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# ΑΝΑΤΑΝΤΣΗ

*Anarchist correspondence*



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[exquisitarebeldia@riseup.net](mailto:exquisitarebeldia@riseup.net)

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[publicacion-abrazandoelcaos@riseup.net](mailto:publicacion-abrazandoelcaos@riseup.net)

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[dissonanz-a@riseup.net](mailto:dissonanz-a@riseup.net)

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

Websites

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<http://contrainfo.espiv.net>

**Act for freedom now**

<http://actforfree.nostate.net>

**Tabula Rasa**

<http://www.atabularasa.org>

**Voz como arma**

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**Non Fides**

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If today power is going through a period of instability and uncertainty related to the vast ongoing restructuring on the economic, political and social level, it unrelentingly strives for a *total mobilization* of the entire population. If it is seeking to produce a new consensus, a new adherence of subjects to the project of domination or, where appropriate, a sustainable submission of those that yesterday were refractory, it is not surprising that we are seeing a significant strengthening of repression. What could maybe surprise us, is rather the speed with which whole sections of society are militarized, with which the legal framework undergoes modifications, the pace of the penetration of technology and control procedures in the whole society.

Following the declaration of several wars by the European countries (Libya, Central Africa, Syria,...) and the attack in Paris by fighters of the holy war, several countries have implemented a huge experiment in the terrain of security. Even the soldiers in the street, once a sign of the approach of war or insurgency, have not missed the call. This is, as required by anti-terrorism experts, to “saturate the territory”, as much by the physical presence of a wave of faithful to power as by drowning any space for reflection by pro-system propaganda. In the line of fire are obviously not only (or even not so much) the proponents of holy war, but all that are problematic to the “peace” of the markets and the stability of institutions; the populations redundant to capitalist accumulation and declared revolutionaries, misfits for the world of technology and rebels of the streets.

Effectively, every State logically tends towards totalitarianism, which, depending on the time and period, may take the form of a fascist dictatorship or a martial republic, a democracy reaching peaks in the crushing of individuals or a technocracy submitting the entire population to the prerogatives of algorithms and machines. Totalitarianism involves *all*, it requires a *total* mobilization, *full* adherence. If a few years ago, uprisings to the cry of freedom and dignity erupted on the other side of the Mediterranean, today we see all States respond-

ing (preemptively in most cases) to the possibility of a subversive threat. And states, whether democratic or despotic, theocratic or technocratic, never exclude any means when it comes to preserving their power: war, lying, prison, terror, total control, torture, special regimes, murders.

The question that arises for those who fight in the social war against all authority, is if we have the reflections, means, practices, perspectives, projectualities that can enable us to take the initiative, to attack in the new era that announces itself. Well, the answer can not be affirmative. If interesting projects have emerged in recent times, if significant experiences have provided weapons for the future, it is clear that power is getting ahead. We could try to catch up by throwing overboard all the characteristics that distinguish us from others, and – in the general atmosphere of war and its replacement of the *idea* with strategy – run behind improbable alliances with authoritarian forces or behind masses poisoned by an overdose of state propaganda. One might refuse to face the new situation and keep going in circles of self-reference and repetition. Or, and this is what we see when we look over the texts that were sent to us or that we have collected in this issue of *Avalanche*, try to go forward, to further the reflection, to sharpen the practice of direct attack, to deepen the dimensions of self-organization and informality, to persist in refusing to set aside our ideas of anarchy and freedom and the resulting questions under the pretext of looking for more efficiency.

The challenges on the horizon are, if possible, even more serious and difficult than those of yesterday. The conditions in which to imagine, think and practice the revolutionary confrontation today are far from favorable. But this does not impede that all over the world, anarchists are making their way, against all odds, *their* trajectory of attack against all forms of authority. We continue to think that *Avalanche*, as a project of international correspondence can help to link and confront these different trajectories of an autonomous and offensive anarchism.



## **A NECESSARY INTRODUCTION TO AN EVEN MORE NECESSARY WORK**

INTRODUCTION TO *DOCUMENTS FOR AN INSURRECTIONAL TOPOLOGY*

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*December 2014 - Uruguay*

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The need to provide the social war with instruments as to avoid that it gets transformed in to an ordinary war is the huge problem in which our acting constantly bathes. “Against peace, against war, for social revolution”, the old slogan said, and another one played with words declaring “war to the war”. The social conflictuality exists; she is consubstantial to this system and surrounds us, even if we believe that we can extract ourselves from it. Many persons cherish the false idea according to which one can be outside, and their indifference comes close to the cruelest cynicism. Those who, like us, assume that the conflict exists and that we should take our responsibility in it understand that this responsibility also implies that we should reinforce ourselves, because we have to get out of it.

This text aims to give a contribution in this war that capitalism is waging against our survival, against freedom and against the possibilities of a free world. Only reacting makes us rebels, and rebels we are, but reacting good, in an intelligent way conscious of what we want, transforms us into revolutionaries. The capacity to project our struggle gives us an opportunity, if not, we are doomed. We are not looking to synthesize facts and

figures to show the horror of the destruction caused by companies, their incessant race towards destruction or the multiple resistances opposing them. We are trying to give weapons so that we, like those who decided to live in freedom and hold steady against the devastation, can create concrete actions to attack the projects of capital and dominion.

The anticapitalism which doesn't want to satisfy itself of being an embarrassment, a given fact or an anecdote has to nourish itself with knowledge to confront the concrete projects by which the ravage organised by capital is advancing. Without creating new specialism or some new credo from which the instruments of what to do would upsurge as by magic, we have to have and put in common the necessary knowledge for an insurrectional acting that is strong and coherent. The struggle takes place on a given terrain, with quite specific characteristics, against very concrete enemies and their particularities. It is our responsibility to know all these elements.

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The present text has to be read as a small introduction to a collective work that is necessary to be able to understand and therefore neutralise the paths the different companies and states are following. We have to know their programmatic bases, their plans, like the names of those who are responsible. Their plans are concrete and are often not even secret (although some are and that the big companies lately started to demand the secrecy clause in their contracts). Dominion also always has a physical structure that creates and promotes it. Even if our struggle is integral in all the meanings of the word, for example considering totally unacceptable the quest for Power and therefore any application of whatever authoritarian means to achieve one's goals, the integrality is composed of real and concrete elements. In the social struggle we have to call the things by their name and to do so, we have to know them; only in that way we can really attack them.

This text is therefore only a small introduction for the comrades who would which to contribute to map the conflict. A place to consider where the most important advances of the structures of capital on this continent are being produced, who are the ones generating them and if there exists a known resistance. It will be approximate knowledge and information will always be lacking. This incomplete character doesn't scare us, the work of knowing the social conflictuality will always be imperfect and dynamic. The back and forwards are constant in the plans of and struggles against capitalism, nowadays "extractive", that is imposing itself on us. The plans sometimes change because of the vicissitudes of the market, sometimes because of the resistances that are holding them back or diverting them. The only path to internationalise the struggle for the true autonomy and freedom passes through knowing the different local realities. The universalisation of the struggle comes from down under, by the sum of different tensions; and not from high up, believing to know everything, have all recipes ready or worse, wanting to hand out "programs" for others to execute.

For from all this our intention is to generate instruments that enable everyone to create a projectuality in his or her struggle. For this it is first necessary to understand the connexion between each struggle and the others. We are always looking for what is linking each chain in our lives to the system that is governing us and the real and concrete possibilities to abolish it.

On our territory, many military, political and economical plans intertwine, generating a muddle in which we can become puppets of the states or factors of change. In the south of the American continent, we have the IIRSA ("COSIPLAN"): in short, it is a plan of inter-oceanic corridors aiming to intensify exploitation through the logic of capital (less time, more profit etc.). The plan aims to create more and better infrastructures to deepen dominion, it is to say, the multiple commerce. On an economical level, South-America is presenting itself as an exporter of primary materials and has to affirm more

strongly her capacity of mobility and security, of transporting the goods fast and of assuring at the same time that there will be no resistance. Not a single element is considered as something separate: security, technology, politics are nothing else but different supports taken into consideration in planning commerce. To accelerate the moving of goods (mostly "natural goods"), a political plan is needed to pave the juridical way, confronting the different local autonomies or community interests ("indigenous peoples" etc.). And for this to happen, massive investments in security are required, as well as many police to attack whoever resists the plans imposed by the state.

The IIRSA (COSIPLAN) will provoke a big change (which is already happening) on American soil, intensifying exploitation of nature, as well as of the schemes of capital with the states regulating the market. It can only be stopped by a generalised and profound level of resistance. Different struggles will have to join up, superimpose and coordinate to confront this new advance of progress, that is to say, of capitalism, against life. The plan implies the military aspect with new military bases, the security aspect with more cops which are better trained to face resistance, the economical aspect of reinforcing the extractive capitalism, the political aspect by changing or "bettering" the state regulations and norms.

Since the arrival of financial capitalism, the state pursues its restructuring while disconcerting or weakening the authoritarian thought that pretends to oppose it. While changes are happening, the old statist conceptions do nothing but resign into proposing the old formulae, null and void in all times and today more than ever impossible. The resigned propose and hope for a "new" redeeming state in the old modern way, that trough regulations can stop, or at least slow down, the almost total commoditisation of the whole of the living. The old Marxism understands the restructuring of the state modes as a deregulation and the abandoning of the "natural" and "proper" functions, a trend that therefore can and "should" be inversed. The irony of it would be amusing if it wasn't pathetic. In front of the horror of a world tumbling into the void of the international market and its command structures, many only imagine the go back to the old chains of an oppressive apparatus while idealising ever more a not so faraway past.

Like the old socialist idea of the retaking of the means of production is not possible with the necessary destruction of the majority of the economical structures supporting, producing, reproducing and defending this reality, it is also not possible to go back in time to a surer cell. It will be the individual and collective autonomy, the decision finally sprouting from the different communities, that will oppose itself to the logic and the advance of Power, starting from a totally different logic based on freedom and life. It is in the struggle that the way of thinking that considers everything as a commodity and believes that everything should be submitted to

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the dynamic of costs and benefits shall be uprooted. The paradigm of a “just dominion”, the dominion of man over man (the political Power) and of Man over nature also has to be destroyed, opening up the space for new ways of coexisting and news ways of relating to each other.

