



December 2013 issue 0

ΑΝΑΛΑΝΧΗ

Anarchist correspondence





EDITO

This is point zero of a new project.

Since the first clandestine printing spaces and the brochures that passed under the cloak from hand to hand to the distro tables at subway exits or in places with anarchist activities, anarchists always have appropriated the means to spread anti-authoritarian ideas and struggles to feed the dialogue and subversive action. It is in this sense that this publication is also intended as a tool, more precisely that of providing a space to nourish the international debate between anarchists. That is why these particular pages focus on struggles that spring from anarchist activities; autonomous, direct and self-organized struggles; struggles that go towards the destruction of power in all its forms; struggles happening today, yesterday or that are announcing itself.

There may have existed other projects that have ventured on a similar path. But we often felt confronted with fragmented information and “news”. In short, they left us hungry, without giving us enough material to refine methods, explore ideas, develop perspectives or sharpen affinities.

A regular publication that passes from hand to hand creates opportunities for critical confrontation and debate. A publication on paper appearing a few months apart leaves enough time to deepen some aspects. It may be a drop in the sea, but this is the challenge that we want to take.

It seems that in recent years in many parts of the world, attempts to carry anarchist publications multiply again: pages dedicated to agitation, small papers like torches in the darkness of resignation; as some attempts to ven-

ture into the necessary deepening of anarchist ideas, in the critical analysis of social relations and the progress of domination. With enthusiasm then we put this project of international correspondence in that multiple pack. Multiple, in the sense that the force of anarchism always may have been the refusal of ideological unity and submission to party discipline. A force that lies in the multiplicity and richness of individual beliefs and paths that inspire, encourage and grow through mutual criticism.

Articles included in this zero issue generally already have been published elsewhere, although rarely on paper, but for future issues, we warmly invite comrades to send contributions which correspond with the purposes of this publication. We would like to emphasize - the aim being to help correspondences between anarchists across borders - that the number you have in your hands is a number zero, a first invitation. It became bigger than expected, probably because we felt we had some catching up to do. This does not mean, however, that this number is complete, it certainly lacks a lot and this will remain the case in future issues. This project will never be representative, because then it should claim to be the representation of something defined, of a field with limits that we have no intention of honoring. Representation is the deathblow for life, individuality and rebellion that seeks to dispose of all its chains. Mechanisms of representation or of politics are unfortunately not strangers to anarchists and complicate cross-pollination, the deepening of affinity and confrontation (sometimes necessarily harsh) of ideas and perspectives. We hope that this publication will be one of many contributions to smash these mechanisms to pieces.

During its tumultuous history, anarchism has produced many ghosts. Formal organizations have often, or even systematically, stifled individual rebellion and the perspective of direct and immediate attack against authority. Quantitative illusions have distorted the struggle against all power by presenting it as the construction of a counter-power, able one day to counteract the domination. Political and opportunistic attitudes have stripped anarchism of its essence. However, there have always been anarchists who were not duped by such sirens. Anarchists who, without delay, begun the struggle against authority in all its forms, who have sought and found their comrades and accomplices on the basis of affinity, who have not set aside or camouflaged their ideas in exchange for applause or a little temporary comfort and who, through these paths, have developed revolutionary and insurrectionary perspectives and methods that continue to live to this day. This informal or autonomous anarchism - provided that the term anarchism without

adjectives is not enough - remains alive today, and, we believe, needs anything that can deepen and sharpen ideas: experiments with fights as well as critical considerations, correspondence between comrades as well as explorations of subversive perspectives, practices of attack against the achievements of domination as well as agitation against resignation and acceptance which are the pillars that maintain domination.

We send our greetings to all translators from whom we have boldly used the efforts (*Contrainfo*, *Non Fides*, *Act for Freedom Now*, *Brèves du Désordre* and anonymous). And we apologize to those who may be bothered by the inaccuracies in the translations; our goal is to make available a translation that is good and understandable, but a perfect translation is not within our reach. Finally, we take this opportunity to greet all anarchists worldwide who fight against authority and deepen their ideas on the paths of subversion.

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TEXT BY THE 4 ARRESTED ANARCHISTS CONCERNING THE DOUBLE ROBBERY IN VELVENTO, KOZANI

February 2013 - Greece

Our days pass, our nights don't.

We run toward our escape, whilst around us a full-out manhunt is playing out. Behind us lies a life that is pre-determined, carved from the hands of the sovereign, with the aim for us to internalise submission as an objective condition, to morally legitimise systems of law and rules, to equalise the individual with a statistical logic of numbers. Ahead of us, the world of our "utopian" fantasies that is conquered with violence alone. One life, one chance and determined choices.

Gaze at the gap in-between the clouds and jump, because the fall was never a more certain choice.

On Friday, 01.02, along with a group of comrades, we conducted a double robbery, of the Agricultural Bank and the Post Office in Velvento, Kozani. In our opinion it is of some importance to analyse, to an extent, the operational part of the robbery. This, primarily in order to highlight all the elements of the case, the choices that we made, the mistakes we conducted and the reasons that lead us to these:

And so, on that Friday morning, we attacked the two targets split in two teams. Our aim from the upstart was to take the money from both safes, as it did indeed happen.

During our escape, a series of unfortunate events and mistaken handling of these lead to the exposure both of our vehicle as well as our direction to the police.

Due to the police grip that was automatically formed, the comrade driving the van that was externally transformed to look like an ambulance, sought exit routes for the team conducting the robberies. In this attempt of his, he made the mistake of driving three times in front of a vehicle of the cops, which resulted in him being considered suspect. A chase followed and then, due to non-familiarity with the area that he ended up in, he reached four dead ends in the mud-roads of the pits, which resulted in him being surrounded in the last one – and having no other actual space to escape. And so, once he set the van alight, he was arrested. Following these developments and while our comrade with the escape vehicle was already in the hands of the cops, our available options were significantly narrowed down.

We therefore decided to stop the first passing vehicle, since this would guarantee a more safe escape for us and our comrades. The main issue in this condition was for the cops not to learn about the new escape vehicle of our comrades – and so we decided to keep its driver in the van with us, until we would find a way for us to escape too. This is approximately when we crossed paths

with a police car, which gradually turned into an intense chase until the city of Veroia, with most of the police forces available in the area, behind us. We obviously did not for a moment consider using the hostage in person as a human shield (we would not have a problem, for example, should we have had the manager of a bank) – after all, the police did not know of his existence. In the end, he acted as a human shield for the cops, without their knowledge – since he comprised the reason for which we did not use our weapons in order to escape. Because our consciousness and our moral code do not allow us to risk the life of a random person who found themselves with us against their will.

At this point we would like to make clear that we did not have the weapons just for the purpose of scaring off, but as a weapon in the off-chance of a clash between us and the cops. Therefore, the reason why we did not act in the corresponding way, in order to escape, was a condition in which we found ourselves due to a mistaken handling.

The only option for an escape by this point was speed – and our attempt to gain ground with our vehicle from the cops who were chasing us. Of course, the city of Veroia does not offer itself for something like this, and so we were soon trapped in a narrow street, resulting in our arrest. During our arrest, the only thing that we stated was that the person that we had with us had nothing to do neither with the robbery, nor with us. Despite this, the cops continued beating him too, at least for as long as we had eye-contact with him.

The above narration is not conducted as part of some boosting or self-promotion, but in order to invert the legacy of the arrests without a fight that the conditions lead us to.

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The narration ends at the police headquarters in Veroia, where an hours-long torturing of three of us by the pigs of the police took place. The tactics are well-known and expected: hood, tying with handcuffs behind our backs and beatings.

We consider a given that there is a clear separating line behind us and the system, which marks the war between two worlds. The world of sovereignty, repression and submission and the world of freedom, which we create and keep alive through the restless struggle against authority.

In this war, the pigs of the police comprise a permanent target of the anarchist guerrillas as a front-line and repressive branch of the mechanisms of sovereignty. For this reason, we considered the stance of the cops against us a given. If the state did not fight us, then we would have a good reason to be worried. Torturing, as a method, were, are and will be a weapon in the arsenal of any given authority. Us, of course, as anarchists,

refuse to use methods of torturing against our enemies and promote the dignified practice of political “executions”, since we do not want to reproduce the rottenness of their world, but to eliminate it.

The opinion that sees people in struggle are pray in the hands of mechanisms of repression internalises the idea of defeat amidst subversive circles. It is the acceptance of a conceptualisation of curtailing the war against the enemies of freedom, as part of the acceptance of the bourgeois social morality and legality. And in order for us to be clear, the cue above concerns statements of the like of those by ANTARSYA or by A.K. [“Anti-authoritarian” Movement]. Which contribute more to reformism than to radicalisation. It is unnecessary for us to refer to journalists, SYRIZA [left-wing party] and other parts of the system which address us with “friendly” statements in order to attempt to re-approach those consciousnesses that begin to divert from the norm, serving, in this way, the stabilisation of the regime.

Now, concerning facing the practices of torture, our own response lies in polymorphic action. The highlighting of particular events through actions of counter-information such as communiques, posters, gatherings, demonstrations etc. is definitely necessary, in order for an ever-increasing number of people to reach a conclusion. A conclusion that leaves no space for “isolated incidents” or “revanchist behaviours” but leads to the understanding that physical violence was always a means of repression and control by society. It comprises part of the war between sovereignty and revolt.

Of course, this message must spread equally with a message of terror for those natural torturers, the cops. In order for cops not to beat up, the intra-systemic denunciations and legal procedures have no meaning – while they also imply concessions and an informal acceptance of the juridical or journalistic authority. It takes resistance – and resistance must have violent form, too. Because an attack against the cops – not only those of Veroia – either with stones, either with molotovs, ether with guns, leads them undoubtedly to a reassessment of their choices, counting their wounds before they lay hand again. Because as it has been very correctly been pointed out, the enemies have names and addresses.

* * * * *

We shall not refer in detail to the role of banks – in any case, at the time that we live in this is well-known to everybody. They existence is a continued robbery. For us, as anarchists, they comprise a target for attacks of all kinds: arsonist, bombing, robbing. Of course, there was much of a discussion about our case and there is undoubtedly a need for us to inverse these impressions. To strike against the continuous attempt of designification of our choice, and to highlight the rottenness of the sociological approach and the pseudo-humanitarian background, which they wanted to assign to us, due to our age.

“Next door kids and they attack a bank. Why?”

Because robbery is a consciously political act. It does not comprise the next level of a restless adolescent period, aspirations for personal wealth, nor of course is it a result of our supposed laziness. Yet it includes the desire not to bind our lives to the brutal exploitation of waged labour. Our refusal to become gears for financial interests. Our resistance against the charging ahead of mental and value bankruptcy of their world.

It is clear for us that we do not negate creativity within our communities. After all, putting together a robbery requires mental and physical labour. Yet we refuse to enslave our creativity to the world of production and reproduction of labour. Of course, for us the negation of waged slavery would hold little meaning if we did not at the same time act toward its destruction. We are remorseless anarchists and we do not seek sympathy, compassion or understanding because we acted “wrong” in a “wrong” world. We seek the spread of our values and practices and we will fight for this until our last word, until our last bullet.

* * * * *

Each aggressive act of ours is also a moment of the total revolutionary war playing out at all levels. The money from this robbery was not destined for the artificial consumer paradise. It is simply the tool in order to move all forms of struggle. From the printing of communiques to the purchase of weapons and explosives, for the funding of illegal structures of defense and attack. From the rental of our illegal houses to the supply of explosives in order to blow up their social peace.

Our aim is the spread of direct action against the generalised condition of slavery that we experience. Whether in a guerrilla formation, or openly, face-to-face, with any way each of us appreciates to be more fertile and effective, in any way fancied by each individual and group that contribute to the struggle. Always, the aim of each move of ours, of every guerrilla attack, is the spread of revolutionary consciousness. In order to stand consciously against the world of universal enslavement, against an

ever-transforming enemy that sweeps everything in their path. Against this condition, the struggle for freedom and the attempt to assign combative elements to every aspect of anarchist struggle is fertile and necessary.

Because anarchy can never become a pleasant idea amidst the world of universal submission; rather, it finds itself in a never-ending clash with it. It cannot limit itself neither to harmless and democratically acceptable expressions, nor to fetishisms of the mediums -- but it comprises, rather, an undivided totality of all forms of struggle. Each individual or group, according with the desires, the intentions and their reasoning, contributes by any means possible, to the continuation of the struggle. Anarchy is our way to organise, to live and to struggle. It is the organisation without any restrictions, it is the incessant struggle. It is the extreme camaraderie that we experience in the revolted communities, against the rotten social fabric.

In closing, we would like to greet all the comrades who acted. Pasting posters, shouting slogans, organising gatherings, issuing solidarity statements (from inside and outside prison). To those who, at this moment, prepare their attacks.

PS. 1. We also want to send our solidarity to the hunger striker Spyros Dravilas, who gives a painful and tough struggle for a breath of freedom. Much strength.

PS. 2. A short while ago, comrade Ryo from Indonesia was killed in a random fray. Ryo was anarchist who promoted international solidarity through his action. Now, even when he is absent from the hostilities that we cause against the existent, we are convinced that we always look toward the same star, the star of continuous anarchist revolt. Honour to comrade RYO.

The anarchists:
Nikos Romanos
Dimitris Politis
Andreas-Dimitris Bourzoukos
Giannis Michailidis



LETTER FROM THE SIX COMRADES ACCUSED FOR THE DOUBLE ROBBERY IN KOZANI/VELVENDO BEFORE THEIR COURT CASE ON 29/11/13

November 2013 - Greece

[Note: The date of the court case for the double robbery in Velventos/Kozani is set for the 29th of November 2013. Normally the process was to take place at the court of appeal in Athens. Nevertheless the place has been changed to a special room inside the female prison in Koridallios, because the accused Andreas-Dimitris Bourzoukos, Dimitris Politis, Nikos Romanos, Yannis Michailidis (arrested close to Kozani), as well as Fivos Harisis and Argyris Ntalios (arrested in Nea Filadelfeia [neighborhood of Athens]) are judged under anti terrorist law for “robbery by criminal organisation” (article 187A of the penal code). The six comrades are accused of armed robbery as supposed members of the group Conspiracy of Cells of Fire, which they denied, while at the same time claiming responsibility for the robberies by some, and speaking about their anarchist ideas.]

The 29th of November has been set as our court date for the double robbery in Velvedo Kozani. The trial will take place in the female section of Koridallios prisons and not -as it was first announced to us- at the Appellate on Loukareos street. The courtroom, this sacred brothel of justice, was always the space where the ruling class -authority- had to prove its dominance against the “il-legals” of this state.

This is why the matter of solidarity its a permanent pain, when it appears in the cases of anarchists, and the cops of every category, riot cops, plainclothes cops, anti-terrorist cops, rush to fill the court rooms in an attempt to obstruct its expression. However because of the failure of these practices and with an evident stress about how “safe” the transfers will be (from the prisons to the courts) of a large number of anarchists, they found the solution to both problems with the special court rooms (two for now) which are inside the female prisons. It is obvious that the change of court rooms from the Appellate to the prisons was a result of combining both of those reasons. On one side the minimal possible exposure at a transfer level and on the other the registering of all the solidarians who will chose to go into the court room.

For us the room does not make the difference, the court is a hostile ground whether its in the prisons, or the hang-

ing gardens of Babylon. And if the tactic of registering obstructs the presence of comrades inside the room, no one and nothing can stop the strength we take from the voices and chants when they penetrate the prison walls and the metal plates in the cop van. A gathering outside the courts can break the isolation they seek.

Besides, for us revolutionary solidarity is not limited to events of support associated with a court room. Anyway the court is nothing but the space where the enemy validates its victory, is the mechanism of assimilation of repressive violence in democratic ideology. Especially in our case there is no alleged “pressure” towards the judges for lighter sentences. The decisions are predetermined. And this is not what we are interested in, since we have a hostile relation with the judges not because they target us, but because their job is to crush people under the boot of state authority.

Solidarity is a continuous relationship. Its forms of expression vary and meet its meaning as moments of attack on the system of authority and obviously a gathering at the courts can be one more such moment for whoever feels like it, but it is neither a presupposition nor the only moment in solidarity. And mainly, solidarity with imprisoned revolutionaries is not a statistic which is stirred up by actuality, it is a need, an emotion, it is the realization of the community of the struggle, with whatever means each comrade choses to express their solidarity, either with their presence outside the court room, or choosing to attack representations of dominance because of our trial.

Closing, we want to make it clear to all that COMRADELY RELATIONS that unite us, our common visions for freedom, the dreams we contrive together will never be undermined by any kind of division concerning the attitude towards the court or even the different charges against us. The fact that some of us will have lawyers in this trial for example, while others will not, that some have taken the responsibility for the robbery while others have not, are not reasons to divide the community of struggle which keeps us standing behind the walls.

In this court the essence is in that the state and its mechanisms try anarchist adversaries of the system, their opponents. It is of less importance how they will make sure to keep us hostage as long as possible (see charges).

Their main concern is our condemnation as ENEMIES of the system. From our side we do not recognize any dipole of innocence-guilt (not in this or in any trial of anarchist fighters). We are guilty for their world, guilty for their “innocence”. Our thoughts and heart are next every attempt which tries to fight authority.

Rage and conscience.

Fivos Harisis
Argyris Dalios
Giannis Michailidis
Dimitris Bourzoukos
Dimitris Politis
Nikos Romanos



MOMENTS OF WAR AND BREATHS OF FREEDOM

May 2013 - Greece

February 9th 2013: prisoners of the Detention Centre in Orestiada break out in revolt

February 20th: attempt of revolt in Koridallos prison

February 24th: escape attempt with helicopter by a prisoner in Trikala prison

March 5th: hunger strike in Rhodes jail

March 5th: revolt in Nafplio prison

March 6th: mutiny of prisoners in Patra prison

March 7th: mutiny in Grevena prison

March 11th: seven prisoners escape from the jail of Feres, Evros

March 17th: five prison guards held hostages in Malandrinos prison

March 19th: escape from Agrinio prison

March 22nd: escape from Trikala prison

All the above incidents happened during the last few months.

HOW DOES AUTHORITY ANSWERS TO ALL THESE?

You know it much better than we do, and there is nothing more to tell you. Everyday life in Greek prisons nowadays includes special forces of the police (EKAM), unexpected inspections in cells, tortures, 16 new meas-

ures announced from Roupakiotis. However, despite the authority's terrifying answer, reactions don't stop:

March 24th: mutiny in Larisa and Patra prisons

March 30th: mutiny of the prisoners of the first ward in Koridallos prison

April 3rd: mutiny in Koridallos female prisons

Letter of Anarchist Prisoners' Initiative about the EKAM raids in cells

April 22nd: prisoners' abstention from mess in Larisa prison

April 29th: 580 prisoners on hunger strike in Larisa prison

And while we are talking about yesterday, reactions go on today. And at this point the following question emerges:

RIOTS DO START, THE THING IS WHY THEY EVER STOP

Because they try to make us lose sight of the real enemy. Because authority, either inside or out of the prison walls, always tries to find ways to divide us into categories and turn our rage away from its real cause. Authority achieves this exactly when some prisoners fight with each other for differences based on colour, race and religion while on the other hand they treat prison guards as if they were their friends.

The jailer is nothing but the worst pimp of the prison, simply because if he doesn't do his job right – which is

snitching you to his superiors, locking you up at night, searching you up and torturing you when he gets such orders – he'll probably lose it.

What is also common between inside and outside of the prison bars is that there are always some bigger bosses that tell us what to do and what orders to follow, so that we won't lose the "benefits" that they offer us. And most of the people, afraid not to lose such "benefits", don't stand for themselves but obey every bigger or smaller boss, enslave themselves and follow orders.

As for us, cops, snitches, jailers, leaders, judges, inquisitors, they are all our enemies and we won't back down on them. We don't beg, or snitch, or fear, we fight for breaths of freedom, for what is ours. We go on fighting until the ultimate destruction of prison. Because even the best jail system is still a prison so that

NOBODY IS FREE UNTIL THE COMPLETE DESTRUCTION OF PRISON

No matter what weapons the enemy has in hand, either they are called police special forces or jailers, cameras in the city streets or in the prison wards, journalists or snitches, beating people up in demos or torturing anarchists, immigrants and prisoners, there are always moments when we can attack them, burn them or laugh at them. We are able to attack the enemy even inside the prison, the only place which is built to control everybody, to punish and isolate. Because the way to break our chains and destroy the prison bars, no matter if it has to do with the prison system or society itself, is the passion for freedom and the struggle to gain it. As the imprisoned anarchist T. Theoflou writes, we should never stop honoring those who escaped from prison or tried to, but our final goal is not to fly above those walls but to dance on their ruins. Because the freedom of each one of us depends both on himself and on his peers, and after joining our forces, let the fire of the riots be able to burn down every prison.

INSIDE AN IMPRISONED SOCIETY IS WHERE WE LIVE

We are sending you this letter as anarchists that take part in an assembly for the connection between struggles inside the society-prison (Thessaloniki). Outside the bars we give our own fights to smash the state and authority. Anarchy is a way of life and holds no ground for bosses, leaders, snitches or slaves. We take action without following orders and we don't recognize superiors and inferiors. We fight for freedom and we hate not only cops, but also every minion, every snitch, everyone who turns into a slave on his own will.

