



July 2015 issue 5

# AVANLANCHE

*Anarchist correspondence*



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<http://periodicoanarquia.wordpress.com>

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**Storming Heaven** (Seattle)

<http://stormingheaven.noblogs.org>

**PugetSoundAnarchists** (Pacific Northwest)

<http://www.pugetsoundanarchists.org/>

Websites

**Contrainfo**

<http://contrainfo.espiv.net>

**Act for freedom now**

<http://actforfree.nostate.net>

**Tabula Rasa**

<http://www.atabularasa.org>

**Voz como arma**

<http://vozcomoarma.noblogs.org>

**Brèves du désordre**

<http://cettesemaine.free.fr/spiv>

**Non Fides**

<http://www.non-fides.fr>

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The base of the revolt against everyday misery is a critique of society. Because to not longer submit oneself to the powers that control, is to no longer believe (temporarily or partially) in the ideological foundation of these powers. For anarchists this critique is a radical one, because it is not limited to one specific form of power but it aims at authority in all of its manifestations in the present, past and future. The anarchist critique agitates and provokes because it demystifies the moral foundations of society. Potentially it can dislocate the social, economical and political structures of power. It can open a path to the subversion of society.

Of course this critique can not only be developed on the level of theory. To not engage in a direct conflict with this society, is to deprive oneself of the necessary experiences to understand the dynamics of recuperation and repression. So it will be a critique that stagnates and to hide this fact, it will be enveloped in an incomprehensible language. It might even become a tool in the hands of the powers to play their game of recuperation and repression. The dynamic between critical action and analysis is a vital one to not while demystifying present structures of power, at the same time mystifying other forms of authority and preparing the grounds for reformism or a new cycle of oppression and exploitation.

The repression of anarchists has never waited for there to be an anarchist movement big enough to create an army or even guerrilla capable of crush-

ing power with violence. Precisely because the strength of anarchy is not in how many soldiers or resources it can mobilize, but in the subversive ideas and deeds it can inspire. To assign every moment of repression to the recognition of repressive forces of the potential threat anarchists pose, would be too hasty and sometimes a bad estimation of the capabilities of anarchists and/or the police. Other motives might be relevant; to show the productivity of police forces (and the legitimation of their existence or expansion), to create a spectacle of crisis (to promote a political decision as inevitable), to set an example (to discourage anyone to rebel)... But power will never tolerate anarchist attacks on the social relations that sustain it.

To be or not to be anarchist, has never been the central question. Because a radical critique of authority can not be captured in an identity or an adjective. It is a never ending dynamic of practice and theory of critique aimed at the subversion of society. Anarchists and anarchist struggles can not subtract themselves from this critique. This publication was conceived as a tool for exactly this; a space for thoughts about the ways to make the anarchist critique potentially subversive, to immerse it into a dynamic of analysis and actions. The projects of struggle (or interventions of anarchists in struggles) are the experiences we need to share, to understand and to evaluate. The texts written on these bases are the contributions we think necessary for a correspondence that reinforces an anarchist and radical critique of society.



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## RECUPERATORS OF THE EXISTENT

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*Negación - 2015 - Mexico*

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In the second issue of this publication [*Negación*] was already a text about the role that the integrators in the system, like NGOs or different left and reformist groups, play to pacify uprisings and conflicts, assimilating various struggles and stripping them of the essential characteristics they had by moments acquired. We had explained how also the system integrates into its ranks, through its programmes of citizens' well-being, various groups that in the future might represent a danger for the social peace or the stability of the country. Together with these institutions, various collectives of the left area play this recuperating role, being it consciously or unconsciously.

All this has been called "recuperation": when a struggle tends to radicalise, it gets integrated in the system by left groups and NGOs; or when it is the State itself who is doing this job by its own means, recuperating the struggles by bringing them under its control, surveillance and handling. But also when different leftist groups try to participate in conflictual struggles by proposing reforms and mediations with the State, rendering these struggles vulnerable for control by the system.

It is evident but necessary to emphasize that the shock groups of the State play an important role in this process of recuperation and/or assimilation during uprisings or revolts.

To extend this question a bit more, I will give some examples.

In Mexico, during the insurrectional troubles of the 1<sup>st</sup> of December of 2012, when thousands of people went out on the streets to protest against the ascent to power of Enrique Peña Nieto, the groups of the democratic left, left political parties, anti-system groups (including the FAM, *Mexican Anarchist Federation*) and groups of known out-and-out "integrators" and reformists like a big part of the movement "Yo Soy #132"<sup>(1)</sup> also went out to protest, but always with the guidelines – some in an indirect way – to put out any insurrectional outbreak, to manage the revolt themselves and bring water to their own mill.

To their misfortune, the troubles took the form of revolt. The attack against the symbols of power and the self-organisation started to spread, and also the anarchists without flags, acronyms or formalised organisation stood on the side of the rest of the exploited, self-organising the revolt. This self-organisation of which I am speaking went beyond the guidelines who were calling for "calm" coming from various leftist groups which saw clearly that control was slipping out of their hands.

Also some anarchist collectives felt the same when they saw that in the insurrectional moment their synthesis organisation was nor leading, nor representing in anyway as was the case in 1936 or 1910, that chaos generalised and that the autonomy of the exploited, the excluded and the self-excluded overcame their old guidelines, their old schematics and their eminent and repeated calls to waité for the "due organisation". This was con-

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firmed later on when the leaders of the Revolutionary Anarchist Alliance, who adhere to the FAM, denied the participation of the acrates in the troubles.

On the first of December of 2012 revolt broke out. During the riots in which various headquarters of capital were sabotaged and heavy fighting took place with the cops, hundreds of people were arrested, the majority of them coming from the left and anarchist area. There were the usual violations of the so-called human rights and “excessive punishments” for the detained. The majority of the arrested were accused of attacks against the public peace, a felony of the old law which can lead up to 36 years of prison.

At that moment, the issue – especially for the movement #132 – was the derogation of the felony of attack against the public peace as being an anti-constitutional felony without juridical foundations. This mobilised hundreds of persons, left groups and anti-system collectives, including some anarchist sectors. Some weeks later, on the 28<sup>th</sup> of December, the legislative Assembly of the Federal District modified the felony of attack against the public peace, considering it as a non-serious felony and with possibility of bailout. In this way, all detained got released, but with a process pending.

Much has been said about this reform. The #132 boasted about it, calling this “change” an “achievement” and a triumph of the people and the social movement. Nevertheless, even when these mobilisations which called for the derogation of the law on attack against the social peace put little pressure, we can see clearly that the strategy of the government was a quite different one.

Converging with this whole scenario of riots, molotovs, mobilisations, detentions and torture of demonstrators, came the change of government of the Federal District. Marcelo Ebrad left power and his successor – a part from being an ex-attorney of Justice in the capital of the country – the police academy doctor Miguel Mancera, took hold of the tasks of Chief of Government of the Capital. Neither Ebrad nor Mancera, being left persons and eager liberal social-democrats, could leave or enter the power office stained with blood, discredit, torture and arbitrary detentions; but neither with riots and bal-clavas, weapons that their political adversaries would use to make “bad publicity” for them.

And so the law on attack against the public peace was reformed. In our opinion, this was a political step to answer to the crisis of the moment.

Together with the decision to reform the law as a political strategy to stay in a certain way good and clean in the eyes of the population of the capital city, we can mention the fact that with this concession, the government of the city betted to calm the burning hearts of the protesters who had another claim now: liberate the political prisoners. But not only this, also inside such speech one can find back the seeds of recuperation.

Directly or indirectly, as part of a strategy or by coincidence, the government of the capital city went out of office having gained for the moment that the progressive left, the reformists and especially groups like Yo Soy #132 celebrated this concession as an “achievement” and considering it as an advance of “democracy in these lands”. Maybe without wanting to see that this was nothing more than another link on the chains which the proletarians are carrying.

The government won, because as this was considered an achievement, it meant mediation, agreement and pacification.

The Yo Soy #132, together with the so-called “social movement”, went into silence, delegation, dialogue and compromise. The objective to chasing Peña Nieto from power – although very discussable from the point of view of anarchist perspective – was for the moment the only thing that was able to unify the discontent of the proletarians and which culminated in heavy clashes which opened up space beyond the “objective”, remained reduced to a heap of petitions and the celebration of yet another day on the revolutionary calender.

The leftist groups got comfortable again, all took their part from this uprising and many things got calm again. All happy with their miserable reform. All happy with another day on the calender to celebrate, yearning that the year to come would be the same.

Also the other recuperators did their work – including the politicians from the FAM and other groups who follow the same line calling for the junction – and tried to include at any cost the dissident groups inside of their organisations, calling for calm and waiting, including different sectors implicated in the games of the system, in social programs, in political parties. Crossing out the insurgents as mere vandals, especially the anarchist and anti-system individualities which participated in those days in the popular uprising. A job well done for the integration – and in a certain way for the canalisation of rebellions and new upsurges of violence – that bared fruit in later mobilisations which were less big and less uncontrolled.

But why this recuperation job?

Simply because these revolts that for the moment yelled out against the rise to power of a PRI dinosaur, went not only beyond the claims and programs of those groups, but also went beyond their own initial call. The 1<sup>st</sup> of December was not a revolt against Peña or against the PRI. Although it kicked off as such, it took later on the form of a revolt which went, in that moment of spontaneous chaos, beyond the classical phase of claims, the claim phase which is exhausted and which is easily recuperated by political “opposition” reformists and parties and which always comes down to the killing of the passions for living a life of quality. The revolt of December was the united rage of all exploited against their exploitation, that is to say, against this world and those who rule it.

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For a while, some of us put into question the attitude of many anarchists which were eagerly repeating during the riots the anti-PRI and reformist claims as it seemed that their participation went together with a lack of perspective and of a clear project, an insurrectional project. Not a project of an exactly anarchist insurrection, because the ongoing revolt was not this, but an insurrectional project which would tend to influence with clarity the revolt, as to make it not only generalise concerning the revolutionary violence, but also generalising the critique of the conditions of exploitation and death to a more wide critique and therefore global critique. A generalisation of the critique and the attack that doesn't follow a previously established program, nor quite apocalyptic views, but that manifests itself in the spontaneous process of self-organisations of all exploited. To influence is not the same as to impose.

To participate in a popular revolt doesn't mean to blindly repeat the words of the "people" or the programs of the established social movements. Such delegations of our individuality do not interest us. To participate in a popular revolt is first of all a point of meeting between individuals, it means to propose a perspective of a new world, a world freed of all authority; it means to create an own perspective together with the rest of the exploited, without following programs nor leaders. To participate in a popular revolt doesn't mean to sacrifice oneself for the "cause of the people", it means to self-organise with the others, to discuss, to dialogue to come to common points. To participate in a popular revolt means to be participants in the first person, not as lambs following outside schemas. But above all, it means to influence to radicalise the motives of revolt and the revolt itself.

The year 2013 was a time of tensions in the capital of this stinky country, with the rising of the price of the metro tickets, the self-organisation of the exploited and the oppressed came back to the surface proving that not everything is vilely assimilated or recuperated by the State.

Massive demonstrations in the streets, blockades of the main entrances of the metro, sabotage actions of the ticket machines, some clashes with the forces of order, a climate which smelled like tension and powder. In this climate of tension, an action against the SCT (Secretary of Communications and Transport) tried to propagate the reproducibility and re-appropriation of easy acts of sabotage, an action that – like many others – tried to give its contribution for the conflict to generalise. During that weeks of rising tension, we saw again the self-organised, but also spontaneous rage of the proletarians. An example, simple but clear, were the hundreds of sabotage actions against the ticket machines of the metro and the "boletazo" [blocking or sabotaging the gates to the metro so that people can pass without paying]. It made clear that sabotage, direct action, self-organisation and self-management of the struggle are no exclusivity of some group of specialists and neither of some

professional politicians and leaders. It are above all weapons which are within reach of all.