Arriving in the south of the continent, the Spanish conquistadores remained astonished by the different peoples living on these lands. Contrary to the empires more in the north, these peoples didn't seem to have faith nor law, nor king. For sure, the “savages” had their religions, even if it was not the Christian one, they also had their leaders, even if they lacked political power in the sense that they weren't the Authority with the power to do as they pleased, and they had their customs, even if it weren't laws, meaning they didn't have juridical norms imposed by coercion. We, who aren't obscurantist and who do not want a return to the past that is by the way

impossible, but who are neither part of the religion of Progress, of science and who know that other ways of relating are possible, necessary and desirables, we continue our struggle starting from self-organised and anti-authoritarian forms. It is for these characteristics and through them that we realise our struggle, for and through them that we project ourselves into the uprooting of a world that denies life. It is necessary to totally transform the place where we are living and the way of living in it. And that is what we are doing and we don't think of stopping.

“The land shall not be sold, the land shall be defended.”

*Rio de la Plata*



## THE LIBERTARIAN APOLOGY TOWARDS JURIDICAL LANGUAGE

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*Negaciòn - November 2014 - Mexico*

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When I was thinking back about the conference shared by the comrade Alma Guadalupe in the occupied auditorium “Che Guevara” during the Anarchist Informal Symposium in December 2013, I thought about an important theme of which we didn’t speak much upon till then. One of these “taboo” themes that comes along with the specific struggle for the liberation of prisoners. With this rather vague memory, the whole gamma of words and expressions present in communiqués of support (and liberation) to certain anarchist comrades currently imprisoned in the prisons of the Federal District came to my mind. In them figure words like “freedom”, but especially “just”, “unjust” and “justice”; or even “a good judge”.

First of all, the words of an anarchist comrades who’s a lawyer and expert come also to my mind, who stated that according to hem *“it seemed an idiocy to speak about ‘injustices’ to highlight the system failures in a ‘political’ case; because these ‘injustices’ exists daily, against everyone, against all of the people and they are not exclusively reserved for ‘political prisoners’. And that the fact of the existence of a juridical system is in itself already an ‘injustice’.”*

In a libertarian-anarchist perspective the concept of justice should not in any case be claimed as is the case now.

Mainly because it is a term of power and by reclaiming it revolutionaries do nothing but let it figure as an “alternative” to injustice. But also because the concept of “justice and injustice” is intentionally applied to the claim of anarchist and libertarian, or “political”, prisoners, so that in some sort they might be “well” looked upon. For example, to state that one has “unjustly” passed a certain time of detention gives a lot to think about what a “just” detention would look like. Such an affirmation is not only saying that the concept of “justice and injustice” is applied in a discriminatory way, but also that the “political” prisoners would be unjustly imprisoned while the rest of the prisoners and the existence of prison in itself would be just. Personally, I think that when certain comrades are prompt to criticize the *prisonerism* as a partial struggle which is not making any more contribution to a process of total liberation, it is exactly because of this kind of statements. Indeed, rather than touching, deepening and exploiting the weak points of the prison system as to lay the basis of a total critique of the existence of prison, this type of complaints and the juridical language taken over by libertarians only come down to the justification of the actual system.

This is also what happens with the (to my opinion infamous) claim of “non-crime”. It is the same thing, one

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cannot understand it differently, and negation is always in itself an affirmation. A “non-crime” doesn’t mean anything else than that there would therefore exist “crimes” which have to be punished, affirming that quite some crimes exists, one simple takes over the juridical language of the system and justifies its acting. From all sides this language is only destined to stay well in place in this society of exploitation. Even if some terms coming from the juridical language of the State like “guilty and innocent” have been overcome in a certain way, others came now to replace them, like “just and unjust”. For me, there is neither justice nor injustice, it is simply so that State-Capital acts in this way coherent with the ideas of the State, and we libertarians act in certain ways because we are coherent with our thought. There are no more distinctions, the system is not unjust with the ones and just with the others, making such a distinction simply comes down to say it is right. The system is what it is: a set of elements aimed at the coercion of the individual through laws; libertarians, we are what we are: individuals fighting to destroy this system of coercion.

According to me – and this is another point I would like to develop – and conform what I have said before, I completely disagree with the pantomimes put up by certain comrades in the campaign “anarchy is not a crime” (1) and my main question would then be: so then what is a crime? If an anarchist expropriates an OXXO (2) (and I don’t want to go further, I refer myself to the refusal of means that anarchists have used for hundreds of years to make their projects advance expressed by people like those making this kind of campaigns) and claims himself as such, it is to say, that he replaces his act in the speech-practice of the necessity to satisfy his basic needs – food, clothing and moving around without falling into opulence and accumulation – and to make his individuals and collective projects live, it is not a crime then? But when on the contrary it is an ordinary person (ordinary, well...) who expropriates an OXXO, who makes a scam against a bank, etc. but without making any “political” claims, who has he as well realised his act to satisfy his basic needs, or to solve an immediate problem, or to create a life project, well then it is a crime? Emma Goldman speaks about the hypocrisy of puritanism and she did so to defend the Galleanists against the infamous accusations of their detractors. In this sense, the “good-ist” campaign (3) – even with its good intentions – only shows the blatant lack of reasoning on this type of thematic in the libertarian-anarchist movement. A campaign from which unavoidably will sprout again the already old (but nevertheless new) divisions who will end up by formulating a more exact definition of who is an anarchist “committing a crime” and who is not, to in the end remove the title of anarchist to those who commit acts qualified as “illegal” by the language of the juridical system, that is to say, which are crimes.

And it is also from there that comes – it seems to me – that terrible insistence to state that those who are imprisoned for political motives – even more if they didn’t commit the crime of which they stand accused – are

unjustly imprisoned. And the other persons who, in a certain way, are in prison because of taking part in the social conflict which is generalising in Mexico? Is it then just that they are in prison?

Because we recall that for us at least, burning a bank with precise and defined ideas is as much part of the social war as is the act of those who burned patrol cars in Ecatepec (4) – to only give one example, because they are currently abounding – because they have had enough of the conditions in which they are living, of the “delinquency” in their neighbourhoods maintained by the system itself with the aim to continue to exercise its control. It is clear, yet objections could rain down with the argument that those who burned the patrol cars in Ecatepec did it out of a “citizens’ logic.” In a strict sense, yes, surely, but what do we then do with the intervention of anarchists (even more of insurrectionalists) in this kind of social conflictuality (not so irrational as it has at least a motive), to contribute as to ensure such acts do not stay there and that a more broad conscience is generated, going beyond the citizens’ claim, the irrational riots or even the simple demand for more security? Where is the intervention if on the one hand some withdraw to the “perfection” of the revolutionary method while others withdraw to go work in their already idealised communities, forgetting that these small germs of violence are – in certain aspects – an example of self-organisation from which a broader organisation with a broader impact could sprout? What about the things we have been saying so often, that it is in this kind of expressions of social war, that is to say, inside of conflict, that we meet our affinities and that they could be the starting point for the possible subversion of the system? Or do these speeches about being with the people and be part of it one limit themselves to the most radical songs of hip hop and a video where one shows himself with a balaclava, while it is in reality only a lie, a fetishism?

A swift answer to two of these enigmas could be found in the fact that on the one hand all prefer “good-ist” acts considered positive, that is to say that for many it is better (it is more positive) that the people from a neighbourhood self-organise to open a cultural centre (often orientated towards integration, it has to be said) – additionally staying within the “legal” framework – rather than that they self-organise to go burn some patrol cars and wreck an OXXO, while in the end the motivation for both acts could be one and the same. And I am not shouting out loud that one has to go to this kind of riots or events lacking a clear perspective (that is what is actually happening with the Ayotzinapa case (5) and the relation with the AUTORITARIAN groups of which I spoke already before in a text published on the net), that is to say without analysing the why’s. Neither am I calling to “idealise” this kind of germs of social non-conformity and anti-system violence and to live in the hope that out of them will emerge the mega-insurrection. But yes, I call out, because with a clear mind, as anarchists, we should be present in the upsurges of social conflictuality and contribute in a certain way to



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extend them in thought and practice. Indeed, acts like the burning of patrol cars in Ecatepec (which additionally can be understood starting from an anti-judicial critique) simply show us that the social pacification has clearly not reached the levels that the powerful desire, that not everything is “fucked”, as the neo-nihilists affirm. Maybe they are getting there in the Federal District, but the situation is not the same – at least – in the peripheral neighbourhoods or on the countryside. In the end, and to not digress too much even if everything is linked, in the view of the “anarchy is not a crime”, the comrade who burns a patrol car in the framework of a demonstration like the one of the 1<sup>st</sup> of December is not a delinquent because of the simple fact that he is an anarchist-libertarian or because he takes part in a social movement, but the neighbour imprisoned for having expropriated an OXXO to satisfy the needs of which the system has dismissed him to survival, he on the contrary is a delinquent. In my perspective, we cannot, as anarchists, reason in such terms.

A last thing that I would like to expose to be more concise about the juridical languages of the system and the acceptance of them in the anarchist scene is that personally I do also not agree with the fact of claiming oneself as a delinquent. That is a false dichotomy, just taking over the juridical language of the system. It is one thing that for the system we anarchists are delinquents (all the same, as well those who write about freedom as those who put into practice their passions for liberation), it is another thing that an anarchist on a personal level identifies as such. Personally, I don't interested me more than that to affirm that I am a delinquent because of the fact of the anarchist activity I have, because that would come down to saying that the State is right and to inscribe my libertarian acts, my own acts, singular and individuals, in the framework of their definitions, that is to say, in the logic by which the State defines me. Neither legalism nor illegalism we have said before, it is a false dichotomy.

