


# DEFIANCE+

  
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**MARCO CAMENISCH**



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This pamphlet is a supplement to the book *Defiance: Anarchist  
Statements before Judge and Jury*.

the premise is that we talk from human being to human being, and not with cogs or victims of functions or offices, victims of a climate of intolerance, of creeping fascism, of repression, of reaction, which I believe are the individuals aligned here in front of me and who take for themselves the right to judge. I do not hate you, but you are our enemies and our executioners!



**MARCO CAMENISCH 1980** EARLY IN 1980, SWISS ANARCHIST MARCO CAMENISCH was arrested for bombing multiple electric pylons and transformers connected to nuclear power plants. Camenisch stood trial before five judges, sporting a red star on his forehead, and refused to participate in the trial beyond delivering the following statement. He was sentenced to ten years in prison, but in 1981 he escaped from prison, and maintained his freedom for ten years, until he was ID'd by an Italian military cop, with whom he traded gunfire, injuring them both. He received another twelve year sentence for the shooting, and another attack on electric infrastructure. Immediately after this sentence, Camenisch was convicted of killing another cop in Switzerland, and sentenced to another seventeen years, but was ultimately freed in 2017.

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If I speak at length now, it is not to justify myself or to ask for mercy. I would just like to clarify why something has been done and why something needs to be done. I don't want to say that we have acted strategically correct. We responded to the war of Capital as victims of Capital. We affirm that we do not recognize this court, which is subservient to the capitalist bourgeoisie. We affirm that, if we introduce ourselves, we do so in order not to make it easier for class justice to declare us insane,

dangerous puppets, to be made to disappear in their concrete graves. We are neither selfish nor idealistic; we are critical and aware human beings, with no ambition to rise to the role of martyrs or heroes. It would take years to list all the crimes perpetrated by real criminals, dictators, politicians, capitalists and their servants. For this reason, this declaration must be limited to allusions, summaries, conclusions, and especially omissions. Whoever wants to understand has ears to hear, whoever wants to see has eyes to read and see what happens in the world every day. Whoever wants to think has a mind, whoever wants to understand understands the language of humanity and life. Living corpses understand only the language of money, wealth, power, the law. To them I can only say:

Considering that you listen to the cannons  
That you don't understand other languages  
We have decided that it is convenient  
To turn the cannons against you

In 1977, at a session of UN nongovernmental organizations in Geneva, the *Haudenosaunee Address to the Western World* was presented. Since this message expresses our feelings very well, I will quote some passages:

"...Our roots are deep in the lands where we live. We have great love for our country, for our birthplace is there. The soil is rich from the bones of thousands of our generations. Each of us were created in those lands, and it is our duty to take great care of them, because from these lands will spring the future generations of the Ongwehonwe. We walk about with a great respect, for the Earth is a very sacred place..."

"The Western culture has been horribly exploitative and destructive of the Natural World. Over 140 species of birds and animals were utterly destroyed since the European arrival in the Americas, largely because they were unusable in the eyes of the invaders. The forests were leveled, the waters polluted, the Native people subjected to genocide..."

"The vast herds of herbivores were reduced to mere handfuls, the buffalo nearly became extinct...No natural disaster has ever destroyed as much. Not even the Ice Ages

Evidence of the possibility of a social system based on the free federation of collectives, comes to us daily from the animal kingdom, examined through the tools of ethology. Another confirmation comes from the societies of the Native Americans, or from our own history. Even today there are traces of ancient forms of freedom in the Swiss social structure. There are still models of grassroots democracy and remnants of autonomy. Cooperatives, common pastures, mountain pastures, but these are increasingly being reduced by the lust for individual wealth and the need for expansion, especially in the agricultural sector. As a result, poor farmers are being deprived of the possibility of subsistence, the land is increasingly becoming the property of the banks, and this due to increasingly financially burdensome processing systems.

Those who have tasted freedom, and those who have made it their lover, will not let themselves be robbed of it. They will fight against the most tangible sign of the violence that man brings to himself and to the nature of our time: the mountains of garbage and poison that contaminate the land and our raped minds. They will fight against those who produce this garbage and this poison. They will realize that man is free if society is free: that a free society can only be created by people who are free inwardly. One cannot be a servant of anyone, but they know that only one who does not want to be a master cannot be a servant either. This is our destiny. Who now would like to assume that because of this statement, with its numerous quotations, I am an instrument in the hands of a person, a power, or an ideology, you are wrong. At the basis of my beliefs, my actions and my system of life, lie my experiences as a subject of this system. As a student, bohemian, worker, consumer. Experiences as an acting and conscious individual in relationship with men, women, groups, animals. My consciousness is the result of the critical contemplation of reality and of my own person, result of the constant attempt to analyze and eliminate contradictions and errors. If I use the words of others, if I declare myself to be a leftist, it is because I see in them the lowest level of contradiction between my identity, my feelings and a real community capable of surviving. That is to say, I recognize there the highest recurrence of concordant points between my personality and the environment.