It was again a concession which put an end to that weeks of rebellion: the government of the Federal District gave a special rate for vulnerable persons: housewives, students, unemployed etc. With that agreement, pacification of the expressions of revolt was achieved.

To conclude, I would say that on the other hand we have been responsible for what happened. We and our half-heartedness facing the fact of criticising with perceptiveness and objectivity, but also strongly and without mediation, this type of recuperating and leftist organisations who seem to play "revolution"; independently of the fact if they work with the State or if they are independents or anarchists. This lack of critique is partly what allowed the advance of the recuperators and integrators, which, as we know well, will not back off with just a critique of their job, but that might influence the perspective that the comrades and other persons have towards them, that might even invert the climate of existing "acceptance" around these recuperating organisations of the existent.

Of the year 2014, what to say<sup>(2)</sup>. All protests, actions and riots for the disappearance of the 43 of Iguala, but also for the destruction of the State-Capital, for freedom, made clear that the rage is still alive and kicking, that social pacification has not reached its desired levels, that in this year, moods didn't got down and that every day, the conditions are on the table.

Anyway, in this climate of tension that keeps existing in the capital city of the country, the recuperators of whatever color are doing everything they can to put out the fire. But, in contrast with the paragraphs above, I ask myself... but have they done their job well? Maybe yes, but only for the moment, in the future, we will see.

### ***An insurgent without regrets***

#### **Notes**

1. The movement Yo Soy #132 was a political-student movement of clear reformist signature. The first generation of the movement was born in the IBERO private university when a group of students demonstrated against the meeting of Enrique Peña Nieto on this university as a part of his presidential campaign of the PRI [*Institutional Revolutionary Party*, more or less the main political force of Mexico]. The movement #132 had a clear PRD-stamp [*Party for the Democratic Revolution*, a main political formation on the left of the PRI], but with time passing there were various splits which chose another more militant leftism. Some people compare this movement to the one led by the Chilean student Camila Vallejo. There exists a book about #132, which for us means nothing more than a mystification of this movement.

2. At this point, I recommend to read the text "*Conflicto, la disgregacion y la guerra social*".



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## DON'T VOTE THEM IN, KICK THEM OUT!

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*April 2015 - Mexico*

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*“As writers of an essay of political philosophy, the Invisible Committee affects a strong contempt for speculation and a marked penchant for practice. And this is good, above all because it allows them to rake in the applause both of the erudite in withdrawal from vitamins and of the activists thirsty for knowledge.... The critique of the existent, taken in its totality, doesn't interest the Committee. Nonetheless, precisely like the various marxist sects, the I.C. has the lust to impose its vision....”*

*“The Coming Insurrection is in step with the times, perfectly in fashion. It possesses the characteristics most required at the moment, it is flexible and elastic, it adapts itself to all circumstances (in the subversive sphere). It is well presented, has style and ends up being liked by everyone because it gives a bit of reason to all, without disaffecting anyone in the end. From this standpoint, it is a decidedly political book.”*

– “The Insurrection and Its Double”

The Invisible Committee is like virtue: always in the middle.

Since times past, we anarchists have constituted a force “oppositional” to every project of power and authority; with various means and under different forms in which anarchist thought is manifested, in their turns we have launched campaigns against all kinds of key moments in the struggle against power, seeking to

have confluence with emerging social antagonism. International campaigns for the freedom of *compañeros* in prison, campaigns against some material realizations of power, and campaigns against the elections of candidates, for example.

Many of these campaigns have been more or less accompanied by the practice of directed sabotage as an individual act in order to become collective, but almost always making clear that sabotage, self-organization and direct action are daily practices and not something to take out every now and then, not something defined by the convergences of power. Although others, those that only correspond to the convergences of the moment, have not projected any broad view of struggle.

So the fact is that in the present moment the thoughts of many *compañeros* are not so different from the *compañeros* of the past, those who also fought and died for freedom. Although some concepts have deepened in theory as well as in practice, it continues to be made clear that anarchy is a daily tension and not a practice to take out now and again in certain key moments or when the damned conditions are mature.

We as anarchists, enemies of every kind of power, find ourselves coming up against a limitation in the present insurrectional struggle and this limitation is that of attending to the “agenda” of the State; to put it differently,

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responding to the call of power and playing the game in their electoral circuses.

If permanent conflictuality means every hostility with the existent, every individual and collective action of permanent rupture with power, every daily act of destruction directed against the State, then why wait for their convergences and key political moments—like the elections for example—to act? Why not make the vindication of the true meaning of the word election [*decision – TN*] a part of the daily struggle? Someone could answer: “We have to take advantage of the moments,” but even in this we see a great limitation in launching anti-electoral campaigns, responding to the call of power and attending its own agenda—i.e. relegating all our creativity and potenciality to these convergences. Especially because these anti-electoral campaigns are not accompanied by a clear perspective and a real proposal of offensive against power—not only in actions but also in words—and so make clear that anarchy is a game of doing politics and not a permanent tension against the existent.

Political convergencism is a practice of the politicians, and anarchy is not political, it is ethical. For example, to measure every action that departs from our person as “political”, aside from separating life into fragments and separating theory and practice, is a reflection of a severe lack of proper perspective of basing our struggle on our own authentic and unique thoughts. Not to mention the marxistoid origin from which political action (and political prisoners) come: mediation, accord, dialogue, representation, etcetera. Things that are very distant from what many anarchist *compañeros* have put forward, namely, to speak of anarchy beyond any political tint.

For many anarchist *compañeros*, to base agitation against authority on the “key” moments of the politics of power is a limitation that distances us from our task, especially when this agitation does not contain a clear perspective that flies beyond an anti-electoral discourse.

On this point, here is where we ask ourselves: And then what? Does everything rest on this? What follows? What about our dreams? Do all discourse and all action have to retreat into political realism, into techniques, into strategy? What about spontaneity?

It is precisely because anarchy is a tension that does not see a difference between theory and praxis, and because it is on the contrary in that theory and in that practice that the two complement each other mutually, that anarchic operations are far from being the typical Maoist guerrilla *foquismo* [*the guerrilla warfare theory of Che Guavara and Fidel Castro – TN*]. The *foquismo* that hopes and waits for “political” prisoners in order to project their struggle on the basis of their vindication—and that creates them if they are not there; the *foquismo* that attends to all kinds of moments of convergence in order to act and that is ignorant of each individual’s need for

their freedom; the *foquismo* that grabs on to everything it sees in order to project itself, without thoroughly questioning this. Permanent conflictuality is precisely what gets us away from falling into the *foquismo* that waits for every kind of convergencism, but also “causism”, for its ability to act.

This is why we think an anti-electoral convergence contains its own limitations in its “practice and in its call”. Mainly because it does not have a project more or less defined against power and authority, in a convergence there’s a bit of everything, there are armed Marxist-Leninist parties that have united with their opponents for just this moment of power, there are political parties of the left and there is every kind of authoritarian position antagonistic to anarchist thought. A convergence is an imminently political call to do politics; anarchists are alien to every political alliance. But also because to consent to convergencism as a key moment or to “take advantage of it” reduces our hopes and our passions of living anarchically to a mere political ideology, a question of “tactics” and strategies, as if we were machines that acted in a way predetermined by these “mechanisms” of struggle.

This is why we always reject clandestinity and its norms as a method of struggle, because we do not want to attend to certain mechanisms that predetermine our behavior.

We wager that anarchist agitation should be present everywhere, in election times and in non-election times. We also wager that anarchists should be present in every conflict with which we find affinity, even if it starts as an anti-electoral protest, but changes direction. This is because we do not only see some parts of this world of Capital as harmful and as enemies of our freedom, we see the world of Capital in every meaning of the word as harmful to our freedom and to our fellow beings. But to relegate the daily practice of sabotage and a behavior of rupture against the existent to “key” moments marked in the calendar of power would distance us from our motivations which are to live anarchy itself in the here and now, but also from our idea that anarchy is not political or ideological, it is a daily and permanent tension against every kind of Authority.

Before all this we propose relations of affinity, to find ourselves with other equally enraged individuals in the conflict with authority and to create projects. Our point is to put into practice our individual passions without waiting for calls and searching for the field to encounter each other in the social war with the social antagonism that is present every day.

Our call is to extend the anarchic struggle everywhere that stinks of domination and in every moment. Our call is for the spread of the daily and permanent attack, without waiting for moments of convergence or attending to the agenda of power. Our call is to leave behind every slogan and to extend the anti-electoral struggle beyond its own limitations. Our call is to spread the an-

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archic struggle and hurl ourselves into the battle against power with passion and without any moderation or limit.

In any event, this is only an individual perspective that we are making collective, it is our intervention in the current debates and explanations of idea that are happening in the present moment. We do not seek to impose anything or represent anyone. We are not looking for specialists of the pen or of the action. These are only some ideas loosed into the air by way of contributing to the spreading of the subversive practice in the here and now.

Let every month be black!

***Some anarchist compañeras and compañeros of the Mexican region***

*(Some!... because we are not the only “anarchists of Mexico”)*



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## ON ANARCHIST INTERNATIONALISM

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*Negaciòn - March 2015 - Mexico*

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As other comrades put it well: we anarchists are internationalists until we have destroyed the nations. Even if the first step is to not recognise nor accept them, their destruction is part of the project of destruction of the State.

Anarchy has always stood on an internationalist position. We are well aware that we should take our local context into account, but internationalism is an inseparable characteristic of the thought which tries to annihilate any sort of State and authority, opposes all form of progress and forges a life attitude in revolt against the whole existent.

The exchange of ideas and thoughts between comrades on different latitudes on the planet has been fundamental for the building of an internationalist anarchist perspective which rejects the limitations of borders and ethnicities, for example through spreading the fights comrades are waging in other contexts. Direct action and sabotage have also allowed, starting from practice itself, to forge international links between anarchists from one place or another. That goes as well for the punctual and personal support between comrades of different places, a support which manifests itself in the struggle and the common projects which are being built day after day. Translations of communiques, dialogues between comrades, solidarity actions, pamphlets to spread the sto-

ries of comrades, support to different projects, journals for exchange of ideas, thoughts and critiques, sabotage, support to comrades who are on the run, weaving fraternal relations between comrades are some examples of the way in which the movement has put into practice the internationalism that characterises it.

From the movement in solidarity with Sacco and Vanzetti when sabotage were realised, amongst others, by the anarchist circles close to the journal *Culmine* to the sabotage actions in solidarity with the hunger strikes of the Greek comrades, from the coordination and support between comrades of the United States and Mexico to organise and propagate the insurrectional upheavals of 1910 – including the support to comrades on the run or in prison – to pamphlets in solidarity with the comrades of the 5E-M in Mexico, anarchism has showed clearly that there exist no borders for solidarity and coordination, that is to say, for the struggle itself. From comrades in Norway or Finland, countries where social pacification is strongly spread to comrades in Turkey, Syria or the Arab countries which are since years finding themselves in a logic of all out war, we anarchists are not going to create social or ethnic categorisations, neither are we going to reproduce those categorisations that the capitalist system has created to divide. We are not going to treat comrades as *petit bourgeois* due to the fact that they are born in a place different then ours, just as we

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are not going to discriminate (“positively” moreover!) others who are born in much more catastrophic and rotten places than where we are living.

It is clear that each place has its own characteristics that in a certain way define the conditions of the struggle and that the insurrectional project has to be adapted to this characteristics, but even as such the anarchist struggle does not only correspond to local outlines of struggle. On the contrary: the struggle tries to be global reality of attack against State and Capital. As such, anarchy is far away from leftist realism, that left realism which incites passivity, waiting, reformism and kills all dreams and desires for a life of quality through the speech of what is possible and what can be done based on “the reality we are living”.