To conclude, I think that as libertarians we should firstly overcome this leftist contamination of the juridical language, rid ourselves from the “good-ism” and the “positivism” which surround the juridical language. Stop expressing it in our communiqués, in our support letters to imprisoned comrades, in the texts following their liberation; be even more coherent so that our proposal of freedom might be better understood, but trying to also not fade into this leftist idiocy of the politically correct.

For me, there is no such thing as a judge who is good or like was said, “a good judge”, the system acts in a certain way because it has to act as such, because this often rather depends of his own internal “agreements” and that cannot plea for us to consider the juridical system more sympathetically. It is good, it is well when a prisoner gets out, it is very cool that one comrade less find himself in their dungeons, but that doesn't mean a victory, at least for me in my anarchy and in the conception that many of us have, that there are neither victories nor de-

feats. It does not interest me to participate to this quantitative limits imposed by the system. In the same way, I think that the liberation of an imprisoned comrade is not a reason to start handing out good notes to the half of the world for “good solidarity work”; solidarity and mutual support are not an obligation, it is a natural act between *individuals having desire for freedom in common*, a natural act for *beings in common* as Kropotkin puts it. The joy we all felt to see a friend, a comrade, a libertarian come out of the prison is very understandable, it is a source for happiness, but this happiness can never be compared to the joy of seeing a world freed from prisons, and it should even less so give way to the “personification” or some sort of micro-ideology.

From all this comes a bit the idea that the struggle for the liberation of the prisoners is the struggle against the State-Capital in its absolute totality, not more nor less, without detours, without overvaluations nor half-measures.

#### Notes

1. This campaign, launched in October 2014, is supposed to answer to a “climate of media and political lynching due to the constant (and not new) campaign of criminalisation of anarchist thought, groups and persons, waged by the Government of the City of Mexico and the mass media and which intensified since the last social mobilisations.” using videos, social networks etc. to give a more presentable image of anarchism.
2. A Mexican brand of shops.
3. In Spanish, used in an ironic way, the adjective “buenista” refers to the fact of trying to present oneself in a sympathetic, positive way. It is therefore used for example to qualify humanitarian associations.
4. The 22<sup>th</sup> of October 2014, the inhabitants of the Colonia Luis Donaldo Colosio de Ecatepec, in the State of Mexico, accuse a municipal police officer of participation in attempt to kidnap a minor. More than 300 persons take the streets. The riots start in the day and the following night, six cars are burned: four patrol cars of the municipal police, a taxi and a patrol car of the Auxiliary Security Corps. Also, a sentry tower of the municipal police goes up in flames and a local shop is looted.
5. The 26<sup>th</sup> of September 2014, 43 students of the rural school Ayotzinapa, about 100 kilometres from Acapulco, in the south of Mexico, disappear after the mayor of the city of Iguala decided to “teach them a good lesson” and the police fired on them. In the following weeks the kidnapping becomes a State affair, precipitating the fall of the governor of the region of Guerrero, the fleeing of the mayor of the city and triggering a mayor political crisis. On the 7<sup>th</sup> of November, the Mexican minister of Justice announces that suspects have been arrested that would have confessed the murder of the students, who would have been given to them by police officers related to the Guerreros Unidos, a cartel of drug traffickers specialised in kidnapping and drug refining. The bodies would have been burned, but the families and friends refuse to believe this version and demonstrations continue in many cities of Mexico demanding justice and the reappearance of the living students. The extreme left is of course trying to profit from this movement.



## **THE CONFLICT IN MEXICO AND A CRITIQUE OF THE ANARCHIST MILIEU**

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*December 2014 - Mexico*

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Lately, there is a high tension in parts of the country, the discontent that individuals and groups have against the State-Capital has been expanding, creating an ideal context to continue our struggles for total freedom. We live in a so-called “democracy” in which their representatives are determined to redouble efforts to consolidate a non-existent “social peace” which in practice is nothing but greater control and dominion over our lives. But the same control is what generates hatred and resentment that eventually will explode in revolt.

We can see that we are facing a government that has felt vulnerable and to whom it hurts to be momentarily overcome when confronted with the action of those who fight their oppression, and the idea that this conflict can be generalized to make way for a social uprising fills them with terror.

Across the country there are dozens of murders and injustices, isolated cases that do not receive the media support nor the social force to cause outrage that opens the conflict, which suggests to us that we continue to prefer the spectacular and quantitative. The most recent conflict in this regard is the Ayotzinapa case, which triggered a series of riots that have occurred in different parts of the country following the disappearance of 43

student teachers. A disappearance directed from the spheres of local power, proving that the dirty war is not gone, but remains a common practice as shown in Chiapas, Atenco, Oaxaca.

Rivers of information are broadcast every day around the abuses of the worn-out theme of Ayotzinapa, speculating about the uncertain fate of these young people. So for now all I can say is that the disappearance of 43 students takes place in a complex context with several factors contributing to the situation as it is: disputes between drug cartels operating in the area for control of the opium and marijuana trafficking who see drug trafficking not only as a means to acquire weapons and money but also power and prestige to achieve their goals. Mixing this with the subject of politics, because as we know, the representatives of democracy are colluding with the mafia, to enhance their political and economic power, thus becoming a narco-government. In addition to the historical presence of politico-military groups that have their social base in the region.

We, individuals contrary to all forms of authority can not accept any visible or de facto power and we categorically reject any kind of murder or disappearance for political reasons or mafia interests.

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The disappearance of the 43 students had a lot of echoes in the public opinion and the mass media, creating the movement “We are all Ayotzinapa” and unleashing a wave of demonstrations, rallies with moving speeches, criticisms on the internet about the “inefficiency” of State institutions, citizenists groups demanding the resignation of fascist Peña Nieto, families and friends demanding the return of their relatives alive and leading much of the fight on the terrain of legality, but also through violent forms, especially in Guerrero and the Federal District.

Personally, I sympathize with the pain that the families of the disappeared certainly must feel, no doubt because the situation they are going through is not easy. To call on the authorities for justice seems obvious when you don't have an anarchistic attitude. And while I understand, although I do not agree, that most of the movement prefers to demonstrate peacefully and non-violently, I can not accept that the same movement, or part of it, points out and denounces companions who choose to participate by illegalists methods.

From my anarchist perspective, I consider that pacifism is a struggle that can easily be recuperated by the State, besides being contrary to our principles. We do not want to put anyone in jail, because we fight for the destruction of prisons, because we consider them useless. For an anarchist, to exist in this society does not require any realization, because it is rather a constant tension that we seek to extend to all areas of our lives, so we must be careful with our positions and know how to conduct a struggle alongside those who revolt without leaving our convictions, without trying to be accepted or pleasing, much less to seek recognition.

For example, we support the revolt that arises from Ayotzinapa but we will not fall into methods and ways alien to us, to be caught by the current. We are not all Ayotzinapa. We participate to intensify the conflict without wearing the shirt of a movement that does not represent us. I agree with companion Mario López “Tripa” that our struggle is not to seek improvements or to return to fairer government, we do not conceive any government bad or good, we do not seek to develop our struggles so that they are “cool”. We seek rather a complete break, at daggers drawn with every manifestation of power, wherever it comes from, a rupture until the final consequences.

We are not trying to claim anything, from anyone, but only to take advantage of the conditions to continue our struggle, given that each blow to power makes us more free. We firmly believe that solidarity attacks are the best way to show our support. We do not believe in particular occasions to prove our solidarity, but we want and strive to put insurrection into practice on an everyday and social base.

Being imprisoned is usually hard, plus it significantly reduces the amount of information you receive about out-

side events, but that does not prevent us to express our reflections. Despite the feeling of helplessness about not having a chance to be present side by side with companions, we see that the conditions are there to make this insurrection to which I refer. Of course, this is also the moment that many anarchists say they are waiting for, as claimed by the synthesis anarchism or those “anti-system” revolutionaries who boast about seeking a better world. Well, right now they can not make excuses to get out of this eternal wait and to leap from the comfort zone that justifies itself. What is now at stake, is to sustain the tension and to not let the liberating fire be extinguished. We must move forward, not only raising fist and voice, but throwing the whole body and will, having clear that if there is no crowds or companions to act, we have the valuable option of continuing attacks with the complicity of the night and anonymity, with home-made and simple but effective devices, we have plenty objectives.

However, vanity and capitalism are often factors that distort what is solidarity, taking it for mundane actions like a game of football or concerts, trying to be in the picture and be famous for a brief moment, or to feel a great momentary courage, after listening to an artist or an intellectual giving cheap speeches and frantically cheering, then go home and continue their routine life. Or those who show their support by purchasing a T-shirt with a small text without understanding that this only supports capitalist industry instead of the struggle. And there are still other examples to quote... but this, this is not happening among anarchists... or is it?

It is clear to me that the insurrection should be social, next to people, even with different ideologies, since the fight must be widespread and seek individual satisfaction, but that does not mean that we are seeking alliances with anyone, as Bonanno said: “We anarchists are strangers to any type of alliances.” I consider this joining only momentary, in order to amplify the conflict and to not only dent the state, but to destroy it completely. This is why I disagree with alliances because they are often impossible due to differences of principle.

An example of these discrepancies is the EZLN, where we see an apparent contradiction, since a lot of anarchist or anarcho-Zapatistas with a so-called anti-authoritarian stance, support and identify with this army of communist tendency and with authoritarian structures. These anarcho-Zapatistas are influenced by slogans such as “governing by obeying”. Maybe, but we say that to govern necessarily generates power, and therefore someone will have to obey, although the Zapatista commanders insist on saying that “it is the people who commands and government who obeys”. Of course I do not deny and do not ignore the struggle that took place in 1994 between the EZLN and the state, earning them hundreds of supporters worldwide for their cause. And even some anarchists have been seduced by the “Sixth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle,” but disenchant-

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ment was quick when they realized that their authoritarian practice persisted, despite its libertarian direction.