I consider further declarations related to my person useless, as I find it useless to dialogue with the court. With human beings I am always willing to talk, even if they are judges, policemen, or money men. But

was a deliberate provocation to counteract fears and hatred; to combine fascist terror and brutal massacre with the conscious class struggle has as its aim, as is well known, the suffocation of the existing sympathies of the people towards resistance. A similar tactic of divide and conquer was used in the investigative phase and will also be used in this trial. For example, in giving special emphasis to individual responsibility for specific actions, differences in social origin, behavior in prison and during the investigation, training and degree of conscience. This was done to create division and break down collective solidarity. But this worked only partially and for a short time, both among ourselves and to the outside world. It is clear that we are individuals, but this does not legitimize anyone to present, on the basis of his personal autonomy, a statement of dissociation. When one makes a statement of disassociation, of course the melody is out of tune.

I am a political prisoner! I am a prisoner of war! Although I am an anarchist, and therefore I do not acknowledge power, I do not accept politics, I must unfortunately recognize that the power politics of Capital must be opposed to the conquest of power by the proletariat. Our militancy is proletarian politics, resistance, aimed at Capital's war against humanity. This tribunal represents Capital, its economic interests, its state, its power politics: it is a weapon for its war. Therefore it is not neutral, and its claim of justice not only for political issues but globally, is not objectively matched. There can be no justice as long as there is private property and concentration of power, i.e. the State; there is no equality as long as there is private property and state power. Justice and equality have the same meaning, i.e. equality of rights and duties, which presupposes equality of economic conditions, i.e. collective property, basic democracy, free federation of collectivities.

Where equality exists, the freedom of the individual and of society also exists. The freedom of the individual is not limited by the freedom of all, as pure individualists intend, since social freedom cannot limit the freedom of the individual, since the latter cannot exist in antagonism to social freedom. On the other hand, arbitrariness, which claims rights not based on social unity, has nothing to do with freedom: it is only despotism, which is based on the non-liberty of others; it depends therefore on the willingness of others to submit to command and authority. Arbitrariness breaks the unity between society and the individual, creating unnatural divisions that conflict with the principle of freedom.

counted as many victims. But like the hardwood forests, the fossil fuels are also finite resources. As the second half of the Twentieth Century has progressed, the people of the West have begun looking to other forms of energy to motivate their technology. Their eyes have settled on atomic energy, a form of energy production which has by-products which are the most poisonous substances ever known to Man...

"Today the species of Man is facing a question of the very survival of the species. The way of life known as Western Civilization is on a death path on which their own culture has no viable answers. When faced with the reality of their own destructiveness, they can only go forward into areas of more efficient destruction. The appearance of Plutonium on this planet is the clearest of signals that our species is in trouble. It is a signal which most Westerners have chosen to ignore.

"Our ancient teaching warned us that if Man interfered with the Natural Laws, these things would come to be. When the last of the Natural Way of Life is gone, all hope for human survival will be gone with it...

"The destruction of the Native cultures and people is the same process which has destroyed and is destroying life on this planet...

"The majority of the world does not find its roots in Western culture or traditions. The majority of the world finds its roots in the Natural World, and it is the Natural World, and the traditions of the Natural World, which must prevail if we are to develop truly free and egalitarian societies.

"It is necessary, at this time, that we begin a process of critical analysis of the West's historical processes, to seek out the actual nature of the roots of the exploitative and oppressive conditions which are forced upon humanity. At the same time, as we gain understanding of those processes, we must reinterpret that history to the people of the world. It is the people of the West, ultimately, who are the most oppressed and exploited. They are burdened by the

weight of centuries of racism, sexism, and ignorance which has rendered their people insensitive to the true nature of their lives.

“We must all consciously and continuously challenge every model, every program, and every process that the West tries to force upon us. Paulo Friere wrote, in his book, the “Pedagogy of the Oppressed,” that it is the nature of the oppressed to imitate the oppressor, and by such actions try to gain relief from the oppressive condition. We must learn to resist that response to oppression.