Finally, we think that we should formulate our theses starting from what we are living locally – that’s why we, the group of comrades who are participating in one way or another, from the moment we started publishing this journal, tackled themes starting from what we have in front of our eyes (and this tears down the big lie that says that there is a sort of Europeanisation or European exportation existing in Mexico). But at the same time, we refuse to exchange our dreams for political realism and we believe that also contributions from comrades from other latitudes, as well as the international solidarity, may never be neglected, because they are before everything else one of the bases of anarchy which is trying to destroy all kinds of limitations. We are individualists as we believe in ourselves and act in consequence,

but we also share perspectives and project with many other comrades. We learn from our past and our own experiences, but also from experiences and perspectives from other latitudes which nourish us. We refuse anyway to fall into idealisations.

If comrades in Mexico have taken over on certain moments the acronyms of CCF or FAI to claim their sabotage actions, we do not think now that this has been due to a – total – lack of own analysis neither to photocopy a speech. Although we have a critique on revendication acronyms and what is commonly called “neo-nihilism”, we can not deny that they and other comrades have put forward, in acts, a manifestation of living anarchist internationalism, to take part in the attack against power according to their own premisses and perspectives.

In the same way, nowadays there exist editorial projects in affinity with the insurrectional project that doesn’t rejoice about acronyms. Those projects try to be a link between anarchists from all over the world; but there is also the practice, inseparable from theory, to express clearly that anarchy can never be reduced to an alternative without perspectives of attack against power, and neither to a regionalist speech justified by unfounded arguments that are therefore sterile of any potentiality of real, and not fictitious, confrontation.

*If we are individualists, we do not idealise anything of “our own or of abroad” and we represent nothing but ourselves. The social ware is latent and our life is the authentic battlefield.*



## **ENVIRONMENTAL DEVASTATION AND CONFRONTATION WITH POWER: EXPOSING THE ENEMY BY PROPAGATING ITS DESTRUCTION**

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*Contra toda autoridad - May 2015 - Chile*

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### **An unavoidable problematic in our times**

There's no doubt about the fact that today we are experiencing an accelerated process of environmental devastation, a product of centuries of exploitation by civilization and its current authoritarian-capitalist form.

By trying to save sources of power and wealth, the system of domination and those who support it have put on an ecological suit and are developing various strategies of expansion of the ongoing environmental crisis. Since some years we have seen the proliferation of an "ecological culture" promoted by the system and its companies, with the appearance of a whole range of "eco-companies", "green labels" for known capitalist brands and exploitation of natural resources with criteria that are "friendly towards the environment". And in parallel to these strategies, certain public policies are being developed with an increasing offer of professional careers under the idea of the so-called "sustainable development".

In these logics, whose aim is to strengthen the domination and the exploitation of the Earth, we anarchists/antiauthoritarians cannot trust nor strengthen them by action or omission in our task of Total Liberation.

### **Green capitalism, the environmental claims and the struggles without an offensive proposal**

In our times, one of the expressions of the system of domination is the paradigm of the "green capitalism" which, anxious to take advantage of the environmental crisis, promotes the idea that a "green consumption" is the essential key for saving the planet. Supposedly ecological consciousness and practices are spread that on the one hand serve to develop and strengthen a new and lucrative cycle of production and consumption, and on the other hand are used to bring together and unite the whole social structure in a "green community", of which the agglutinating element seems to be the idea of continuity of life on Earth. With this strategy, domination is creating for itself new perspectives of generating wealth and at the same time – anticipating future crises – looks to deepen its power with a discourse that cancels the contradictions and conflicts inside of society.

While this is happening, various initiatives and struggles are initiated against the environmental devastation and its many expressions. Megaprojects of extraction of so-called natural "resources", construction of urban infrastructures that destroy millenary forests, lakes and

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mountains, building of hydro- and thermo-electrical plants, etc., are today being questioned and rejected by more and more massive struggles.

Yet many of these initiatives do not break with the totality of values and relations that are being promoted by civilization and its capitalist-authoritarian expression. The anthropocentric idea of Nature as a “resource” at the service of the human species is for example a recurring element in the environmental struggles that we are seeing around us (HydroAysén, Alto Maipo, etc.). The idea itself of “environmentalism” tends to reproduce the logic of specialization and pre-established roles when the hour comes to fight against a punctual, partial and specific aspect of domination. In such logics, structures of power and the existence of the State tend often to be not put into question, but even rather to be reinforced through civic speech and petitionist practice (signatures for parliament, law proposals, ecological parties, etc.) that try to stop projects with the institutionalism of the social order, asking for “better regulations” of companies by the authorities. Also the pacifist discourse is typical for the civic struggles that try to distance itself from any expression of rage or frontal struggle, materialised in violence and direct attack against the exploiters and those who defend and protect them.

A case on its own is the recent blooming of “libertarian” and anarchist individuals and groups who call for a return to Earth, denouncing the logics of power behind the environmental devastation and generating consciousness about self-sustaining practices. These initiatives are making sense, but many times lack a perspective of destruction and direct attack against those responsible for the environmental devastation and limit themselves to denouncing and giving us useful advice on self-managed ecological practices.

### **The anarchist perspective of multiform attack against those who are really responsible**

A combative anarchist praxis should without doubt know how to make clear that the environmental problematic are only one aspect of the ruling logics of power in the civilised-capitalist society. In this, the degrees of responsibility go from the ideology of speciecism and of the civilised progress reproduced by a big part of the population until the masters, representatives and defenders of the companies who are devastating nature. Anarchist offensive acting should target its critique on the responsibility of the citizens, although without put-

ting their responsibility on the same level as the one of those who are part of the structures of political and economical power and are enriching themselves with the domination and the exploitation of nature. Against these last ones, it is necessary to unleash practices of offensive without contemplations.

The exploitation of nature is therefore the result of social structures of power and domination which have to be attacked, aiming for their destruction.

Anarchist expressions on this topic should therefore start with the clear identification of the enemy, calling for attack against them, while propagating in parallel practices of self-management and autonomy – spreading and materialising the idea to cut our dependency on the system.

Together with this, it is essential to assume that all anarchist intervention should aim for overflowing any specific struggle, propagating a radical practical critique that throws all petitionist and democratic illusion over board, in a perspective of confrontation with power and of the propagation of our values of life in struggle, like the free association through affinity for Total Liberation: of the human, of the animal and of the Earth. It is tremendously essential and necessary to act for our own account, without waiting for gatherings or mobilisations by others, strengthening our autonomy through the informal organisation between comrades in affinity.

The call is therefore to propagate everywhere the antagonism with the social order in all its forms, spreading and putting into practice with propaganda and action the idea of total destruction of the domination and fighting off all false opposition against power and its authoritarian, alienated and commercial way of life.

We have within our reach the fresh experiences of the horizontal self-organised cells of the Earth Liberation Front all over the world. We have in our minds the living memory of Rémy (France) and of all fighters who fell in the battles against the depreciation of capitalist-authoritarian civilisation.

Let's not forget that we are part of Nature and that we will defend her by attacking every expression of power and commercialisation of the human being, of other species and of the Earth as a whole.

**Antiauthoritarian offensive against green capitalism, its false critiques and against all authority!**



## **LETTER TO THE ANARCHIST AND ANTIAUTHORITARIAN COMRADES AND FRIENDS ABOUT THE LATEST ARRESTS AND IMPRISONMENTS DURING ‘OPERATION PIÑATA’**

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*April 2015 - Spain*

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[From the 15 comrades arrested, 5 were imprisoned and all are currently released with charges and under judicial control measures.]

*“Never give up, never surrender”*

After the latest repressive blow in the Spanish State, the toll of the disastrous and inordinate “Operation Piñata” goes up to five comrades being held hostage in prison. In front of their repression, our solidarity and direct action. May the bars not separate us and may fear the fear not paralyse us.

The answer of our friends and comrades at the moment of the arrests merits appraisal: they showed their support in the streets with a mobilisation on the same day; as well as when we were taken out of the police station, which led to arrests and fights with the police. From the first moment on, people were making sure that the arrested persons don’t lack anything and we want to see to you, to you who have been on a war footing, that this

is how all of us perceived it from the inside and that it is with this sensation that those who, not having the same luck as us, left for the extermination centre of Soto del Real [Madrid prisons]. How insignificant it might seem from the exterior, details like the fact of coming to protest and wait for us at the gates of the Audiencia Nacional, such acts make those who are inside feel that we are not alone. And it for sure helped those who had to leave for Soto to face this news on another way. It is a brave act of those who held their heads high knowing that other arrests might follow.

This letter wants to call on all comrades, friends, those who are put under investigation or imprisoned following the last roundup against the anarchists, to not lose their nerves; it is a call for solidarity, for strength and courage. The blow was not only directed against us who are facing in flesh and blood heavy accusations and political and juridical constructs; it concerns the whole of the movement which is facing an offensive that started around 2011 with the imprisonment of a comrade in Madrid, was

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emphasized in Barcelona and Madrid with the imprisonment of Francisco and Mónica, the Operation Pandora and now, until further notice, the Operation Piñata.

Logically, we will see processes of this type, which are something of a routine and cyclic in the struggle, repeat themselves when it is about maintaining and managing the ongoing projects who go down to the root of the problem: the STATE.

In each repressive case and at every political, historical, and why not, personal, moment, each collective or individuality is facing this processes in a different way and in distinct times.

We have to be conscious that assuming repression as an inseparable part of the struggle is a process which one learns with time and that each person is capable of assuming it at a different pace and with more or less difficulties. Trying to normalise the fact that they enter your house, that they might torture you, that they kidnap those dear to you, that they beat you up during demonstrations, that they apply the antiterrorist law to you or that the first thing you get to see after three days of imprisonment is the gob of judge Velasco isn't pleasant for anybody and the traumatizing side of such situations is totally understandable. On one moment or another, we have all experienced fear and doubts and it is thanks to this fear that we succeed in managing our reactions facing the risks that we are taking. Fear is something natural that allows us to act in difficult or stressful situations, and it is not a problem from the moment one knows to manage it. The problem comes when fear transforms itself in panic and paralyzes as such the answer in the streets, getting in certain occasions politicised up to a point where the panic becomes a political line to follow and gets in our way when it is the time to hit with rage everything that got us in this situation. Giving an answer to all this is feeling that we are still alive.

There is an important emotional part in all this since we are human beings and the "politicisation of our hearts" is not an easy task. But behind the emotions we feel, keeping our minds clear and act in consequence is indispensable at times of answering to these atrocities. It is as important to stand in solidarity with the persons on the inside as with the accused on the outside, taking care of each other, supporting ourselves and giving more time to those who could have the need to more slowly take all this on, with the aim of coming out of all this more dignified and feeling proud of what we are, generating a climate of trust between comrades and avoiding that fear and pessimism get the best of us.

It is evident that the energies of the first day are not the same that are accompanying us today; we have tripled our efforts as to ensure that the imprisoned comrades do not lack of anything, and in the long run, the bill presents itself. That's why it is important to pace our forces and take the necessary times of resting, with the aim of creating a political response in the streets which

defends the prisoners and launches itself as a counter-offensive against the State, its judges, its cops and its media, transmitting it in this way out of Madrid and into to jails where the comrades are.

The intention of this text is not to analyse, as was already often done, the why of all this. Many texts, since the case of Francisco and Mónica until today, have correctly detailed the motives behind these spectacular blows (need for an internal enemy, legitimization of repressive measures, re-definition of the concept of terrorism, fear of governments that revolts might erupt...). The intention of this text is more internal and personal; it is about evaluating one of the reasons for which the state has done this and which is about instilling fear; the intention is also to try to make a more intimate reading towards the interior as to continue the struggle and carry our ideas head high.