We write this letter because we want to create a true connection with you that will last in time. A connection that will include a dialogue from both sides. A dialogue that will be honest and so will give us the chance to create common struggles against the enemy. A connection that will give true meaning to our actions so that when we, for example, gather outside the prisons and shout along with you, we can both feel like overcoming the prison walls that separate us.

Let's fight on the same side. On the side that cannot stand the state and authority but fights against them, until the destruction of every kind of repression that holds us down.

FIRE TO THE PRISON CELLS

REVOLT NOW AND FOREVER

SOLIDARITY WITH THOSE WHO FIGHT, RESIST,
REVOLT



LETTER FROM THE INITIATIVE OF ANARCHIST PRISONERS IN KORYDALLOS PRISON ON THE ASSASSINATION OF MARIAN KOLA

Initiative of anarchist prisoners from Korydallos - August 2013 - Greece

“This is the first and last time you will arrest me. Next time I will kill you or you will kill me.”

[Marian Kola is one of the 11 escaped prisoners from the prison of Trikala, on the 23th of May. He was killed during a shooting in the north of Greece on the 21th of July, where also a anti terrorist cop was hurt. Three escapees were caught soon after the escape, one was arrested after a robbery in Peristeri and two have been murdered during a shooting with the cops on the 3th of July in Koniska. Marian Kola was also accused for the murders of a cop in Distomo the 17th of June during a traffic control and of a women while fleeing after a robbery on the 27th of March in Isthmia that ended in a chase and shooting (K. Zogali, killed in her car by a stray bullet). The last time Marian Kola was arrested, in 2010 after a robbery in Maroussi where a passer-by was killed by police bullets (Nicolas Todi), he was very clear towards the cops: “This is the first and last time you will arrest me. Next time I will kill you or you will kill me.”]

“We know that everyone dies. But there are deaths which oppress because they choose their own way.”

Katerina Gogou

With continual and extensive media coverage, the hunt for the escapees of Trikala prison continues for almost four months, by keeping the audience in suspense, as it has all the elements of an overproduction: “cinematic” escape, “ruthless” and “bloodthirsty” murders, “hard and decided” cops, scuffles, dead people and a manhunt over a huge area of the Greek territory.

The fourth power [media] is the most nodal for the functioning of democracy, because it mediates between other powers and citizens and it reminds us of the rules of the game once again: the democratic state spares no time, effort and resources when the doctrine of security should be established.

All this time, the anxious journalists from the places of operations, the reports with the imposing music, the emotionally charged descriptions of the escapees, the scenes with fully armed cops aim at one thing: creating a subversion of the social subconscious for the hunted escapees and acceptance of the state’s omnipotence. The media coverage of the events is as useful for the successful end of the state’s operations as the police guns are.

Even if any of the escapees who are still living moments of freedom will finally try to escape with one or another way, the impression should remain that this didn't happen because of the state's weaknesses but because of the invisible support network that they have, because of the support of UCK [1] or maybe because of their supernatural abilities.

THE MIND IS ALWAYS THE TARGET

The death penalty of democracy is something totally accepted, even if this seems strange towards the sensitive humanitarian reflexes of those who turn a blind eye. With one basic difference, it is decided, disposed, confirmed, not by any court but through the news reports, waiting just the way and the moment that its execution will be enabled.

The smile that accompanied the dithyrambic Dendias' [2] statements for the referral of the escapees of justice "if this could be possible" shows with no pretence, the logic and the morality of the power. A humiliating power that considers as a great victory and ultimate achievement, that hundreds - maybe thousands - of cops with the help of special groups of army and marine corps, with thousands of guns and technical means at their disposal (helicopters, dogs, thermal cameras) and in alternative shifts (so that they can rest) have succeeded - till the time that we are writing these lines - to squeeze four people.

The unlimited thirst for the acquisition of freedom and the determination for its conservation is the only motive that can make a person not to surrender, having against him such a connection of forces.

But the show doesn't end with the execution of the escapees. The state should take revenge for the humiliation that it suffered. It should respectively follow the humiliation of the undisciplined and the example of those who still do not recognize the state's omnipotence.

From Homer's age and the desecration of the dead Hector by Achilles till the current internet age, the humiliation of the dead enemy is typical of the arrogance of the power.

The photos of the dead Marian Kola prove how pure were the times of brigand-like predominance when the severed heads of "the beautiful ones of the mountains" hung as an example in a village square. In the digital era the message is firstly transferred as it is everywhere in the world through the screen and - most important - without the blood and the stench that comes from direct contact with the dead body. The arena is now digital and the descended thumbs are respectively replacing the icons of the public comments. Clear business!

With Marian Kola's death the court-police-penitentiary system felt that it replaces its lost honour. He has been targeted as the "brain", the "leader" of the group, the most "ruthless" and "bloodthirsty".

We didn't meet Kola personally, as nobody of the escapees. Our aim isn't to draw the profile of saints or to make some others heroes. Of course not to write obituaries, but on the occasion of these events to share some thoughts as the management of the situation from the state is concerned, not only on the level of communication, but also on the level of police-army. Besides we also have information that comes from the state media, but our interpretation for the facts diverges.

E.L.A.S. (the Greek police) had some unfinished businesses with Kola, after his escape from Thiva's police station and had much more after the operation in Vyrona, in February 2010, where Kola and Bema were arrested. Then by multiple police gunfire, that is, fire with murderous intent, Nicolas Todi was killed, of course the cop who had killed him was never prosecuted, indeed he earned the characterization of "ruthless". The day before in Marousi, Kola and another one comrade of his disarmed the crew of a police car and they escaped.

They tried to do the same thing in Distomo too, and apparently the scene would end bloodless, if the second police car hadn't appeared. Both the events in Marousi and in Distomo, shows definitely cool-headed rather than bloodthirsty people. Everyone can understand that it is more dangerous to try to disarm an armed man than to kill him.

So, common sense leads us to the conclusion that the journalist's descriptions for the escapees correspond only to the impression's game and not to the reality.

Of course, the escapees are armed and of course they will use their guns in order to escape if they are squeezed, as they already did it so many times before in blockages and persecutions. But it isn't the same to shoot armed men to assure your freedom as to execute "unscrupulously" generally.

Because there is another thing that stands for the above, and this is that the escapees didn't shoot any citizen despite the fact that in many times they had came across someone.

The existing moral commands the submission to the police orders. The rebel moral commands the freedom, laughing ironically to the police orders.

The cops having this thing in their minds, they don't hesitate to venture into populated areas (Vyronas) or in the national road (Isthmia), accepting the possibility of injuries or deaths accidentally passing people like N. Todi and K. Zogali.

As anarchists we don't accept the meaning of victim's offset or of side effects, these are characteristics of the authoritarian's logic that has contempt for life. After the arrests in Vyrona the minister of public order Chrysoxoidis had told this so bluntly, confirming it us: "one citizen was killed but two dangerous criminals were arrested".

Media and much of the “public” opinion charge the deaths of two people in Vyronea and Isthmia to the escapees, on the grounds that they reacted when the police told them to surrender. This opinion ignores that the defence of freedom for some people isn’t negotiable. However, we could not point out that the main difference between the two events is that Todi had been executed as the cops mistook him with the one that they wanted to arrest, while Zogali’s death was an accident.

Eventually we will agree with the media view: the escapees are - or they were - ruthless. They didn’t have any hesitation to defend their so hard-won freedom. As one of Kola’s fellow prisoners, Marousko, who knew him personally, wrote: *“Mario Kola was one of the prisoners - or hostages - of the state that you thought that was accused for his diploma, quiet and gentlemanly, his behaviour towards prisoners was full of respect, but he had a “vice” as everyone who had been found in the cement teeth of the state, he wanted his freedom at all costs. He would also risk his life at least, but not the life of the others.”*

The militarisation of the state is raging rapidly. More and more often military style solutions are selected for various things that in fact or potentially, disrupt the fragile social balance.

In the last six months E.K.A.M [3] were responsible for breaking the strike of subway workers, the raids in squatted anarchist places, the arrest of people at Skouries [4], the searching and the biting of prisoners.

The same heavily armed and specially trained unit was used for such disparate missions that in most of them, there was no possibility of an armed rumble. The only reason for using it, was for the spreading of the internalisation of fear and of the state’s oppressive power.

The operations against the escapees was a very good opportunity for the enforcement in practice of the dogma’s ramification in special operations. For the first time in Greece, there is coordination and action of special forces from different units in a wide temporal and geographical area. Police, army, marine corps are led from the same administrative center and they act together.

That doesn’t mean that the police isn’t enough for these businesses. It would be funny to think something like this, since the groups of the other forces are extremely limited and the two, so far, ambushes came from po-

lice units. Simply, the event is the motive to develop the modern dogma of the fist of democracy. How basic meanings of civil democracy escalate with their eye on future social conflicts.

So, the enemy forces are rallying, getting stronger, proceeding and trying to impose much more severe conditions. Faced with this reality, we have to make common our acts of resistance, to forearm at all levels - organisational, conscious, material/technical - to evolve and blossom our ways and forms of struggle. To break the artificial divisions that the world’s power produces by looking for the points that can connect us with the people that for their own reasons, revolt and dispute practically, the legitimate order.

Either individually or collectively, either they throw stones in the demos, or they turn their Kalashnikov against those who impose the generalized lack of freedom. And starting from common experiences to build the conscious background of relations of solidarity.

The solidarity with the outcasts of prison-society is not expressed only when there is no cost, as a support to the prisoners on condition that they remain passive, but when some activate, escape, stand up for, and defend their freedom armed.

Especially in the last case, where people are literally the target and the fourth power of the media defames them all day and night preparing their enforcement, complicity in state murders is not the bloodthirsty yell of the networking crowd and the convenient silences.

Notes

[1] Liberation Army of Kosovo.

[2] Secretary of the Protection of Citizens, similar to Home Secretary.

[3] Special Forces from the police.

[4] Skouries in Halkidiki is the place where a gold mine is being re-opened. For years, the locals have been fighting determined against this project. In 2013, EKAM have conducted numerous house searches in the village of Ierissos, arriving at 3-4 am, assault rifle in hand and literally kidnapping people. These terror operations followed a coordinated attack on the night of February 17 by forty persons armed with Molotov cocktails and rifles which caused major damage to the site of the gold mine.



SPARKS IN THE FRENCH PRISONS

Lucioles - September 2013 - France

Prison is a continuous torture and summer only worsened it. Moreover, there's the overcrowding of the French prisons and the strikes of the screws at the end of the spring. In the beginning of May, there were about 68.000 prisoners in France (this number, the highest ever, says a lot about the war State and Justice are waging against the poor). All this in prisons made to lock up 57.300 inmates, as to say that on the average, there are 120 prisoners piled up in spaces foreseen for 100. Moreover, the "strikes" of the screws (who since they do not have the right to abstain from their disgusting work, block the entrances of the prisons during their time off) reduce or lift visits, activities and walks, delay the canteen etc. To put it shortly: it's the prisoners who are (again) paying when the dogs are nag about some crumbs. Of course the solution isn't more place in prison, nor better conditions, nor more screws or better paid screws. The revolts in prison are most often sparked by demands for partial improvements (transfers, better detention conditions, access to alternative measures etc.) or by punctual abuses. But one should not forget that prison itself is an abomination and that the only solution is the destruction of prison. And lately, be it starting from demands and partial objectives, some prisoners have started doing it.

Summer began with the dreary normality of suicide. The 14th of June, a man hung himself in the prison of Nantes (the fourth person in three months over there); a prisoner in Baumettes (Marseille) finishes the same

way on the 8th of July. In Bois-d'Arcy, the 6th of August, a young man of 29 years old hung himself. The 29th of July, "natural death" of a prisoner in Béziers: he fell from the stairs and wasn't taken care of. But there were also those who aim their hate against the nearest of those who are responsible for their imprisonment. First of all (as far as we know), a prisoner takes a small revenge against a screw of Saint-Quentin-Fallavier, taken hostage during an hour with a razor blade. Saturday the 20th of July, in Moulins-Yzeure, a man take a screw hostage with a nicely sharpened kitchen knife. This guy, recently transferred from Roanne where he was suspected of preparing to escape, wants to see his wife and be transferred elsewhere. And then again on the 14th of August, in Ensisheim: a prisoner take a screw hostage because they refused him medical care. In Porcheville, in the EPM (prison for minors), three adolescents locked up in this penal colony for youngsters gave their friendly regards to the guards for nothing less than freedom. The 5th of August, they hit and tied down a guard, and locked him up in a trash room. Then they tried to escape via the roof, but unluckily, they were arrested. Two prisoners of Meaux had more luck. On the 24th of June, during a sports activity outside of the prison, they managed to get the guards of the SPIP off their backs and ran away. Two days later, a prisoner manages to escape from the court house in this same city by mixing up with the persons who came to assist to the spectacle of Justice. He was condemned for theft and just got 5 years of prison...

In August, temperature rose even more. On Thursday, 1st of August, in Bourg-en-Bresse, about twenty prisoners revolt. They irrupt in a wing of the prison and destroy everything, in particular the surveillance cameras and the water pipes, which floods two floors. The kick off for this uprising was the especially authoritarian behavior of a screw and the fact that the Judges for the Application of the Punishment (who decide on conditional releases etc.) are very strict. On Monday the 19th, in Blois, an umpteenth “suspicious death” of a prisoner. About sixty prisoners rise up and destroy a part of the prison. They also get other prisoners out of their cells. The super-screws of the ERIS (special anti-riot squad) crush the revolt, but the prison was quite damaged and had to be partially evacuated. To continue, on Tuesday the 20th, in Châteaudun, about twenty prisoners attack computer surveillance room of the prison and try to burn it down. Then they climb up the roofs and throw stones to the guards. Next day, in the afternoon, another thirty prisoners try to break out from the walk to reach the outer perimeter. It took the ERIS, who were present since the day before, three hours to “restore calm” (with flashball, tear gas and de-encirclement grenades...). About twenty prisoners are transferred to other prisons and the Penitentiary Administration, fearing that the revolt would spread to all the 590 prisoners, calls in reinforcements from Paris, Rennes and Dijon. In the morning of Thursday 22nd, in Bois-d’Arcy, a prisoner becomes unwell and the doctor doesn’t come. To protest, about twenty prisoners refuse to return to the cells after the walk till the ERIS arrive. Still the 22nd, it’s the turn of the prisoners of the Administrative Detention Center (for clandestine immigrants, CRA) of Mesnil-Amelot. One of them is brutally beaten up by the cops when he tried to jump over a fence to get a football back. The others start to hit a fence, which breaks down. The cops react with sticks and tear gas. Later on, on two spots in the Center, fires were lit: one person is arrested, all the others are blocked on the yard. And the summer ends (for the moment) good: with a nice escape! In the night of Friday the 30th of August, eleven prisoners of the CRA of Vincennes manage to saw through the bars and run away.

The uprisings of August show us that the determination of a few persons may bring about concrete results, like putting the prison of Blois in a state of “insecurity” (as a

screw said). To this rebellions, the Penitentiary Administration answers with isolation, violence, indictments and transfers.

And we, enemies of the prison, outside? The courage and the determination by which the rebellious prisoners revolt call for our concrete solidarity. But then, our hate for the prisons and everything that makes them exist can’t limit itself to giving echoes to the revolts inside the walls. Everyone of us has a thousand reasons to despise prison and can find his own temporalities and own means to attack the machine of imprisonment. If we do not have the strength to attack directly these disgusting walls, then let’s think about the fact that prison is not only those walls. The guards do not stop being hangmen when they take off their uniforms. That’s maybe what those anonymous persons said to themselves when they vandalized six cars on the car park of the personnel of the prison of Gasquinoy (Béziers) on the 25th of May 2013, or those who burned four cars of guards just next to the prison of Ploemeur on the 25th of October 2012. That’s maybe what those who broke, at the end of January and in the beginning of February, the windows of two offices of the CGT in Paris, an union which apart from other disgusting things federates the screws. And how forget all those companies who fill their pockets by making the prisons work, for example by bringing the food, by catering, by cleaning, by maintenance, by exploiting the labor of prisoners etc. And there are also the companies who build prisons (and sometimes remain owners of the prison while renting them to the State). Attacking all these things could be far more easy than targeting the prisons directly, and also give some problems to those who imprison. That’s maybe what the anonymous persons said to themselves when on the 15th of April 2013, they attacked Eiffage, one of the main constructors (and sometimes owner) of prisons. An arson against construction engines, in Pontcharra-sur-Turdine, caused about 500 000 Euros of damage to this vulture. These are some examples of how anybody can fight against prison.

In solidarity with the uprisings inside, if there are; but foremost, and all the time, for a world of freedom.



SOME NOTES ON THE TAP

Tairsia - August 2013 - Italie

A brief summary

The pipeline or methane pipeline TAP (Trans Adriatic Pipeline) should be about 900 km long, starting from the Caspian Sea reaching mainland in Salento [southern end of Puglia, NdT], on the shore of San Foca (Lecce province) to transport natural gas. In late June, the Shah Deniz consortium in Azerbaijan - members include British Petroleum, Total and Statoil - has made its choice preferring the TAP over the Nabucco project which would have had to go through Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Austria. The TAP Project, composed of Axpo Holding (Switzerland), E.On (Germany) and Statoil (Norway), was considered of strategic interest by the Italian government and the European Union and will supply the European gas market.

Some questions

Opposition to the TAP, as to any bane, as well as a struggle against a prison, is a classical “partial struggle”; partial, to be clear, not in a negative connotation, but in the sense of defining a particular aspect. But having a wider horizon in all that we do and in the struggles that we make, trying to identify the power and authority of any kind and in all their configurations, and trying to oppose it, is the goal that we have. Our perspective

should be at the basis of our action, a thought which accompanies us continuously as well as a way of approaching struggles. When we oppose war, a technological disaster, a prison, repression, exploitation, authority, morality, we should always keep in mind all these aspects and try to have an overall view. An example: when we oppose a nuclear plant, we oppose the nuisance it represents, the irreversible destruction of the environment, but what we have in mind is also the use that will be made of the nuclear energy: to continue to reproduce an economic and industrial system of exploitation, or to perpetuate the super-technological and super-controlled city life shaped for commodities rather than humans. This example, which may be valid in many other cases, poses a problem. Can we participate in a struggle while separating, differentiating?

The TAP emerged with several issues: from the environmental devastation to the war, to the plundering of resources, capitalist neo-colonialism, etc.; all these discourses are closely related. But what has not been done, perhaps, is attempting to connect all these aspects in terms of perspective. Opposition to the TAP is part of a broader opposition to the state and the economy: in a word, what is called *Domination*, which is also what governs our lives like those of billions of people and because of what we are precarious, exploited, controlled, repressed, etc. Now, we do not pretend that all those with whom we are related in a struggle, are comrades

or whatever kind of people (just to be clear), having the same approach, but our attempt is to go in that direction. Because when we speak or act out against exploitation, whether of nature or people, it is not intended as a rhetorical exercise. What we want is the existence of horizontal relationships between individuals and, of course, the end of exploitation.

Some notes on method

After this introduction that may be evident but it is useful to try to be clear, we come to the mode of action. One that doesn't make it impossible to get in touch with anyone provided it is in a horizontal and self-organized manner. The logic of institutions, parties and delegation are part of the problem, and are therefore part of what we oppose. Also here in Salento, committees against the TAP pipeline were immediately created, with the main reason that this construction would damage the tourist vocation of the territory. They immediately applied the usual standardized and institutional patterns: parliamentary delegation, petitions, participating in round-table discussions with the TAP project - that is to say with the multinational that will make the pipeline -, self-referential demonstrations - in the sense that they are often only composed of banners with their initials -, interviews on television and in newspapers - contributing more to the spectacularization of the opposition and not to the opposition itself; especially also as television and newspapers are part of the problem. But it is like that, everyone chooses his path and acts accordingly. The most important thing is that this is not our way to struggle and that since the opposition to the TAP also interests us and concerns us, not only because it is located in the area where we live, we want to search another mode of intervention. The error, in our opinion, is to think that if committees are created, you can always find accomplices there to struggle together. It could happen, but considering it in a systematic way, as if it were a fact is an error that wastes, among other things, time and energy. The struggle against the TAV in Val Susa, to which everyone refers, probably contributed to this ambiguity. As if the important struggle going there for several decades would be reproducible anywhere or would be the only feasible model. Often, committees have a structure and a way of doing that is very political and that differs little from the institutional way of doing this, that we fail to see because we are blinded by an appearance of action at the basis.