“The people who are living on this planet need to break with the narrow concept of human liberation, and begin to see liberation as something which needs to be extended to the whole of the Natural World. What is needed is the liberation of all the things that support Life—the air, the waters, the trees—all the things which support the sacred web of Life.

“The traditional Native peoples hold the key to the reversal of the processes in Western Civilization which hold the promise of unimaginable future suffering and destruction. Spiritualism is the highest form of political consciousness. And we, the native peoples of the Western Hemisphere, are among the world’s surviving proprietors of that kind of consciousness.”

I am unable to precisely explain what spirituality is. However, I do know that it is the consciousness of the right to existence of all that exists in nature, the consciousness of the need for an approach full of humility and gratitude towards life. Not to possess, not to rule, not to transform, but to live together in harmony. It is the consciousness of being. Materialism is the consciousness of having.

I will now quote from *Spartacus*, a counter-history of antiquity by Michael Gennet, based on traditional accounts of the Roma:

“The roots of exploitation and oppression in Western civilization, of the imperialist tradition of slavery: Nomadic groups of hunter/gatherers who, having attained a high degree of specialization and socialization in the course of

opium of the masses. The Christmas orgies, consumerism, falsehood in his name, would certainly make him vomit, vomit and rage!

But back to basics: The attempt to destroy the pylon of the Sarelli power plant should be understood as a protest against the destruction of the natural environment in Graubünden, against the colonialism of this region by NOK, with the help of their queens in the local administrations. However, it is mainly to be understood as an attack on a company that is part of the energy monopoly. This mafia is responsible for the construction of the nuclear power plants, they want to establish the atomic state, they want complete electrification, and therefore the total blackmail of the whole society. This does not only mean threatening entire regions and peoples with destruction but, as electrification of society, it also means significantly shifting the ratio of living labor to dead labor in favor of the latter through automation.

Expropriation from the rich is not only a matter of survival, but also the reconquest of the social wealth defrauded and accumulated by them. The refusal to work, unregulated life, the theft of military kerosene to ensure our mobility, the refusal to pay taxes and fines of any kind, are the natural and obvious expression of the passive and defensive struggle against the illegitimate claim of the State and the bosses to control and dominate free and autonomous human beings. All the actions listed are moments of struggle against the class domination of the masters to regain possession of socially produced wealth, for the liberation of our bodies and feelings, for the liberation and salvation of our land, survival, and life. It is simultaneously self-defense and attack.

We consider ourselves part of the proletarian and ecological world front, even if some of its sectors should distance themselves from us. We are in active solidarity with the peoples in struggle and with the oppressed all over the world, with the urban guerrillas, with all the organizations, groups, and people who, actively or passively, struggle for individual and collective liberation, and we are an integral part of the front of resistance to Capital, the State, imperialism, and fascism. If we had harmed simple people, workers, and not insurance companies, it was an urgent situation. With these we want to apologize. The attempt of the class judiciary to identify in this a contradiction of the political content of our militancy, corresponds to a tactic of defamation against a necessary and legitimate revolt. The bomb scare at the station of Bad Ragaz at the time of our attacks does not concern us. If it wasn’t an idiotic joke, it



proletarians can aspire to the position of SA squadron leader or concentration camp warden.

Peaceful protest movements and demonstrations run aground against the State's monopoly of violence, they get stuck in front of the police, they get buried in the maze of bureaucracy and parliamentarianism; alternatives are recuperated with industry cash, to be resold by industry or by some politician, as an example of the plurality of the system. Too much idealism, too much goodwill is wasted in the struggle against systems.

Living on a legalitarian basis, every human being is involved in and co-responsible for the functional, political, and economic needs of the system of slavery and oppression as an instrument and is therefore, depending on his or her role in society, a victim or culprit of the multiple consequences of this insane machine. A person who understands the totalitarianism inherent in the project and practice of Capital, who understands its repercussions and therefore foresees its catastrophic development, will realistically and honestly have to come to the conclusion, sooner or later, that it is necessary to fight. It is not enough to cry and scream because nuclear power plants are being built, because millions of people are starving, when the rule of law turns out to be a farce... It is not enough to tell ourselves revolutionary theories at the table and let entire libraries of texts by Marx, Lenin, ecology, criticism and analysis be buried in the dust. It's not enough to sneak off to the mountains or India either, the rot reaches you everywhere...At the end of the day, little strategies to soothe your conscience serve the masters.

We have come to the point where it is a matter of fighting for survival, the last chance left on earth, if only for the so-called *Homo sapiens*.