The spectacular and media character of the arrests and the so heavy accusations we are facing makes that psychosis spreads amongst us and that we often tend to forget that the State and its bad scriptwriters have constructed to their own image a file that is more close to a fiction movie that to something that resembles a juridical file. The bad piece of work they came up with is above all spectacular and media-based, and the house searches and arrests they imposed on us in our houses and under our noses show that they didn't believe themselves in what they were doing. Nobody could believe that a part of an "armed terrorist gang" (without any weapon having been found) is nowadays in the streets waiting for the trail. Despite this fantasist construction, the control measures and the infrastructure they have used for their investigations have rather been important and are typical from the side of those who want to control all our movements and those of the persons close to us; and further on deforming, de-contextualising, manipulating these investigations at their liking: tailing on foot, by car, microphones, devices in cars or phone tapping to tamper everything as they wanted. We anarchists are not looking in any way to win their respect, but we think that manipulating our data at their liking is tendentious and takes away all credibility. Before everything else, we are what we are, and we do not want to hide us for it.

The important aspect of all this, is to learn from experiences, try to overcome the adversities, build confidence and prepare ourselves politically and emotionally. In front of cases like this one, only reaffirming can make us proud of all of us and of what we propose, strongly convinced that anarchy is the only way for equality amongst individuals, without hierarchies, without leaders, in full autonomy and without government. It is indispensable and inherent to anarchism to organise ourselves against the State and everything that is part of it and at the same time defending ourselves against any offensive against anarchists by showing clearly that those who prepare these roundups and these pitiful operations are the biggest and most dangerous organised gang that has ever

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existed: the State, singling out this gang of murderers, torturers, screws, judges, cops, journalists, etc. These ignorants attempt to attack anarchists following the same model as other types of organisation or hierarchical structures, proving thereby they have no idea whatsoever about the meaning of the anarchist ideas while profiting of it to degrade and denature the libertarian ideals we defend. We, we do not have leaders, we do not command nor do we obey. Centuries of anarchist history, getting almost erased from the minds of many and being censored by all official media, show that the organisational form of anarchists is horizontal, without power, without democracy, without totalitarianism, in equality. To try to convince us today of the contrary is not only pointless but also analphabetic. It is thanks to democracy that we are where we are now, and it is democracy we have to destroy as the dominant system.

They want to finish off solidarity and make the prisoners to be forgotten; they want to finish off with mutual support, self-management, support networks, direct action... – they want to finish off with the anarchists, and to renounce any of these principles means to renounce our lives. The coordinations and spaces of confluence between us are more important than ever. If their objective is the one we said, a good answer consists of organising ourselves and of starting to assume repression and prison as consequences, as something that can happen sooner or later, to us and to our dear ones. Being conscious of the importance of feeling strong and proud, and showing it by trying to not give up, not give in, to not fall into reformisms or choose more easy roads, is a way of which “nobody said it would be easy”.

This is addressed to all comrades like us that they woke up on the 30<sup>th</sup> of March to take us away under the antiter-

rorist law; to our comrades who remained outside with things not easier to solve; and above all to our imprisoned brothers who didn't have the same luck as us. So that we may continue to have the desire and strength to mock all this and all them. Their tiresome theatrical play has no name, and the heavy joke they offered us has for some unforgivable consequences. To continue with our heads high and feeling proud of the five comrades arrested during this operation, of Francisco and Mónica, of the persons hit by Operation Pandora, of Gabriel Pombo, of those of who we ignore the names, of those who fight and of those who will come. You are the ones who made us go forward and who keep us alive. The dignity you are transmitting after years of imprisonment deserves that we, outside, stand alongside you all the way.

For an active and combative solidarity, far away from the opportunists and political parties who want to take advantage of the repression. Because we want to choose ourselves how to answer to it without allowing them to recuperate our struggle.

For the creation of anarchist spaces and coordinations.  
For debate and diffusion.

For the creation of liberated and self-managed spaces.  
For direct action in all its forms.

For the destruction of the State and of everything that makes us slaves.

Against democracy... for anarchy!!

**Freedom for the imprisoned anarchists and anti-authoritarians, down with the prison walls!**

**Now more than ever: death to the State and long live anarchy!**



# HALLUCINATIONS, INTIMIDATION AND CONTROL

## SOME WORDS ON OPERATION PANDORA

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*March 2015 - Spain*

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[Currently, the 11 comrades who had been arrested during the Pandora operation, from which 7 were transferred to prison, are all out with charges and under judicial control measures.]

*“Are we persecuted? Well, it’s logical that we are persecuted because we are a constant threat for who represents the system. In order not to be prosecuted we would have to adapt to their laws, comply with them, integrate into the system, let bureaucracy penetrate our spinal cord and become perfect traitors... but is that what we want? No. So our everyday actions have to be nourished with our creative imagination. Our strength is our ability to resist. We can fail but must never bow down to anyone.”*

– Buenaventura Durruti

There can be many and varied explanations for the repressive blow of December 16th, just as the general and specific causes that intertwined to create a delirious net of power leading to the arrest of our friends and comrades are many.

Perhaps one of the general causes could be the introduction of the Law on Citizens Security, known as the ‘Ley Mordaza’ [Gag law]; this, along with the exacer-

bation of the penal code, which has re-introduced life sentences, creates a pattern whereby the control exercised by power is more efficient and strengthened by constant paranoia. Sentences for attacks on authorities, public disorder and disobedience have been exacerbated; at the same time social protests like those of 15M [the movement of Indignados] and of PAH [Platform for People Affected by Mortgages] are being punished. Progressives and social-democrats say that the State is ‘leaving less space for freedom’ and that ‘the struggle for rights is being criminalized’. As you can see, the turn of the screw by the repressive-judicial apparatus is striking citizens, that is to say those who struggle for more and better laws, more and better democracy, for more participation in the management of misery. Freedom and law is inconsistent with one another. As anarchists we are aware that the more rights are granted the stronger the State becomes and as a consequence our submission grows. Not because it will cease to be such with a subtle, more democratic oppression, but quite the opposite it becomes more natural and firm in its being invisible.

Therefore we are totally opposed to the category of citizens, and we try tirelessly and obstinately to be free individuals, not at all ready to beg for more links to be added to our chains. The struggle for civil rights is not

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ours. It is therefore likely that through the exacerbation of the mechanisms of control, power wants to strike the anarchists and threaten them with the consequences that will fall on those who take a stand against it. Nothing new. On many occasions power has *'had recourse'* towards anarchists to experiment with legal adjustments and changes in order to become stronger.

The undeniable increase, in both quantity and intensity, of street fighting in Barcelona in the last year could be another reason for our friends' arrests. The fact that demonstrations are no longer feared is a clear and remarkable fact, which also implies the refusal to practice the civil values of the citizens' behaviour. For an instant youths take back control of their lives and break off with established rules, and this is the instant that power tries to prevent it from spreading and extending with its classic strategy; repression and prison for those who claim Total Liberation explicitly and publicly.

### ***F.I.E.S. in prison and in the street***

Besides the causes deriving from the general context of control, in particular with the creation of the Law on Citizen Security and the exacerbation of the penal code, we see the tactics of repression used by various nation-states against the anarchist movement, tactics that translate into massive arrests based on vague accusations of terrorism. Marini, Cervantes, Caso Bombas, Ardire and the latest Operation Pandora are all examples of strategy rather than persecution for specific deeds, a strategy that strikes anarchist places and tries to control anarchism in general.

Particular security measures in prison as well as surveillance and phone tapping outside. Control is constant and aims at spreading to more varied spaces with the use of more refined technology. Power is not interested in establishing if those arrested are responsible for the

actions (which are also quite enigmatic in this case) they are accused of, this is not in power's interest, as proved by the lack of clarity in the accusations. Power is trying to exercise direct control so as to come to a situation of inaction and paralysis.

While repressive blows justify investigations and therefore control of a large part of the anarchist movement and also some leftist sectors, the application of penal law defined by the Nazi enemy and ideologist Carl Schmitt and consequent imprisonment is reserved only to some: those who make their claims without ambiguity and clash with power, who insist on unconditional autonomy and freedom without falling into the trap of citizenship or national independence, who use all their creativity and will to build networks of support and solidarity with their fellow prisoners. This is a constant factor in all the attacks by power in different countries and I think that the question of our comrades and friends is no exception.

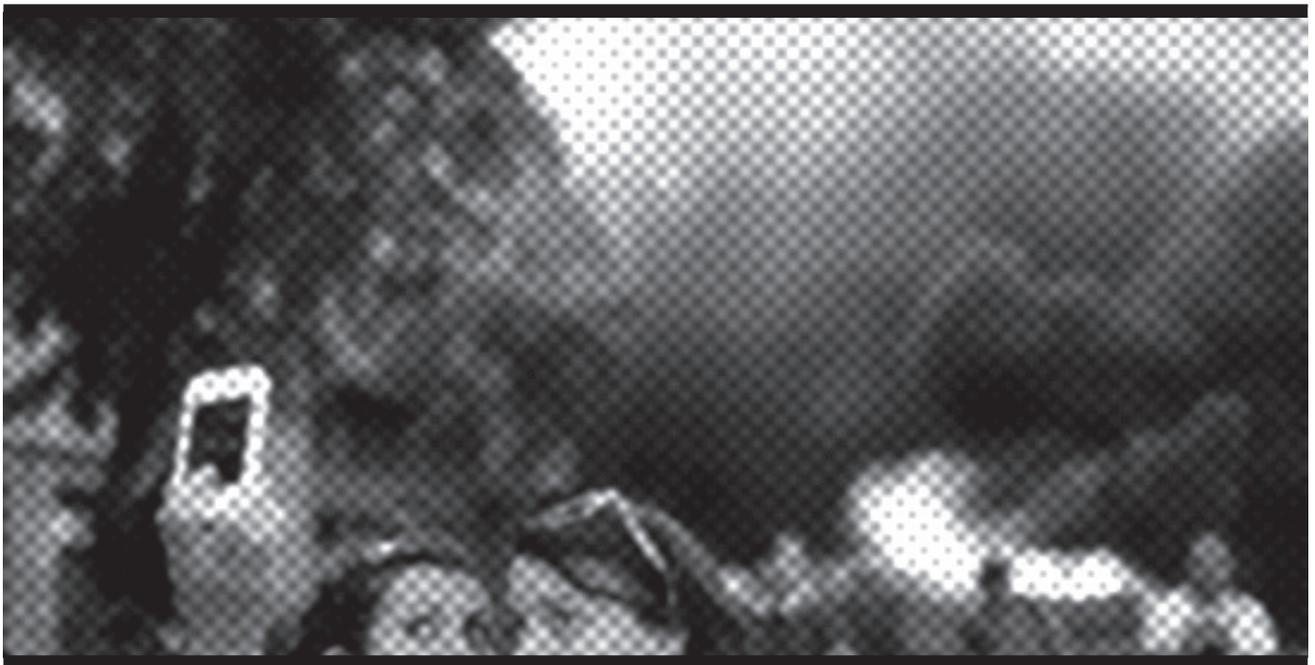
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## THE HASH EFFECT

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*Aversión - March 2015 - Spain*

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*“Smart-phones offer us the opportunity to understand how normal life models the brain of common people. The digital technology we use everyday models sensory processes in the brain at a scale that surprised us.”*

Article on a study by the University and the Federal School of Technology in Zurich (Switzerland) on the effect on the brain of the use of tactile devices. (*La Vanguardia*, 20 January 2015)

The slogan “Yo también soy anarquista” [I, too, am an anarchist] was used many times. Two of these recent occasions pushed us to some thoughts: the first concerned the struggle in the district of Gamonal Burgos [in January and November 2014], where the slogan was launched by local residents in response to attempts from the City Hall to separate, to provoke infighting and to divide again the locals; the second followed the arrest of those accused under the Pandora operation when this slogan began to reverberate with high speed from phone to phone, preceded by a hash mark: “#Yo también soy anarquista”(1)! In the first case, it was a timely and strong response against the violence of the state, from those who no longer believe in the schemes of the latter, fruit of collective work between comrades and neighbors from Gamonal. In the second case, it is only another hashtag, a label formed of a word, an acronym or phrase preceded by the character “hash” and used on the Internet, in this case on the social network Twitter.