Immediately putting forth our mode of intervention, without delegations, without politics and with our critique on commodities and the existent; searching accomplices or partners starting from ourselves: that is what we intend to do to try now to aim high and to fight against a bane, in this case a pipeline, to act against this deadly existent. But here arises another question: if we can not find anyone with whom to wage a struggle, what to do? The answer depends on the discussion, the will

and the rage that you want to exert. If we start from the idea expressed by a comrade, that each of us can potentially change things, then there are only still a few ingredients to add: the identification, study, fantasy which can sometimes be much stronger and potent "weapons" than we think. Even with small numbers, if one is determined, we can carry a struggle, or at least attempt to disrupt the mechanism against which we oppose. The logic of quantity rather leads one to think that if we are not many we can do nothing, and this constitutes a renouncement and a missed opportunity to put forth our critique of the existent. It is clear that it can sometimes be important to be a lot, because you can do things that are not feasible alone. But we who do not seek consensus and do not necessarily think in terms of organization, have more freedom in that sense .

Against delegation

As always happens, someone in the committees is driven by a genuine intention to oppose the nuisances, but his modes of action, petitions or media use, are antithetical to ours. Especially since their leaders never lose the habit of intervening in any given occasion, considering themselves as the sole representatives of the struggle, speaking for others or dissociating from other methods. All it needed was a "No Tap " scribbled by someone on the wall of a golf club (which is already itself a nuisance, given that to irrigate its huge lawns it takes the water of neighboring farmers, lowering to alarmingly levels the groundwater), which hosted in closed doors and protected by the police, a meeting between members of the TAP and local administrators to trigger denunciation and dissociation. We wonder if, when bulldozers arrive to begin the works, the *sympathetic* activists from the committees will demand special laws and deportation against those that will have enough will and rage to really oppose. Expecting that the various members of the committees will at one point realize that petitions or parliamentary delegations do not amount to anything, is an illusion. Especially as to delegate means to reproduce, not hinder, the representative and authoritarian system. Discussion, criticism and action may instead be immediately valid instruments of opposition, very simple and accessible to all, taking into account the perspective that we talked about earlier. The TAP is only one aspect of Domination, although very large, but we are also interested to intervene in the relationship between individuals, what we are interested to put forth as a mode of action is a truly horizontal, self-organized and from the bottom. And if the struggle can be conducted in this mode, perhaps even involving some or many other people very different from us, extending the critique of authority and questioning at least part of this existent then we would have acted in a right direction, even apart from the final result of the struggle against a specific nuisance.

A spark that can propagate

From the moment the TAP Project was selected to put the pipeline into existence, the various local and national institutions have expressed their position. Some environmental groups such as *Legambiente* felt compelled to express their positive advice. The Italian government immediately declared itself in favor of the project, considering it strategic to the national economy and beginning to mystify the reality about the impact on the territory, new jobs and smaller bills. Local and regional politicians, starting with the governor [of the region] Vendola [Communist, NdT] and his deputies, have on the contrary begun to speak of consultation, negotiation, confrontation and necessary dialogue with the local populations and the involvement of citizens and committees in carrying out the work. It is not difficult to understand that their idea of dialogue means to pacify, to avoid that the suspicion of a large part of the inhabitants of Salento towards the project, some out of personal interest as tourism professionals, some seriously concerned about the impact on the environment, turns into hostility. The work must be done, they say,

but it is necessary that the opposition is kept under control, that it remains in the democratic cage of petitions and legal methods, pretending to participate while we undergo. Concealing the enforcement of an unnecessary and harmful project that only serves the profits of some multinationals, in dialogue with local administrators, perhaps by offering a serious economic and monetary benefit, seeking to convince people of the goodness of this work, but also its inevitability. The people are a child, like someone said, and this is the moment for candy. If that's not enough, the fact that this construction is considered as strategic, can at any moment lead to its militarization. But this discourse hides a fear, a weak point of those who hold power. Opposition to a nuisance can become a spark, a beginning, a fire that spreads and questions more. An opportunity to oppose in the first-person singular and to stop a monster and then stop many others, among them also the mentality of delegation. From work till school, home, leisure, the places we inhabit, pieces of life that are stolen from us and we want to reappropriate them by sending to hell the defenders of progress and this world.



OUT OF CONTROL

Wut im Bauch - November 2013 - Germany

For the last few months, in Hamburg, there has been a broad based campaign of state repression and control. Some of these events deserve a closer examination. The few examples provided here are only a small selection of everyday repression, but they provide a precise picture of recent developments, and should be understood as experiments by the guardians of order. They want to create an environment of permanent fear and unbroken respect for their order, so as to assure its smooth functioning.

Unmasking and compromising the “danger zones”

What is for a long time already the reality in St. Georg around the Hansaplatz, and in St. Pauli (around the Reeperbahn, the red light district of Hamburg) has, since the first of June 2013, reached the Schanzenviertel. A “permanent danger zone” has been established from June till end of October, and the cops have been authorized to carry out controls at any time at any place. The related scenarios and their effects can be clearly seen in the St. Georg district. Large groups of cops are specifically controlling and harassing those who are undesirables, for example those not able to pay for things or those who are excluded on the basis of racist thinking. What is taking place here, under the guise of security, is easy to reveal.

In St. Georg the sex workers should be disposed of, and socially, which is to say financially weaker people should be displaced in order to develop the area and make it

more profitable. In the case of the Schanzenviertel the goals are the same, however the “danger zone” here was primarily directed at the drug scene, and against those who are “migrant looking” and therefore, on racist grounds, automatically associated with it. Let us be clear: the cops do not need any special justification for controls. If there is any doubt, their laws are on their side. Danger zones are auxiliary to larger demonstrations of power and targeted campaigns of repression through permanent bullying and control.

Don't take anything

On the 11th of July in the evening, on Holstenstraße, a confrontation between police and younger inhabitants took place. Once again, the cops had controlled a small group of young people, and along clear racist criteria people who do not fit into the picture of the police were harassed. On that late evening they defended themselves and clashed with the police, resulting in injuries and arrests. Residents expressed solidarity, and therefore brought law enforcements image of acceptability into doubt. In the following days there was an atmosphere of tension around the Holstenstraße. During the following evenings, groups of hundreds gathered in large groups, in part to show solidarity. The cops occupied the surrounding area, and drove up and down the same street in minute-long intervals, with backup ready and undercover cops deployed as well. Outbursts of rage would follow.

A few cars were torched, and there were attacks on the police. The following weekend, on the 20th of July, there was a demonstration in solidarity with the victims of repression and against control. This demo emerged out of a neighborhood assembly. A participant in the demo summed things up well: "Don't put up with anything..."

The self-organized resistance, and broad solidarity, despite the media propaganda that tried to make the problem one of religion and migration, is a sign that the incidents in Altona were not an exception or an unfortunate accident. They are a reality which many have long been aware of. The confrontation with the cops, and the willingness to resist, did not come from thin air, and the Holstenstraße isn't located in some isolated suburb that would likely be referred to as a "problem area." The persons who met each other on the streets during those evenings exchanged ideas and understood that they share a world, even if they are affected to differing degrees by its excesses. The events of July are something that can flare up again anywhere and at any time.

Hand and hand in the name of security and control

On Friday evening, the 26th of July, over 200(!) pigs from the local police, the federal police, the Deutsche Bahn security (cops of the national railway system, who also provide security at local commuter train stations) and the transit security authority launched a large coordinated offensive in the name of "objective and subjective security." Around 6,000 people were controlled in the commuter train and subway stations. There were hundreds of fines and charges pressed against individuals, and once again coins rattled in the pockets of the Hamburg transit system, not to mention the courts.

Uniforms of every color and armed guards in every corner; this is how security and freedom taste!? The cooperation between the ministry of the interior, the transportation authorities, the cops, the local transit security and the Deutsche Bahn isn't any surprise; rather a quite logical coalition of those who have an interest in a climate of fear, surveillance and monitoring to help the uninterrupted functioning of their businesses. This is felt clearly by those who cannot, or will not, play along. Meanwhile, for example, large-scale control operations in coordination with cops are the reality at the S-Bahn (high-speed commuter rail) station Veddel. The only fair conclusion that can be drawn from such an attack on all who wish to live free and uncontrolled is: *We are defiant and refuse to pay at all.*

Borderless!

Again pigs, again controls! The daily reality on the streets of Hamburg kicked off a wave of resistance when the authorities put out an ultimatum to a group of 300 refugees from Lampedusa. They should be registered to get into the circle of bureaucracy and then in the end get deported. The group of refugees refused to register and the cops started an operation of huge controls against people of color on different spots in the city for days. Around the 15th of October a wave of uncontrolled demonstrations and attacks against the controls and cops as well as state institutions continued over 2 weeks without a quiet day. Even if there was people on the streets who believed in the lies of politicians who tried to calm down the escalation on the streets with negotiations there was moments which made clear that no reforms no rights or laws will change this reality! As long as there is states and borders there will be papers and there will be deportation prisons which will be filled with immigrants... whether some will get papers or not.

Let's become uncontrollable!

All of these examples make it clear that the city isn't a neutral space. Instead it is defined by the collaboration and interplay between mechanisms of Domination. It begs the question how we oppose this totality, when repressive attacks have advanced so far into our everyday life. The resistance to such a reality, against this situation, must start from everyday subversion. We come together, and unmask oppression and exploitation where we encounter them, both in their smallest forms and at the root.

We confront them and attack them. It requires a new uncontrolled way to oppose these outgrowths of repressive conditions. For example, on the 24th of August, there was the "uncontrolled stroll" against monitoring through the Karolinenviertel to the nearby jail. Posters and flyers against "danger zones", cops, prisons, repression and their world were distributed and wheat-pasted, and slogans were sprayed without the cops being able to intervene. For such a stroll nothing more is needed than pamphlets, posters, wheat paste, spray cans, a bit of knowledge of the area, and a group of comrades.

People came into contact, conversations and discussions with each other, became aware of conflict, and before the cops came, were all gone or disappeared into the passing crowd. Let's create many dangerous moments and places for every control mechanism.

For an uncontrollable life, free of Domination!

Incomplete chronology of uncontrolled moments:

On the evening of the 13th of September 2013, nearly 60 people marched, loud and masked, through Hamburg's newest "danger zone", the Schanzenviertel. During the march, posters were wheat-pasted, hundreds of pamphlets were distributed and slogans sprayed. To attract attention fireworks were set off. After the protest march took its planned route through the neighborhood, it dissolved itself at the S-Bahn station Sternschanze. The alarmed, but too late to arrive, anti-riot squad and countless undercover cops drifted aimlessly for a time after the march through the streets.

In the evening of the 18th of October 2013, an uncontrolled stroll from St. Pauli to the Schanze neighborhood took place. With a banner, chants, posters, fliers, graf-

fiti, stones and hammers, nearly 80 people took their anger against the "danger zones", the racist controls, the machinery of deportation and these reality conditions out on the streets. Some banks and shops got their windows smashed, and walls were painted with slogans against the deportation machinery and the State. The walk came to an end when the cops arrived.

The evening of the 8th of November around 50 people walked uncontrolled through the Sternschanze. Slogans against control, cops and the deportation machinery were shouted and spray painted. With color and stones luxury buildings and shops were attacked. There were a lot of pamphlets handed out to the many people on the streets. The stroll ended before the cops arrived.



WITHOUT ILLUSIONS

Aufruhr - March 2013 - Switzerland

[The new “Center for Police and Justice” (Polizei- und Justizzentrum) is ought to be constructed on the site of the former station for commodities (its demolition will start in 2013). In one building, this Center will bring together the 30 existing police stations, different repressive organs and 300 places for prisoners.]

We are against the processes which are transforming this city in an always less inhabitable place. Against the police occupation of the neighbourhoods, the instauring of surveillance and the prison architecture. Against the “upgrading projects” which are imposed to serve the economy and the rich, on the back of the poor. From the Weststrasse to the Europaallee, passing along the new Center for Police and Justice (PJZ). However, we think that satisfying ourselves by saying “no” doesn’t bring anything without the active and direct intervention. What do we mean by this?

Let’s not delude ourselves. Protest which aim to “show one is disagreeing” and “put pressure” never brought about real changes. What might have been obtained were eventually some concessions that those who play the chiefs of our lives and of our environment had the benevolence to grant us, to again calm us. But these concessions are only granted to the extent they are being compatible with *their* interests, which means fundamentally not changing anything. If not, there answer is plain and simple repression.

If we want to intervene against these processes transforming the city always more according to the requirements of capital and its interests (more gainful, without scuffles, clean, controlled, functional, dead...), if we want to really bring about something, then we shouldn’t delegate this intervention to some politician, limiting ourselves to to role of lobbyists. We should take this intervention in our own hands, exactly in the same way that we want to take our life and the world that has been

taken from us in our own hands. And how to foil the eviction of a whole avenue, the destruction of our dwellings, the construction of new real estate complexes like the PJZ or the *Europaallee* which, directed against us, aim to introduce always more control or a more profitable stratum of people in these areas? How to foil this when wanting only to count on ourselves?

Through refusal, sabotage and direct action against the interests of those responsible! By tearing down the mask of irresponsibility and by intervening against those who realize these projects of eviction, exploitation, imprisonment and make profit out of it. From the companies who build and demolish to the architects, passing by the politicians and the managers. It is them who realize these projects and it is through them that we can sabotage and block these projects.

Also here, we shouldn’t delude ourselves. This means do not always allow to foil efficiently the projects of the colossus of power. But by this means, a *real change* takes place, which doesn’t consist of the realization or the foiling of a project, but of the relations we develop in the struggle. The relations between us, through self-organisation, solidarity and complicity. The relations to ourselves, trough the perception of our force as individuals. The relations to the world, through insubordination and the overthrow of the passive roles imposed upon us. This kind of relations go against the functioning of this world, and it’s only through these relations that a force can grow that might finally succeed in subverting profoundly the current world. What is changing really when we take into our own hands the intervention against these projects of urban development and against anything that is destroying our lives, passing through *attack*, is the feeling to no longer live like simple pawns in an imposed world – and to experiment our freedom in revolt.



WITHOUT A BREAK

ABOUT THE RECENT REPRESSIVE STRIKES AGAINST ANARCHISTS AND ANTI-AUTHORITARIANS IN BELGIUM

Some anarchist individualities - October 2013 - Belgium

A short reminder about events

Anarchists and anti-authoritarians in Belgium have been hit by the repression a number of times over the past few years. The raids on five houses in Brussels, Ghent and Leuven in September 2013 are the latest episode. Three houses and the anarchist library Acrata had already been raided at the end of May. These initiatives of judge Isabelle Panou are within the framework of investigations concerning “*terrorist organization, conspiracy and arson*” opened in 2008. But the repressive forces did not limit themselves to raids. They have tried to recruit snitches to spy on the activities of anarchists and anti-authoritarians on several occasions.

They have used “extraordinary investigative methods”, including concealing a video-surveillance camera inside the flat of two Brussels anarchists. They also carry out surveillance, draw up reports on “the anarchist threat”, organize administrative harassment to complicate comrades’ lives, pass on information about individuals to other police forces in the world, send out summons for interrogation, publish slander in the press etc. A number of comrades have also spent a few weeks behind bars.

Anyway, putting all these things into a broader context, it is easy to see that the repression is seeking through various means to curb or paralyze the ideas and actions aimed at destroying the world of authority.

This however does not mean we are talking of a heavy repressive climate such as we see in other countries. Let’s be clear on this point: that’s far from the case. Anyway, there is nothing surprising or particular about the police having malicious intentions towards enemies of authority.

The investigations are aimed in all likelihood at a number of more or less intensive struggles, agitation and initiatives: the struggle against prison and solidarity with revolts inside them, that against the construction of the new detention-centre in Steenokkerzeel and the machinery of deportation, initiatives and attacks against the veins of the prison-city (construction of new fast RER train lines around Brussels and public transport in general); agitation against bailiffs, against NATO and its presence in Brussels, against the European institutions and the Eurocrats and the struggle against the construction of a maxi-prison in Brussels ...

Where are we in all this?

Rather than racking our brains to analyze repressive operations of the State, we are more interested in continuing to focus our attention on what we think, what we want and what we intend to do to criticize the world of commodities and power, to encourage questioning and refusal, to spread the revolt against all that oppresses us. In fact, throughout the years struggles have taken place, even if they were often carried out in conditions not necessarily favourable and surrounded by slumps of resignation. Corrosive ideas were spread, discussed and shared, hundreds of actions, attacks and sabotage – in every form, but always hostile to power – have dotted the path of struggle and revolt. Complicities have been verified, solidarity has been expressed, affinities have been experimented and on a few occasions we were able to see a crack in the concrete of oppression and submission. Of course, the deepening and sharpening of anarchist ideas in these lands has not escaped the attention of the guard dogs. The critique of the quantitative fixation and the fetishism of formal organization, the rejection of all mediation and political representation have contributed to the birth of informal spaces, in affinity and autonomous, where ideas have tried to go hand in hand with practice and the offensive. Thus comrades began to open up their own path to face domination, each in their own way, fighting the political logic of politicians, refusing the paralysis of waiting and arming their minds and hands to destroy what is intolerable. It is the passionate individual connection between ideas and will, desire and critique that pushes them to act to strike the structures and men of domination at the time and in the manner they deem right and appropriate, extolling at the same time sabotage and attack as the means available to all those who want to fight for freedom. Sometimes these comrades met in the streets or in shared revolts, other rebels, others insurgents, fighting their own way against what oppresses them. If power could well be afraid of something, it is probably the possibility of an ever wider contamination of ideas and practices, of reciprocal recognition between rebels and those in revolt, the encountering of various rebellions (in prisons, in neighbourhoods, in labour camps, in detention-centres, in education-camps, recreation-camps, ...) that still occasionally disrupt the nightmare of a life spent working, consuming, suffering and sleeping.

Where are they?

It would be foolish not to put the pressure against the anarchists and anti-authoritarians, their ideas and agitation, within a broader context. If we look at the example of Brussels, the capital of the European Union and intersection of international relations, we can clearly see how the State and capital are stepping up their efforts and going all out to perpetuate social relations of exploitation and oppression, adapting the environment to the needs of capital and power, transforming the city into an

open prison to contain revolt and the disgust for a life of misery. The construction projects for the biggest jail in Belgium in the Brussels territory or the NATO siege, the extension of CCTV and the repressive network (new police stations, more uniforms of every kind in the streets, militarization of public transport, heavy-handed operations in poor neighbourhoods) go hand in hand with a deliberate planned policy of isolation or gentrification of popular neighbourhoods, redevelopment of the city through major property and commercial projects, extension of the European area and services for Eurocrats, diplomats and capitalists, construction of new transport routes such as the RER to oil the circulation of goods and commodity-man. It would not be an exaggeration to speak of an intensification of the war power has always waged against the lower layers of the population. Despite its arrogance, power realizes that this carries risks of tension and revolt, uncontrollable explosions such as we could see in other countries in recent years. Despite all the State propaganda and the drug of the commodity market, despite technological intoxication and rampant stupification, the spectre of insurrection is no longer just some old thing belonging to bygone times, it is appearing again timidly in the hearts and minds of those who are tired of suffering. That is why the State is targeting those who speak of insurrection, here as elsewhere, persisting in thinking and acting *in first person* to undermine the rotten edifice of the authoritarian society. It's for that reason that the State is trying to silence those who speak of rebellion and freedom, solidarity and revolution, that's why the State might find it useful to put aside a few rebels, in order to limit their capacity cause damage in words and deeds, and to scare everyone else.

Never innocent

In the face of these strikes, our thoughts immediately fly to the many comrades around the world who are behind bars, those in revolt murdered by power, the rebels who face the State and capitalist monster daily, those who do not obey the rules of this rotten society and stand up, in the dungeons of the prisons as well as in the corridors of the prison-cities. This helps us to understand that there could never be any agreement or truce between those who fight against the reduction of our lives to those of commodity slaves, slaves to authority, work, forced labour, and those in power aided by all their defenders. In this sense, we could never be *innocent*. If the threat of prison is to be faced, it is also necessary to stubbornly reject the solicitations of power, and, when our struggles and ideas attract the malicious attention of the defenders of order, to be even more determined. For us facing repression is part of our rebellion and our struggle and we know that compromise or acceptance (albeit temporary or circumstantial) of mediation or political pragmatism neutralizes the subversive charge of our ideas and practices. This is not this an attitude of sacrifice or martyrdom, but a search for coherence between ideas and action, which no one will ever be able to make us renounce.

As some Uruguayan comrades facing repression said in a text recently, the defenders of order are always in search of themselves. Where there is subversive tension, affinity, solidarity, individuality, they seek structured organizations, hierarchies, leaders and political strategies. Where there is sabotage and refusal, revolutionary violence and angry uprisings, self-organization and individual initiative, they talk about terrorism, threats to be contained and conspiracy, whereas in truth it is they who are terrorizing the exploited and oppressed, they are the ones that threaten people every day to force them to stay in the ranks, they are the ones who sacrifice so many lives on the altar of profit and power.

Basically, they are unable to understand anything about anti-authoritarian ideas because to understand someone's thoughts and desires, you must at least have touched, perceived or imagined them yourself. As their horizon is only that of power, law and authority, they will nearly always be blind in the area of anarchy and subversion. In the face of the refusal of comrades to collaborate in their repressive work in any way whatsoever, their attitude of contempt for those who protect the established order, the guard dogs are indeed well alone in their repressive universe. This certainly does not prevent them from striking, but they will have to tread carefully in hostile areas where no one will attempt to com-

municate with them, while the dialogue will be opened with the revolts and potential accomplices in the battle against all authority.