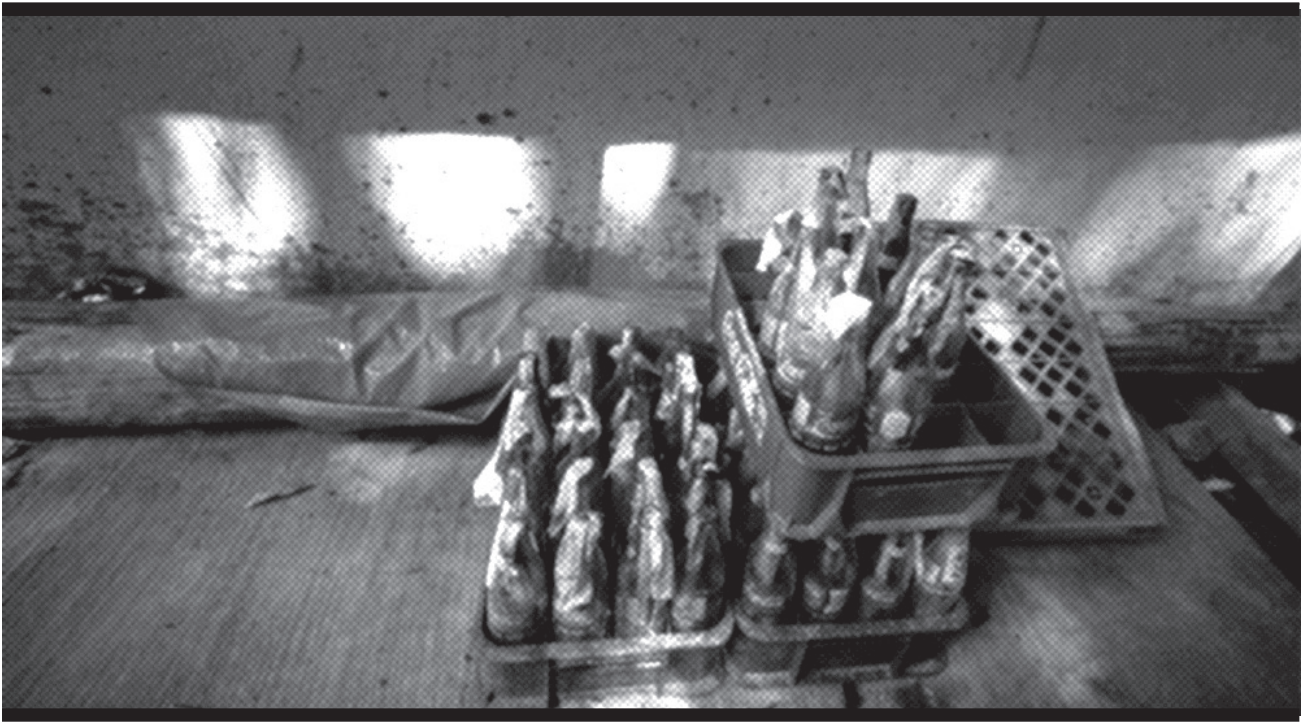
Any army, as revolutionary as it wants to be, including black armies involving declared anarchists, will always have authoritarian bases (Maoist or Marxist Leninist) and thus are contrary to anarchism and so I consider it unnecessary and fruitless to seek these alliances. We need to distance us from leftism that seeks to overthrow the power only to impose another, classic Marxist-Leninist theory.

In conclusion we do not want to forget to remember that in the current situation several groups have taken action; anarchists, political groups and citizenists and even guerillas have contributed separately to the conflict. As always, there are those who seek to profit from it, as is the case of a guerilla group that has been given

the task of recruiting people, even among anarchists, to expand its fighters circle. Promising training on military strategy, logistics for attacks, and weapons training. It is worrying that some anarchists are seduced and agree to participate, thus going in the opposite direction of their convictions, or it may be a lack of information. The guerillas are specialists vanguards who have accepted voluntarily clandestinity as a form of attack.

We have to keep in mind that specialization is not necessary at all because we are not professionals and we are not trying to be. We simply attack permanently and straightforward, doing what is necessary to make the struggle effectual because the end does not justify the means and we must never lose consistency between who we are and how and why we act.

***Carlos López “Chivo”***



## **ABOUT THE DANGER OF TRANSFORMING ANARCHY INTO A SERIES OF “ALTERNATIVE” PRACTICES WITHOUT OFFENSIVE CONTENT AGAINST POWER**

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*Contra toda autoridad - September 2014 - Chile*

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Without any doubt, one of the biggest dangers threatening anarchism in all times is that it might become a series of practices emptied of any offensive content against power. This situation is fostered on the one hand by the enemy himself, throughout its federating democratic values like “diversity”, “tolerance”, “pluralism” and also the economical integration of rebellion by commoditisation and “alternative” consumption.

On the other hand, there’s also a whole panel of “dissenting” individuals and groups, including certain “anarchists”, who in an unconscious or deliberate way distance themselves from antagonism and permanent conflict against power – by silencing the need of destruction and direct attack against authority, or, in the worst case, by making shoddy campaigns to wash the image of anarchism, presenting themselves as the pathetic defenders of an ideology exempt of confrontation against power.

For us, the recuperation of our lives is a process that implies building our autonomy in relation to the alienated, submissive and mercantile way of life which the

society of capital and authority is offering us. But we never approach this point of view out of a logic of pacific coexistence with power, but starting from an attitude of permanent confrontation which also includes the necessary perspective of direct attack and destruction of power as indispensable elements of any process of total liberation.

It is therefore precisely this approach of confrontation, of war and of attack going beyond legality which makes that every practice aiming to “self-manage your life” goes beyond the frame of any specific initiative and becomes the taking of an offensive position which is impossible for power to assimilate.

Without any doubt, healthy nutrition without animal exploitation, self-managed gardens, the tailoring of our own clothing, natural medicine and the liberation of relations between individuals are worthy practices as long as they are given a meaning of practices propagating conflict with the dominant social order. It is also important to appreciate these practices at the right measure, which is not exactly of these practices constituting direct attacks against power. That’s how, in developing

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such initiatives out of a confrontational, anti-authoritarian, polymorphous approach, they go beyond their own limits, showing that they are yet another contribution to the struggle, rather than being “the” form of struggle.

In the same sense, the violent actions that are not part of an offensive that implies the integral reappropriation of life also have a limited range in their perspectives. And the fact to value every instrument in its punctual contribution with the aim of going beyond the struggle in the practice itself of permanent insurrection is as much important as not applying hierarchies to the means used in the fight against power.

That’s why our offensive looks towards horizon that is beyond the means which are being used, arming each of the practices we develop with a content and a sense of rebellion, aiming at the elimination of all power and authority. This war against power implies according to us a permanent tension and self-critique from which emanates the need to always go beyond, to never resign, to conquer the streets and terrain to the police, to attack repression and the social order, always with the main goal of destroying all forms of power.

Propagating anarchy does not include the defeat of the values that are antagonistic to the dominant order, neither to transform forms of self-management of life into a series of practices that flee the confrontation with the social order. Anarchy cannot be an alternative to the culture of consumption, a series of cultural practices co-existing pacifically with the enemy. Anarchy is a way of being constantly in war, and goes far beyond the specific practices crushing all parcellizing of totalizing ideology (animalism, feminism, naturism, etc.)

How much of our time and energy do we spend on nourishing speech and practice void of offensive content? How much do we give to projects or initiatives destined to propagate values, ideas and practices based on confrontation and attack against dominion?

Therefore, comrades, no practices of autonomy without a perspective of attack, and no practices of attack without a perspective of liberation and autonomy in relations and life as a whole. Because, as a comrade once said, anarchy is not and cannot be a remedy or a analgesic for the evils of society; anarchy is, and must be, a dagger soaked in poison directed against the social order and all authority.



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## **WE WELCOME THE FIRE, WE WELCOME THE RAIN**

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*December 2014 - USA*

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It is with great joy that we'd like to report a long period of collective malaise and depression in the Bay Area perhaps coming to an end. Almost in spite of ever worsening conditions – rapid development, escalating police occupation, mass displacement, ongoing violence against black and brown people – social conflict here remained ominously quiet for over a year. While the anger throughout the cities by the Bay has become palpable and apparent everywhere, the response from the Left has been lackluster at best. For too long, we have come to expect only the usual lowest common denominator activism: the usual suspects marching in circles, 'blockades' of tech buses (1) which end when the police show up, symbolic would-be media spectacles that aren't all that spectacular anymore, and finally of course, monumental amounts of energy sunk into a referendum for paltry reforms and progressive mayoral candidates (which needless to say, failed, and nobody cared about it anyways). As if to punctuate the point, it has recently become public knowledge that almost every so-called 'social justice' non-profit and a great many of the 'community leaders' active in the Mission District (2) have taken substantial cash payouts from the very development projects they pretend to oppose. This almost total concession to the crushing weight of the economy,

coupled with the specter of a record-breaking drought, has created a condition which has made it near impossible for many to hold on; a condition hostile to life itself.

This isn't to say that there has been no resistance. The disruptions of the social peace have instead taken the form of many small and decentralized attacks. Assaults upon wearers of Google Glass, rocks thrown through tech bus windows, glued locks, sabotaged cameras, broken windows, painted slogans of enmity, a handful of small arsons: for nearly a year the attacks on the infrastructure of development and surveillance have been largely limited to the efforts of persistent crews of antagonists (anarchists, graffiti writers, others). In moments where widespread confrontation is absent, these simple and easily reproducible attacks are more than welcome: they carry the proverbial torch and send signals to others. Especially worth noting is the growing and unrelenting energy displayed by a cluster of graffiti crews in and around the Mission district helping to spread an uncompromising call for assault on the forces of order and development. The tenacity of the actions carried out by these crews, as well as their widespread celebration, is heartwarming in the midst of so much cowardice and concession. It also is evidence of a fairly

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common disillusionment with politics as usual; of a situation ready to explode.