The hash effect is the possibility of appropriating a label [a hashtag consists of a # followed by a tag or label] with a certain weight (whatever it is), it allows us to give an opinion without pronouncing a word, without getting dirty, without careful consideration, since it is sufficient to reproduce this label on the neurotic rhythm of our lives (in the elevator, in traffic jams, in the subway, between one class and another, even when one is shitting). Besides, in the same manner that the virtual world in general offers to us the option of communicating (or spreading) on the spot any reflection, opinion, photo, bullshit, no matter what is said: long live the fantastic world of technology! When we were small, we often played this game: we take a two-syllable word and we repeated it several times until it changes meaning; what surprised me then, was not that “bron-ca” [angry] becomes “ca-brón” [bastard], but rather how the two words were being emptied of their meaning and like magic became nothing more than noise. Thus the phrase “Yo también soy anarquista” repeated many times can certainly grow and spread in time, but, depending on the means used and the situation in which it is launched, can respectively take on sense and retaliation or crumble and be reduced to a mere slogan, a hollow word. We certainly do not grant the same value to “I am suffering because I am a radical” from Vanzetti facing the death penalty (2), than “Yo también soy anarquista” sent “anonymously” and in flux on Twitter.

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Solidarity is appreciable, but do not forget that it is precisely by rehashing and decontextualizing something that trivializes its value, its weight; to define oneself as anarchist at a time when that is what is at stake is of course significant, but it is absurd to do it without feeling, without believing and/or without understanding, moreover through a medium that doesn't suppose any kind of real involvement. Thus it is not surprising that even politicians and journalists, addicts of new technologies, proudly announce their easy smart-phone solidarity “#yo también soy anarquista”. None of them would certainly have the audacity to take over as easily this label on their GPS gifted with speech and writing when Francisco and Monica were arrested. Why? Or to affirm as some people in solidarity did in a leaflet: “We are all

Mateo Morral”. And in this case, this sentence would it be broadcasted as rapidly, becoming a trending topic?

The space that each of us gives to technology in his own life is a personal choice, but it is a collective responsibility that at least those who say *basta!* to the frantic advancement of the latter are not excluded of information at important moments. If some like to spend their time writing philosophical proverbs or cursing politicians on Twitter... that they go there, personally I do not follow them. But beyond the invitation to a personal reflection on how far we want to continue to give space to this unbridled and consumerist race for totalitarian control, we believe it is vitally important to maintain old methods of communication between us...



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## PROPOSALS FOR DISCUSSION FOR THE POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENT OF PROJECTS AND MOVEMENTS

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2015 - Germany

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*The following text was a contribution for a small informal meeting between anarchists from the german-speaking countries. The first part of the text deals with the question what the reason and perspective for such a meeting could be, on which basis people are coming together and gives furthermore concrete proposals for a startingpoint for the discussions. In the following, this part was not reprinted.*

The consideration to take self owned, autonomous and self-organised projects of intervention as a crucial point does not come from anywhere: The development and continuous further development of these projects on a basis of common affinities, analyses and perspectives, for being able to intervene in the specific social reality, is the permanent tension and task in which we as anarchists are finding ourselves.

How minimal their orientation and format and how timidly their realization might seem does not matter in this case, because for the initiation of a project of struggle it is neither about the quantitative dimensions that have been reached (that anyhow sooner or later will be a challenge), the bright shimmering images of success and of spectacle, nor about proudly shown end results. It is rather about the steady striving for qualitative coherence, about the experiences that were made and the

discussions enriching in this way, which can't be taken off by belonging to a group, organisation or scene. Every theory which doesn't have the initiation, further development and intensification of such self-organised projects as an aim, every collectivity that is not furthering this or even hindering it, every meeting that doesn't have this as a basis of struggle and every anarchist, who doesn't develop this, isn't worth anything.

Having made this clear, we want to deal with some of these points which concern such anarchist projects of struggle, because for us they seem to be quite urgent, but in reality we are facing them often helplessly. The schematic description emphasizes the need to be deepened theoretically and practically, to be supplemented and to be thought over. These are assumptions and hypotheses and no ideal conclusions.

– **communication:** We have to ask ourselves, living in times of an everything clutching social isolation, how we can communicate our ideas and critiques, analyses and perspectives, our proposals for the struggle and the addresses of our enemies, how to make them clear and understandable. Every attempt that claims to have found a certain instrument as a patent remedy is from the beginning condemned to fail. It's more about the imagi-

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native and innovative combination of different means<sup>(1)</sup>, because only like this we can overcome the limits of the symbolic, the sect attitude of the preachers and the detachment of politics.

Since communication is not simply standing for agitation, we have to ask ourselves how we can develop opportunities for encounters, mutual understanding, discussions, a certain approachability and through this the possible creation of insurgent relationships. The stimulation of discussions is referring to the affinity group itself as well as to the social terrain on which it is intervening.

When we talk about fueling hostilities, of discourses, of delivering a partial or general critique, we always talk about the intertwining of word and deed, of possibilities of a better interlinking and of the mutual fertilization of those as well.

– **provocation:** Because we will always be in a position of a minority, we have to ask ourselves – without necessarily becoming or convincing the majority – how to launch developments which go beyond their specific context of their emergence. Like in a chemical reaction the hunch or the knowledge can be enough for having to act under the right conditions and at the right moment in a certain kind of way and to make use of a certain element, which is provoking an unforeseen process and is leading the conditions to brim over or to explode.

We can't leave this necessary sensitivity to hit the ravage of the time to pure coincidence, but we rather have to emphasize the necessity and significance of creative experiments. As well embedded in the context of an insurrectionary project<sup>(2)</sup>, as beyond of this, the experimentation knows no taboo since it wants to encourage to provoke, to motivate to position oneself, to excite and to act, and through this it avoids at all times the well-known:

As well the usage of the false<sup>(3)</sup> (as a game with social roles and identities), the exaggeration of theses, the right pinprick at the right spot, as well as the element that through its huge spreading on the terrain makes the wildfire possible, are points of reference to provoke dynamics which contain unforeseen character. Nevertheless, too big hopes can lead to a hasty presence of tiredness and frustration concerning the experimenting person(s).

– **agility:** The sense and non-sense of every affinitygroup, of every rallied mob or active connection of people measures itself by its degree of agility. By this a certain suppleness, an agile vitality is meant, which is becoming apparent as well while acting together as also solely and has the enhancement of the ability to organize *oneself* independently without guideline or collective resolution as its aim. Agility is the outcome of different own initiatives, which are emerging spontaneously or planned and blending together. Agility is a condition and also a product of informality: The desired multiplication of initiatives is no forceful result of informal connections between people, since the centralism, the fix-

ation on particular persons and their opinions and suggestions and the through this developing dependence, is relatively continuous coming up and – depending on the duration of their existence – hardening.

This tendency has to be fought by henceforth not concentrating the organization only on common encounters and meetings but by making it become a commonly tried out daily practice: Making appointments and individual or collective plans, the setting of smaller and bigger individual and collective goals, making suggestions and experiences, acting and reacting, discussing, trying out, summarizing and all of this without any large scale structure or any scheduled procedure, but as a chaotic practice dependent on own initiative, on joy and mood, on hatred and revenge, on need and desire. For this it's necessary not to leave anything to spontaneity, but making spontaneity possible and useful through plans and ability to organize. Keyword: Continuity. Without implicitly striving for continuous increase, continuity is the ground on which all this can develop and which let's a fine feeling for the possible flourish. By continuous magnetic attraction and rejection, individuals find the closeness or distance that suits them and that corresponds with their momentary affinity.

The more individuals are through steady common experiences in alternating combinations and constellations getting the feeling to have found a trust worthy closeness to others, the more possible it becomes – even under conditions which are extremely hostile to them – to commonly break through allday routine. Collective agility means common strength, which is shaped through every single component.

If these are possible directions of an insurrectional project of intervention, which receives its character through the intersection of all directions, what then is the reference that is bringing different projects together? A movement? An international anarchist movement? Is something like this generally existing?

If we assume that this term is not relating to a mass of *moved ones* (people moved) by an idea, but relating to the *movements*, which are originating from the *moving* anarchists and their struggles, this movement is not noticeable<sup>(4)</sup> in our context. We can't claim that this has once been different in our lifetime and due to that we have only left assumptions, what such a movement could mean and we have only raw notions, what it would mean to initiate such movements.

But let's begin with a demarcation, since knowing what one doesn't wants, means also to get an idea of what one desires: Although we consider a bigger frame that is speaking of common struggles of an anarchist movement in this area more as an imagination than reality, some individuals and collectives however seem to refer regularly to a certain (anarchist? autonomous? leftist?) movement. The existence and self-justification of this movement seems more to feed itself out of the existence of a "collection of places, infrastructures, communized methods", through which "the dreams, bodies, murmurs, thoughts, desires that circulate among

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those places, the *use* of those methods, the *sharing* of those infrastructures” are becoming the constituting elements. This collection is acting up to the principle “Only that which impedes the increase of our strength is bad”. If these “places”, “where we co-operate” are created, if we “rejoin”, having again a “road to follow”, a prepared “common strategy”, “it is a matter of giving ourselves the means, of finding the methods whereby all those questions can be resolved; questions which, when addressed separately, can drive us to depression.” Due to that “we must organize ourselves on the basis of our needs – to manage to answer in turn the collective questions of eating, sleeping, thinking, loving, creating forms, coordinating our forces” and to understand this “matter of putting into place an immediate, material sharing, the construction of a real revolutionary war machine, the **construction of the Party**” as “a moment of war against the empire”.

It seems to me that this idea of a movement is really often coincident with the concept of the party as a to be constructed “trail of *habitable places*”, that is quoted here out of the “Call”, written by anonymous authors. A movement or a party, which is not sticking together because of a common idea of what it means *to fight*, but rather through the adopting and sharing of social roles and identities that find and dictate solutions for individual social problems. This movement moves not out of own strength or own initiative, but it is getting mobilized, managed, directed and defended. It tries to draw a social inner frontline in the logic of a civil war and makes *movements* not dependent on own thinking and acting, but on taking sides, on collecting as many people as possible and letting them cooperate and collectivize. Through this the over all perching strength of the mysterious party is increasing, which rather strives after taking over and re-appropriating everything, than generating a break with the existing here and now.

Our concept of strength collides totally with the one of the appellists:

Common strength arises there, where individuals come together to develop thoughts and projects out of mutual joy of each other, out of egoistic and not party-political interest in the opposite person. The more intensive the examination of one self, of the comrades and of the reality becomes, the more scopes are resulting in practice and the more intensive the practice is becoming the more its playful joy is spreading to other scattered individuals, who might take the initiative to encourage an idea or a project as well through the own contribution or the own critique.