Regarding the attack: why hit the Sarelli [nuclear power] plant on Christmas night? Not only for security reasons. It was intended to be a demonstration of solidarity with Jesus, the conspirator, the nomad, the revolutionary, the rebel, the partisan fighter, who in the Sermon on the Mount clearly said: "Blessed are you who hunger now, for you will be filled! Blessed are you who now weep, for you will laugh... But woe to you who are rich, for you already have your consolation! Woe to you who are now full, for you will be hungry! Woe to you who now laugh, for you will mourn and weep!" Ours was a manifestation of rage for the denial of a Jesus of love, of strength, of the poor in a religion that for 2000 years has been classist and racist, a pretext for genocides and conquests; that felt obliged to create an image of Jesus as servile, ascetic, transcendent,

a development process lasting millions of years from the anthropomorphic ape, towards the end of the glaciation and during a period of shortage of game and land, become sedentary, particularly in the regions of the Near East. The crisis is overcome, women discover agriculture, the population multiplies. The available space narrows, aggression increases: outwardly against neighbors and strangers, inwardly a hierarchical division between man and woman is established. Before, in the period of nomadism, the group was balanced. Everyone had their place. Man and woman had the same rights and shared the work. There was a hierarchy based on everyone's skills. There was a leader, the best hunter, but he had no rights over women. Children were of the mother's lineage—the father was mostly unknown. This was matriarchy, but women had no supremacy.

"Such was the situation for millennia. As soon as the nomads became sedentary, the balance broke down. The women took over, performed the work, and fed the offspring. The men consumed the supplies or strolled around under the guise of hunting, even though game was now scarce. The free matriarchy of the tribes of nomadic hunters turned into a repressive matriarchy, the first phase of the disintegration of the original community.

"The women chose one man, who was to procure meat and could be cast out if he did not perform his duty. This forced the men to greater efforts. Thus began—slowly, and not everywhere—a kind of monogamy, the first step towards the 'modern' family. The repressive matriarchy abolished 'group marriage,' and thus dug its own grave.

"Sedentary life limits living space and narrows thinking, the early petit-bourgeois...Crops are subject to crisis, and their destruction is far more serious than a hunting failure. Fear is born and from fear comes religion; from the wise connoisseurs of plants and animals and from the ancient sorcerers the caste of priests is formed. Male fraternities, an instrument of the priests, become powerful as warriors or headhunters. The first human sacrifices...for the earth and fertility, since the priests must mask their impotence. They

therefore direct their aggressions first against foreigners... then against young people, women and children.

“Slowly but surely men assumed power in the clans. Respect for women originated from her economic position: but the man had won political and spiritual power. Through the alliance between the warriors and the clergy, the new power was secured. Meanwhile, women continued to work in the countryside, but no longer as free peasants, but as slaves of men! And when men realized the convenience of exploiting women’s skills...he wanted more of them! More women, a higher standard of living! And they competed with each other. They waged war for the conquest of slaves. Whoever managed to survive was master of the peasant women. The polygamous patriarchy was born...”

“Many researchers scramble to gather evidence of matriarchy’s culpability for human sacrifices. In reality this was the work of male clergy and fraternities, and the executioners were men. However, to this day certain beliefs have remained...women are considered perverse, cruel, bloodthirsty...but history was written by the victors. Then, as now...distortions, myths... executioners, who unload their crimes on helpless victims.

“Patriarchy constituted the second stage of disintegration. The resulting historical progress is like the transition from gonorrhoea to syphilis. The supremacy of patriarchy created the basis for personal power, private wealth, and state oppression. Initially it was the clergy who lived off the labor of others, who administered property for the clan.”

There was nothing left to create but the law to eliminate justice. The counter-society, the nomads reacted to the crisis by raising oxen, goats, sheep, pigs, and making friends with horses and wolves. They became shepherds. They learned to use fire and metal, became more mobile, and races mixed. The collective, equal rights for men and women, and freedom were strengthened into a type of society capable of progress.

Two models of society thus came to be contrasted. The original community was divided. On the one hand, sedentariness, private property, borders and class society; on the other hand, nomadism, communism,

In this obstacle course one sometimes moves spurred on by fear of authority, sometimes by fear of failure. Through family, school, and education one becomes fodder for the economy and the cannons. Social individuality, that is, the development of a personality that can love and be loved by virtue of itself, is repressed. The origin of solidarity and collectivity is too nefarious for the dominant morality based on the concept of “divide and conquer.”