We will abandon nothing

If the blows of the repression can also bring their share of discouragement or concern, we would rather work towards an affirmation of our ideas and practices. *We are there and will not let go of anything.* If we are remaining silent towards power, on the contrary we are sending a few words of encouragement and solidarity to all comrades and rebels. Let's stay on the course of conflict, let's persist in our choice of revolt and attack, let's continue to tear away the mask of the illusion of social peace. If power intends to turn everything into a social cemetery, we will continue to burn alienated and authoritarian relationships in the shadows, to get intoxicated in disrupting the monotony that power would like to impose, to spread the virus of revolt and the will to live in this mortifying world.

Between collapsing before power, succumbing to social cannibalism or fighting headlong for that which inflames our hearts, there can be no doubt about the paths we will continue to travel.



TAMAROD AND THE CALL FOR JUNE 30

LSM - September 2013 - Egypt

It's been more than two years now that millions of people went down to the streets opposing the former toppled president Mubarak, it was a scene that shocked the whole society because it was a spontaneous, anti-political movement. This enormous wave struck the old rotten political elite. For once the people felt they had the power to achieve something, contrasting the reformist demands that had been repeated for ages by the elite and liberals, even by the islamists.

People broke the endless circle of opposing the system from within the system, a system that could never be fixed since its main pillar was corruption -like all systems around the world- (here we are talking about the corruption created by capitalists, the corruption based upon the exploitation of the masses, on the impoverishment of the population for the sake of enslaving them, controlling their lives), and went out to shout three words –no more- “bread, freedom, social justice”. It didn't take so long for the SCAF to show up with their “democratic” plan aimed at ending up the people's uprising, the sarcastic plan which started with the constitutional referendum and ended up with Morsi the so called “revolutionary president”.

Since the first moment they were ruling over Egypt, the SCAF worked as hard as they could with the aim of concluding the most radical youth into their “project of democracy” consisting of a set of procedures one has

to follow when demanding change, in a civilized way, a set starting with youth political parties and ending up with them on TV screens. And so they did, but not without paying the price attached to it: full loyalty to the current system, opposing it in the way they teach you, acting *as if* you want to change it without ever doubting its existence.

But they made a mistake and what was a successful plan ended up badly in the parliamentary elections. The system they wanted to preserve by changing its face is no longer trusted by the people, the masses had learned its lesson and at least this time they understood that no one is to be trusted, except for the streets and their power as organized conscious masses.

And so in the middle and at the end of 2011 they re-occupied what they had left, workers rose up with one of the biggest strike waves that hit the nation since decades, demanding what the state media called “factional demands”. The military administration was unable to liquidate the revolutionary spirit and turn it into a political action that ensures the system to maintain its rules in a more acceptable way than in the past, and the presidential elections witnessed less participation from the lower classes and the people in general.

After that, the gap between the “democratic process” and the masses of the people continued to expand. The

political elites, political islam and liberal elites, stood by and watched, unable to transform the people's demand to take down the regime into the waiting for a new alternative. The blood of the masses continued to bleed in the streets, showing that the constitution-making process, the so called democratic process, is the first step on the road to dictatorship.

In the political arena the political elites tried to find solutions to control the masses, from political speeches in coalitions, to money paid to finance youth campaigns which were huddled behind by the old political elites that are afraid the public would be able to organize themselves and find an alternative to get rid of those elites that are part of the regime and therefore want to put down revolutionary movements and ensure system stability. Then a movement showed up, a movement calling for so called "rebellion", under the name of "Tamarod" [Arab for "rebel"], bearing in mind the demands of political elites, "reforms" blared out in the opposed media, demands restricted to "taking down the head of the system, which is Morsi". But in fact, Morsi was not the cause of the problem. The cause of the original problem is that the old regime which the political elites are part of didn't fall on Jan 28, and that everybody is keen not to take it down because of their own interests.

The Tamarod campaign is a reflection of the demands of the conflicting political elites that are working really hard in trying to convince the public that they are working hard to improve the economic and social conditions. But when we take a look at the performance of these elites since March 28th two years ago, we see that they called upon to prevent the masses from coming down to the streets and stop protesting. This ended up with the system playing its last card for protecting itself: the card of the military administration. We see as well that these elites are the ones that called to go through the process of democracy, hoping that they would gain with it. But they failed and so they rose up when the Muslim Brotherhood succeeded in controlling parts of the state and in excluding the rest of the political forces, which caused congestion and conflict between the liberal elites and the political islam elites. They rose up to restore the power of the liberal elites; they supported the Tamarod campaign because its reformist demands are suitable for this parasitic class. They supported it with the media and also with their headquarters and so Tamarod turned into a reformist movement looking for roots within society to liquefy the revolutionary spirit of the masses, all this because of political gains by elites in a comic called democracy.

The danger of Tamarod is that it is trying hard to convince the public that the problem is really not in the system that grows on exploitation but that it is merely the head of the system which is incorrect. The difference between the head of the system from before and after the revolution is only nominal, but the exploiting, repressive policies didn't change, neither did the social and economic conditions. Tamarod is merely a political

comedy that is not any different from the other attempts of politicizing the revolution. The elites don't object the current or previous system policy, they only want to become part of the system, want to become part of the power. They look at the revolution as a political gain, they don't see it as a popular movement that wants to destroy the current system in order to build up an alternative which has more equality, more justice and is more revolutionary.

And now, after June 30, we can stand on the results of this so called "revolution" that claimed to be a complement of the 25th of January uprising – the actual uprising in fact took place at the 28th but the enemies of the revolution refuse to admit this-, we can stand on the results of June 30th and see the military coup, but most noteworthy it was not only a military coup but an attempt to reproduce a system that died at January 25th.

And now we are witnessing the return of the police state in protection of the military coup, opening its arms to all members of society - it was not only promoted as being against islamists -, while muzzling the mouths of the opponents of the current regime with the help of the army and the police forces, while arresting citizens accused of insulting "Sisi". The military junta permits the police to arrest citizens wherever they are, seizing their right to mobility in order to perform its excessive repressive authority. And that was not enough for them; unarmed citizens were shot because they broke the curfew, and this to impose the new law saying "the one that breaks our laws will be a victim of violence and state terrorism".

Sisi tried to cover up the coup with a liberal civil coverage. President Adley Mansour was appointed, a former president of the Constitutional Court, the head of his liberal cabinet, Hazem El-Beblawi was appointed. Hazem El-Beblawi is actually one of the supporters of the inheritance and was the minister of transport who stained his hands with the blood of Egyptians in the railway disasters in 2001. Kamel Aboueita -yellow union- was appointed as well, a man that heads the union of the independent labour unions that was established with state assistance aiming at penetrating the labour movement and maintaining it. Others appointed were Adel Labib, generals, the minister of finance and other businessmen who grew up in the years of Muburak. Sisi is now trying to appease foreign powers by saying that this coup is in their favour, not that he has lost his ability to hide the coup after he came out to ask the people to complete the "revolution" of June 30th and give him a mandate to bloodshed and the use of power against all. At that moment he felt that the coup had lost its popularity, so he decided to create a terrorism-case to win the people's support for state terrorism. This is happening off course with the help of the Tamarod movement which called to support the army. After its mobilization for the "revolution" of the old regime (June 30th), after its recuperation of the popular rage to direct it only against the head of the system (Morsi) rather than against the entire system, Tamarod is now mobilising in favour of the army.

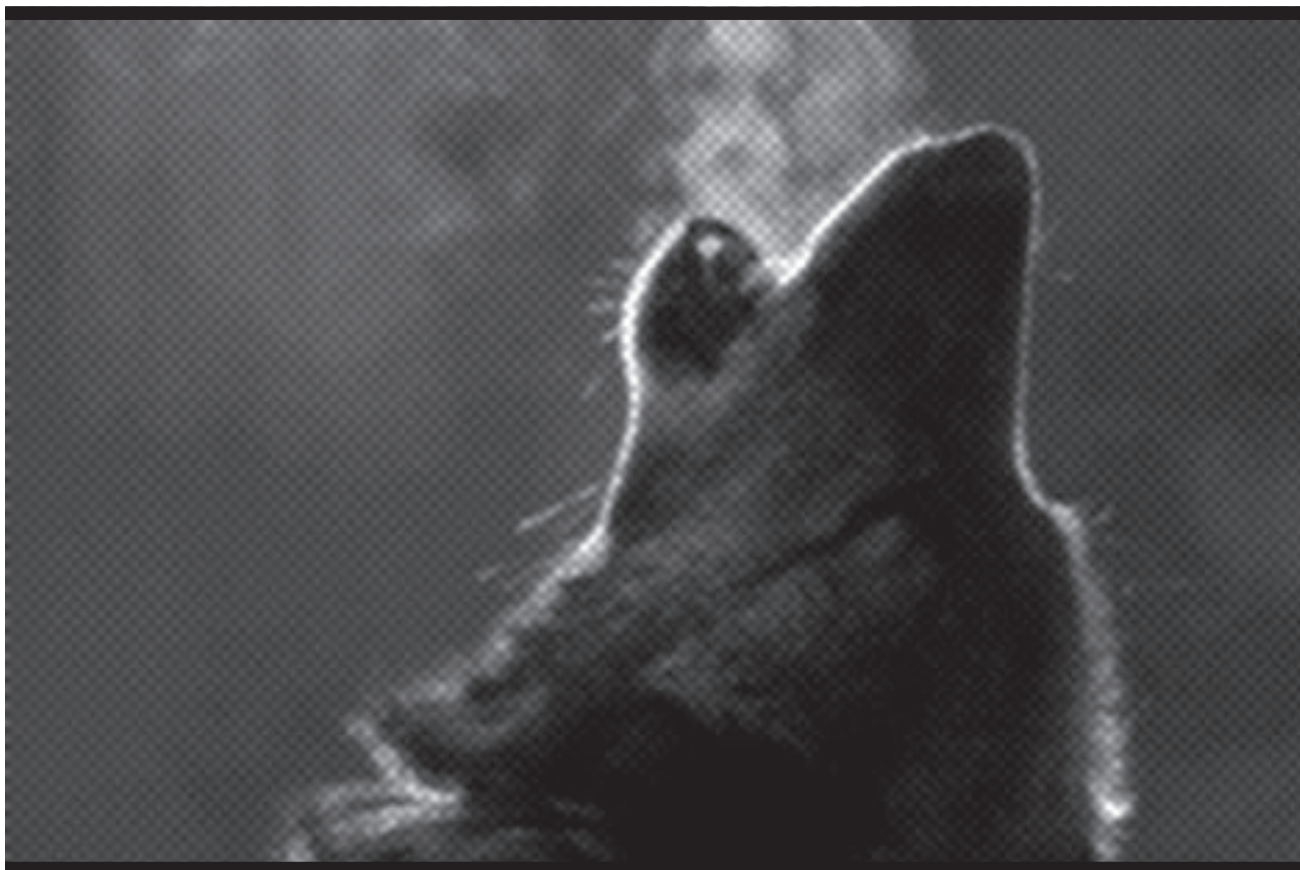
With the formation of the liberal government, the old way of thinking, the one from before January 2011, is back; just like the security forces went back to work after a small break. The relations with the businessmen of the old regime are normalising. These are the same businessmen that worked on reconciliation with the Morsi regime (of which vigorous attempts succeeded and failed). Now they don't need reconciliation any more, they are the ones in charge, because the old regime has returned completely, with a new format and the same individuals.

The way in which the Muslim Brotherhood dealt with people did not differ from the systems before. The basic guarantee for the arrival of the brothers in power was the continuation of the service to the capitalists, as well as the elimination of the revolution in many ways. Their oppressive authoritarianism ranged from the imprisonment of workers and students to the collective abduction or killing under the protection of the military and the police. This is what the Brotherhood has been working on during the full year of their rule and earlier (after the 28th of January). But a conflict over power took place between the elites that have grown under Mubarak's ruling and the conservative Muslim elites (not forgetting that their economic idea – capitalism – is the common factor between them). The ousting of the Brotherhood from power paved the road for the Mubarak's elites to take power again. Don't forget that the Brotherhood's ascent to power took place under the supervision of the military council that felt the necessity of the Brotherhood taking power in order to enable the control of the crowds of people that occupied the streets and fields. Now that the presence of the Brotherhood has become marginal, the old political elites are collaborating with strong liberal and nationalist elites to mobilize supporters of the bourgeois class and the middle class. The Muslim Brotherhood has been their sacrifice in the middle of the power conflict of that ridiculous game called the "Revolution" of June 30th.

Now we clearly see the truth: the regime wants to keep the islamists as its opponents in order to dissolve the lines between those who claim social and economic rights and those who just want a chair inside the sys-

tem, becoming the opposition within the framework of the state and the existing system. And now, after a wave of counter-revolution which allowed to return of the old regime, we must note that the Muslim Brotherhood, as the deposed regime of Mubarak, did not give the people any of their demands, not the social, neither the economic nor political demands. It as well proved that the army is a key element in the equation of Egyptian politics, all politicians move inside of this equation, and this never to ensure the demands of society but always to achieve economic stability. Don't forget that the army owns more than 30 percent of the Egyptian economy and that without stability it is not possible for the businessmen with military ranks to gain their huge profits in peace. It's been proved as well that the army always intervenes when it feels the danger of state instability. The army controls the State, whatever faction might be heading the administration, and no faction will get into power unless under the supervision of the military, and when the faction respects the existing political and economical interests.

The revolution will not in one day become a movement for politicians from various parties that want to ensure a part of authority or power for themselves. The revolution will continue to be an ongoing mobility until the demands of the masses are achieved. The revolution is the enemy of every politician, as it is the enemy of every military, every businessman, every cleric. The revolution is not and will not be controlled by anyone. So, Tamarod and any of the various campaigns that are used to liquefy the revolutionary spirit will at the end become a ridiculous joke for the masses that are calling to take down the regime. Yes, the Muslim Brotherhood are enemies of the revolution, but the enemies of the revolution are as well those who are trying hard to extinguish the revolution and to put limits to it. The revolution is the enemy of every system, the revolution is the enemy of every politician, an enemy of every authority, even if the bourgeois succeeded to take down the Muslim Brotherhood and come up with a new president. The revolution will stand against him; the revolution is against the regime and not only against this or that individual in power.



CERTAINTY IS OURS

Septembre 2013 - Argentine

What surrounds us is suffocating and if one has dignified blood in their veins instead of dirty water one can't deny this. The democratic regime headed by repugnant Cristina Kirchner, dressed up as progressive and champion of human rights, is beginning to show the other side of the coin. So the appointment of the new minister for security, Alejandro Granados, backed up by drug smuggler Daniel Scioli, only made what many already knew more evident: democracy arrests, tortures, accuses and kills, and in this respects it has nothing to envy to other political regimes.

We agree with Granado, we are at war and it is either them or us... we are not concerned by these declarations. On the contrary we increase the level of the struggle that we carry out against all forms of oppression inflicted on the individual and on free communities. Millions invested in matters of security such as the Biometric Identification System, thousands of surveillance cameras and guards storming the suburbs don't stop us nor do they distract us.

Inside the dense network weaved by the enemy we believe that justice is a fundamental pillar, an indispensable supporter of the management of the misery. Businessmen and politicians demand and create laws and

then lawmen and policemen enforce them with the approval of that part of society that encourages the use of certain measures, or that is simply an accomplice of repression through its revolting indifference.

Today the media talk about the proposals of lowering the age for minors to be prosecuted thus trying to make legal what is already happening: kids are being condemned to confinement, rape, abuse and death in the concentration camps of democracy called prisons. Certainly in the near future we will see judges sentencing thousands of people to years and years of imprisonment. Many of these people, even if they are distant from our values and principles, even if they don't want or can't escape consumerist frenzy, at least choose not to offer themselves passively to the whip of the bosses.

In this context, as a contribution to the war we are waging against the established authority, on Monday September 16 at around 2am we attacked the Justice Academy of the Judicial Council of the country in Parana 386, Avenida Corrientes, where brainless, resigned and cowardly citizens wander between bars, theaters, cinemas and brothels, places where tourists take pictures of the obelisk and buy beautiful cards illustrating South American Europe...

Outside the entrance of the target we placed a homemade device made of a plastic bottle filled with a litre and a half of petrol and six 10-cm long sealed little pipes filled with black powder. The ignition mechanism was made of two sticks of incense, which operated as fuse as soon as we lit the flame thus triggering the strip of phosphorous we set all around the bottle. First came the fire and second came the explosion.

The result of the action, silenced by the press, can be seen by anybody who happens to pass by.

We have just explained how our device was made in order to show that there's no need of sophisticated materials or complex techniques to carry out this kind of attack. Of course perfection and the deepening of one's knowledge are very important in the fabrication and use of explosive and incendiary devices. But information on how to do it is largely available, your genius can do the rest.

That's why we are sharing the knowledge on how to fabricate a homemade device. We want to inspire those who oppose the system but don't do much in practice. Information is available and if one doesn't do anything it's because one has decided not to do it, full stop.

Making this attack known is part of our action and of our being anarchists. Many daily anarchist actions are not made known for a number of reasons, and any group or individuality can draw their conclusion. As we already said, silence doesn't mean inaction. But considering our context we think it is necessary to communicate this direct action. Furthermore we believe in quality not in quantity because a frantic series of attacks doesn't leave space to thinking or to the development of our projects. In this respect we agree with the project of the Informal Anarchist Federation/International Revolutionary Front (FAI/FRI). We try to fight paralysis and repetition of clichés and to promote a serious dialogue between those who think it is worth while.

All over the world there are dozens of cells and groups that give shape to the FAI/FRI following the proposal that came from Italy about ten years ago as a response to the insults of the Italian Anarchist Federation. These groups and cells gained further strength thanks to the comrades of the Conspiracy of the Cells of Fire.

Beyond a few etymological issues concerning words we find a little bit disputable (federation, front), which is not an important point because as the comrades of the CCF said: 'we don't have the slightest affection for words. International communication creates ways and possibilities of struggle that each time require new words to express themselves', we would like to highlight how rough the approach to what the FAI/FRI should be is. With very few exceptions most interventions didn't kick-start any debate, as far as we know. Little has been

done in the campaigns of attack against the same target in different areas, and unfortunately claims often express bravado and self-referentiality, while the authors don't seem to pay attention to the signature they use.

Anarchists must never put strategy and caution aside. Power is always a step ahead. Historically the lack of a common signature has never undermined coordination and debate between anarchists from different parts of the world. As for the international Front, we wonder whether we are going towards spectacularization instead of heading to seriousness and strength. This shows the difference between calling things with their names and imagining things. Surely there are groups that coordinate and carry out their particular attacks, but it seems to us that the only aspect they have in common is the acronym FAI/FRI.

We are always careful to these issues, always trying to continue our war, not with fear or remorse but with lucidity and trying to improve... perhaps the fate of anarchists is prison or the graveyard, we don't know, but we try to avoid this fate as best as we can not because we want to safeguard our lives or search for the easy way but because we are happy with striking, attacking, conspiring, setting fire. We don't want more martyrs or dead bodies to eat. As some comrades of another tendency, comrades we admire for their courage and strength, said: we want to realize the orgy of our dreams here and now.

At the moment we are not thinking to find agreement. We'll see what happens out of this declaration based on respect and acknowledgment of those who struggle against the enemy and don't repose on mere theoretical safety.

We take the opportunity to send our love to the comrades repressed and tortured in Uruguay... they have now been released but are subjected to many restrictions. Active solidarity with Gabriel Pombo da Silva, prisoner in Spain, Marco Camenish in Switzerland, Nicola Gai and Alfredo Cospito in Italy. Active solidarity with Hans Niemeyer, Alberto Olivares, Freddy Fuentesvilla, Marcelo Villarroel and Juan Aliste, prisoners in Chile, with the brothers and sisters in Greece and with all dignified prisoners in Argentina.

Love and strength to Felicity Ryder and Diego Rios, whose situation is difficult beyond imagination. We hope you'll get these words and know you are not alone.

We salute the clashes in Brazil, Colombia and Mexico!

Conspiracy for revenge doesn't stop!

LONG LIVE ANARCHY!



EXCESSIVE FREEDOM

Anarchists - August 2013 - Uruguay

[August 14, 2013, riots broke out during a demonstration in Montevideo, Uruguay. Held annually, this demonstration commemorates the death of the student Liber Arce, killed by police in 1968. Symbols of the state, capital and religion (ATMs, banks, government buildings, churches, luxury shops, restaurants...) were attacked. After the events, two anarchists were arrested by undercover cops who were in the demonstration. The comrades were charged but released.

On the 24th of August, on the way to another commemoration event (in El Filtro hospital, where there has been a death in 1994 during clashes between cops and demonstrators trying to prevent suspected members of ETA being deported to Spain), 12 anarchists were arrested by the secret Intelligence Service, the Department of Special Operations and Interpol. Comrades were taken to the police station where they were photographed and interviewed about the demonstration of the 14th and about participation in anarchist groups. All this is accompanied by beatings, insults and threats of torture and rape. A comrade is threatened with a weapon. Nobody was brought before the judge and the same evening, everyone is released without charge.