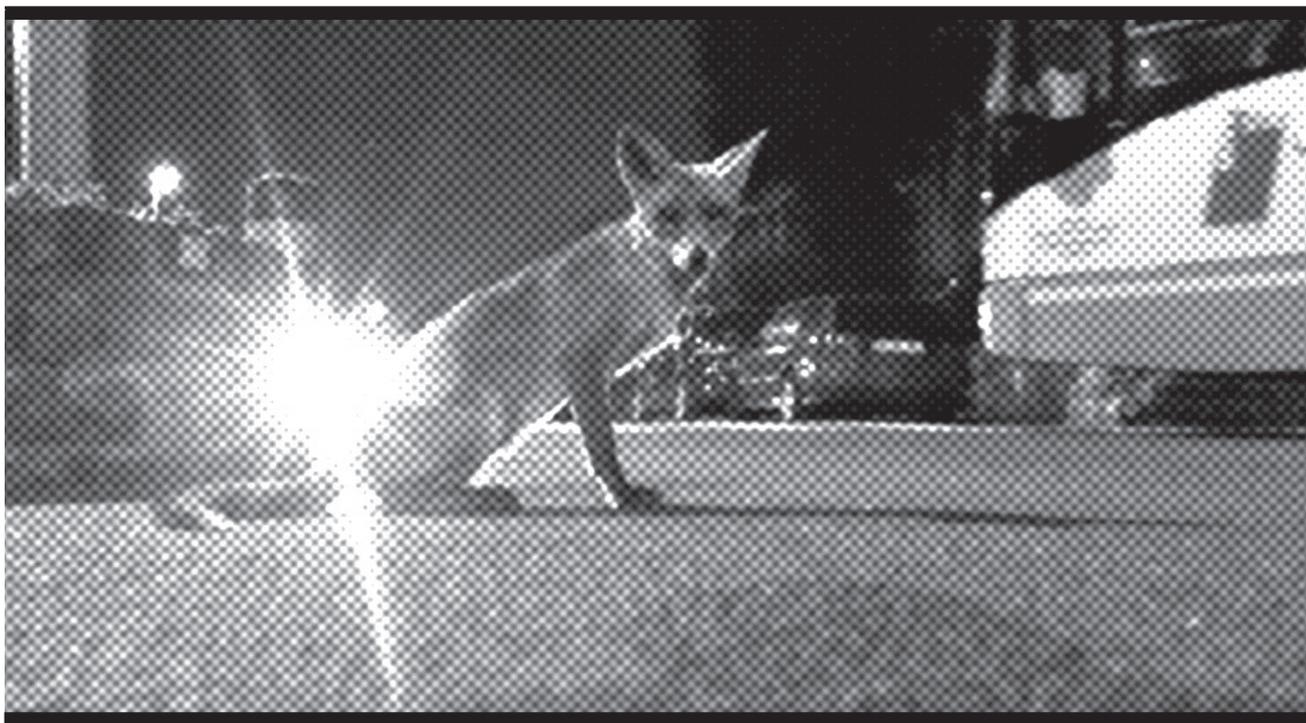
This encouraging doesn't need the fusion to a united collective, since its aim isn't the constitution of a countervailing-power or the massification of the individual, but on the contrary it is fueling exactly this scattered, asymmetrical constellation of struggle. The asymmetry of conflict is not based on adopting a common social identity to take on a separate common role *in* society. Rather it recognizes that we as excluded are always

standing *outside* of this society and that in struggle against the society a role or front, accepted by society, will never be awarded to us within it. So it is about raising the question, how to create connections between the different excluded, how to fight a social struggle with anti-social intentions, without burdening the protagonists with a program of a fixed role or the regularities of a collective. How to deliver a method within the social conflict, which is practicable for everybody on the basis of one's own desires. How to create moments of concentrated escalation that through the variety of culminating practices involve insurrectional possibilities.

If we'll find answers to these questions then only in the reality of concrete projects and struggles. But maybe the searching for these answers could become more sustainable and one could avoid the unnecessary experience of already made mistakes, if the thrust of specific struggles and projects would get picked up by others and like this would be encouraged beyond a local context, as well as if these struggles and projects would create a point for reflection and coordination for those, who realize wanting to provoke such movements, too. If the term *movement* makes sense for us then most likely in this way... which role could a meeting like this play to develop such movements? How much significance do personal acquaintances, personal exchange, traveling and rotating from place to place have? And the common elaboration and spreading of theory? Do public discussions, meetings or bookfairs make sense? What could the development of projects going beyond limited regions mean? To which extent are we able to take up impulses spontaneously and refer to them in our own way? Which role does solidarity and critique have inside of and for a movement? And is it generally imaginable and possible at this time and facing these conditions to set such movements in motion?

#### Notes

1. Later notes for a better understanding: Meant are all means that anarchists create to articulate their ideas, like leaflets, slogans, pamphlets, spread newspapers, books, posters or, if the necessity arises, the creation of particular periodicals or editions in order to deepen certain aspects.
2. Meant is every project that contrary to a punctual intervention for a limited time takes action against one or more aspects of domination and so rises from a deeper analysis and a so developing more precise hypothesis, how it could come at this point to a rupture with reality.
3. Like the specific spreading of false information, falsified official documents that, depending on the aim, make promises, orders or requests or just bring the facts on the table.
4. In this sense not noticeable that it would own the strength to decisively effect the us surrounding living conditions or even change them, or that it would have a meaning in the life of the vast majority of the people.



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## **FIRE TO THE MAXI-PRISON!**

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*June 2015 - Belgium*

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It has been a while now since the first and last contribution from comrades in Brussels about the struggle against the construction of a maxi-prison. The idea of this second contribution is not to repeat the same basic analytical elements and so on you can easily find back in *Avalanche* issue 1, but it is an attempt to go a bit deeper into some problematics concerning this struggle in particular and insurrectionist specific struggle in general.

Today we have arrived at a moment on which a path of two years and a half of struggle against this morbid project of the state lays behind us. Old complicities got lost, new ones have been forged. Some illusions were broken, enabling us to get a clearer look upon what needs to be done, giving us an opportunity to sharpen our ideas and practices. Only by putting one's ideas into practice one can search for proper ways to overcome certain obstacles, a true confrontation between the fantasy and the reality is what brings us closer to a better understanding of where we need to light the fuse and lighten up the meaning of our ideas.

### **Some changes in the social context**

During the last year, some elements have changed in the social context we are acting in, elements considered important to highlight.

First of all, since last winter the army has reappeared in the streets in Belgium, permanently protecting symbols of possible islamist attacks. After the assassination of two presumed islamists during a house raid in Verviers, terror alert against cops and cop stations rose to the maximum level, causing Brussels cops for several weeks not to patrol alone, but always with two cars, as well as up to today cops wearing machine guns standing outside of the cop station, cops controlling every entry in the palace of justice, cops wearing machine guns while patrolling in the streets.

Next to these advancements of repression (in the anti-terror climate many more of these "advancements" were made), we would like to draw some attention to two movements of social unrest. Firstly there is some protest against austerity measures, generally firmly controlled by the reformist ass-licking trade unions, but getting wild in November last years. Thousands of people from different horizons in a battle against the cops for several hours on what is generally considered to be an ultra boring head counting walk of the unions. This event at the borderline between several neighbourhoods where we are agitating can be considered as a blow of fresh air in the repressively pacified context of Brussels. A cop motorbike on fire as a reaction against cop brutality which triggered the whole thing, 112 cops to the hospital, some burning cars serving as barricades, some

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vandalism. If this moment of joy has been heavily condemned by all unions (some of them even collaborating with the pigs), it has equally shown to many that anger and the will to revolt are burning underneath the unions pacifying project.

Secondly, during the last year a movement of coordination between people without papers has been growing, creating a road of demo's (it should be mentioned that there has been a wild demo after an arrest, something *very* unusual), occupations, protests and so on. Next to the demand for a general regularisation, there is as well a critique of the borders present, attention given to the mass grave in the Mediterranean, and a will to close the deportation camps and stop all deportations. Both signs of social unrest mentioned here are considered relevant to our struggle, building bridges between our struggle and the agitation around us. We are not looking to educate anyone, but the more trouble on the streets the better, as well as we imagine interventions of extending the conflict, trying to open ip the horizon for a more explosive situation.

A last new element to take into account is the Zadist occupation of the terrain of the future prison, a coalition between civic neighbours, ecological activists, zadists from all over and some rare individuals with whom we have more to share as well as few comrades, but this story is such a mess that we will not deepen it out but will come back to it later on when talking about *desolidarisation*.

### **A solid ground**

What can be said is that two years and a half of agitation (with different means) in certain neighbourhoods has created a firm base on which much can be imagined. Silence around this project of the state has definitely been broken through our proper means (although there are still always people to meet who didn't hear of the maxi prison yet, we can say that the word maxi prison has become common language in certain parts of Brussels, indicating the importance of what a small group of comrades can do, since maxi prison is an invented word that will mark the prison with a taste of struggle even when build), and the proposal of self organisation and direct action against this prison and the ones responsible is circulating. The distribution of the monthly newspaper "Ricochets" gets its recognition.

After some moments of reference in the struggle (the occupation which took place in 2013, an attempted demo and police occupation of the neighbourhood in 2014), some comrades decided to open a point of reference in the popular neighbourhood Kureghem (Anderlecht). In "the passage" permanences, debates, dinners and other activities around the subject of the maxi prison and imprisonment in general are taking place, creating occasions for people from different horizons to meet up and give some direction to their refusal of the repressive offensive and state logic in general.

If one wants to make a quantitative evaluation of the project, counting the heads of people passing by at every opening time, one has not understood the qualitative meaning of this space. If we are not talking about masses, we are referring to interesting encounters between rebels, critical thinkers, unsatisfied people and anarchists discussing the means of refusal of this world. When people who would never have met meet each other in the context of a struggle, something interesting happens. And here we are not talking about meetings between representatives of political groups but of individuals who understand the need of opposing to this project and the state in a direct way. Off course, the struggle doesn't take place in between the four walls of a room and the interest of such a place to meet and coordinate depends on the quality of the fight in the street.

So news of the struggle is crossing the streets of some neighbourhoods, be it by posters or by word of mouth communications (sometimes leading to very exaggerated stories, for example turning a small confrontation with the cops into a riot or the breaking of the windows of a collaborating engineering office during a wild demo into a shooting drive by) as well as news about things happening that never reach the media (e.g. confrontations with cops) comes to our ears through this space. Taking part in some of the dynamics of these neighbourhoods opens up perspectives of mutual understanding and solidarity.

### **The silence of the mass media**

The police on its side off course doesn't appreciate anarchist's attempts at social unrest and insurrection and doesn't want to make propaganda for the proposal of self organisation and sabotage against this maxi prison. Nevertheless, media silence has recently been broken for some moments. (let aside the tiring attempts of the civic neighbourhood committee of Haren -where they want to build the prison- trying its very very best to attract media attention towards their political program against the what they continue to call "mega prison") In the advent of the last meetings between important people to arrange the last official documents to get the last permissions needed to start the construction, the main architect of the maxi prison starts shedding his tears in all media who are willing to listen about a fire bomb (inflammable liquid + gas) put at his house last winter (so some months before the news reaches the media!). Whereas in the first interview the bastard denies all responsibility, afterwards he changes tactics and states that he doesn't understand what can be so bad about the construction of prisons. This news triggers the sensational appetite of the vultures of the media, for the first time starting to talk about direct actions that took place against the ones making profit with this project, pointing the inculpatng finger towards anarchists that are called terrorists. The infamous architect states that all companies involved have had to deal with troubles so far.