Newspapers, radio, television, PR, with their lousy psychological tricks, aim to etch in our minds the uncritical acceptance of consumerism, sophisticated food, useless drugs, and other bourgeois ideas. According to the needs, they spread the concepts of order and tranquility, or fear, infamy, falsehood. They hide the truth, they spread slander, they keep silent in front of the totalitarian interests of their advertisers and financiers. Resistance, counter-violence, protest develops accordingly. But we know perfectly well what happens to newspapers and journalists not loyal to power: they fall ill with “cincerite” (from Ernst Cincera, member of the Swiss National Council, right-wing member of the Liberal Party and proponent of the government registration of dissidents) or they bleed to death from the boycott of advertisers. In this way, consumption, constraint, adaptation are skillfully produced, that is to say, in a few words, the model slave, obedient, producer and who moreover identifies with his oppressor. The social-democratic opposition and the trade unions, in the course of the development of the welfare state and the economy in the capitalist state, were perfectly integrated into the system, thus rendered harmless. Prussian discipline and blind trust in the authorities are, among others, necessary prerequisites for economic-political strength and internal stability, which form the basis for the concentration of capital and power. The RFT and Switzerland seem predestined for this role. The development model of the trusts and monopolistic multinationals is Nazi (IG Farben, Krupp, etc.) and therefore it is not surprising to find dusty Nazi mummies among the management. Even in areas such as medicine, urban planning, and citizen control, one can find disturbing similarities. Who knows when the exceptional laws,<sup>2</sup> the work camps, will be back in vogue, when this or that worker, perhaps the same one who today wishes the internment for life of the youth in revolt in Zurich, will in turn end up imprisoned in a work camp? In any case it remains unlikely that all

2 This refers to the laws passed in Italy that transitioned the government from a standard monarchy to the Fascist dictatorship under Benito Mussolini.

restoration, prices and housing, the bosses complete their plans for the final encirclement of the proletariat, the outcasts of the insane vortex of production/consumption, of the outcasts of the production/consumption vortex, to the point of criminalization. A vortex that is the daily nightmare of rhythms marked by the need for profit, alienation, stress, isolation. As soon as one escapes from assembly line, or piecework, or the boredom and stress of the office, the obstacle course of satisfying needs begins. Eating, procreating, having fun. The obstacles to satisfy increasingly fictitious needs have the names of money, fatigue, time, distance, both geographical and human. The Great Freedom begins, that is, the suffering of giving up the most important need, the interpersonal relationship. Between parents and children, man and woman, in the group. Or the freedom to substitute the fulfillment of one's desires in the orgy of consumption of luxury goods. The extent and consequences of violence against the soul and the body in this infernal mechanism of work/consumption/entertainment, the daily fear for one's existence, fear of firing, fear of the atomic bomb, fear of private property, of losing one's identity, are found, among other things, in the statistics of suicides, accidents, illnesses and divorces. The use of legal and illegal drugs, violence against women and children, can be traced back to the search for an escape from this system of total control, of constraint for the profit of a few.

It is difficult to understand why we do not rebel, why we do not give a good kicking to the whole mafia in power, if we do not take into account the level of manipulation now utilized. The indoctrination and the domestication to obedience begin with education in the family. The infant is reduced to a tame being, the more appreciated it is, the less it requires time and attention or creates havoc. Then, the years of the carrot and stick system follow, and the child is increasingly molded to the system...

One's own will, desires, and needs are inhibited through authoritarian education imposed by parents enslaved by production. Sexuality and playful pleasure are reduced to psychopathologies by bogus morals and concepts of hygiene. The child is caged so as not to bother the neighbors, for the quiet life of the parents or even just because of street traffic and pollution. At school, the indoctrination continues on false historical assumptions and notional knowledge, so that the child is under constant pressure to perform, the same thing that, tomorrow, they will encounter in their work.

and the abolition of borders...the land belongs to everyone and to no one. God's servants become accustomed to living off the labor of others, the need for luxury and laborers grows, nomads are captured, and a full-scale manhunt begins. From the wisdom of traveling blacksmiths and other craftsmen, and from the work of slaves, those "great civilizations" reported in history books, such as the Assyrians, the Egyptians, the Romans, with their ruling classes, their racisms, their democracies, develop. From then to now, imperialism, expansion, colonization, genocide, scorched earth policy...from the Romans in Italy, to the Americans in Vietnam and El Salvador.