Glimpses of possibilities appeared over the summer with small but fierce demonstrations in solidarity with Ferguson and a successful blockade of an Israeli ship at the Port of Oakland. Things really changed and a new situation was set in motion as October drew to a close. The veil thinned and a wave of repressed emotion rushed to the surface. Unsurprisingly, a riot broke out when the SF Giants won the world series, as had happened twice already in recent years. Much has been written about that night, but it is worth highlighting that the character of the sports riot felt different than the two previous instances. The violence of the night was significantly more targeted and specific: development offices and police vehicles trashed, the police hit with waves of projectiles, an under-construction condo site attacked and then nearly set alight, the names of those killed by police ran across the walls of the Mission. Though only for a night, within the sports riot one could see the preconditions for a storm of refusal.

In the following weeks a series of unpredictable situations coincided. Insurrection broke out in Mexico over the disappearance of 43 students, with ripples of the uprising reaching San Francisco in the form of demonstrations of sorrow and rage, altars to the missing, and antagonism toward the state. Then, Locals' Corner, a gross yuppie restaurant and poster-child of the gentrification of the Mission, announced that it would be closing as a response to a constant stream of vandalism against it in recent months. At a moment when so many 'community leaders' were exposed for having taken buyout money, this small victory showed the benefits of autonomy, attack and conflict. Then suddenly, as if time had folded in on itself, University of California buildings were occupied in Berkeley and Santa Cruz by students resisting proposed fee hikes while expressing solidarity with the uprisings in Mexico and in Ferguson. All of this unfolded alongside the growing tension and anticipation around the imminent announcement of whether the State would indict the Ferguson police officer, Darren Wilson, for the murder of Mike Brown. A call circulated to meet at Oscar Grant Plaza in Oakland whenever the decision was announced. The call became common knowledge and was quickly adapted for cities all throughout the country. Meanwhile drought and development continued unabated. Rents rose. Enchantment spread. Something was going to happen.

When it was announced, finally, that no charges would be filed against Darren Wilson, Ferguson burned and word reached Oakland immediately. By police estimates, a crowd of over 2,000 set out, seizing and blockading the 580 freeway for over three hours, using rocks and bottles to keep the police at bay, burning trash and building barricades. Later when the crowd attempted to reach OPD headquarters, a confrontation broke out on Broadway. In the ensuing fighting, barricades were set

on fire and a Starbucks, Metro PCS store and the Smart and Final grocery store were joyfully looted. Bags of coffee flew through the air and carts of liquor disappeared into the crowd as bottles rained down on the advancing lines of riot police. Once again the names of the dead adorned the walls. Monday night surpassed everyone's expectations in terms of the size, combativeness and intense solidarity within the crowd.

The following night, nearly as many people were in the streets and again seized the freeway. This type of roving blockade has seemingly become second nature to the emerging anti-police activity around the country. Eventually, after narrowly avoiding a few potential kettles, the march made its way North along Telegraph. Before reaching the gentrified Temescal corridor, many people surprised the police by smashing through a fence and rushing up a hill onto the 580 freeway yet again. Meanwhile others nearby carried out an attack on a Walgreens while others went about flipping and burning dumpsters to hold back police encroachment on the scene. CHP officers that responded to the scene were held back with rocks and quarter sticks of dynamite thrown at them by the rioters. When the crowd again moved north, two huge barricades were constructed the entire width of Telegraph Ave and then burned. What was later described by the media as the 'Wall of Fire' terrified the police and kept them back long enough for fighters to rampage through Temescal looting a Kelly Moore paint store, throwing paint cans through the windows of despicable yuppie businesses, looting a T-Mobile store, and starting even more fires. Tuesday night easily marked the most effective use of barricades and looting Oakland has seen in years. The self organization of autonomous crews, each with their own projects and intentions, was readily apparent. By their own account, the police completely lost control of the streets that night.

Wednesday saw fighting, fires and targeted attacks on property, but was significantly limited by several factors: an ever larger police presence under pressure to end the uprising, the idiotic initiatives of the RCP and other politicians, and a confused decision to split the demonstrations between Oakland and Berkeley. Despite all of this, rioters managed to hold the streets in a cat and mouse game with police for hours. In a parallel development, sideshow crews (3) had clandestinely organized a massive sideshow at the port of Oakland to take advantage of a moment when police were busy dealing with the riots. In a bizarre collision of worlds, the police shifted focus from downtown as the riot dispersed and sent all their militarized reinforcements to kettle the sideshow, leading cars trapped inside to ram down fencing and set fires in attempts to escape. The numbers of those arrested over the week was quickly passing 150 and the police were scrambling to regain control. But was also clear that things were far from over.



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People used the holiday on Thursday to rest and regroup and a demonstration was called to disrupt the shopping spectacle in San Francisco on Black Friday (4) in solidarity with similar calls nation wide. An impressive number of people turned out to Embarcadero Friday night. Several people spoke out before the march, articulating connections between the anti-police struggle in the US and the fighting in Mexico. Others declared their intention to wild out that night and warned against attempts to calm things down. The crowd marched through the surreal dystopian astroturfed shopping madness and tried to reach the yearly Christmas tree lighting ceremony in Union Square, the grandest ritual of consumer frenzy in the spiritual center of Capitalism. In a perfect symbol of this world, riot police were forced to stage a defense of the sacred tree against the black clad barbarians who would attack it. Amidst the chaos, shoppers ran terrified, many found themselves screaming at police who confusedly disrupted their buying, and it wasn't long before fighting broke out. Kids attacked a diamond store, forcing a confrontation with the police. Soon a great many luxury shops and a handful of police vehicles lost their windows. In a beautiful display of idiocy, officers trying to make an arrest were reduced to a slapstick troupe (immortalized through Vine), falling under projectiles and tripping over themselves. A strong sense of joy worked through the crowd which moved down Market Street sparking a nearly unbelievable standoff between police, demonstrators, and terrified consumer hordes. While the police were wrapped up following their orders to hold the line, a sizable crowd broke off and marched to the Mission District. There, a diffusion of running skirmishes broke out in the neighborhood. A handful of police cruisers were attacked, two cops were treated for injuries from flying bricks, a media van almost caught fire, and a Radio Shack was looted. The night ended with a small crowd being kettled, arrested, cited and released.

In the first days of December calls have gone out for weekend demonstrations, those still in jail have had their first court appearances, and SFPD held a press conference to publicly lick their wounds. Perhaps most significantly, the long awaited rains have drenched the streets bringing more rainfall in one week then we had all last year. People have shared their sorrows and joys, cathartic and inspiring moments. The rains and the fires have both returned to the Bay. Everything continues.

A few conclusions:

-This racist civilization cannot be reformed. Appeals for justice, transparency and accountability will continue to fall on deaf ears. This society was built on the genocide of those indigenous to this continent and the enslavement of those brought here. Police violence is just one of the many continuations of this process of racial domination. The state cannot end its reign of racial terror because it is essential to its every existence. The

justice it offers is tragedy; the peace it offers is nightmare. Any attempt to actually interrupt the skyward piling of bodies would require each of us to sever all our allegiances to the institutions which produce race and also the identities inscribed upon us. We would have to fight like fucking maniacs against the often invisible violence and the seemingly natural and rational order of things.

-Police murder and gentrification are two expressions of the same logic. They are operations of displacement, destruction, erasure of anything and anyone which stands in the way of development and control. The progress of this society is built on the undermining of our physical realities and bodies. All of it, including the distractions of social media and holiday spectacles, exists to make us forget. Memory is a weapon, and has to be annihilated in order for the social order to cement its rule. The police bullets and the bulldozers function to erase the ground we stand on, the stories of those who came before us, and our very will to fight. And so if we fight, we fight to remember. We fight to hold space for our sorrow and our rage, to individually and collectively process the raw emotion which we are expected to bury deep. We fight to work through the generations of trauma that we carry in our bodies. We fight for space to mourn, but also for joy. This is why we invoke the dead to haunt our enemies. This is why we light the healing fires. This is why we sing and loot and dance and cry.

-To fight to remember is to participate in an unending project of experimentation and learning. A consequence of the enforced forgetting in this culture is a discontinuity between generations and struggles. If we hold space, lets hold it to learn from one another. In the recent weeks we can see so many threads of growth and discovery coinciding. Just from Monday to Tuesday we can see lessons learned by the thousands in the streets. From the Trayvon riots last year (5) to the Ferguson solidarity demonstrations months ago up to the present we can see a clear line of expansion and escalation. Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday actually traced paths similar to those in the summer, but wilder and stronger.

Finally, through six years of street fighting in the Bay Area (from the Oscar Grant uprising (6), to the student movement, through Occupy) there are a great many who have met one another, grown together, and been emboldened by confidence in our abilities and relationships. These trajectories of learning have intertwined into something beautiful and ferocious here. Within this space there is room for all of us to contribute. Those of us who've found ourselves in recent years – in black blocs and graffiti crews, in anti-police riots and anti-austerity fights, in occupied plazas and buildings – have a great deal to share. Not as instructions or grand plans, but as proposals in each moment. Small suggestions which open more space: a call for a time and place when announcements are made, maybe barricades when people

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take the roads, maybe fires when barricades are built, maybe expropriation when facades are shattered. We have no interests in being specialists in fighting. Rather, we dream of moments which call on each of us to become everything at once; situations which demand that each of us become fighters and healers, caretakers and firebringers. We have no desire to lead, either from the shadows or from the megaphones and we will do everything in our power to combat and undermine those who seek to control and manage these outbreaks of joy and fury. We want to fight, side-by-side, in the first person, alongside those who want similar things. We want to build a type of solidarity where each of us can recognize our own struggles and projects in the struggles and projects of others. We want to find conspirators in this and to learn from one another. The interweaving and spreading of these attempts is what we call 'insurrection'.

For insurrection, for memory, for freedom, for life.