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In the middle of this hysteria (journalists discovering the existence of combative anarchism as well as a struggle of two and a half years against the state and its repressive program for Brussels), the houses of some of the people in the commission that decides to give the permission to build or not get tagged. Panic hits the responsible assholes and at least one of them publicly claims to resign her job. The public meeting of the commission itself gets massively surrounded by cops and can only be attended after an identity control and control of your bags. Half of the member of the commission are sitting in the dark so that the media cannot take images of their faces. Lastly, in the middle of the mediatic spectacle, a group of 15 to 20 people (according to the media) enters the federal buildings agency and destroys the *model* of the future prison once and for all! Maybe our good friend and architect Wachtelaer has thereby understood that he should not have been crying in front of the video cameras, since the echo of action inspires more action. In the aftermath of this episode, the decision of the commission was delayed several times with some politicians publicly declaring that *actually they as well are against the project* (yeah right!), until the day of anti terrorist house raids in 4 houses of comrades and in “the passage”.

Before we get to this point, we want to clarify that even if the mass media have off course a very wide reach (until the cells of the prisoners), the spectacle is consuming everything it touches and that it is the autonomous practice of news and ideas diffused by comrades as well as discussions between individuals (comrades or not) that give true meaning to the struggle and not the mediatic echo spread by vultures horny for excitement in their boring life. To end this chapter on mass media we would like to point out that at least three citizens of Haren have publicly dissociated themselves from all vandalizing activities, and this in the name of the inhabitants of all of the village (well, we do not have to doubt about their willingness to be politicians themselves), as well as two “occupiers” of the Zad have done in the name of their Zad (yep). For everyone who is convinced of the use of direct action, it seems wise to stay far away from these politicians who prefer to talk to magistrates (who by the way started to oppose against this project as well, what a mess!) than to the people destined to be thrown inside of this future atrocity. This kind of people are a danger to everyone willing to throw a stone and should be identified as such. The state discourse of “the good and the bad” is being repeated by these scum bags.

### House Raids

A few words then about the house raids that took place under the pretext of “incitement to terrorist acts” and “membership of terrorist group”. The police raided four houses of comrades and the passage, emptying all places from any agitation material: stickers, posters, leaflets, booklets, banners, newspapers and what more. This act of sabotage is a sign of the state declaring repression towards our insurrectionary project. They want to cut

off our legs and frighten the people who are in one way or another standing against the state’s dream of prisons everywhere. They want to scare away people from the passage, they want to make people afraid to say what they think, they want to impeach the conversation about attack against the bastards of this world, they want to eradicate the thoughts about revolt. Against this terrorism of the state we can have only one answer ready: let’s continue to disturb them with all of our heart. Now that we are still outside we must do anything we can to break the social peace in this rotten heart of darkness, in Europe’s capital where we see the contradictions of this system of oppression and poverty, of wealth and power in front of our nose everywhere we go.

As a reaction towards the house raids, comrades got together into an inspiring dynamic and prepared a gathering for a few days later. The police once again occupied the territory to intimidate and scare away people. It must be said that the police is a pain in the ass, but let’s not forget the encouraging words of a man met during a distribution of the call for the gathering, encouraging words amongst many others: “I take off my head for you people. You still have the courage. There is a lot of defeatism over here, and people are even afraid to say what they think.”

### And so...

This struggle has never been evident, nor easy and in the future it will certainly not become more easy. It is a struggle that was built upon many years of agitation activity done by comrades concerning the topics of prison, deportation camps and others. The state will do its best to not only put some people into prison, but to destroy everything what has been built with many effort, to erase the history of insurrectionary and combative anarchism. Adding to that, we don’t always notice the signs of social unrest because they are hidden, be it silenced by the cops or unnoticed because of social isolation which is a condition of the modern times.

But even if we are not always aware of the consequences of our acting, get discouraged by an ambiance of seemingly overall resignation, get scared by the pigs,... Brussels is boiling of anger and we must be prepared. The social context of this small country we are living in is heading towards a disaster (if we are not already living it) and we can be sure of a future explosion. The maxi prison is only one element in the global picture but the attack against the one’s responsible is a clear indication for everyone in conflict with the state and its insulting daily practice. This struggle can be a reference of self organisation aiming at the attack of the miserable conditions and the institutions suffocating life, and exist in the imagination and memory of people. It can give courage to others eager to fight without politicians nor compromise, people tired and sick of this world and letting the anger come out. This is what the state wants to crush, this is what we are putting ourselves at stake for. There

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is a potential in this struggle, a social dimension which can make things uncontrollable. There are so many people who have read the pamphlets, have seen the posters, have heard and discussed about the fight against this prison, creating a swamp in which it becomes difficult for the cops to understand what is going on, as well as growing seeds of ideas in the heads of many.

For let us be clear: the struggle against the maxi prison is not a struggle of anarchists against the state, it is the struggle of a social refusal of the daily attacks by the state, of a life between the four walls of a prison city. This social refusal can turn into a claw at any time, scar-

ing the cops away, making the politicians pee in their pants as was seen before in England, in Syria, in Turkey, in the USA and in so many other places. If during these strong moments of massive self organization some clear ideas upon how and where to hit the enemy are present, the state is in serious trouble. This is why we should not give in to the police pressure and start hiding our ideas. Because our ideas are stronger than dynamite, are seeds that can help things to seriously go out of control. The social spreading of self organization and direct action is the worst nightmare of the state and everyone willing to control the protest.



## REFLECTIONS ON THE HUNGER STRIKE OF JUNE 2014 AGAINST C-TYPE PRISONS

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2014 - Greece

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*The following text aspires to constitute a basis for reflection in regards to the hunger strike that was carried out against the bill on C-type prisons, as well as to contribute to our public and common understanding of events (of those on the “outside” and those on the “inside”).*

From 23/6 until 1/7 [2014] nearly 4,500 prisoners from different prisons carried out a hunger strike with the main demand being the withdrawal of the bill regarding the establishment of C-type prisons. This hunger strike was the final move in a series of mobilizations in Greek prisons on the issue.

As the hunger strike was the most important act of resistance to this bill up until now, we consider that a cool-headed account of events is significant for the comrades inside and outside of the walls, which will also convey our experience from our participation in this struggle.

Even though the initial announcement of the bill had taken place in March, the ministry froze the process for tactical reasons (as became apparent later on). Reactions from within and from outside the prison walls to such a serious issue were definitely expected and the ministry chose to first measure these reactions. In any case, various issues either political or other (the Balta-

kos case, Easter holidays, Euro-elections) disrupted the normal flow of events on the central political scene.

Even without these issues, however, it isn't in any way definite that developments would have been accelerated. It has become standard practice for the discussion and vote on controversial bills to be referred to the summer session of parliament, as there both parliament balances and social reactions are easier to control. The sheer number of extremely crucial bills that has accumulated for the summer sessions, as well as the sessions' hasty start two weeks early, confirm the government's willingness to deal with various burning issues during the period of summer sloth.

At the beginning of June, the bill was again set in motion, refuting those who had assumed that the government had backed down in response to reactions. With the use of this stratagem, precious time for better coordination and more substantial organization of the mobilizations was lost.

At this stage we recognize a grave error on our part.

Even though we did not share the optimism regarding the freezing of the bill –as we considered the sum-

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mer the most ideal period for the regime to introduce the bill- we were unable to satisfactorily communicate our concern with the majority of prisoners and with the comrades on the outside, in order to better prepare ourselves for the confrontation with the ministry.

Our first thought had been, as during the period of March-April when the bill had been announced, to push for an uprising in as many prisons as possible, thus placing the issue at the top of current events.

A period of unrest in the prisons would highlight not only the issue of the particular bill but also of prisons in general. As, however, an uprising alone is not sufficient to create pressure for the bill's withdrawal, various actions (including possibly a hunger strike) would follow, which would continue to put the issue forward having gained publicity from the outset.

Pushing insurrectionary situations is for us a permanent goal; however, since at that time there were oppositions to this, the idea was abandoned.

Time was pressing and resistance to such a severe bill was weak. Until that point, prisoners' mobilizations were limited to refusal of midday lockdown and refusal of prison meals; in other words feeble mobilizations that did not succeed in pressuring the ministry at all. In particular, the refusal of prison meals, due to the vast divide in economic means between prisoners, quickly develops into a class-based hunger strike; for this reason, it ends up dividing rather than bringing them together.

Furthermore, with the vote looming, the remaining time (about two weeks) acted as a limit to an effective outcome of a hunger strike with clear political characteristics. Under this timeline, such a strike would not have affected the voting process.. This is what the ministry gained with its scheduling maneuver, as the unforeseeable developments of a long hunger strike by anarchists were avoided.

Based on these facts, we considered the proposition of a mass hunger strike the only solution for effectively fighting the introduction of C- type prisons.

A hunger strike carried out by thousands of people has a very different profile from the hunger strike of one person or of a group of people with close ties. The process of communication and coordination must overcome the lack of a common perspective, interracial conflicts, drug addiction and drug trafficking amongst many other issues, all of which act as deterrents.

Despite the obstacles, these issues were overcome, at least initially, and the proposal was accepted. On 23/6, the beginning of the hunger strike was announced. For four days participation continuously grew reaching its maximum dynamic on 26/6, when there were nearly 4.500.

After this point, divisive voices grew louder, personal and interracial differences came to the surface and the initial dynamic started to decline.

Since they are the main means of information inside the prisons, the mass media's concealment of one of the largest hunger strikes, in terms of the number of participants, created a sense of futility for many prisoners and a presupposition of the hunger strike's defeat. Although it was continuously stressed that the mass media are not neutral but hostile and that the only way they will report our struggle is if we *force* them to do it by extending the hunger strike, disillusionment started to take hold.

Blocks or entire prisons stopped the hunger strike in this way inducing others to follow as well and so after a week the hunger strike was already in decline; only a few prisoners were still in it and the chance that they would also stop was quite high. In some blocks there were even disputes and minor clashes between prisoners that wanted to continue and others that were agitating to end the hunger strike.

In this climate of frustration and after many disagreements the decision, the remaining hunger strikers decided to end the hunger strike.

The reason we also sided with this decision and did not continue the hunger strike with all those still interested has to do with the nature and the process of the hunger strike itself. A common struggle had been started by some prisoners based on minimum coordination and so it also had to end as a common struggle. If a few dozen prisoners separated themselves from the initial coalition of 4.500, they would be responsible for the later termination of a mobilization that they had not started on their own and that did not have those characteristics which would fully satisfy them both on a conscientious and a political level.

The participation of a *heterogeneous* crowd in a common mobilization inevitably affects all the participants.

In a general climate of fatigue and pessimism, the best solution was to stop the hunger strike before it degenerated completely.

The hunger strike played a decisive role in moderating the bill. Logic says that if the hunger strike had continued at least until the day of the vote, the results would have been even more favorable to us; history, however, is not made by second-guesses.

The reality is that for 8 days the prisoners on hunger strike and people in solidarity on the outside carried out a struggle on an issue that the regime has marked as pivotal. Beyond the benefits in legal terms, the hunger strike also raised the level of confrontation with the state. The main significance of the hunger strike is that such a serious attack by the state did not pass without a fight or with only inadequate and meaningless actions as a counterweight.

Of course, the premature termination of the hunger strike and the feeling of an incomplete- in regards to the results- struggle has left us with a sour taste, which is counter-

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balanced, however, by the awareness that the commencement and development of the hunger strike despite all the issues mentioned above was an accomplishment.

In the passionate search for freedom we cannot talk in terms of victory or defeat, as these are ephemeral and do not correspond to the historical revolutionary perspective. We talk in terms of milestones in the struggle, of events of resistance that *begin*, *continue* and *end* adding their contribution to the war carried out daily and which trigger new events.

What follows now at a first stage is the application of the bill and our transfer to C- type prisons when that is decided. This for us (depending on the conditions we have to face) may give rise to new mobilizations against the type C regime.

The great participation in the strike demonstrated the falsity of the regime's distinction between political and criminal prisoners. Although the bill targets first and foremost the regime's conscious political enemies, the criminal prisoners formed, as one easily concludes, the overwhelming majority of the hunger strikers, while a substantial boost to beginning the strike was given by the partial hunger strikes that were started in some prisons a few days earlier by criminal prisoners.