The current situation is the result of this so-called "progress" based on the maintenance, development and sanctification of power and political, economic, technological, and ecological imbecility. At the point we have reached, it is clearly stated in a document published in the bowels of the fierce imperialist beast, the USA, in which it is argued that we have not only reached the warning point, but perhaps we have already exceeded it. This document is titled *Global 2000* and was birthed by the gurus of science (*The Global 2000 Report to the President*, available online).

Once upon a time there was a revolution—of Capital. The watchwords were: freedom, equality, fraternity. What resulted was freedom...of Capital, while the apparatus of power, bureaucracy, and police remained intact, to continue to maintain dominance over the people. Whether the concept of the nation also remained, or whether it was specially created, I do not know. However, it was certainly the sentimental element necessary for the birth of militarism. Then as now, parliamentary democracy served to create consensus around a few puppets of Capital, the overpowering of ethnic, social, or economic groups, the denial of autonomy or the rights of minorities. It is only a technical formality to get the governors elected by the governed. The democratic system, like any system of government, is based on the fact that as long as labor is alienating, i.e., destined for the profit and glory of the powerful, social activities fundamental to the survival of society are carried out only if there is coercion.

This means that democracy is a scam as long as there is wealth, private property, class ownership. It is a well-known reality: "they do what they want in government anyway," participation in voting, "whoever pays commands" and other indications show that the people—called "sovereign" when they respect the established order, "scum" when they defend themselves—know how things go in the "liberal" state.

In H.P. Kriesi's sociological research on power relations in Switzerland, published in part by the newspaper *Tell*, the following facts are documented: the most important political decisions in Switzerland from 1971 to 1976, such as the financial package, the Spatial Planning Act, the AHV revision or the economic articles, were worked out by 1,224 people, 171 groupings, and decided upon by essentially 300 people. The highest political authority, Parliament, is a farce. A survey among the power elite has shown that in the formation of political decisions, it is not so much the vote in parliament or the popular vote that is decisive, but the elaboration of the project, the consultation procedure and the subsequent examination in committee. In the decision-making bodies, Of course, the representatives of the banks, the employers, the trade associations and the farmers' associations predominate. The ruling elite consisted of 80% academics, half of them lawyers, all from upper middle class families. Only twenty-four sons of workers and three women have managed to climb the pyramid of success. Kriesi's research also highlighted how liberal-radicals [the former Free Democratic Party of Switzerland] predominate within the middle-class ranks. Their preponderance is not only numerical, but also qualitative, since they occupy key positions in employers' associations, in the Federal Department of Economic Affairs and in commissions. The key position of the liberal-radicals becomes particularly important if we consider that their leadership is characterized by markedly right-wing positions. The center of the system thus appears to be conditioned by relatively extreme interests. The reactive character of politics thus tends to create predetermined situations that preclude the possibility of true alternatives. Kriesi's research considered only the political elite. To ascertain the social influence of the big industrialists, the Schmidheinis, the Bührles, the chemists, the S.A.'s, etc., one need only look at the lists of shareholdings and mandates on boards of directors.

The role of the Swiss financial center as a safe place for swindlers, exploiters, tax evaders, and as a meeting point for international speculation and political intrigue is well known. Illuminating examples are those aid projects to developing countries, presented as humanitarian projects, but which in reality mask lucrative business (Sulzer in Argentina, the Sari project in Brazil, Motor Columbus, etc.). Swiss high finance finds itself in good company with the representatives of the USA in Europe, their West German colleagues, intent on continuing the exploitation of former

revolt in the cities at the end of the 1960s which, by building a vast front of solidarity with the Third World came to build a serious threat to the capitalist division of the world, we proceed to the centralization of Capital on the US/RFT/Japan axis. In Europe, this is what practically happens: the capitalist of an "unstable" country, i.e., of a country with an accentuated class conflict, invests his capital, his income in Euro-dollars or in German or Swiss currency. The result is a strengthening of the franc and the mark with negative developments for the export industry, i.e. an artificial recession is provoked whose consequences are borne entirely by emigration. Expansion thus becomes a function of the export of capital, investment and production abroad. The consequent monopolization of international markets and the hedging of exports through the immense wealth of fleeing capital thus allow, for example, the mafia of Swiss chemical multinationals to sell their Librium in Colombia at a price sixty times higher than the competition. The export of industrial plants is mainly directed towards Greece, Spain, Turkey, southern Italy, and Portugal. But greater industrialization also means an increase in the class struggle, so this export sector risks losing its attractiveness. Therefore, there is a need to export, together with the plants, also the system of social control and repression. Think of Turkey, of Greece's entry into NATO. Concentration of capital and repression of resistance are the means for the destruction of workers' autonomy and independence. The different governments become part of one government. It is a matter of moving the command center of Capital out of the reach of the youth uprisings, the Resistance, the workers' struggle. And in extreme cases, NATO keeps invasion plans ready, such as for Italy. Capital has to provide to keep under control any vital manifestation of the society. Think of all those questions asked at national censuses, of the forms of public offices and agencies, of health insurance forms...think of the development of information technology, of the sectoralization and rationalization of industries, of processes, etc.