On the 29th of August, a comrade who lives in Uruguay must go to the immigration service. There she is arrested by police on the orders of the intelligence services. The next day, another anarchist

is pushed into a police car and taken to the police. Both comrades are questioned about their participation in the anarchist movement. They are both released without charge on the 30th of August.

Meanwhile, several texts emerged around these repressive moves. In many places in Montevideo, leaflets were distributed and a demonstration was planned. In Buenos Aires (Argentina), the ferry company sailing to Montevideo and the Uruguay embassy received nocturnal visits.

Here is a translation of the text that appeared in a local agitation newspaper (El Refractorio) and on the website of the newspaper Anarquía.]

“May our words go hand in hand with our doings, and that others may start to take this into account...”

If it is the bank who keeps me and my family in debt, if it is the bank who is guarding the money and makes money necessary to live, if it is then the bank who is keeping the money away from those who have the least of it, why then should I respect it and not attack it? Is the front of a bank worth more than indicating how harmful money is?

If it is the church who's living off deceit, if the church is responsible for centuries of keeping thousands of people obedient to the authorities and of imposing a moral at the

measure of the powerful, why should I then not scream against it, why shouldn't I break its windows? Are windows worth more than the freedom of the individuals? If it are all those walls everywhere, of the government buildings, of the police stations, of these offices who sell the dumbest illusions, who bomb us with advertisements, why should I then not answer, why shouldn't I paint them, tell how they deceit us, fuck us, imprison us? Why shouldn't I after all not attack, answer in a definitive way to what is attacking me, why shouldn't I defend myself?

The same system that forces some to eat from dustbins while other posses more than they could consume in several generations time, that has cornered nature, that system is not a metaphysical being, it is not a ghost with an image but without a body. The system, the State has its guards, its defenders, its snitches, its cars, its cameras, its buildings etc. We are making ourselves be felt, we are really speaking when we act. Thinking is fundamental, words allow us to represent things and project our freedom, but its limits are clear when we compare it to acts. No politician can prevent the free act, the embodied rebellion. They can try to recuperate the acts into their ranks, pretend to be indignant democrats or wise men knowing how to transform society, they can even say that they have the recipe for "revolution" (their euphemism for a coup) etc. But in the end, the deeds, the facts always surpass the talk of the manipulators. It is the bite, not the barking, which makes the angry dog.

One of the most recurrent critiques, often expressed in a nasty way but sometimes also out of honest concern, is the one about productivity, about what actions are actually producing and generating. What do they change, what do you reach with a small destruction, with a painted bank? Nobody, a part from the idiot, believes that attacking a bank or a police station is a revolutionary deed. But this "little thing", this isolated and simple rebellious deed, is far from insignificant. These small gestures, in fact petty, almost meaningless if we compare them to what a world which is keeping the majority of the population in misery and daily taking away our time and space would deserve, are nevertheless always the possibility of a starting. Even more, they are worth more because they speak for themselves. Nobody can take rob us of the fact that we have done something. Small, isolated, crazy... but real. What would all this talkers have to say about that?

Every big transformation starts with small, tiny, even almost invisible gestures. The accomplice smile of a demonstrator who sees an institution which is also oppressing him, not being respected, can blossom into a future accomplice act of a comrade. Many of the demonstrators who where present on the 14th of August 2013 know that a deed is worth more than thousand words. That is is necessary to realize that parties or political speeches on the commemoration day for the fallen are insults to their memory and to the memory of all of us. For social transformation, for the search of the most extensive freedom, action is necessary. Revolt is not social revolution and doesn't pretend to be it, but it opens up its roads.

In plain...

Concerning us: we are for social revolution, the most libertarian possible transformation of our lives, for the expansion of our wildest dreams, for our biggest possible individual and collective development. Putting an end to the fact that the one is living on the back of the other, realizing of a world which is more in balance with nature, is a road that begins today. This search means the destruction of the state (physically, not verbally), of its institutions and finally of all power. We are brothers, because we do not recognize political borders of nationalisms, of all those, wherever they are, who are fighting against oppression and who do not want to oppress others. We are brothers of those who fought in Brazil during the last months, of those who do not accept any kind of dictatorship, be it religious or secular, and of those who go to confrontation to defend the earth in Chile or Bolivia. There's no exclusive model for protest and everybody has to find his own way, but there is one and the same spirit walking the earth: the spirit of revolt.

On the 14th of August, direct action was put in to practice. Some painted banks, credit companies, churches and even a luxury car, but we have to be aware that direct action is much more than that. Direct action means to act without negotiators or intermediaries, to act out of autonomy, out of self-organising with others. To act without fake dialogues, looking for the real dialogue, the one between equals and not with the authorities. Act to change, act to search for freedom, excessive freedom...



ABOUT THE ATTACKS AGAINST THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN MONTEVIDEO

Anarchists - August 2013 - Uruguay

In one and a half week 14 comrades have been arrested, on top of a wiretap campaign, surveillance, attempts to evict and attacks against the anarchist movement in Uruguay. Nothing of all that scares us, it only makes us stronger. If they hit us, it's because we are making it difficult for them. And if we are making things difficult for the powerful and their servants, we are on the right track.

There's a social war going, passing through different stages. The powerful know it, we also know it. The media is hiding it, is repeating the capitalist refrain and is imposing the idea of a disgusting democracy which doesn't even respect its own most repeated lies: security, human rights, justice,... And in between all of this, the anger is looking for its way.

The government of the Tupamaros is torturing. Tell us something new!

The state which is occupying the Uruguay territories doesn't mind fear and attempts to reinforce again the control on the population like the other progressive governments of the region are applying (just think about the summits about security and "antiterrorism" organized by Mercosuri). The spirit of the Arab spring is a far away, but nevertheless tangible fear and Brazil is becoming a nightmare for the managers clique. What is the worst nightmare of democrats, extremists, radicals

of power and other fascists? The revolt, the insurrection which once ignited, doesn't seem controllable anymore. An anger which can no longer be distracted by football, buying brand clothing or hallucinogenic substances. It is on this point that those who do the "dirty work" of Bonomi, Tabaré and Mujicacii appear. It is at that point that the soldiers who were raised by the right and specialized by the left attack.

The violent ones, the masked ones, the anarchists.

All sorts of hollow phrases filled the mouths of the journalists these days. About anarchists this and that, about tactics of urban violence, about minorities etc. The violent ones of the 14th of August, the radicals, the infiltrated, even the core of the supporters of the football team Peñarol (as if there would be necessary any infiltration of anarchists there to incite anti-cop feelings). On all fronts, one could feel the unity between police repression, political coordination and preparation by the media. Attack on different spots. The state defends itself furiously. But why? The army which is maintaining the existing order (media, police, military, politicians,...) deploys itself today under the umbrella of an unseen consensus between left and right about the acceleration of capitalist developments. Far beyond the electoral game, the important bases for the development of capital aren't being questioned by any political party. The

gigantic mining projects, the forestry, the activation and coordination of the IRSA-plan, the political, economical and military integration are continuing. Thus, it becomes necessary to avoid any resistance or seed of rebellion. Thus, it becomes necessary to stop those who do not negotiate, to stop the “violent ones”.

A step further...

And what to say about the violence? For us, violence is not a “political choice” as the clever boots of the faculty of social sciences put it. It is not a choice, and for sure not political. The choice we do make, is to try to live the only way which seems us dignified: free. By not shutting up and by acting if we see things are going bad. We choose to resist and to defend ourselves. Here (averse from the favorite games of media, trade union bosses and politicians) are no violent or non-violent ones, good or bad ones, or other categories of power. He who never felt anger, never felt the desire to oppose to misery, to stand up and to jump seeing so much misery, that person simply has no blood running through his veins. Who doesn't get furious seeing the business of police with the pasta base [cheap drugs, derivate of cocaine, to smoke], the misery of work or the taste of the water of the OSE? Violence is natural in this capitalist world, the fight against it is a vital necessity.

And yet another one...

We do not deny our crimes and we will never do. We want and we fight for our freedom, and that is a big crime against power. We don't want a label of freedom, abstract, usable by anybody. Therefore, we put into practice solidarity, mutual aid and resistance, and it is this practice which inevitably brings us in conflict with a world which is letting us fall always deeper and deeper. This explains the insults, the threats with torture and rape; this explains the pistol against the head of a comrade in the police station; this explains the obligation to undress and the beatings. This explains the wrath; But the culture of fear will not subdue us.

But why are you smiling? are they asking themselves...

We do not fit in the role of victims. If we speak about this new hit against the anarchist movement, it is to show all those other hits that we get in the neighbourhoods which are kept silent by the police. We can speak, we are good at it and we are free and strong enough to not be silent about it. The why of some many consecutive hits against

the movement corresponds to a growth they weren't able to slow down. It corresponds to the leaving behind of fear and the end of the trust a part of society had in the progressive governments. We are getting treated hardly because the government saw itself obliged to give carte blanche to its cops and secret services facing our presence which surpassed all parlamentarisms (also the marxists and the leftists) in the streets. Facing direction action which will not negotiate, which doesn't ask for anything. We are getting treated hardly because a contagious practice of self-organisation which is creating real dialogue came into being; a dialogue between equals and not with politicians or managers. We smile because the wind is from the right quarter and because we know to defend ourselves.

The mirror of power

Wherever they look, they are always looking for themselves. During their interrogations, when not based on simple insults or threats, they are looking for themselves and for their need of chiefs, of somebody who tells them what to do. Power needs enemies, but it doesn't fit her well that they do not disguise themselves as terrorists, that they do not want to govern and do not recognize any authority. The lack of respect on all domains can, according to the intelligence services, not come from more than one group of persons, it can not exist without leaders or without a big organized structure to instill fear. But we who walk the streets know that their social credit has run down, that the comrades are many and that in no way whatsoever they correspond to the logic of the parties. Bad for them, but this is the way it is.

We anarchists are not the ones who maintain a health system that generates death and disease, we do not organize huge police operations in the poor areas, we are not the ones who plunder and destroy nature and we are for sure not the ones who keep the business of the pasta base going in the neighbourhoods. We are not the ones saying to the young kids that they aren't worth anything if they don't wear clothing of a certain brand, we are not the ones building prisons to put them away later on. But we also are no obedient citizens, we are also no part of those who forget, and we never will be. We are part of those who have always fought, as we are brothers of everybody, wherever in the world, who are fighting a system that denies life. We urge for rebellion to conquer more and more freedom, and we will always continue to do so. They wanted to ban the poor from the sight of the tourists to create the illusion of consumerism. But not everybody here is a client or a subordinate. They cannot cover up everybody. Not everybody surrenders.



REFLECTIONS FROM THE MINORITY STRUGGLE

Sin Banderas Ni Fronteras - September 2013 - Chile

Permanent insurrection against the oblivion, the silence and the alienation that feed Power

To our comrades on the path of the struggle for freedom. To our brothers and sisters in the anti-authoritarian offensive. To the new generations of rebels and to those who dedicate their lives to struggle in an insurrectionary anarchist perspective of multiform action. After two months without writing as *Sin Banderas Ni Fronteras*, we want to share these thoughts on the current state of the anti-authoritarian struggle in Chile. We hope that it will nourish and stimulate the necessary analyzes and tensions that strengthen our struggle and feed the internationalist projection of the global war against Power.

Three years after the operation Salamander

In August, three years have passed since the repressive operation that Power called "Operation Salamander" - under the "Caso Bombas" investigation -, in which on the 14th of August 2010 fourteen places (social centers, squats and personal homes) were searched, fourteen people imprisoned from the anti-authoritarian comrades participating in public spaces or former political prisoners of armed anti-capitalist organizations. With an ostentatious police, legal and media deployment the state, its police, press and miserable former prosecutor Alejandro Peña hit the environment of the anti-authori-

tarian struggle and the ideas of freedom, under the pretext to bust those responsible of bomb attacks against places of power.

It seems that, three years after these events, no one spoke, except the comrades of the Sacco and Vanzetti Library who reopened their valorous library on August 14th this year, thus giving signs of life, after being hit by the enemy in 2010 (they had to face the closure of their occupied social center as well as prison and hiding for some of the participants).

Three years after all this has passed, we can say - every day more convinced - that this repressive operation has had serious consequences for our environment of struggle. We have already commented in our publications - and other comrades have also been doing it in conversations or during various activities - that, unfortunately, following the repressive coup of August 2010, the ideas and proposals of struggle that characterized the anti-authoritarian anarchist environment identifying with the insurrection, the war against the Power, the anti-authoritarian offensive etc. showed an eloquent silence in the diffusion of their positions.

This has resulted in a retreat in the struggle, as a series of wrought postures and proposals, shared and defended collectively, became invisible, such as the idea of permanent agitation and tension in all areas of our life, insurrectionary solidarity, proposals on affinity groups

and informal organization etc. This situation, which many comrades contributed to in a greater or lesser extent, helped to create an adverse environment for the transmission and continuity of anarchist insurrectionary praxis and a favorable ground for the advancement of the enemy faced with silence and fear that flourished among the comrades.

For those who have broken the silence and fear in the street and in daily life, the task was not easy. We decided to start agitating for the imprisoned comrades, in an anti-authoritarian and insurrectionary perspective and without being paralyzed by repression. Faced with the closing of places for meetings and collective reflection, we tried to open other channels of communication with new comrades. And most importantly, we have done everything possible to understand why many of our comrades behaved as if we had never even talked about the war against all forms of authority.

Unfortunately, it is not without pain or loss of confidence that we have seen some comrades with whom we have grown up, turn away from the struggle or challenge the idea of the war against power to soften their discourses and practices of life and now that the waters have become calmer, reappear publicly defending the insurrection, sometimes without self-criticism or proposals for the moment.

That is why, today as yesterday, it is important to have clearly in mind that this repressive blow is neither the first nor will be the last against the anti-authoritarian struggle. This tells us to take up the challenge to think and act now to make that repression does not slow down the struggle and that the environments that give it life do not disappear due to fragmentation, silence and defeatism.

... let us be in historical continuity with the multiform struggle against power, not with defeat, desertion and convenience.

40 years after the coup in Chile: We are at war against all authority

For 17 years, from September 1973 to 1990, the Chilean State has applied systematic and daily terror especially by scheming it through a civil-military dictatorship that has repressed, tortured, persecuted and murdered thousands of men and women fighting against the dictatorship and capitalism.

Yet, it is today essential for the projectuality of anti-authoritarian struggle - especially in this time of presidential elections - to propagate the idea that Democracy is the improvement of dominance and state violence in more refined forms: cameras, laws, prisons, police, values of command/obedience and citizen accomplices who support and defend the continuity of the authoritarian and exploiting system.

As one leaflet distributed by comrades on September 11th underlines, *“neither military dictatorship, nor social democracy, nor popular power. Today, our fight is against any form of government, power and authority. We are fighting a historic struggle for the total liberation that can not be stopped or destroyed as our will, our consciousness and our action will remain at war and with dignity.”*

40 years after the coup, our memory of insurgent action is with all those who have been hit by the repression or died while fighting.

We remember - as others have done, strengthening our anti-authoritarian memory - Flora Sanhueza, anarchist murdered during the dictatorship, 18 September 1974; Claudia López, anarchist murdered by the cops in Democracy, 11 September 1998; Jonny Cariqueo, anarchist murdered by the torture of cops, 29 March 2008; and Mauricio Morales, anarchist dead because of the explosion of the bomb near the Police School in 2009.

15 years after the death in battle of comrade Claudia López

15 years after the death of the anarchist comrade, we repeat what we have already written before, and we still consider as completely valid.

The comrade Claudia López reflects a generation of anti-authoritarian comrades who decided to give continuity to the conflict against the powerful after the return to democracy, in the midst of the lethargy of the oppressed and after the Marxist armed organizations were dislocated. Claudia López was one of these comrades that, starting from the insurgent autonomy, began to emerge in academic areas such as the Cordón Macul, breaking the ruling fear and passivity by propaganda, blocking streets and clashes with the guards of order. These comrades, always a minority, have set up their barricades by attacking the oppressive normality of democratic rule, and put forward the revolutionary ideas in times when many claimed the defeat of all antagonism against the capitalist world. Above all, they began to revive in theory and practice the experience of autonomy and of horizontal anti-authoritarian organization.

The comrade Claudia López was killed September 11th, 1998. The police shot her in the back, while participating in a barricade in the neighborhood of La Pincoya. She died fighting. Her death was the prelude to other killings by the democratic order: Daniel Menco, Alex Lemún, Jonny Cariqueo, etc. Comrades representing the social subject that has become the new target for power from early 2000, the new “enemy within” the Chilean State: anarchist, Mapuche and other hooded.

When some of us, anarchists and anti-authoritarians, take to the streets every September 11th, it is to agitate against the continuity of oppression and demonstrate

clearly that democracy tortures and murders too, that it also dominates, subjects and deceives. However, the death of comrade Claudia López gives additional meaning to this historic date. This is a call for us to keep alive - in practice - the memory of a comrade who decided to break the chains of oppression in her life and in the street, despite the always adverse context of massive social alienation.

Because combative memory is nothing other than the memory and continuity of choices of struggle assumed by our comrades in life. That their lives douse. That they burn with each barricade.

Finally... 203 years after the creation of the Chilean State: still unpatritic!

After the commemorations of the 40th anniversary of the coup and the production as massive as compulsive of memorials from various sectors - mostly uncritical about the present domination -, the historical commemorations and the appearances of reflection were easily displaced by Chilean flags and the tools of alienation deployed in society to celebrate the creation of the State of Chile on September 18th, 1810.

With a lot of alcohol and release of tension flowing in the streets and neighborhoods, the patriotic citizen –

without counting those who proclaim themselves as revolutionary subjects - participate in this avalanche of excess and alienation that reinforce the existence and continuity of the state and of authority.

Faced with this, our position of war against power is clear and puts us on the side of those who refuse by all possible means to reproduce by act the chauvinist carnival.

We are anti-authoritarian in essence and therefore unpatriotic. We do not belong, either in form or in substance, to celebrations deifying the State which maintains our comrades Hans Niemeyer, Fuentevilla Freddy, Marcelo Villaroel and Nicolás Sandoval in prison.

We do not forget our comrades who resist in Chilean prisons and around the world. In times of alienation, we take the propaganda against patriotism, the military and the killing of animals during patriotic holidays as being an integral part of the ongoing conflict against all authority.

Against all odds

With individual strength and collective projection towards Freedom

**With all radical and autonomous forms of struggle
War without truce against all forms of power and authority**



COMBATIVE MEMORY

August 2013 - Chile

[This text was distributed on the second *Feria del libro y la propaganda anarquista* in Santiago.]

To a combative memory of the struggle in the streets in the 90s

During the 90s various forms of anti-capitalist expressions have arisen on university campuses, and not only in these places of course. The intention of this paper is to reclaim the memory and the struggle of active minorities converging in academic spaces, during the time of joy that never came about and the new times with the first two government consultations, after the negotiated end of the fascist military dictatorship, the famous transition.

When we speak of active minorities, we refer in particular to groups that have initiated and tried to propagate the struggle in the street, violent and direct against the cops. Although several names and acronyms appeared, some of which have lasted longer or are more known than others, here we will refer to those we consider most interesting. Let's start by saying that we are talking about horizontal groups that are autonomous of any political leadership external to themselves (and we'll see if it was always like this).

La Punta, La Vanguardia, the Cordón Macul

La Punta was a very radical street struggle group in Macul con Grecia, for example. This group was linked to the discourse and experience of the Lautaro Youth Movement, which itself was the youth branch of the politico-military organization Mapu Party (or Mapu-Lautaro). La Punta was constantly agitating for the freedom of political prisoners and its column of *encapuchadx*s confronted repeatedly the police.

La Vanguardia was composed of comrades who claimed to be anarchists, and mainly organized to go into the streets and attack the police, in particular from the Pedagógico and the Juan Gómez Milla campus of the University of Chile. They had a fierce speech against the Communist Party and against the Marxist sects in general. Several of its members later became part of the RAE.

The Cordón Macul is a name that has been heard a lot on the barricades of the 90s. Different groups of *encapuchadx*s would set fire to the democratic peace with their Molotov cocktails, from the Pedagógico, the University of Chile and the Utem, in the university complex called Macul con Grecia [academic complex

located at the corner of Macul and Grecia streets]. These were groups that coordinated in regular but informal meetings, especially during emblematic dates as March 29th (day of the young fighter), the massacre of Corpus Cristi and September 11th. Usually at September 11th the three universities at Macul con Grecia were closed, so *salidas* in the street (or *colas*) began in early September or even after the first classes started (after the patriotic holidays for the celebration of the assassin State!).