## Notes

1. The "tech buses" are a shuttle service for technicians, engineers and IT professionals who work for companies like Google, Apple, Facebook, Yahoo, Ebay etc.
2. A popular neighborhood in San Francisco, prey to a ferocious gentrification.
3. Gathering with vehicles in the street, with shows and competitions with cars.
4. A high day for businesses and shops, when millions of consumers do their shopping for the holidays. This year, it was the 28<sup>th</sup> of November 2014. In hundreds of shops all over the US and the UK, consumers fought in front of and inside the shops, to get goods.
5. Following the acquittal of George Zimmerman, who was part of a neighborhood watch, for the murder of the young, black Trayvon Martin, riots erupt in Los Angeles. Also in other cities, gatherings turn into clashes.
6. New Years day 2009, the young, black Oscar Grant is stopped by cops in Oakland. When handcuffed and on the ground, the cop Johannes Mehserle takes his gun and shoots Oscar Grant in the neck. The next day, Oscar Grant dies in hospital. The days after riots burst out and will last for several days.



## **AGAINST THE “CITY OF THE RICH”**

### **PROPOSAL FOR A STRUGGLE AGAINST THE PROCESS OF RESTRUCTURING OF THE CITY OF ZURICH**

*December 2014 - Switzerland*

Since some years, in Zurich, but also in other cities of Switzerland, one can observe a certain dynamic of riots bursting out at the occasion of illegal street parties, sometimes with massive, often with destructive characteristics. But the riots of 12 December 2014, following a call for a Reclaim The Streets, was under many aspects exceptional. Surprising for the cops, that didn't know of anything, it left not only about hundred shop windows smashed, walls sprayed all-over, and 7 cops injured, but also dozens of streetlights sabotaged and a jewelry looted by an estimated value of 100'000Fr.-. The rally of 400-500 people ended after about one and a half hours, leaving the streets chaotic and darkened. 4 people were arrested in the aftermath but released the day after, but it seems they have nothing concrete against them.

Seeing this unexpected, exceptional violence, the medias were able to create a massive anti-riots sentiment, with a large campaign of deformation, presenting the event as random riots targeting “small shops” and ig-

noring any understandable targets (as the Europaallee, the police station, the banks, big companies, gentrification projects, etc...). A discourse that seemed to reach even the participants of the rally itself. Nearly no voice was defending publicly what happened, while the medias were calling for denunciations, the police was looking for snitches, publishing wanted calls for indications about responsible persons.

In this context, two weeks after, a pamphlet of 8 pages and supposedly with an amount of 10'000 exemplars was spread in several neighborhoods of Zurich. This pamphlet, talking about what actually happened, putting it in the context of the ongoing city restructurings and proposing a continuous struggle, caused a scandal, while the Mass-medias tried to portray it as a communique of the organizers and the police started to investigate to find its authors.

Following the two texts that are contained in this pamphlet.

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Those who observed the development of the urban space of Zurich in the last years, not from out of the window of a luxury apartment or through the screens of the information means, but in the streets of social life, will probably not have been as surprised by the destructive rage which destroyed the facades of the city and in the night of the 12<sup>th</sup> of December as were the rulers and the guards. If something was surprising, than is was maybe the blinkered spirit with which the “public opinion” refused to link that night with the social conflict that is existing here as it does in any capitalist society, and which expresses itself in a particularly outright way in het management of the urban space. The massive attack against the Europaallee, spearhead project of the new “city of the rich” towards which the Zurich is going, in a context where a always more growing part of the poor population is being pushed towards ghetto-dormitories built for them in the periphery of the city, speaks more clearly about it than all words.

The global dimensions of the actual and even more so the coming actual urban restructuring, turning sometimes whole neighbourhoods upside down and chasing with the rising rents a big part of the old inhabitants away while the streets and the squares are being “cleaned” and the social control is increased on all levels, certainly present a potential of social conflict. Not everybody wants to be moved like a pawn in the hands of capitalist interests. Also the rulers and managers of this city know this. And that is what they are afraid of, that this social conflict might spread and incite more and more people towards acts of being fed up with it. That is why they stubbornly avoided, being it with the most absurd excuses, to link the rage that was expressed in that night with the process of restructuring which is visible in the eyes of everybody and was at the same time put out of any social content.

What scares so much the politicians of all colours and the good citizens is the direct and destructive attack, without any openness towards democratic dialogue. From the moment conflict leaves the political paths that the State puts at our disposal knowing that in this way, he always keeps the cards on hand, nothing is left but slander and repression. With a speech that places all those who dare to rebel against the democratic State out of any social content (the reduction to words like “hooligans”, “*Chaoten*” or “terrorists”) and the (legal and infrastructural) expansion of the repressive capacities to counter them they want to keep this brewing conflict under the carpet. In this sense it is not a coincidence for example that nowadays, in one of the key zones of these restructuring processes, between Altstetten and Aussersihl, in one of the poorest areas in the centre of Zurich, they are building a enormous new Police and Justice Centre.

But like the riots of that night showed us we are not obliged to merely accept all this. The decision to rebel opens up spaces for action which seemed unimaginable before. We think it is possible to fight against the

ongoing restructuring, to disturb them, to sabotage and stop them, and we think this struggle had the possibility to come to a concrete improvement of the conditions of those who are crushed and chased by these processes. But for this to happen, it is necessary to go beyond the form of more or less spontaneous riots, and to transform into a permanent, self-organised and insurrectional struggle, capable of spreading as much as possible between the concerned people.

That places us in front of the need to clarify, a part from questions concerning the way to approach such a struggle, also the comprehension of the processes that we are facing. But before examining more into details the current processes of restructuring in Zurich and the possibilities for a struggle, first some general remarks which could help us to understand them better.

### **The capitalist management of the urban space**

In a society which on the one hand wants to pretend that “we are all on the same ship” while on the other hand it is fundamentally based on a separation between possessors and exploited, privileged and excluded, the management of the social space aims to avoid that this separation leads to an open conflict in which the ones take back what was snatched from them or denied to them by the others. The measures for managing this social conflict, which becomes denser in a particularly clear way in the urban space, with the development of the capitalist structure were also developed.

In the time when the birth of the first factories and later on the more advanced industrial complexes drew masses of workers from the countryside towards the city and made the poor neighbourhoods grew in a chaotic way, forms of resistance and revolutionary ideas started to foster in these aggregations of exploited and the State took repression as primary tool to keep the urban space under control. In those times, we have often seen how the army intervened against the striking or revolting workers, spilling blood at many occasions. With the progressive automation and relocation of the industries, made possible through the modern information and communication technologies, and with the expansion of the “services sector” based principally on the processing and management of data, also the structure of the urban space was transformed. The old workers’ quarters were pushed back by centres of offices and commerce and their former inhabitants withdrew to the periphery of the city or to the suburbs. In this way not only the social relations which were the base of the past forms of resistance were wrecked: through the emptying and progressive renewal of places and neighbourhoods the memory of them is being spatially erased. Always more people find themselves aliens in a dead space exclusively dedicated to capitalist valorisation. This is a reason, and not of the smallest, of the social malaise expressing itself in the youth revolts of 68 and the eighties, and

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from another point of view also in the spreading of drugs which marked the image of the streets until the nineties.

But also these expressions of social conflict have in the meantime been recuperated by the State institutions while the capitalist management of the urban space continued to advance. Nowadays, repression is without (any) doubt yet and still the definitive means on which the State bases itself to maintain the existing relations of social separation and exploitation. But a port from the fact that its forms have changed, more measures have been added, measures that are more sophisticated and better adapted to the democratic model and aim rather at ensuring preventively social pacification and consensus: on the one hand through an always more penetrating urge for participation and on the other hand for an ever more detailed control of the social space. Where capitalist production of value isn't any more concentrated in plotted zones (the old industries) but spread itself throughout the space with the help of so-called "telematics" technology, the vulnerability increases of the ever more complex fluxes of information, electricity and transport which make this system function. The extension of the control measures manifests itself on many levels: from the configuration of neighbourhoods and places as to make them easy to survey, extension of repressive capacities (police, army, courts, prisons...) and the complement of it in the form of different servants (social workers, controllers, security companies, control mentality of citizens...), video surveillance of the streets and the public transports to the self-control through the interiorisation of the values of the dominant class which are inculcated by School, work and mass media while encouraging us to collaborate with the authorities and participate in the management of our own misery.

In this sense, one has to notice the immense possibilities the information technologies have opened through the acquisition and massive management of data in matters of demographic management of the population. With these information systems, it is nowadays possible to plan almost to the smallest detail the structuring of the social space and the sectoring of the population according to the criteria like the economic, social, judiciary, cultural, family... situation. The "modern" ghetto is therefore no more comparable to the old poor areas of the past or to the slums of the economically less developed countries. It is no longer an economic fact without (projectual) logic, but is becoming a foreseeable development that can be planned in advance, realising an ever more clear separation. Because in the meantime the danger of the working class where exploitation concentrated in a clear way might well have been decomposed, the danger of the "excluded" strata of populations condemned to a precarious existence between survival and production as to make the privileged situation of the "included" possible, still threatens the rulers – these excluded who are deprived of all material as well as cultural means to grasp the possibilities that democratic capitalism is putting in front of their eyes like a beefsteak to a toothless person; these excluded who suffer the most clearly the

repression and exploitation of this society and who are the source from which a potential of social revolt that could uproot everything still lingers.

But also the conditions of this revolt have changed. With the elimination of the memory from the social space and with the permanent over-saturation with flattened information which daze us more than they help us understand reality, it seems that a sentiment of living in an eternal present has been instated. The old utopia of freedom which went far beyond this present, have been swallowed by capital and thrown up again in the form of commodities. The revolutionary aspirations of a totally different society that gave a perspective to the oppressed have progressively disappeared from the social imaginary (even if at this moment they are getting new stimulations from other parts of the world). But all this didn't change anything of the fact that social conflict continues and that it will continue to find a way to express itself: in swift explosions of rage and in the destruction of a surrounding which has become alien to growing strata of excluded. And that is a phenomenon the growing metropolises see more and more coming. And also the rulers are aware of it.