Within the overall strategies of Capital, urban planning also becomes a means of control and division. The division of space into working-class and gentrified areas, the compartmentalization into zones of work, consumption, and leisure. The result is the need for ever greater mobility, which leads to ever greater energy consumption and the expansion of individual traffic. Rational planning facilitates the management of heritage: it is military logic, geometric, dead. With their policy of demolition,

A closer look at the anti-terrorist agreement shows how the right to protest against oppression is in fact abolished, and in particular the use of legitimate rights such as the occupation of houses, demonstrations, etc.. The monopoly power of the state is strengthened, the centralization of capitalist rule is accentuated. The laws applied to the Zurich riots<sup>1</sup> show how repression affects not only armed struggle and guerrilla warfare, but also strikes, demonstrations, mass demonstrations that go beyond the ballot box. Deliberation, espionage, repression of ideas are spread.

With regard to the agreement on the extradition of “terrorists,” *Le Monde* reported: “The proposed solutions tend to abolish, in fact, the category of “political crime.” And it is exactly here that we find, beyond liberal conceptions, the point that worries us. In order to fight terrorism, repressive institutions are created which are the opposite of the liberal civilization they claim to want to defend. The unwillingness to recognize political crime as such is a typical expression of totalitarian regimes.”

“We need to act before there are deaths,” was said in the National Council. Some thoughts on the matter. Worldwide, it can be roughly calculated that 1% of all victims of so-called crimes are victims of so-called “terrorism.” 1% of the entire population of the West holds one-third and more of the wealth. In the first percentage we largely find exponents of the second, or their servants. That’s why the space of freedom decreases. The powerful are afraid. They fear for their life, their property, their power. All the deaths of their system, the victims of work, of traffic, the suicides are instead qualified as “calculated risk,” a phrase well known even to certain military personnel who, in case of danger, would be the first to hide in the rear. These deaths are mourned at most as an economic loss. Parallel to the increase in legal repression, we see the strengthening of the police and the army, through agreements, federal police, the “Army 80” master plan, special SR with anti-guerrilla training, explosives technique, counterrevolution. The Public Ministry of the Confederation, created under pressure from Bismarck to fight the socialists, is in practice a branch of the German BKA [*Bundeskriminalamt*, Federal Criminal Police]. Not to mention filing...

On the level of economic policy, and as a reaction to the cycle of workers’ struggles after the Second World War, in particular the mass

European colonies, robbing and oppressing Third World countries. With the so-called humanitarian projects, entire continents are bled through arms trafficking, military interventions, indigenous capitalists, fascists, mafia landowners. In Africa, Asia, and South America, a true genocide is underway. Everything is legal: from Nestlé powdered milk (Mike Muller, *The Baby Killer: A War on Want investigation into the promotion and sale of powdered baby milks in the Third World*, 1974) for newborns to napalm and DDT. The International Monetary Fund grants credits only if there is the prospect of huge profits. It finances the establishment of industrial plants with complex technology in countries where people work for starvation wages, where there is no environmental protection, where there is the possibility of grabbing raw materials at bargain prices. The high foreign debt makes many nations economically, politically, and militarily dependent. Multinational agribusinesses occupy immense expanses of land to produce monoculture agricultural products for the richest countries. It’s grotesque, knowing that our brothers and sisters over there kill themselves with work, or die of hunger to afford the luxury of superfluous goods such as coffee, cocoa, bananas, and meat at will, while the earth dries up and their misery grows. Grotesque, thinking of the waste of food energy to fatten cattle destined for slaughter to satisfy our desire for steaks.