The RAE

The RAE (Autonomous Student Resistance) was born in 1993, and within it converged people who considered themselves as Marxists as well as anarchists, and this expressed itself in the different ways to sign RAE with the R inside a circle, or with the circle A. They proposed to coordinate various forms of student street struggle in the city of Santiago, but in practice they were concentrated around the Macul and Grecia streets which has already been mentioned before. Its members also tried to develop the street struggle and attacks with Molotov cocktails in the center of Santiago, from the Academy of Christian Humanism (also known as Locademia) or during the demonstrations of October 12th. The RAE didn't only act out by stones and Molotov, but also through propaganda (leaflets, brochures, banners and statements read at half improvised acts, with music from La Polla Records). Obviously, other groups that we mentioned also diffused propaganda in the streets.

It should be noted, as a comrade said, that many participants in Vanguardia and RAE (beside having sexist and brutal tendencies), after several years of radicalism, that were apparently more focused on the living of adrenaline experiments, took distance from all political and revolutionary discourse, and once out of college spent their time only to work for "making money", breaking with any antagonistic attitude. To say things clearly, this often happens, not just in these groups, we could not not mention.

A highlight of the struggles of the first five years of this decade was the blockade of the Pedagógico, the Chile and the Utem in 1994, during which *encapuchadx*s shot from inside the Utem with a firearm on the cops, injuring one of them. Shortly after this action, the commandos of GOPE (Special Police Operation Group) of the uniformed police raided the building, but students who were inside were already gone (literally running) and not only the comrades who had fired. An escaped *encapuchadx* is one who will continue to wage war in the streets.

(And if we have to mention some minority actions, we can not forget to mention two commando attacks that took place previously: the burning of the car of Marco Enríquez Ominami in the Chile, and of the car of the rector of the Pedagógico).

The Libertarian Anarchist Federation (FAL)

In 1994 the Libertarian Anarchist Federation was founded, not only from anarchist groups and individuals at the university, but also from *poblaciones* and even from union experiences. The FAL tried to be indeed a Federation of acrates groups, and it participated in the organization of a massive anarchist first of May in the blockaded Pedagógico in 1994, or in the acts of the CUT, with a libertarian and radical discourse. But it was disbanded because of contradictions within it, between sectors that put the confrontation and the struggle in the streets first, and others more concerned with the formal organization and with obtaining a certain political respectability for the - in those years - nascent anarchist movement. There were also contradictions within each sector. It should be noted that the FAL was signaled out by the press of the time, that attacked it through its newspapers, but that is not something to be surprised about, right?

The FAL was able to edit the flashy fanzine "El Estopín. El detonante de la Revolución Social". (The Primer. The detonator of Social Revolution).

The CRP (Revolutionary Coordination of the Pedagógico)

The Revolutionary Coordination of the Pedagógico was born in 1995, during a massive meeting in the abandoned casino of the Pedagógico (a building that no longer exists since several years). In it converged anarchist comrades and anti-authoritarian Marxists.

Despite the name being attached to a particular university, this collective of street struggle, as other groups and individuals who engaged in street confrontations with great mobility, it moved in different campuses of higher education, to spread propaganda, riots and clashes with cops: the University of Chile, the Usach or the Arcis. The CRP lasted several years, until about 1999. It has been repeatedly named/denounced by the capitalist press, especially after the tragic death on the barricades of the comrade Claudia López, on the 11th of September 1998.

Some fanzines

As we have already said, many of these resistance groups spread communiques and leaflets with slogans like War to the State; Freedom for Political Prisoners; Death to Capital; Revolution not reform, etc. But we want to talk a bit about photocopied fanzines that circulated from hand to hand. In the 90s fanzines on the most various topics were distributed in high schools, universities, *poblaciones*, concerts, exchange markets, and we want to focus on some of them directly related to the groups of street struggle and to the dissemination of libertarian ideas. Alongside the already mentioned and legendary "El Estopín", we can mention "El Fran-

cotirador” (The Maverick), which began to be published in 1996, and with an irregular periodicity, has managed to get more than 12 issues out. In addition to preserving the name and memory of comrade Claudia, we can not forget to note that in its last numbers they informed about and have solidarised in their editorial with the “4 of Córdoba”, anarchist insurrectionists prisoners (in December 1996 an attack took place in Spain on a bank that killed two cops and four comrades were arrested; Claudio Lavazza, Giovanni Barcia, Michele Pontolillo and Giorgio Rodríguez).

And within the anarchist publications we can not forget to mention the fanzine “Todos Moriremos” (We all die) for all the antibodies it generated in many people until today. At the beginning of the 2000s “Todos Moriremos” has released hundreds of copies of each issue and is characterized by an uncompromising critique of Leninist organizations and concepts, and all the holy icons of the left (even revolutionary) including the Cuban state. It should be noted that in its pages were published; the *31 Thèses Insurrectionnalistes*, an exclusive interview with the Collective of Political Prisoners “Kamina Libre” (Free Walk) or a digital edition of the book on the Angry Brigade. Admittedly, about the negative aspects of “Todos Moriremos”, we can not but speak of its ongoing attacks against the collective Kamina Libre, based on prejudice rather than on political arguments and differences.

During all these years the main slogan was for the freedom of political prisoners of the consultation governments. Each hunger strike was supported and there were solidarity days with clashes with cops, as well as the dissemination of propaganda, or the writing of letters to imprisoned comrades. We bring to mind that the political opposition and the Pinochet dictatorship prepared a negotiated and orderly transition since the late 80s. And in this context, several politico-military organizations proclaimed (in words and deeds) the continuity of the armed struggle against capitalism and the agents of state terrorism. We talk about the Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front (Autonomous), the MAPU Lautaro, various armed factions of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR - Revolutionary Army of the Poor - Free Country, MIR - Military Commission, MIR - National Liberation Army, etc.), and other smaller groups. During the Aylwin and Frei years, the police and intelligence apparatus will unleash a fierce war against the offensive of these armed groups; assassinations, torture, infiltration, and hundreds of political prisoners going through the jails of the murderous democracy. There was a permanent solidarity with these comrades with demonstrations and riots, and we can not forget that it was done in the majority of cases, without sharing their political positions nor the vanguard and hegemonic practices of the parties and micro-parties in which they were active in those years. But as the influence was in both directions, some comrades began to question the decisions of their leaders, and the directions and policies and even the hierarchy; and so will

appear the *Kollektif Kamina Libre*, already mentioned, with a speech and an aesthetic that will be expressed in its fanzines and informational sheets (*Libelo*, *Konciencia Alerta*, *TIRO*) and which in turn will influence many punk bands and active minorities who fought in the street in the late 90s and early 2000s.

At the end of the decade, at the corner of Macul and Grecia, one of the coarsest symbols of the society of capital and consumption will be build, a Macdonald. It will be attacked several times in those years, with actions from *encapuchadx*s who coordinated specifically for the occasion. But the most remarkable action that took place in this context is in 2004. We quote here what has already been written by other comrades: “In the late 90s and the early years of the 2000s, massive hunger strikes of political prisoners were held, despite their differences (sometimes large) and with the support and riots in the street, including direct actions such as the violent attacks of *encapuchadx*s against the Macdonald at Macul and Grecia in Santiago in 2004 (here the fact that the group of prisoners of Lautaro has condemned the attack in full hunger strike says a lot about the differences between the prisoners and about the evolution of some ex”revolutionary strategists of no return”). Some concentrated everything on the struggle and others gambled on negotiations with the state.” (From the preface of the book “*Je hais les matins*”, Jann-Marc Rouillan, Édition Septiembre Negro, March 2010, Santiago).

Other groups and other practices of attack

Within the areas we analyzed will appear comrades who question the sometimes ritual and attached to the calendar of events, character of demonstrations and struggle practices in the street, but without giving up direct combat or the revolutionary violence. And they will form small anonymous and closed groups, in order to deepen the technical knowledge to achieve more daring actions and that qualify as propaganda (of the deed). The conspiratorial character avoids detection by the police, beyond the fact that it has worked or not. Thus, in 1996, 1997, 1998 and 1999, during excursions in the street from the Pedagógico, the University of Chile, the University of Concepción, or during the main demonstration of the September 11th at the general cemetery, you would hear strong detonations of bombs made with black powder. As we can see, some comrades took seriously the slogan that said: “Caltrop, barricades, that the armed struggle begins!”. (And those who criticize it conveniently from their offices, saying that it is only noise bombs or firecrackers, that they throw even a single stone before they fill their mouth with empty words).

We want to dedicate these pages to the dear comrade Claudia López, who was shot in the back by the cops on the barricades of the *población* La Pincoya, the night of September 11th, 1998. Claudia is a remarkable protagonist of this story of barricades and shooting. She

actively participated in the “Francotirador”, in the CRP, and in other affinity groups. She was the first to gather the equipment to block roads, going to meetings (in high spirits most of the time, bored at other times) to coordinate the days of agitation, and the last to return home once the fire and smoke dissipated in the avenues. When she started to study in the Pedagógico she had already militated in the JJCC and in university she wrote to political prisoners and was the leader of the Spanish student’s center during the long blockade of the campus in 1994; and in a few years she would radicalize, approaching anarchism each time more until her heart turns completely black. We went out dozens of times on the street, to fight against the cops, including against the red cops. We will never forget her, and we will not forget her funeral in the dance center Espiral; shouting, ban-

ners, slogans and communiques from her friends and comrades, the dignity of her parents and brothers in this difficult time, the direct confrontation with the police at the cemetery, almost 15 years ago.

“Because these subversive and stronger seeds will give life to the next BARRICADE!”

These words are dedicated with love, tenderness and rebellion to our sisters/brothers, those that the wind has taken with, those imprisoned in the jails of the State, those who pass on the path of illegality and those who devote their desires and energy fighting this slave system. In every gesture, in every barricade, in every beautiful revolt brew the seeds of subversion.



PRISONS RISE UP

Publicación Refractario - July 2013 - Bolivia

“When a prison riot starts, even those who accept the rules of society are roused by the noble temptation of freedom; when the ceilings of the prisons are pulled off by fire or rebels, we throw their hands off our shoulders and identify the enemy.”

Note from Refractario : In their zeal, these words have no intention of victimizing the prisoners of the Bolivian State, but rather simply describing events that took place in the jails here. The echoes of our anarchist will reach those living confined in the State’s cold slave pens.

Mass riots in Bolivian jails began a year ago, calling for the resignation of Ramiro Llanos, the director of the penal system; demanding an end to delays of justice, “humane” treatment, and transportation to hearings. Foreign prisoners demanded to be sent to their countries of origin, and everyone demands an increase to the daily expenses that feed each individual [*prediario*]. Added to the protests is the unfulfilled agreement signed in February 2013 between the prisoners in San Pedro (La Paz) and the penal system, which brought a recess and a suspension of the riots, giving a period of three months for compliance with all of the agreed-upon points. Ramiro Llanos denied knowledge of this document, and to this day the prisoners’ demands have not been met.

The State plans to apply new rules on the penal system that fix harsher conditions for prisoners as well as visitors. They are ordering the systematic transfer of prisoners from San Pedro to other panopticon-style prisons far from the city of La Paz. They plan on not receiving new prisoners beginning on July 17th, and have announced the closure of this prison as a repressive measure against the constant protests that have arisen in the La Paz penitentiary. The riots are frequent, and the State intends to break them up through the transfer of prisoners to more distant jails. The transfer of the San Pedro inmates [that oftentimes live with their families on the inside] will cause more isolation due to the distance of the prisons where they are to be sent; this will mean that their families will have even more difficulty visiting them, since 80% of the prisoners and their families are poor.

Summary of the 2013 riots

On January 17th Llanos (director of the penal system) was taken hostage by the prisoners in San Pedro as a response to the constant threats to move them to other prisons if they mobilize or make demands. The repressive forces confronted the prisoners to rescue him. Llanos saved himself thanks to a few prisoner delegates,

who prevented him from being strung up. Protests were unleashed as prisoners resisted the plan for 39 minors from the Calahuma Center for Youth Rehabilitation to be transferred to San Pedro in La Paz. After that day, Llanos no longer had the guts to reenter that combative prison. During the whole month, the prison was in a state of mutiny and riot, with all nine sections taking over all of the jail buildings. Flames were seen on the roofs and yards.

On this latest 10th of June, prisoners in the territory began new uprisings and protests, condemning the fact that only four of every hundred preliminary injunction hearings take place, while the rest are suspended. The principal slogan was a call for the resignation of Llanos. The State's intention is to close the San Pedro prison, sending the convicts to the "Chonchoro" maximum security prison, and those less than 25 years of age to the Calahuma Center for Youth Rehabilitation, and the preventive prisoners to jails in Patacamaya and Sica Sica, hundreds of kilometers from the city of La Paz, as a reprisal and punishment for the fact that this prison has been in a state of emergency since 2012, demanding the director's resignation.

Beginning on June 24th, simultaneous protests were initiated in the jails of El Abra in the city of Cochabamba and San Pedro in the city of Oruro. They demanded that their water and electrical services not be cut, as the State had not paid the bills.

On June 26th, the reaction in the Chonchocoro maximum security prison did not wait long after the announcement that prisoners from San Pedro would be transferred there.

On July 2nd, the Chonchocoro and Calahuma prisons protested and announced that they would be in a state of alert, facing the possible transfer of inmates from another prison, which would cause overcrowding in both facilities.

We hope for unity and solidarity among prisoners in Bolivian territory, and that they don't let the State divide them by "sectional negotiations" (turning one group against the other), as it has frequently done to end riots.

Poverty is punished with prison

"Crime is not punished, but poverty is."
(Words of an elder in the San Pedro prison)

In the prisons here, the majority of the population is poor. Nevertheless, the wealthier can live more comfortably, because cash rules. The poor have to survive miserable conditions, sickness, and destitution. For example, in the jail of San Pedro in La Paz the maintenance of cells, infrastructure, recreational space, the kitchen, cleaning materials, medications, and other goods are self-directed by the prisoners themselves. The State has

knowledge of this context, but in its insensitivity and contempt toward the poor, it forces them to pay for their stint in prison with their own resources.

It is the poor who feel the harsh impact of prison society, both those in the hands of a judge who will determine whether or not they go to jail, and the preventive prisoners who must show that they have an established family, a home, personal guarantors, or an economic guarantee or job. All of these factors diminish one's ability to move to house arrest. Thus, the question is: Are all prisoners in an economic position to benefit from this? The permanence of a poor majority in prisons is continually perpetuated, and for them the penal system is even harsher, with scarce opportunities to get out. The maximum period of preventive detention is 36 months. In Bolivian prisons, there are preventive detainees who have been in for more than three years without being sentenced (in some cases five or eight years). This cruel setting causes intentional overcrowding in prisons, and ensures that they are filled with the poor. The State is going to implement one more condition for release into house arrest: If a prisoner wants to get out, they must buy an anklet with a GPS chip at a cost of \$4,000. This will only benefit those who have the ability to pay the cost. For those without means, there is only the hope that one day they will be able to get out. There are many older prisoners, and many with medical conditions, who request a move to house arrest; with the pardon law passed on December 24th, 2012, very few walked free. There is no adequate medical care or efficient method for medical leave, even in cases of emergency treatment. While bureaucratic paperwork slows everything down, the result of this inefficiency is that individuals' health continues to deteriorate, and in many cases prisoners die from lack of medication or medical attention. Additionally, after being imprisoned it is difficult to find a job with a prior criminal record. This is all permitted by the State's indifference.

In the maximum security prison of Chonchocoro, located in Viacha, there is no potable water; they have only one well to provide their water, which is still not potable.

Life in prisons in Bolivia is determined by one's economic status. The majority have to work at whatever they can to survive and pay for their housing, bed, blanket, medication, and other goods. Among prisoners, food and clothing is bought and sold, and everything is a commodity. Prison makes visible the misery of an authoritarian society that chooses who to protect and who to leave in the dungeon.

The complicity of Press and Power

The role of yellow, sensationalist journalism is to adjust "information" to state versions, causing prisoners to be seen with disdain, and causing a broader "societal" rejection for them.

To this day, the penal establishment has diverted attention in other directions thanks to collaborationist coverage from the Press. As well, they have claimed that there was a supposed child rape in San Pedro, and that there is a drug lab inside the La Paz prison; these facts were made up by Llanos, but were refuted by the prisoners.

The State has succeeded in minimizing and smearing the prison riots through yellow journalists, as well as the frequent threats to send the prisoner representatives to other prisons, as they have them identified. The servile role of the disinformation media packages all of this to create an unfavorable situation for the prisoners. In San Pedro, they agreed voluntarily to the removal of children older than 11, and on July 8th they met again with state representatives and agreed to include all children older than 6 years of age.

Repudiation of rapists

In the Palma Sola jail, in the city of Santa Cruz de La Sierra, it came out that minors had been sexually abused. These deeds are detestable, and we repudiate them. Lamentably, this happens not only in Bolivian prisons where children live, but also in schools, churches, shelters, and orphanages, while these same spaces are also prisons by other names. Ramiro Llanos, director of the penal system, used these detestable acts to generalize about all prisoners, and take advantage of “public opinion.” Among the San Pedro prisoners, a collective agreement to prohibit the entrance of inmates who had committed rape emerged as another means of struggle. From the posters that remain on the walls and door of the prison, they do not simply call for Llanos to resign, but call for the prison population to reject rapists.

The State’s well known repressive strategy is the division, infiltration, intimidation, and punishment to make an example of individuals; thus the government is able to weaken, divide, and break up movements through negotiations per prison section. The increase in conditions of control and surveillance in the penal system are part of the maintenance of bourgeois society. It is thought that prison is the solution for “citizen security” or to reduce “delinquency.” Through this paradigm the State’s only real intention is to protect privileges and maintain the

interests of the rich. This background undeniably shows us, for example, that some steal to eat, while others infringe on the law in order to avoid complicity with the impositions of this decadent society. Prisons in Bolivia, as in the world as a whole, reflect this society on a small scale; they are small cities wherein the imperfections of the system we live in are made visible: There are the privileged, the poor, those who serve as snitches for the police or administrators of “justice.” There are drugs and alcohol in prisons because the same administrators and police want these small worlds to rot with vice and sicknesses. Thus, as Power secures the privileges of the State/Capital, it shows its disdain for the poor and those who struggle against it.

Anarchist solidarity is extended to those who suffer punishment, those who do not bend to norms, those who survive in any way they can while the powerful exploit and destroy the earth. This is a humble call to struggle for a different world than the one that they have imposed on us.

Fight against the State with all your strength; the constant wait for a generalized mass revolt is a truly utopian desire that only perpetuates, strengthens, and assures the enemy’s continued existence. Move to the offensive, conspire, act; there is no reason to wait for the masses to rise, or for the appropriate conditions. While we are waiting, authority, repression, surveillance, and punishment are extended ever stronger against the poor and those who have decided to take the offensive. Attack loving that which you dream and feel inside, and hating society’s penury.

We do not forget our comrades who are locked up in the hateful enemy’s dungeons. Neither do we forget those who have decided to flee, showing their rejections of state persecution in a society that is falling apart and needs prisons to keep us scared and allow itself to continue. To our comrades: our sincerest greetings, laden with anarchist complicity.

Towards a community of free association and informal organization, without prisons, State, or Capital.

Fire to the prisons, fire to authority, solidarity with the prisoners in Bolivian territory!



CHRONOLOGY OF SOCIAL WAR IN THE STREETS OF PORTO ALEGRE

Agitação - August 2013 - Brazil

Even though the recent wave of demonstrations that seized the streets of many cities on the territory controlled by the Brazilian State could be interpreted as something unexpected and surprising, they are the result of an accumulation of paths of struggle which have taken place in a diffused and progressive manner since the beginning of the 21st century. To trip and fall into the discourse that comes from the media, namely that the diffusion of struggle would be a fact that will be historically isolated, would make these events fall into silence and cancel a memory which should be, on the contrary, reinforced in order to be a fuel for future battles and to be used for self-critique in order to evaluate the mistakes made and attempt to avoid repeating them.

The struggle against the hike in public transit fares did not surface suddenly during these last weeks; it was built up over the course of the past ten years in different places, and put, for the first time, many youths, whose hearts are filled with revolt, in contact with forms of self-organization outside leaderships and political parties. Public transit is nothing more than movement within the veins and arteries of this enormous prison that we call a city, the movement of a structure whose logic is based on power, domination, and control. All demands to reform this structure in the end goes back to beg miserably over chains and handcuffs to continue to feed those who, fat and arrogant, continue to sit comfortably in their armchairs.

The biggest merit of this process of struggle, which culminated in the recent social storm, consists of having opened up the possibility of putting many dissatisfied people in contact with a real conflictuality in the streets. The possibility that the youth—borne of a political reality where apathy rules and where all memories of the region's rich history of examples of furious resistance, of struggle, and of defense for life and freedom is silenced—can continue being a part of and building this history.

It needs to be pointed out that while people were taking the streets, the reformist demands were quickly run over by the accumulated rage of those who live on a daily basis the humiliation and exploitation that is characteristic to every individual far away from the privilege of the few whom this society satisfies. What has emerged during these weeks is a mess that goes well beyond the 20 centavos, and which violently shook the much-valued social peace that, in practice, only exists in the fantasies of ordered minds. The media, this machine that lobotomizes and forms opinion, pushed forward the complaints of the State and of the owning class in front of the amount of destruction that swept through the streets like a hurricane. They opted for a strategy that demonstrated the capacity of democracy to integrate and silence the authentic revolt that attacked the materialization of power.