### **Zurich on its way to become a metropolis**

Since long time Zurich, alongside Basel and the region of the Geneva Lake, is developing into the mayor metropolitan space of Swiss. This is presenting new challenges for the capitalist management of the urban space. On the one hand because of the growing complexity and structural interdependence and therefore the growing vulnerability for "disrupting factors" and on the other hand because of the growing strata of excluded and therefore of the growing threat of social conflict.

As international hub of capital and attractive site for many international companies, especially in the so-called services and information sector, constituting the primary production of value in the post-industrial societies, Zurich developed progressively into a prosperous global city. As a consequence, development is also ever more orientated on the demands of an internationally competitive city, while the needs of its inhabitants who do not correspond to these demands are always more pushed towards the shadows. The most important key zones of the city are reserved for the direction of international firms and their need for "islands of luxury housing". The Europaallee itself is a more than symbolic expression of this.

With a foreseen growth of more than 60'000 inhabitants towards 2025, the city will progressively transform into a "multi-polar" metropolis with City, Altstetten and Oerlikon as its three centres and with growing ghetto-dormitories at the periphery of the city and in the suburbs, especially in the north and in the west. In this sense, on the one hand they create out of nothing new

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luxury areas and office complexes in the space of obsolete industrial zones like in Zurich West, Altstetten and Zurich Nord, and on the other they progressively “revalorise” and renew the existing residential areas like the neighbourhoods of the Langstrasse and around the Weststrasse and in the future the neighbourhood of Hard and the centre of Altstetten. By putting an emphasis on small companies and ecological buildings they try to present this “revalorisation” as positive in the eyes of the citizens to hide what it means for the majority of the current inhabitants: the destination for those who are economically uninteresting or do not correspond to the image of a “internationally competitive city” will on a more or less long term be the urban periphery while the future centres will mainly be reserved for the rich.

An essential element to guarantee the process of this development is the extension of the network of trams, busses and suburban trains. The growing ghetto-dormitories in Limmattal where people expelled from Altstetten will be pushed to, will be connected with the new Limmattalbahn and the extension of tram line 2 from the station of Altstetten until Schlieren. The station of Altstetten itself will be rebuilt and becomes more important. With the ongoing construction sites for big companies on the north side of the station, annexing the transformation of the former industrial zone of Zurich West in a site for services, and with the demolition and reconstruction of many residential complexes on the south side, the centre of Altstetten will also undergo, from the Station Square along the Altstetterstrasse until the Lindenplatz, a “revalorisation” to make the neighbourhood more adapted to the needs of the new strata of rich who just installed. It is true that these processes are still encountering resistance from the neighbourhood, but inside of the political framework they can no longer be stopped.

But the focus of extension of the public transport lies on Zurich North where because of the void spaces the dynamic of evolution is particularly strong. A part from the attractive economic space for international companies because of the proximity of the airport and the low ground prices, also there, like in Limmattal, new ghetto-dormitories for excluded are growing. These developments will increase pressure on the centre of Oerlikon. The building of a tangential tram line going from Affoltern through Oerlikon until Stettbach, as well as the ongoing expansion of Oerlikon station will serve as supports. Then there is still the tram line 11 which will be prolonged from Bucheggplatz until Affoltern where a particularly strong growth of estates is foreseen. The Rosengartentram will from a certain moment link Zurich North directly with Zurich West.

In Aussersihl, in the neighbourhood of the Langstrasse and in Bullinger (one of the poorest residential areas of the city centre), with the demolition and reconstruction of different residential estates in the coming years, and with the immense Police and Justice Centre (PJZ) that they are building, the entrance gate of the “revalorisa-

tion” which is taking place since quite some time, will be supported by a enlarged junction of tram line 8 through Hardbrücke Station until Zurich West. They try to keep spirits calm with a speech on “social mix” and “sustainable development” because a too fast conversion of these historical areas would obviously be unacceptable. But those who observe the past and coming construction projects from the Weststrasse through the Kalbreite, the Europaallee, the Neufrankgasse, the Seebahnstrasse up until the PJZ, will hardly nourish illusions about for who these future areas will be reserved, and for who probably rather not.

In general one can observe an always more neat separation between the “included” and an “excluded” strata of the population. To the first a situation of privilege, domination, high level culture, projectuality and creativity is guaranteed; to the second, on whose exploitation depends the first, a situation of survival, consensus, passive acceptance, under-culture and lack of stimuli. To manage this separation undisturbed State and capital have more and more need of total availability of social space. Nothing should escape control.

### **Possibilities of a struggle**

We believe it is more than time to take initiative against these processes of restructuring, before the invisible wall they are building throughout society is no longer being put into question by anyone. The possibilities of such a struggle are as diverse as the aspects of the processes themselves. They are taking place and in the future will take ever more place, particularly in the zones mentioned above, through the demolition and remediation of buildings, the building of new residential, commercial and administrative estates, the revalorisation of streets and squares, the presence of police and control structures (like video surveillance), the extension of the network of public transport and generally the fluxes of information, electricity and transport (installation of cables, distribution substations and panels, road building) on which the functioning of the new city of the rich is totally dependent.

Seen the uncountable number of construction sites everywhere in the urban space this requires, as well as the infrastructures who run from the centre to the periphery and which are often not at all surveyed, a vast terrain of possibilities for diffuse, simple and easy reproducible action opens up. The sabotage by which workers in the past snatched time and space from their bosses in the factories becomes again the classical weapon of the excluded. An indication that could be interested is given by the riots of the 12<sup>th</sup> of December. As many noticed, that night public lightening was cut street by street. In the darkened areas you could observe how circulation diminished and how people took back the streets since the job of the cops was made more difficult. With a more profound search in this direction, you can certainly find

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many possibilities to snatch time and space from the frenetic proliferation of capitalist projects.

On top of the immediate effects which can be caused by sabotage, at any moment and in an autonomous way, be it on your own or in a small group, a social pressure can be build up to impose the obtaining of specific objectives. These very concrete objectives are fundamental for such a struggle to raise interest from as much people concerned as possible. Even more so when, for example in the case of the new Police and Justice Centre, the oppressive function of the project is evident for the concerned population, and certain hostility is already socially spread. The obstruction of a building project just like resistance against a demolition or a raising of the rents, the occupation of a house or also a rent strike can all be means in a struggle against the process of urban restructuring. But we have to keep in our minds that these processes as we pointed out above are linked to the social relations of domination which cross our whole society and that, for this reason, we cannot limit ourselves to conquer and defend partial objectives. If not, we will fatally end up conquering niches or concessions that might well be tolerated temporary, but can easily be crushed or taken back from the moment things go outside of the framework of delimited tolerance.

In this context, it might not be uninteresting to look a bit back in history. One of the most noteworthy movements against the capitalist development of the city of Zurich might well be the rent strike of 1932, at a time when after the demolition and function changing of thousands of apartments in the old city centre, rents were rising continuously in the surroundings. Then, the inhabitants of the worker housing block of the Quellenstrasse decided to no longer pay the rent. Instead, they founded a self-managed action committee (the Socialist Party, which in those time was still giving itself aspects of class struggle, condemned the strike) and financed the struggle with that money. Other housing blocks joined in, a bulletin was founded to inform about the ongoing struggle, actions were spreading and soon, with more than ten thousand leaflets, a call for a general rent strike was launched. In four months time, almost 140 housing blocks and more than 10 000 tenants joined the movement which obtained a reduction of the rents ranging from 8 to 15 %. The following eviction attempts of police were successfully stopped with massive blockades. Only four years later, the first successful evictions would take place. Sadly, a big part of this movement stopped at obtaining these conquests, without continuing the struggle. That allowed the rulers to make some concessions and wait for the situation to calm down to later on continue to proceed the same way as before.

Yet the potential made possible by a minimal coordination of a struggle, based on structures self-organised by the people themselves, is clearly pointed out in this example – and it is indifferent if the goal is a rent strike or something else like for example the stopping of a demolition or a building project. The physical dimension of such self-managed structures of struggle can be imagined in different ways. It can go form a regular presence in certain places to more permanent spaces, but it is important that their objective is clearly defined as well as the methodological bases to reach this objective. In this sense it is in fact about reference points for anyone who might be interested in the struggle proposal to discuss together about it. Reference points that might, depending on the events, gain or lose weight, and who dissolve when the objective is reached or abandoned, to form again and differently for other objectives. This is to avoid that they become rigid structures in which a few politicians, and it doesn't make a difference if they are parliamentary or "revolutionary" ones, try to impose their interest of political power rather than finally leave the power exclusively to the people who, once decided to organise their stuff on their own, do not need politicians or State.

It is therefore indispensable to start from a clarification of the "method" by which these "intermediary" objectives should be reached. First of all, as was said before, the absolute independence from any political party or organisation. Nobody can present our interests except we ourselves. The self-organisation of our struggles, of the means and the structures they require, of the information work to make them known, is the only guarantee to not get ripped off again and again by some politician. In this sense also the refusal to negotiate. The democratic search for participation tries at all levels to integrate the social conflicts in the State management and to asphyxiate them in political procedure, of course always in favour of the same part of society. A struggle which is directed against the interests of the rulers, like the one against the processes of urban restructuring in Zurich which is proposed here, cannot have success unless it is capable of taking the initiative, of passing on to attack and of realising its objectives with the necessary means and pressure.

The riots of the 12<sup>th</sup> of December 2014 have shown to all of us the potential of individuals who decide to revolt. If we succeed in transforming this potential in a conscious insurrectional struggle, permanent and based on self-managed structures which might also be capable to coordinate in between them, it is up to everybody to imagine the possibilities that might open up for us in fighting the asphyxiating projects of the rulers and to conquer again the freedom, the space and the time they are tearing away from us every day.