In concluding this public exposition we cannot but also mention the stance of both the correctional administration and the mainstream mass media.

On the one hand, the administration took a Pontius Pilatus stand from the very start.

While nearly all prisons lack medical and hospital care, the administration showed indifference, in this way risking someone's sudden death.

Just as one example, in Koridallos prison, the biggest in the country, there was 1 doctor for 1.500 hunger strikers and only during morning hours. Prisoners were carrying out the necessary medical exams by themselves. Those

who felt weakness and went to the prison hospital were pressured to receive a glucose solution and chose to return to prison. The obvious goal of the administration was to avoid the transfer of strikers to hospitals on the outside so that the issue wasn't leaked. It was definite that the transfer of prisoners on hunger strike to hospitals would have blocked the system and the public disclosure of the hunger strike would have been unavoidable. Unfortunately, the strike's short duration allowed this tactic to be efficient.

The administration's provocative stance climaxed with the declaration of a 4 day work stoppage, which deprived prisoners of visits. The screws used the prisoners' mobilization to blackmail the ministry in meeting their demands regarding hiring extra staff and being included in the category of hazardous occupations.

As already mentioned, the mainstream mass media chose silence, burying one of the quantitatively largest hunger strikes in Greece, in order to isolate the prisoners' struggle. They not only concealed the hunger strike but also the solidarity actions, such as the demonstration on 28/6 and the intervention at the prime minister's house. Their role is specific and we did not expect something different. We will, however, name one parrot for the Alafouzos complex, Yiannis Souliotis, who through his column in the newspaper Kathimerini mocked and slandered our struggle.

This hunger strike was for most of us the first collective mobilization of prisoners of this caliber in which we have participated and as such it has left us richer in experiences of struggle. It comprises a precious legacy for the strengthening of our connection with other prisoners, which will be put into use in new struggles against the very existence of prisons, in the continuous struggle for freedom.

UNTIL THE DEMOLITION OF EVERY PRISON

*Prisoners in Struggle Network* (DAK)



# **PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERNATIONAL DEBATE ABOUT REPRESSIVE RESTRUCTURING FOR AN INTERNATIONAL INSURRECTIONAL PERSPECTIVE**

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*Spring 2015 - Europe*

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## **Analytical elements about the ongoing repressive restructuring**

If it would be, beyond doubt, a mistake to continue talking about the “crisis” of capitalism or the management of the state, we are nevertheless experiencing a vast restructuring which touches all fields of society. Concerning Europe we can talk about the death of social democrat model which during decades was meant to guarantee social peace and serve as a horizon for the whole of the reformist and recuperating movements. This announces the end of a time period, the beginning of a new era in which the revolutionary confrontation will take place on an increasingly hostile and controlled ground. The profound penetration into all of the social relations which capital and state are trying to realize in particular throughout the massive spreading of technologies clearly isn't announcing easy times ahead, but nevertheless the times are not in lack of an insurrectional potential. The road signs indicating what will come after this restructuring in Europe are present: the current situation of social cannibalism in Greece, with the intensification of exploitation, the “return” of hunger and illness and

the eradication of the small dreams about a consumption guaranteed maintained by the disappearing middle class. This economic restructuring doesn't always take up the same shape and neither does it happen at the same rhythm, but the logic imposed counts for all of the European union states. The return of back yard nationalism and of patriotism lamenting the fate of one or another country as can be noted in the southern countries, the first ones touched (“it's the fault of the countries in the north”), but also in the northern countries for the opposite reasons (“not to get into the same situation as the southern countries”) -thoughts which are also slipping into the discourses of some anarchists and revolutionaries-, is the veil that hides the potentiality of the enflaming of the social war.

Every system that is going through a restructuring is as well passing by a period of relative instability. In order to heal, the human body makes its temperature rise, passes by a period of fever thereby killing the microbes. The social temperature is rising, because of reasons which for sure stay with one foot, maybe even two, inside of the restructuring foreseen and programmed by the en-

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gineers of capital. But every rising of the temperature is for anarchist revolutionaries as well a possibility. Not to direct and orientate this instability towards a program, as is proposed by the dying left. Neither to calm things down and transform them into something “positive”, as proposed by the builders of alternatives. And neither in order to federate all of the revolted in the big anarchist mass organisation fatally inclined to put a brake on all free initiative, to destroy autonomy, to reproduce the bureaucratic and political deficiencies. But to pour oil on the fire making the conflict to reach over a certain limit after which the events can go *out of control*.

The state is not blind and is well aware of this possibility. Bearing in mind that the classical forms of political mediation are becoming less and less apt at preserving the established order, the state is obliged to enlarge and reinforce its repressive arsenal. A common logic is at work inside of the European space, translating itself according to the local contexts into vast programs of constructing prisons, closed centres, specific detention structures as psychiatry, as well as renovating and extending existing prisons, massively introducing the diffuse detention in the form of electronical and technological control. But if mass detention has always been an important weapon of the state to deal with social troubles in the heart of a society of industrial exploitation, it is by far the only one. The repressive restructuring can as well be felt in the extension of the measures of control and surveillance, in the increasingly vast application of technologies to manage, control, repress and contain the human masses, the militarisation of the borders, the vast investments into research, private and public, linked to security and defence, the redefining of the judicial and policing apparatus or as well the formation of a European police to help the local forces of order in case of trouble and the counter insurgency training of police. In this way the restructuring seems to advance towards an *integration* of the different aspects of repression and control. As the border between *inside* and *outside* always becomes more blurry, the differences are equally fading away in between military management and police repression, in between counter insurgency tactics and contemporary urbanism, in between the control at the borders and the control on the axes of transport. It goes without saying that this restructuring doesn't forget about the enemies of authority, spinning tight webs of surveillance around revolutionaries, introducing special regimes in the prisons destined for them and complicating revolutionary acting on all levels, but it is important to understand that repression is aiming at all of the exploited and oppressed.

For this reasons we want to launch an international proposal. If the ongoing restructuring is involving all aspects of society (economical, political, social, cultural), we think that the advancements made on the repressive field open up important possibilities for revolutionary intervention. These advancements are actually exemplary for the road that power is taking, and they are pro-

grammed and realized according to a counter insurgency logic adapted to the interests of capital and state: the model of social democracy, submitting all subversive and savage spirits, is being replaced by the model of the open air prison.

Concerning the possibility of a revolutionary imagination and an anarchist practice we think that progress of domination is rather than producing contradictions which would lead to an inevitable collapse generating more control, more massacre, more genocide, more terror, and therefore we think that no occasion to launch an assault should be neglected. Waiting is only in favour of our enemy which is programming an increasingly domesticated future inside of its laboratories and its research centres. In other words: it certainly is more imaginable to destroy a prison under construction than to destroy one that is in function, and this counts for all of the advancements of domination.

### **An international proposal**

If, as we said, the details of this restructuring vary according to the different contexts, and therefore modify the axes of intervention, the logic at work is the same everywhere and so the conditions are present to imagine struggles and interventions which attack this logic, in different places and in different ways. But apart from the analysis of the current conditions, the launching of this international proposal of a struggle against the repressive restructuring is in need of a much more important element, namely some specifications of the characteristics of the struggle initiatives.

The characteristics of this international proposition are the following:

#### ***Insurrectional***

We consider that the struggles and fights against the construction of new prisons, against the security and military industry, the implantation of systems of control and surveillance, the increasing scientific research concerning the protection of the established order, the international collaboration between states, should be *insurrectional*:

- A. This restructuring is a *social question*, a problem that touches the existing social relations based upon authority and exploitation, the insurrectional initiatives inscribe themselves in a perspective of subversion of these social relations which are the foundations and the object of this restructuring.
- B. They put into practice the insurrectional method, which is the *self organisation*, the *attack* and the *permanent conflict*, considering it to be the best way to create the material and mental conditions to reach the destruction of the realisations of the enemy. It is based on the mul-

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- tiplicity of the anarchist practice, putting forward the autonomy of action and free initiative as propulsive elements of all struggle dynamic.
- C. This method is not uniformed and is neither a recipe. It can have the perspective of a specific struggle against the construction of a new prison, but can also take the form of a practical and immediate critique of the structures and people that enable this repressive restructuring. On the other hand, it is always going towards *destruction* and not reform, the gradual transformation or the converting of spaces into alternative islands in an ocean of statist horror.
  - D. Rather than waiting or cherishing the illusion of quantity, the insurrectional method axes itself on the quality of the struggle or the revolutionary intervention, meaning on its theoretical and practical capacity to undermine the foundations of the enemy and to attack him. This is where it differs with the –to our opinion at least obsolete- syndicalist or assistentialist methods, principally based on the defence of the interests of a certain social category or class

### ***Informal***

At an organisational level, we think that informality and informal organisation are corresponding the most to this proposal, and more generally to the insurrectional antiauthoritarian struggle. As a consequence: no congresses, no programs, no bureaucracy, no delegation or spokesmen.

This international proposal doesn't aim at the creation of some organisation, but at the opening of spaces of exchange, of mutual knowledge and debate. We won't doubt this will permit a better knowledge of what is going on elsewhere, creating the conditions for interventions considered in the optic of international solidarity and common struggle, to give birth to temporary coordination between different struggles and fights, to deepen the informality out of which, according to the affinities and projects, raise initiatives. In this way, through the mutual knowledge of the projects of struggle, this international proposal aims at stimulating "organisational occasions", not with the aim of a growth in quantity but of the quality of revolutionary intervention.

### ***International***

We think that no act, no struggle, no combat only has a local dimension, even more, that the states have a big interest in limiting the space to manage it more easily. If the restructuring is operating according to the same logic and following similar models inside of the European union, we think that the fight against the repressive restructuring can and must be fought at an international level, beyond doubt with differences in intensity and with different modes. Besides that we are as well convinced of the fact that the creation of spaces of international struggle will reinforce the different struggles which are taking place in a specific context.

### ***... to go where?***

If everyone has off course some ideas in mind concerning where a proposal such as this one could lead to, it seems nevertheless sure that this will take up different forms and that the degrees of exchange and cooperation over the borders and in between different struggles and fights will vary. We are absolutely not talking about creating a uniform intervention, but on the contrary about promoting the rise of a multiplicity of spaces of reflection or exchange. So we invite the comrades interested by this proposal to discuss around them and to contribute with more precise analyses, thoughts and criticism.

If in the past there have been similar experiences and try-outs, with positive and negative aspects, we think that facing the ongoing restructuring and taking into consideration that there are struggles and fights on this terrain going on in different regions of Europe (against the construction of new prisons, against the introduction of new regimes, against technology of control, military bases, closed centres,...), this proposal could strengthen the existing struggle dynamics and contribute to give birth to new ones.

What we want is to think, to experiment and to put into practice the methods of insurrectional struggle, and this at an international level.





- 4** - MEXICO - *Recuperators of the existent*
- 7** - MEXICO - *Don't vote them in, kick them out!*
- 10** - MEXICO - *On anarchist internationalism*
- 12** - CHILE - *Environmental devastation and confrontation with power: exposing the enemy by propagating its destruction*
- 14** - SPAIN - *Letter to the anarchist and antiauthoritarian comrades and friends about the latest arrests and imprisonments during 'Operation Piñata'*
- 17** - SPAIN - *Hallucinations, intimidation and control*
- 19** - SPAIN - *The hash effect*
- 21** - GERMANY - *Proposals for discussion for the possible development of projects and movements*
- 24** - BELGIUM - *Fire to the maxi-prison!*
- 28** - GREECE - *Reflections on the hunger strike against C-type prisons*
- 31** - EUROPE - *Proposal for an international debate about repressive restructuring*