But Resistance is also growing. The countries of the Third World no longer agree to supply us, for little or nothing, with their precious raw materials and try to develop a production with a high composition of living and autonomous work. They sweep away imperialist occupation and corrupt parasitic regimes in the pay of industrialized nations. Vietnam, Cuba, Nicaragua. Partisans in the cities and forests fight against racism and for cultural, social, and religious freedoms. El Salvador, Western Sahara, Eritrea and many others. OPEC counteracts the speculative-financial monopoly of the West. The control and influence of imperialism on the Third World tends to decrease, the world currency is weakened, the big orders decrease. The main purpose of imperialism, the transfer of wealth from the South to the North, is put in doubt, and with it the main purpose of Capital, namely its exponential growth. Capital responds by supporting fascist regimes, heavy drug traffickers, promoting massive rearmament. More military expenses, militarization of the whole society, nuclear rearmament. It is necessary to strengthen the nuclear arsenal of the West, to keep the Eastern countries at bay: the occupied territories

<sup>1</sup> Camenisch is here referring to riots in May 1980, commonly referred to as Opernhauskrawalle, that were youth-led, in protest of massive funding for an Opera house, but no funding for youth oriented projects.



called “spheres of influence” must be preserved, if militarily necessary. The consequences of this way of thinking are well known: weapons to destroy the entire globe, neutron bomb, NATO exercises including the prediction of the atomic destruction of Europe. Nuclear holocaust has become a daily threat, it is enough to think of the accidents in the reactors of atomic power plants, of computer failures, of crashed bombers with atomic weapons...In the meantime, new power plants are being built, Money demands its income, and these deadly machines are imposed on us under the pretext of jobs, with false statistics, with shameless waste of energy: in the case of Switzerland 60% of energy is exported, and reassurances despite La Hague, Three-Mile Island.

Our rulers are preparing for the eventuality that their system of exploitation of the Third World should break down, and the people would not, for once, be willing to bear the consequences. They know that, in this sense, a revolution would be likely in our country too. The warning signs are already there: youth riots, strikes, urban guerrilla warfare. The preventive counter-revolution is already underway, under the pretext of public order and protection of nuclear power plants from “terrorists.” Sometimes, however, even in the bourgeois press a “terrorist” suddenly becomes an honorable Prime Minister, as in the case of [Robert] Mugabe. Preventive repression is handled by renouncing the mask of liberalism in favor of a creeping fascism I think it is superfluous to comment on the maximum security sections, and in general on the prison situation, since everyone admits, starting from the R.B. in Italy up to large strata of the bourgeoisie, that the function of isolation for the purpose of brainwashing and the annihilation of the prisoner is part of the global design of Capital to strengthen its power through intimidation.

On the situation in Swiss prisons, especially with regard to preventive detention, it is sufficient here to recall the observations of Rolf Binswanger reported in the circulars of the Swiss section of Amnesty International.

The anti-terrorism agreement is signed in 1977 by seventeen European states. The RFT [the former West Germany] would like to push a similar proposal through the UN, but it is met with resistance from Third World countries. The Council of Europe is transformed into a police body, and the strengthening of repressive structures in individual states becomes an unavoidable necessity. The agreement was

finalized during the security conferences of the Council of Europe, with a great deal of agitation by ministers, including [Kurt] Furgler. In the meantime, particularly during the period of the [Hanns] Schleyer kidnapping [by the Red Army Faction], secret meetings of the political police of Italy, Switzerland and the RFT took place and conditions were negotiated. An extradition convention, which already considerably limited the notion of “political offence,” existed even before the anti-terrorism agreement. But, as chance would have it, this convention excludes extradition for fiscal reasons: the freedom of the bosses, the freedom of money is largely protected! In the meantime, it is also decided to strengthen Interpol. With regard to Interpol, we quote from a document on the situation in the RFT and the RFT-Swiss relationship of the Russel Initiative Zurich, working group “Political Prisoners” (Thut Rolf and Bislin Claudia, Aufrüstung gegen das Volk, Zurich 1997, pp. 223-226):

“There are 122 member states of Interpol. The largest contributions to this private police organization are paid by the USA and the RFT Interpol was founded in 1923 in Vienna. From 1938, it operates under Nazi direction, although, officially, it does not exist between 1939 and 1946. After the war, the former head of Hitler’s political police in Belgium became president of Interpol and remained in office until 1956. He continued an activity that had been largely tested during the war, drawing on funds from the Nazi administration. Moreover, the Americans provided the files of the Nazi period that had been seized: the prevalence of Jewish names in the archives was later justified by saying that this depended on their particular propensity for criminal activities that required cunning and ingenuity! Even Dillon, one of the creators of the CIA, exercised considerable influence on the activity of Interpol. Then became presidents Agostino Lorenco, a Portuguese fascist and, from 1968 to 1971, Paul Dickopf, former SS and head of the German Federal Criminal Bureau. Out of seven Interpol presidents, four were former Nazis and three others were pro-Nazi.”