbling in a certain way: despite how much we uncover there will always be people, groups, and events unknown to us. So just because *Smert* talks about a prolific individual or group in a

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Nowadays people like to say if it's not on the internet it didn't happen. I think this is meant to be tongue in cheek, but I can't count the number of times friends have been surprised to hear of some event or group of people in a place they've never heard had anarchists before. Pleasant surprise about hearing something new, sure, but shock over the world simply because it's outside of your view of it? No thanks. Life and its repression are happening everywhere.

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make your own heads and tails of the dynamite beast.

As intoxicating as I first found Propaganda by the Deed to be, I gradually found limitations as well. As I try to do in general, I took what made sense to me and respectfully kept going. If extremity originally pulled me towards the deed, in the end it pushed me away as well. As poetic hyperbole, nihilism will always be one of my favorites. And most decent critiques of the world will likely involve some version of the totality, which I think is at nihilism's core. But taken at face value, uh, I guess I don't want to destroy everything—like say, puppies, the electromagnetic field, cultures that have managed to remain at odds with civilization for time immemorial, m&m cookies, catching up with a friend on a crisp fall day. I know. . . I've gone soft.<sup>2</sup>

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But joking aside, I think where I start to have reservations with strands of direct action is when its own logic and morality outweigh both the means and ends, and it begins to take on a life of its own. This is a tricky, grey area since many of the most prolific strands of direct action wield the double-edged sword of subculture. From the Russian nihilists and Galleanisti to the more recent ALF and eco-saboteurs, even those who claim to be rooted in total negation and the destruction of milieus and ideologies still use them. And while subcultures can nourish and enhance groups and individuals as well as push the boundaries of ideas, tactics, and ways of relating to each other, they can also limit, ensnare, and

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Nevertheless, I still see direct action and sabotage as vital to any struggles against capital, the state, and any of the names and guises hierarchy conceals itself with. I am a coward, though, or at least I believe that our actions are powerful so when we think about committing them we need to take ourselves seriously. This means assuming we can have an effect on the world both positive and negative (however you wish to define those terms) and need to actually weigh the pros and cons of acting. For instance, if an action is meant as propaganda does the likelihood of opening tactical or

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conversational possibilities or boosting morale outweigh the risk of getting caught or increasing repression in ways those around us can't handle (the door getting knocked on, getting taken in for questioning, subpoenaed, charged, etc)?

If the attack is meant as revenge, a personal catharsis or nihilistic negation, in donning the mask of those currents have you also gone down a logic hole that makes you impervious to criticism? Or have you embraced a militancy that looks more for certain slogans or signifiers than what stands behind them?

In general too, though the power it gives you may feel good, there's nothing cool or sexy about setting a standard so high that the options of those around you are to always agree with you, be one step behind, or fail.

We also need to be careful that the image of the deed does

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not eclipse the act itself: placing a bomb outside an office that ends up only breaking the glass door maybe isn't as effective as say a blunt object in your hands that does the same thing and doesn't carry the same risks of injury and repression.

These are a few of the many questions that the most fanatical may struggle with privately, but publicly they often fall back on the one-dimensional arguments of “the state is always violent/repressive” or “anyone (however loosely affiliated with us) needs to be able to withstand whatever levels of state repression,” no matter how unrealistic, tactically poor, simplistic, or dangerous those lines of thinking may be.<sup>3</sup>

Remember too that half of any activity is cleaning your

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mess up afterward, which is to say, “Be thorough, and don't get caught.” And honestly, when it comes to direct action, something like breaking a window, pouring bleach in a gas tank, or fucking up an ATM is a fraction of the time and work of the overall task. Scout- ing beforehand, not leaving a trail in real life or digitally, and not getting caught in those scenarios is maybe closer to 90-95% of the overall action. I stress this because I think at times it gets lost in the romanticism.

Perhaps I'll re-engage *Smert* someday and do a more complete telling of the twists and turns of anarchist attack, but until then I feel the urge to craft other tales that are more relevant to my life now. Despite my relationship to the assassins and saboteurs changing over time as my understanding of the world and anarch- ism does, the actors in these pages will always have some part of

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