The previous tactic, which consisted in not mentioning (or rarely mentioning) all critical manifestations towards the present state of things, has been replaced by highlighting orderly demonstrations, non-confrontational protests, and the exalted stimulation of citizenism, thus creating a fertile terrain for framing as criminal the countless actions of attack against material commodities and the representatives of the imposed order. The illusory citizenist participation that ended up being driven by the State, through the means of communication and the bosses, showed a strategy of searching for pacification, trying in vain to hide the Sun with a sieve. The real pressure that the powerful felt during the protests arrived with the stubborn action of those who searched to attack oppression in all its forms.

The problem has ceased to be the demonstrations in themselves, but has become instead the presence of “vandals” who “infiltrate” “legitimate demonstrations.” In reality, what happened was what many people dreamed of, and what many feared. And what still many others would say they desired, but who had renounced to positions of conflictuality and solidarity because they had been pushed away and scared off by the reality of things: *the favela under the asphalt*. The acts stigmatized as violent are the direct consequence, and the direct responsibility, of a political-economic system based on the commercialization of life, on absolute control, on daily police violence, on the existence of prison as a mechanism of punishment for unproductive people. The criminal/innocent dichotomy is a game, a farce destined to justify the real terrorism of the State which rose in reaction to the revolt.

It is not about a criminalization born on this occasion, but of a logic which criminalizes everything that stands in the way of the development and the projects of Capital, trying to define the acts of rebellion as acts without meaning, taking advantage of it to put in place a new anti-terrorist law. This temporary emergency law that responds to the requirements of the imminent sporting events, based on the terrible *National Security Law*, notably carries a sentence from 15 to 30 years of prison for acts that until then had been simply considered “vandalism,” and makes the blockage of public transportation, considered essential to the proper functioning of these events, a cause for penal condemnation. They target as violence the destruction of private property, to better hide the growing destruction of Earth, the advancement of a killer progress which profits on the blood that it sucks from nature, of the communities crushed and evicted, of the people that see on a daily basis their dignity wiped out by prisons, by schools, by factories, by hospitals, by mental asylums....

The positions taken by the President, and by all the politician-trash, in favor of the taking into account the demands on the public transportations and “the struggle against corruption”, followed quickly by other “voices from the streets”, expressed their fear and their effort to contain in one way or another everything that was going

on. Now they suddenly acted, as if these are demands to which they had never paid a minimum of attention up until that point had all of a sudden become an imperative matter, in the form of the famous student pass—before then considered a laughable demand, far away and out of the question by the majority of the governments and which, as if by magic, was to be approved now with the highest priority. Therefore, their real priorities were kept in place as if nothing had happened: the projects of energy production [nuclear power and dams], inherited by the military dictatorship, continued being launched; the militarization of the zones indispensable to the development of these projects; the evictions and forced displacements as well. The same thing happened in the big cities where, whether for the mega-events like the football World Cup or after the taking over of spaces for the privileged classes, entire communities were either displaced and/or “pacified.”

The World Cup represents an Earth-shaking event in the lives of many people on the whole of this territory. Thinking that the money invested should be destined to healthcare or education comes back to blindly trusting the State. It’s sort of like believing in Santa Claus. We live at the height of the relationship between the State and the businessman/manager, the establishment of a regime where the market and those who benefit from it—the rich—rule together. The democratic regime has always functioned this way, with a carrot in one hand a stick in the other, a duality which has produced a generalized apathy which, little by little, is fortunately in the process of being torn down and of being subverted by a recent culture of struggles which bring back direct action as a motor of social transformation.

In Porto Alegre since last year, we have seen the conflict better express itself in the streets. It spread for the same reasons throughout the territory, and it boiled until it progressively took the proportions that it holds today in the city, without asking permission to anyone, and without centralized organization. In the meantime repression also sharpened its claws, pursuing anarchist groups and individuals, and blaming them for the wild wave of destruction. The “police intelligence” showed once again the incompatibility of these two words. It created the ground to build up an other media circus, throwing around exaggerated declarations, like the one of the State Governor, who compared anarchists with the extreme-right garbage. Resting on a vertical logic, and therefore opposed to anarchist principles, they aim at anti-authoritarians as the leaders and ideologues of the acts of attack against private property, which mostly demonstrates a certain powerlessness of the forces of law and order, but also opens at the same time a space for State vengeance against those who historically have declared themselves enemies of the existing order.

These stormy moments, including the intensification of the repressive context and a psychological terror everyday more intense, have to be the motor for our capacity of transformation and creation, sharpening the daggers

of solidarity and agitation, and practicing anarchy as a constant tension within this world of misery, and showing it once again that there is no dialogue possible with the powerful, and no explanations to give them. The acts

of rebellion, often carried out spontaneously by the furious explosion of hate which provoke authority and repression, without resting necessarily on ideological and theoretical models, often speak for themselves.

Short chronology of the social war lived in the streets of Porto Alegre during the last years (provisional, open and non-exhaustive chronology):

4th march 2012: During a demonstration against the fare hike, there is a small clash between a few demonstrators and the Military Brigade, and the robots in uniform are attacked with the sticks of the flags. A garbage container is set ablaze.

4th october 2012: During a demonstration for public spaces, a few youngsters make fun of the inflatable puppet of Coca-Cola/FIFA and dance around it. The police attacks them to “defend” the puppet, which in turn is answered: a vehicle of the Military Brigade has its windshield smashed. A bank is damaged. 6 people are arrested, 4 are released that same night, the other 2 a few days later, and 20 people are injured. One cop suffers from a severe trauma after being hit by stones. After a long media polemic, the Coca-Cola/FIFA puppet is taken off the streets.

27th march 2013: During another demonstration against the increase of the price of public transit, the demonstrators try to enter in the city hall and confront the Municipal Guard, and one demonstrator is arrested. The building is covered in tags and the majority of the windows are smashed. Two motorcycles and one car of the Municipal Guard are attacked. A journalist at the service of power is beaten up.

1st April 2013: 6000 people are on the streets, and the city hall closes down early. The demonstration spreads in the city centre, where the circulation is completely interrupted from 6pm on. The walls are covered with slogans of different colors.

4th April 2013: 5000 people gather in the centre under the rain against the hiking of the fares of the omnibus, and begin marching in an animated protest. A few Omnibus are tagged and scratched; one has its windows smashed by rocks. A few paintbombs are thrown in the building of the Edel Trade Center, where you can find banks, the Peruvian consulate, etc. One window of the Volkswagen Panambra is broken while the sheep bleat. In front of the building of the EPTC (enterprise of public transports and circulation, an accomplice of the hikes), a group smashes a window, and in the meantime firecrackers are thrown

all around towards the police and the media. A controller of the public enterprise of the minibus Carris, who proposed that it is better to support the protest over the internet rather than on the street, is tripped.

11th of April 2013: A new gathering takes place at the Araújo Viana auditorium, to then start from Protásio Alves Avenue, towards the ATP (the transport passengers’ association). The facades are the canvas of new spraypaintings, the windows are smashed, a mobile unit is also vandalized. 1000 people stay in front of the building until 23 o’clock. The next day, this location of the association is not reopened. .

23 April 2013: 500 people gather in front of the provincial government building, spraypainting their demand for a reduction of the omnibus fares.

29th May 2013: Around 4 o’clock in the morning, in the middle of a strong storm, 200 cops of the Military Brigade, of the Special Operations Unit and of the Special Tactical Action Unit, attack together a camp which had been ongoing since 43 days to defend some centenary trees. This camp was preventing the construction of the enlargement of an avenue required by the FIFA to allow access to Veira Rio. 27 people were brought to the police station and accused of public contempt and other charges. That same morning, dozens of the trees were already cut down. This merits a few words of contextualization: the protests against the hiking of the omnibus tickets had generalized from the north to the south of the territory controlled by the Brazilian state. In certain cities, millions of people demonstrated. And things became serious. The ivory tower of the politicians began to tremble. More than just the matter of transit fare hikes, from the opening day of the Confederation Football Cup, where Dilma (president of Brazil) and Bletter (president of FIFA) were booed in the stadium, up until the final, each game was accompanied by a war outside of the spotlights of the stadium, against FIFA, the State, and Capital, against this system of misery. Even the sports commentators spoke about the demonstrations. It could be just a first taste of what they could expect during the World Cup... Let’s hope it is like this...

13th June 2013: “*Love is over, here it’s going to turn into Turkey.*” Almost 2000 people participate in the demonstration in solidarity with what is unraveling on the Brazilian territory. The path is covered in tags and everything that symbolizes power is attacked during the march. 6 banks have their windows broken, 1 building of the mobile telephone company Oi is trashed and spray-painted. Some stones and other noisy and unidentified objects fly in the direction of the courthouse. The patrol of EPTC and other vehicles are attacked. The parking meters are left unusable. A car from the media group RBS is surrounded and attacked while it is transporting some officials to the airport. One window is damaged, by being shaken and scratched. The next day, its newspaper Zero Hora, the most widely spread in the region publishes a picture of a burning barricade with the caption: “They have crossed the limits.” 40 containers of garbage are used as barricades during the clashes against the Military Brigade, which diverts the conflict by intervening in the neighbourhood Cidade Baixa, breaking and dispersing the demonstration. 23 people are arrested and then released, 1 cop is injured. The following days the newspaper reports: “*Yes to the protest, no to violence.*” Experts and charlatans rush to analyze the violence of this night of anti-systemic partying, with the obvious goal to gather public opinion in a herd, and to avoid that the situation escalates. However, their efforts are not at the level of their intentions, the rage against this system is neither contained nor swept away, and the cold and rainy nights of demonstration are more and more fiery...

17 June 2013: Millions of people take the streets of the major cities of Brazil, determined for a confrontation. In Porto Alegre, the demonstration unleashes with 15,000 people. The main streets are blocked by the march which heads towards the building of the Rbs Zero Hora. The cops prevent it from passing by the glass temple of lies, scams, and social massification. The headquarters of the Federal Police are trashed, a Honda dealership has 31 windows broken, motorcycles are damaged, while some pacifist sheep try to stop the pillages, but several institutions do not escape this. About 10 bank agencies are attacked and severely damaged. The Institute of Identification / Institute of General Expertise (Civil Police), where documents are packaged, is damaged. The Volkswagen Panambra dealership is smashed and a few cars are trashed. On the streets, the walls that were once white, now scream rage. 60 containers of garbage are set on fire. A patrol of the Military Brigade is surrounded and attacked with sticks. On João Pessoa Avenue, many barricades are erected. On the way, 5 omnibus are trashed, and in front of Redenção Park, an omnibus is burned. During the night, 371 buses of the public company Carris are withdrawn from circulation for safety reasons. Around 23 o’clock, a group attacks and breaks the windows of the courthouse, then is dispersed around the Palácio Piratini and the Legislative Assembly (government buildings) with frag grenades. 2 people are arrested at this location, and in total

there are 38 arrests during the riots of this night, while 4 people are seriously injured. All the demonstrations are filmed by a helicopter of the group RBS/Globo, and broadcast on the regional channel TVCOM. The next day the government meets with its security service and the top three newspapers of the province decorate them with a photo of a burning omnibus.

June 20th 2013: In the afternoon, the Civil Police raids the anarchist library *A Batalha da Várzea* in the neighbourhood of Cidade Baixa, and confiscates plastic bottles filled with used cooking oil to be sent to recycling, as well as books. From this day on, anarchists receive undesirable police visits to their homes. In over 100 cities of Brazil, demonstrations shake the routine of Capital, interrupt normality, attack and affront power and its institutions. Under the rain, and even though it is only 14 degrees outside, almost 20,000 people move through the streets of Porto Alegre and harshly clash with the Military Brigade. The whole demonstration is accompanied by helicopters and broadcast live. Around the building of RBS/Zero Hora the clashes begin again: rockets, stones, artisanal devices, Molotov cocktails against the plastic balls and fragmentation grenades. For the second time, the headquarters of the Federal Police is intensely attacked with stones, while a burning barricade is burnt. Even though the cops guarding the windows call for calm, the local Honda dealership is destroyed for the second time; the same goes for the Institute of Identification which will remain closed for weeks. On the other side of the street, the João Pessoa Mall is not left alone and gets severely damaged. Dozens of banks are trashed, with some efforts to set them on fire, but this is contained by the fire brigade. There is the detonation of an artisanal bomb at the headquarters of the *Jornal do Comércio*. The headquarters of the PT and PMDB parties, at the moment in power, are attacked. In order to avoid the diffusion of barricades during the riots, that same morning the DMLU (Municipal Department of Urban Property) takes away 80 garbage containers. Many shops are looted, the estimated damages reach 600 000 reals. The city hall declares the damages to be 825 000 reals. 830 police are present to carry out the repression, the highest effective number in 5 years. 20 cops are injured and 20 people are arrested and brought to the Central Jail. Around midnight, actions of masked groups are spreading in the city centre, confronting the police with firecrackers and artisanal devices, spray painting, destroying, trying to set fires, looting. One inhabitant of the centre attempts to stop a fire that had already caught on in a bank Itú and threatening the masked people with a revolver, everyone manages to escape. Frightened, the mayor José Fortunati follows the protest through the surveillance cameras in the Integrated Command Centre of the city of Porto Alegre (CEIC). The next day, the president Dilma Roussef summons an emergency meeting with the ministers, and cancels her trip to Japan. The president of the Central bank does the same with a meeting scheduled in London with some “investors”. The

north american state department declares that they are closely following the protest movement in brazil. The services of the Bazilian Agency of Intelligence (ABIN) publish on the internet all their analysis on the situation, setting up a system of on-line surveillance with 700 preset key-words to search. Brad Pitt cancels his trip to brazil for the screening of the film "World War Z", where he plays the Governor of Rio Grande do Sul. Tarso Genro launches a slandering campaign against anarchists, which exercise "fascist tendencies" as the leaders of the street violence which hates "everything but themselves".

24th june 2013: During mid-afternoon in a preventive move the police block the leading streets to the Matriz Square, the municipality orders the removal of 80 garbage containers, the stores close. 10 000 people demonstrate this day in Porto Alegre, the cops disperse the crowd throwing tear gas grenades in the city centre, dividing and pushing away small groups. In the centre and in the neighbourhood of Cidade Baixa, groups attack property, destroying, looting, setting fires, building barricades, and a dozen banks pay the price. The buildings of the city and of the State are attacked, Tudo Facil (a club of the city), the CEEE (public company of electric energy), DMLU, the City Security for the Youth are all trashed. Some stones and molotovs are thrown against the building of SMIC (public prosecutors of the city). About 30 containers of garbage are set on fire, vehicles are attacked, in the centre a huge amount of shops are looted. The union of the shop owners declares to have sustained 2 million reales of damages, without taking into account 60% of their revenue for the day itself. The firemen extinguish more than thirty fires. Next to a bank, some masked people threaten a team of journalists of the TV station Pampa, until they agree to take out two memory cards from their cameras. 103 people are arrested, and most are brought to the central prison.

27 June 2013: A "cultural" demonstration is called out to gather in front of the headquarters of the State-governor, the Palacio Piratini. The whole zone is sieged by the Military Brigade, who has also asked for reinforcements from the inside of the country. The group of "organizers" of the demonstration enters the lair of the government to beg for reformist illusions and ask the help of the governor. In the meantime, some angry demonstrators tear down the security barriers and attack the Military Brigade with rocks. One sergeant is injured in the eye during the clashes, then the groups scatter themselves through the streets of the centre and of Cidade Baixa, carrying out some attacks, while trying to escape the enormous contingent of Military Brigades which is chasing them, in a real manhunt, broadcast live by TVCOM. The governor ends the night with a speech praising the troupes that defended the palace.

1st July 2013: In the early hours of the morning after the victory celebration for the advancement of the brazilian football team to the next round of the Confederation Cup, three vehicles of the Military Brigade are set on fire. Two in Porto Alegre in the parking lot of the Secretary of Public Security, a place that also holds the offices of the Military Brigade, the Civil Police, the Susep (prison guards), the Detran (circulation), as well as the telephone service 190 of the police. A few anonymous entered in the darkness of the parking lot and boldly struck two vehicles, reducing them to scrap metal. In the surrounding, a dozen containers were burned during the same night. In the city of Founora Xavier, an other vehicle of the Military Brigade was completely destroyed by the flames, and two other parked cars beside also became unusable because of the fire.



THE HOODIES ARE TALKING. BECAUSE THE FIGHT IS JUST ABOUT TO BEGIN

Coordination of shadows - September 2013 - Mexico

First message of the coordination of the shadows.

“The individual wearing a hoodie on the head does not represent the people, he does not stand for a group of illuminated ones on the rescue of us all. History doesn’t write about them. “They” are not “them”, they are us, unchaining the outraged instinct against the logic of capitalism...”

Anonymous pamphlet, Chili 2009

“We don’t have any illusions. We don’t have any hope. That is why we are dangerous. We are not expecting from them to take this into account. Day by day they are covering our shouts with their lies. Farewell. They will see us from out of their sofas, on their televisions. History, we are coming. Look at the sky, high.”

“We are destroying the social peace they are constructing day and night, brainwashing the citizens so they will obey and shut up (...) It are not our words that are cruel. Cruel is their reality.”

Insurgent Youngsters. Greece, winter 2008

To the youth that fights.

To the collectives and individuals tired of the reformist and conciliating pantomimic .

To the rebels that resist the Mexican enterprising state offensive and its leftist accomplices.

To the receptive ears.

Recently, the vortexes of rebellion have been unchained in the streets of the big cities administered by the Mexican state. New winds carry with them – revitalized - the practices and ideas of rebellion; it are winds, at the moment passengers that signal the extension of our burning desires, the arrival of revolutionary cataclysms that had been frozen up till then. We that are, like many others, aspiring the fall of the mega structure have seen with joy groups of insurgents, armed with their bodies, their passions and their craftsman ingenuity storming the stability of the systems foundations. We are part of it and thereby it is our turn to defend our ideas. This is not the Mexican spring, it is the subversive winter that is here to stay, young, determined and masked, like in the rest of the world. It is our turn to speak.

The CNTE [*National coordination of educational workers, radical current of the national union of teachers*] doesn’t represent us, not more than does MORENA [*Movement of National Regeneration, a left party*] and

his crazy leader; the big congresses of the “social movement” where orators talk about everything except real struggle don’t represent us neither, nor do the 123 [the *Indignant* Mexican students], or the tribunes of the already tamed students. We don’t recognize any representative, we are not the party trying to glue discontent together by use of its slogans (whether they be “historical”, “burning” or “innovative”); other comrades have said it before, we are not part of any party because there is no party that can affront our final objective.

We are the children from the margins, which grew up eating carcinogen food from cans, in suffocating and miserable homes, in the middle of publicity saturated with images and lies, surrounded by oppressive and degrading values. We are part of those millions of scandalous numbers, of the ones that are called the “neither nor’s” (that don’t work nor study), of those millions of people that study and don’t find any work or of those that work/study and fill up their pockets with nothing but crumbles, frustrations and rancor. “High” culture doesn’t reach up to where we are, we have been educated by mass culture and despite everything, - today- our reference points are direct solidarity and action without intermediary. We are the hard elements amongst the numbers, we are the little numbers in the red of the bill, we are those that started to exist while masking up and spitting out their hatred. We are proud to be the spearhead of a new planetary subversion. We don’t want to have anything to do anymore with their structures stuck in the mud and our war is going against the values that feed their symbolic labyrinths.

We will not engage to more analyze filled with boring facts of what the system is stealing from us. It is about time to shell the educational, energy or financial reform, we are neither statisticians nor statesmen. The state-government is a controlling organism, born out of the necessity to oppress the already oppressed; none of their reforms, of their changes, their refinements or revolutions belong to us, they are part of their logic, unacceptable for those who desire like us a world free of tyrants. The state-government is a fundamental part of this model of life that generates frustrations, hatreds and even consciousnesses that aim (or should aim) at its destruction. It is this model that steals us of our life, this life in which they tell us what we should do, or not do, directly or indirectly, from the day we are born. We cannot decide about anything, even if we are carrying the structure on our shoulders and if it is turning because of our arms. The state, the economic organization and the society it creates have always dictated our every step, up till the drafting of how we will die. They have decided about everything and soon they will tell us how and against what we should revolt.

“Revolt needs everything, journals and books, arms and explosives, reflections and curses, poisons, daggers and arsons. The only interesting question is how to combine them.”

Ai Ferri Corti, insurrectionist pamphlet

We are departing from a no, we don’t want to be citizens with an established role. We don’t want to be protesters marching on a limited path (friendly and resolutely inoffensive). We don’t want to be merchandises of flesh and bone that are living to produce and consume according to an absurd and criminal cycle. We want to rebel and through our rebellion we want to negate their world and all of the ruses they are using to readjust us; the logics of negotiation, of conciliation and assimilation. We want to affront all aspects of domination: the nation, machismo, religion, all of this shit that want us at its service and orders.

We are aiming for these impulses of revolt to extend in our lives and the one of others. Revolt doesn’t limit itself to the moments in which we are scandalized and when we are atrophying certain places in the city; when we are tagging, shouting, running, destroying or intervening, as well as the playful, aesthetic and creative potential is very important. Revolt is not only strident; it is in every negating gesture and act that tends towards the construction of another reality. We are calling on the comrades to extend the speech and the action, the battle does not only take place in big groups of comrades, we can unchain revolt directly in other spaces, using little resources, in a small number, and even alone. Conviction and planning will do the job. Taking back our lives thereby becomes a daily practice. For example, the recuperations (expropriations, “theft”) are an instrument at our disposal to realize ourselves and to cover our personal needs as well as to distribute what we have recuperated amongst the oppressed and thereby agitate. Revolt needs words, rhythm, infrastructure and taste.

“The spectacle has wanted to picture us as dreadful; we know that we are worse.”

Mentenguer, Spanish Rapper

Idiots behind microphones and “public” pens have tried to slander us with qualifications they don’t understand: vandals, anarchists, provocateurs, adherences of violence. We are vandals because we are not repressing our destructive élan necessary to fracture the social machine. The illusion of stability that the system wants to sell us is only breaking through the rebellious (conscious) violence. The antagonism exists! The powerful and their cops are not and can never be our equals! They don’t deserve any respect! We are anarchists because we don’t recognize their authority and because we put our confidence in the capacities of individuals to self organize (as well as in our own capacities); don’t let them say it is impossible, practices of autonomy and horizontal organization exist in many places around the world (including Mexico), and we have seen organizational experiences (certainly not perfect but real) between free and equal people in different rebellious expressions throughout history. We jumped into spaces where we can develop our subversive practice; and with this we try to recognize ourselves in the different expressions of unconformity, even if they are adopting discourses that can be assimilated by the system, because in these move-

ments we can find comrades that (after having experimented the struggle in the street) abandon or will abandon the misery of reformism, to assume a revolutionary posture; many of us have gone through this process and we are not ashamed of it. In the meanwhile, in the light of recent experiences we hold onto making a warning: we need to be intelligent if we want to act in this way; we are not representing any vertical movement, nor any acronyms or charts of mass organizations like the unions, and acting inside of their mobilizations implies a strong risk. These groups have already attacked our comrades. Why searching for accomplices insides of protests gangrened by police-citizens? It would be better to create spaces where these comrades could join us. We are not rejecting on beforehand moments on which it is worthwhile to intervene, like when it degenerates, but preferring to wait until it comes from them (which is probable) and without launching the first rock that will make them attack us –as they have already done. And this being said, we are provocateurs, we want to provoke a short cut in the existing social relations, diffuse and extend thousands of shortcuts.

Our struggle needs to work at its safety. Do we again want to find ourselves surrounded by thousands of assholes in uniforms? Do we want to have to take care of the freedom of comrades after every manifestation? We should take our activity in the struggle on the streets seriously. Everywhere on the planet, small but efficient security measures are established by comrades in struggle. Camouflage is a necessary part of our job; it is necessary to be serious about the use of the hoodie that needs to be closed of hermetically, the wearing of clothes, on the whole of the body, that prevent identification, from the shoes (that are not recognizable or covered by socks, bags or scotch) up to the eyes (the use of glasses or hoodies that hide them); the use of diversified clothes to get rid of the cops to make good result, it is necessary to take with more of them. There are no security measures too much; it is preferable to exaggerate about prevention rather than needing to affront a process and legal formalities. On the web, several manuals are to be found with precise recommendations about how to avoid police repression, in the streets but as well on the virtual sites (here we need to attract the attention of the comrades to the fact of being very careful not to give away their activities through social networks; to expose masked on pictures has become an incriminating proof for police repression).

*“We are the infamous
Parable of Heraclitus the Obscur.
We are like water, not like the hard diamond,
We are those that get lost, not those that stagnate.”*

Jorge Luis Borges

The strength of our revolt is to be found in the fact that we are not a solid body. We are thousands of invisible and slippery hydras. They cannot cut our head off, because we don't have one; we are thousands of heads that come and go. The strength of our struggle is not increasing by

the strengthening of solid structures, it will not grow by the number of partisans in our “ranks”; we need to get rid of this illusion that can be very hurtful to subversion; we don't want to increase the number of comrades in our boat, we want thousands of canoes drifting in multiple directions, that can attack together, when they want to. Our strength will grow to the extent that our groups, collectives, nuclei, projects become more aggressive and conscious. The informality offers us amongst other things more security facing possible repressive hits. In contrast to the vertical structures that can be erased in one blow, the network of cells can be reduced but there will always be someone to continue the route. According to us, we need to reinforce the trenches without waiting for others (a lot) coming to reinforce us.

“It has always been by searching for the impossible that men has realized the possible. Those that have quietly limited themselves to what seems possible to them have never advanced one step.”

M. Bakounin

Before the citizen-mediatised phonies start to blabla-ing their absurd judgments that we know by heart: *“If they really hate the system so much, then why are they using the web”*, *“If they really hate the system that much, that they go to Cuba”*, *“They should be put to work those good for nothing”*, we remind them that respect for the established norms and rules has never lead to anything. For us, we are taking up a position, knowing that we are at the side of the minority and vulnerable. We are raising up because of dignity, as well as the beauty of our proper ideas, which in contrast to theirs (their ideas) we are trying to shape them in action. We are responsible for our position, we are not part of those that complain about police repression; we are consciously looking down on the leaders and their cowardly servants and we are not expecting to be treated in a different by by them. We are taking up a position in this war, in contrast to you hiding behind the democratic umbrella of diversity and respect for plurality. As to us, we don't want to dialogue; we've had enough of that; we are throwing our speech in the air, as we are throwing stones and fire. Be touched the one that needs to be touched. We are there because we are tired of being victims.

There are more words needed to defend the struggle in the street, to claim the necessity of the conflict, to narrate the practice that we want to build with passion and joy, the hoodies will continue to rise up, we will see more and more of them, and better and better; for that we need to know how to talk and communicate. We invite the comrades to add their words. We especially invite them to be inventive and active. WE ARE A LOT, MORE THAN THEY BELIEVE.

To you, good –young or old- citizen that wants to know who is behind the hoodie, don't ask us who we are, the hooded ones, we will never reveal it, we have nothing to do with your small milieu of characters and celebrities. But look at those “normal” people at the bus stop,

it seems that they are waiting for the long distance bus; observe that comrade of the school next to it, the young polite girl of the office in front, the lovely employer of the restaurant.

It could very well be that instead of continuing to gather and dump human merchandises, some of them erect a barricade, that the desks serve to put it on fire or that, without knowing it (far from that) you will eat from the soup in which we have spitting.

The spectacle has died. They didn't let us dream, now we won't let them sleep. Peace is over. Now the world belongs to us.

Neither left not right! We are those from the bottom and we are here to deal with those on top!

Hoodies with war cries!

This 2nd of October we will not burn candles, we will set barricades alight!

Mexico, end of September. From the cloacae of some metropolis.

Post script: a strong hug to the brothers and sisters of the black blocks and the hooded trenches of Chile, Colombia, Argentina, Brazil, EUA, Spain, England, Turkey, Egypt, Canada, Indonesia, Russia, Italy, Ukraine, France and the rest of the world. All vandals, all provocateurs, all irreducible! Solidarity with the resistance of the Greek antifascists and revolutionaries! Pavlos Fyssas present!



AGAINST ALL WAITING

OPEN LETTER TO THE “COORDINATION OF SHADOWS” AND AN ANSWER TO THEIR BROTHERLY AND INSURGENT INVITATION

CARI-PGG / CCF-FAI / CI MSA-FAI - October 2013 - Mexico

To all anarchists of praxis
To all arsonists and refractory individuals
To the young anti authoritarians
To the ones affronting Power in all its forms
To the receptive ears and uncontrollable spirits

Hello!

Joint statement:

We are saluting this new initiative which manifests and articulates itself in the “shadows” and is growing discretely in the obscurity of the “cloacas”, we are saluting it with rejoice and a strong hug charged with complicity and encounter. We are delighted that the anarchist insurrectionist speech and action are expanding and that thousands of hydras with hundreds of anonymous and invisible heads are rising up today to combat Power on all fronts. Nowadays, the anarchic insurrection is everywhere, it is germinating and flourishing in the four corners of the planet and it is facing up to the authority from Chile to Canada, from Mexico to Indonesia. Today, the night lights up from the anarchist fire in Germany, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, White Russia, Bolivia, Chili, in Spain, Finland, Greece, Great Britain, Italy, Holland, Poland, Russia and in an infinite number of towns around the world. Today, the struggle in the streets is restarting the battle against Power and bursts

out of the cowardly limits of reformism, causing the barriers of the leftist conflict to fall and breaking the chains of trivial pacifism. Today, we rejoice seeing the rage of the anti authoritarian youngsters taking to the streets, armed with passion, free of paralyzing fear as well as muzzling and manipulating leaders. Today, they are firmly breaking with all moral and ideological ties and launching themselves against Power (against all forms of Power) with the unique objective of destroying the existent, with the unique élan of total liberation, putting the anarchic poetry into practice and actively revealing the beauty of creative destruction.

Best wishes. Welcome to the struggle without breaks or barracks.

As you are highlighting in your quotation (“insurgent youngsters” from Greece in 2008), it has been a long time that you have said “farewell” to the fictional movement that keeps the oppressed alienated and incites them properly to voluntary servitude; it’s been a long time that you have said “farewell” to passivity and conformism, it’s been a long time that you have broken with social democracy and Leninist fascism; it’s been a long time that you have said “farewell” to the leftist pest (armed or electoral); it’s been a long time that you have said “farewell” to the “anarchism” of living rooms, coffees and bars, it’s been a long time that you have said “farewell” to the rebellious posture and contest-

ing clothing. And we invite everyone to look at us from the comfort of their sofas and their television. We don't need them at our side. We have learned how to struggle and we know that from those plagues we can only expect treason and a gunshot in the neck. It is the treason of "comrades" that have lead the authorities on the trail of Severino di Giovanni, who was shot; the "allied" bullets have killed Buenaventura Durruti and Camillo Berneri and, in a more recent past, they have also killed companion Brad Will [1] at the barricades of Oaxaca, counting on the complicit silence of the "comrades" that have chosen to endorse a supplementary murder to Ulises Ruiz [2] in the name of the cursed "unity".

As is reminded to us by an old savage anarchist fox: "The anarchists are disturbing (...) that is why they cannot find allies in their struggle against the state." Being conscious awareness of this reflection, we abandoned the streets in order to dedicate ourselves passionately to nightly tasks, counting on the complicity of the moon, the sound of the powder and comradely warmth of the liberating fire. However, the expansion of the anarchic insurrection, the spreading and the contamination of the refractory fight begins to reopen new fronts to us in the confrontation against the system: the struggle of the streets has come back to stay, is back at the agenda to lengthen the "subversive winter".

That is the only reason which has brought us to meet in the streets on the first of December; the only reason which has invited us to struggle on the concrete the first of September and which has incited us to be with you inside of a pool of anti-authoritarian rebels (unknown to each other but accomplices) on the second of October [3]; not for "lightning candles" and marching like frightened lambs, but to set barricades, assholes and uniforms on fire. There has never been another motivation (for none of the three dates) than the one of giving life to anarchy and profit from these moments of generalized discontent and collective anger for expanding chaos and prolonging subversion. We are reaffirming our theory with these street battles: It is enough to be a hundred of anarchists to contaminate millions of beings that are sick of daily exclusion and systematic violence, to unchain the passions against all Power and authority. The "intrusion" at the presidency of EPN [4] doesn't matter to us, no more than does the cursed formation of the government, an opposition to their reforms by counter reforms, or a carnivalesque march with empty and stiff slogans continuing to implore "the punishment of the ones guilty for the 1968 massacre and the dissolution of the body of grenadiers" (today at the service of the left government).

To us, anarchists of praxis, it is of no importance who is occupying the presidential seat. We reject the political class as a whole. If Vasquez Mota [5] had stayed, our struggle would have continued just as vigorously and we would not have backed away one millimeter from our positions. Only the Yunquista left [6] would have accused us of being Pejelargist mercenaries [7].

Likewise, if Peje had arrived on the so strongly desired seat, we wouldn't have abandoned the struggle and would have continued to affirm our irreducible anti authoritarianism with the same passion and frenzy, while the leftist pest would accuse us of being fascists or CIA agents.

The face of the state doesn't concern us, what matters the least to us is the shape of Power or the ideological color it endorses. This is why we are neither with the CNTE8 (despite its new make-up of "solidarity" agreements in the statist assembly of XXII) nor with the rats of MORENA, neither with the reforms of YOSOY132 [9], nor with the "master students" (who are the transmission belts of the system machinery after their studies); we are not with the "La Otra"-joke [10] and don't consider us either as being part of the so called "social movement"; after all we don't join any project that distracts the refractory struggle against Power. However, we struggle to re-appropriate our lives in the daily practice, we are struggling to enjoy freedom here and now, we struggle against all authority and confront the Power in all of its facets; we struggle against having to command or to obey, as well as against others doing it in our name.

As you are consciously saying: "*We don't have any illusions. We don't have any hope. That is why we are dangerous*". And we are dangerous not only to the constituted Power, we are as well dangerous to the Power that is instituting itself now, with arms or votes it is cementing its future on the illusions and hopes of the voluntary servitude. This is why the "public pens" and idiots behind "microphones" are already launching rumors, spinning intrigues, creating suspicion and sowing doubts. We can already read and hear the disqualifications and insults (a scribbler in service of the AMLO assures on Yahoo Noticias that "*anarchists are suspicious because they are repeating a behavioral model since December first, heating up the atmosphere and the police (...) therefore, it seems that someone is controlling them. And that is what is preoccupying me the most.*"). The caricatures and jokes have started to appear ("*I am not anarcho-syndicalist neither anarcho-communist, I am anarcho-penist*") was articulated in a caricature that circulates on the web). The "suspicion" is already present in the so called left media (La Jornada and Proceso) whose print is rising each time they reference our actions, treating us as "pseudo anarchists".

These maneuvers are not new; we have denounced similar strategies in our communiques in some "alternative" media. In the meanwhile, even if all of this doesn't surprise us (we were even always expecting it and we see it as part of the logic of power), it certainly obliges us to increase the security and not lowering the protection. This doesn't mean putting ourselves in the role of "victims", neither to live in a paralyzing paranoia. As you express in your first message, we have always been conscious of what we are doing and we assume the risks and responsibility that go with it. It is to be expected that the enemy treats us thus. We would be irreconcil-

able as well. As you are reminding us, more precautions should be made, during nightly tasks as well as in the struggle in the streets. The police, the workforces of the army, the politicians and the listening ears are not aliens, the product of some genetic manipulation or strange embryos that reproduce in a tube under strict isolation conditions to avoid contamination, they are the children of the neighbor, like you and us, they are part of the shit we are surrounded by, they are the product of society and can potentially be found everywhere. This is why it is so important to sharpen the precautions in the middle of the voluntary servitude. We know all of the shit lurking in the “independent”, “autonomous” and “alternative” syndicalist mafias; all of the opportunistic carrion of the clientelistic mafias of the “social organizations”. The worse of all tyrants is the slave that manages to take up the whip. That is one of the reasons for hoodies in the era of technological surveillance and the society of hyper control. There is nothing else to puzzle out from the fact that it is being used and abused.

Masking our faces when attacking is not an ideological position. People that need to hide their identity in order to avoid reprisals have always masked their face, from the secret societies of the Middle Age until the political-ideological groups of different obedience (from the KKK to the ETA, passing by the Red Brigades, the RAF and the EZLN) and this of course doesn't link us to their political-ideological positions.

However, when masking the face for action we are at the same time revindicating the acrata bandit and the illegalist refractory to all authority, because the hoodie is more than a piece of cloth that covers us up, it is much more than the worn out Palestinian scarf that covers the fashionable pose and even much more than the balaclava that covers the revolutionary joke and the insignificant fireworks. The anarchic hoodie goes beyond the esthetic, it is rising up as an anti-authoritarian consciousness that has put an end to the spectacle and gave the mortal blow to the fictional struggle. The hoodie is the insomniac and feverish face of Prometheus that is disposed of expropriating the fire of Olympus a thousand of times, even if the eagle is eating his guts at every dawn.

Not one millimeter backwards: 9 mm in the head of Power!

That the hoodies speak!

Long live the informal groups of anarchist action!

Let re-appropriate the struggle of the refractory street, but let's not forget about the tasks that illuminate the night!

That the struggle expands towards all the corners!

Long live the liberating fires and the retributive powder!

Against the system of domination!

Let's struggle against all expectations!

That nobody recuperates our struggle!

For international anarchist coordination!

For the destruction of all prisons!

For Total Liberation!

For Anarchy!

In solidarity with all of our comrades imprisoned in Mexico and the rest of the world, in support of our brothers and sisters on the run, in the cloacas of a metropolis, their brothers and sisters in affinity,

Células Autónomas de Revolución Inmediata-Praxedis G.Guerrero (CARI-PGG)

Conspiración de las Células del Fuego/Federación Anarquista Informal (CCF-FAI)-México

Célula Insurreccional Mariano Sánchez Añón/
Federación Anarquista Informal (CI-MSA/FAI)

Notes

[1] Brad Will was an activist linked to Indymedia. On the 27th of October 2006, he was killed by paramilitary in Oaxaca.

[2] Ulises Ruiz is a long standing politician of the PRI (*Partido Revolucionario Institucional*). He was senator before becoming governor of Oaxaca, which he ruled with an iron fist.

[3] On the 2th of October 2013, the demonstration to commemorate the military massacre in Tlatelolco on the 2th of October 1968 (hundreds of opponents were killed) turned into riots in Mexico City.

[4] Enrique Peña Nieto (PRI), “EPN”, is the President of Mexico since the 1st of December 2012. On that day, heavy riots and clashes erupted in Mexico City.

[5] Vazquez Mota (*Partido d'Accion Mexicana*, PAN), President of the Federal Parliament, was the right wing candidate for the Presidential elections of 2012.

[6] *El Yunke* is an obscure group of the catholic and fascist right wing. Several politicians (especially from PAN) are thought to be members of Yunke, created in the fifties as a reaction on the anti-catholic sentiment under the reign of the PRI.

[7] PPartisans of Andrés Manuel López Obrador, “AMLO” or “*el Peje*”, governor of Mexico City from 2000 till 2005, and then candidate for the Presidency in 2006 and in 2012. He was the chief of a left wing coalition and of the party MORENA, which pretends to defend the right of the indigenous people.

[8] *Coordinadora Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación*, union of teachers. This union had a strong presence during the mobilizations against the educational reform in 2013.

[9] The movement *Yo soy 132* is a social movement composed in majority by students of public and private universities. Their demands are for example the democratization of media, the defense of free speech and of the right to information for the Mexicans. The movement was born in opposition to the presidency of Enrique Peña Nieto.

[10] *La Otra Campaña* is an initiative in favor of popular participation supported by the EZLN (Zapatist Army for National Liberation) and the neo-zapatist movement. It surfs on notions like base democracy, citizens' participation, equity,..., with the support of the commanders of the EZLN.

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<http://contrainfo.espiv.net>

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<http://vivalaanarquia.espiv.net>

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exquisitarebeldia@riseup.net

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publicacion-abrazandoelcaos@riseup.net

Mexico

Conspiración Acrata, publicación de tendencia anarquista insurreccional (Mexico D.F.)

conflicto_cotidiano@riseup.net

Italia

Finimondo

<http://www.finimondo.org>

Tairsia, foglio aperiodico di critica sociale (Salento)

tairsia@gmail.com

Peninsula Iberica

Infierno, publicación Anárquica por el desmadre y la revuelta

revista_infierno@yahoo.com

Aversion, publicación anarquista

aversion@riseup.net

Belgium

Hors Service, feuille anarchiste (Bruxelles)

<http://journalhorservice.blogspot.be>

Salto, subversion & anarchie (Bruxelles)

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Aufrohr, anarchistisches Blatt (Zürich)

<http://aufrohr.noblogs.org>

Grenzenlos, anarchistische Zeitschrift (Zürich)

grenzenlos@riseup.net

Germany

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wutimbauch@riseup.net

France

Lucioles, bulletin anarchiste de Paris et sa région

<http://luciolesdanslanuit.blogspot.fr>

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subversions@riseup.net

Netherlands

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kaduuk@riseup.net

- 5 - GREECE - *Text by the 4 arrested anarchists concerning the double robbery in Velvento, Kozani*
- 8 - GREECE - *Letter from the six comrades accused for the double robbery in Kozani/Velvendo before their court case on 29/11/13*
- 10 - GREECE - *Moments of war and breaths of freedom*
- 12 - GREECE - *Letter from the Initiative of Anarchist Prisoners in Korydallos Prison on the assassination of Marian Kola*
- 15 - FRANCE - *Sparks in the French prisons*
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Because the fight is just about to begin*
- 55 - MEXICO - *Against all waiting*