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## *The riots on 12th of December*

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The Europaallee is certainly a particularly ugly concrete and glass construction. It is a project destined to make the surrounding zone, until now not yet that much haunted by gentrification, attractive for wealthy customers and yuppies – *young urban professionals*. It is owned by the SBB [Swiss train company] which will accommodate hence, beside hip restaurants, banks, jewelers and lofts, also Google itself. Wherever it would stand, its sight would be an ignominy. But it was and is about to be (!) built not anywhere (in a specific place), on the contrary, it is destined to connect district 1 and 4 – that is to say, to expand the space for citizens that pay and to adapt the quarter to their taste, what leads to the quite direct consequence that those who cannot pay the increasing rents or the new apartments will sooner or later... get kicked out. Well, this process which can be observed in Zurich like in hundreds of other cities, can certainly not be denied by anyone.

This alley has thus been the target of a devastating riot that probably has scared the one or the other citizen. Hundreds of people stormed the Europaallee. Its complete glass facade has been destroyed, shattered and besmeared, yes, some even dared to reach out their arms to what lays behind. From far away one could still see and hear the cops, but, unable to protect themselves and the property, they didn't venture themselves any more closer to the revolting crowd since quite a while. On the verge of this scenery two Christmas trees have been delivered to a symbolic fire... *A feast of joy!* A feast that has inspired the destructive creativity of many people and that emanates hundred times more liveliness and beauty than the tasteless "feast of love" wherefore all the shops pocket their pretty profits...

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But at the Europaallee was neither the start nor the end of this lively riot. It is just that it was necessary to counter some rumors that have been spread quite largely by the medias. Windows were not smashed "at random and without aim", but, primarily, the people attacked in a targeted way the Europaallee whose role in the urban development process isn't a secret – and it is precisely this what scares them. No demand is visible. No perpetrator is identifiable. Just an example of what is – and would still be – possible!

The rally started the 12 of December 2014 at ten o'clock close to the Sihlhölzlipark at the edge of Wiedikon. Hundreds of people gathered and walked, passing the train station of Wiedikon, in direction of Longstreet... A multiplicity of diverse methods has been employed since the beginning. Walls have been sprayed with very varied slogans and tags, the streetlights have been sabo-

taged, from time to time containers have been pushed on the street and set on fire, and at the tram depot a police patrol that wanted to establish "peace and order" had to recognize that they are not always the stronger ones. Since a long time they know that not everyone sees them as "friends and helpers", but unfortunately too rarely they also get to feel it... And, of course "with this one takes into account bodily harm" – like they do it with every shot of rubber bullets, with every cartridge of tear gas, with every spray of the water canon! Just like they harass people day by day, like they control them, menace them with guns, arrest them, lock them up or "take in account" that they could die – totally unintentionally of course – in their cells... Everything that shows now the cops as victims is nothing but hypocrisy and law-abiding deformation of reality. Though everybody that understands the word freedom, and be it only in big lines, has to admit that the attack against cops is, if not properly magnificent, at least in any case, logically as practically, justified.

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Well, after this first, vast Clash with a vehemence that was certainly extraordinary, the first windows started to burst... An expression of anger that is probably understood all over the world. Maybe already just as an attack against the alienating surrounding in which every window facade wants to foist on us some commodities. Against entrances and vitrines that tell us nothing more but: "Only for paying customers". The thrashing is just in this context a technique of devaluation; a possibility to make locations less lucr... uh... attractive...

Leisurely the crowd moved now into the Longstreet where a mob of active citizens protected the Coop Pronto [looted during a riot two years ago]. They were ignored... Instead ticket and cash machines were sabotaged and the streetlights continued to be switched off, walls got decorated and windows smashed. And of course: some, relatively few windows that were smashed were maybe not chosen very meaningfully... But, what interests the windows of so called small enterprises those who are not shop owners, those who have to drudge for them, or those who cannot even afford the so fantastic commodities they advertise there to us? Yes, we aren't surprised that the petty bourgeois claim solidarity with the shop owners that are portrayed as victims... But those, that draw the short straw in this world and that imagine freedom to be something else than the bourgeois/citizen's freedom of buying and selling, those have no reason to defend this world of entrepreneurship - at best they're putting with it a spike in their own wheel...

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After the attack against the Europaallee, which came next, followed a massive attack on the cop station on the Militärstrasse, thereafter the rally ended at the Bäckeranlage, where two fancy Mercedes were set ablaze. The police tried in the aftermath to portray it as if the credits for ending the rally was belongs to them, that they were able to “prevent something worse”. But, they were still afraid for quite some time to enter the – partially blacked out – neighborhood of the longstreet. Quite simply: when there is no light, they loose the overview (namely over a neighborhood that is normally policed with remarkable persistence). In addition, the sabotaged lights had the nice effect that cars could not circulate directly after, and so the streets – true to the motto of the rally, reclaim the streets – were reclaimed by passers-by...

Until now they weren't able to bring light into the darkness. Panicking, everybody who has a name tries to find an identity, the guilty ones, to dismiss it as something alien and incomprehensible. In a way that nobody could identify himself with it. In a way that nobody could understand the motivation behind it. But, this is not working. Cause there are thousands of reasons to revolt, as a tag that was left this evening says. 1000 reasons that cannot be limited to a marginal identity, scene or organization. Everybody (you too!) can mask himself and pass to action, it is this in the end what they fear the most. The Police is not superior. Everybody can appropriate the means to attack, to sabotage, to vandalize and: it is easy!



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## **PANDORA'S BOX AND THE HOTCHPOTCH OF SPANISH ANTI-TERRORISM**

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*December 2014 - Spain*

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The morning of Tuesday the 16th of December has surprised us with a wave of house raids and arrests. Surprised us? We are not going to lie. Let's start again. The morning of the 16th of December has NOT surprised us. The autonomous Catalan police, the Mossos d'Esquadra, and the Guardia Civil and judiciary powers of the Audiencia Nacional stormed more than ten houses and a few anarchist spaces in Barcelona, Sabadell, Manresa and Madrid, with house raids, arrests, confiscation of propaganda material and information, to also use the occasion to enter and plunder, with the entire riot police team of the Mossos d'Esquadra, Kasa de la Muntanya, a squatted place that has existed for 25 years.

According to the media, which as usual are proving their role as police spokespersons, the goal of these arrests is to break up "a criminal organisation with terrorist goals and a violent anarchist character". Although it seems easy to repeat an often used phrase, we will do it anyway: the only criminal organisation that terrorises people with its violent character is the State and its tentacles: the media, the juridical apparatus, its repressive bodies and its politicians, whatever spectre they belong to.

Why did the repressive action not surprise us? Because we were expecting it.

It is not about pretending to be oracles or something, but about being able of reading between the lines, and sometimes literally, the things that happen. As it happened with the arrests of other comrades last year, since a long time they have been busy orchestrating waves like last Tuesday's against libertarian and anti-authoritarian milieus, and even though the different razzias weren't that big they do show a prospect of similar situations.

### **Operation "Italian style"**

Since a few decades the anarchist milieu in neighbouring Italy experiences every now and again, and in the past years with more regularity, macro-operations that are similar to the one on Tuesday. Not only because of the format of the spontaneous razzias and house raids in several houses, also because of the use of names that are easy to remember and carry a certain dark humour, as in this operation, called Pandora because this case, as the media repeats after its juridical sources, "was a box that despite the numerous frights it has given us could not be opened". By "numerous frights" they refer to several actions that took place throughout the entire terrain of the Spanish State in the past years. To come back to the Italian oper-

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ations, one only has to remember a few names that came up in the past years, such as Operation Thor, referring to the accusation of a series of attacks with hammers on cash machines and other offices; Operation Ixodidae, referring to the technical name of the family of ticks, as the fascists called the communists and anarchists; and others, such as Ardire, Cervantes, Nottetempo, etcetera.

Apart from the procedure and list of names another factor that reminds us of the neighbouring country is the role of the media, which also helped us to see what was coming. Since three years, or perhaps a little longer, the Spanish media have started a campaign to prepare the ground in such a way that operations like these are not only possible but also predictable. Pointing out milieus, and sometimes even spaces or people with their full names, collectives, etcetera, constructing a fairly bizarre caricature of an internal enemy, is indeed nothing new, although in the last years the focus was on a very specific character: the “violent anarchist”, the “insurreccionalist”, the “against-the-system [antisistema] who infiltrates social movements”, etcetera.

### **The Chilean fiasco**

The year 2010 was a glorious year for the Chilean State. Besides Sebastián Piñera, businessman and fourth richest person in the country, being chosen president, it orchestrated a policial, mediatic and juridical operation against the anti-authoritarian milieu resulting in more than a dozen house raids and arrests, known as Operation Salamandra and popularly known as “Caso Bombas”, as it was based on the investigation of a series of attacks with explosives that took place in the preceding years, and through the police imagery the creation of an hierarchical macro-structure of a supposed network that was responsible for all these explosions: a circus that did not only weaken the reputation of the State, besides the fact of rendering it ridiculous, but that also proved the clumsiness of the investigation procedure, like the falsifying of proof, blackmail or pressurizing in order to obtain informants or “repentants”, chance, etcetera. The process ended with the acquittal of all the accused and a desire for revenge of the Chilean State toward the milieu and those under investigation.

A year after the end of the “Caso Bombas” farce the Spanish and Chilean ministries, judges and cops are working together on a new case, this time on this side of the ocean. Mónica Caballero and Francisco Solar, both ex-suspects in the “Caso Bombas” case, are arrested in Barcelona, where they are living at that moment, suspected of placing an explosive at the Basílica del Pilar in Zaragoza, planning a similar action and belonging to an alleged terrorist organisation. At this moment these comrades are in preventive detention awaiting a trial of which we do not know when it will take place, and we also do not know whether their proceeding will change due to this new repressive wave.

The situation is more or less known to everyone and if we can be sure of one thing it is that the recent arrests serve to give shape to a case that on its own would not stand.

### **Coincidence?**

A few hours before the arrests on Tuesday the Spanish government made known, through its media, that “the ministries of Interior Affairs of Spain and Chile are opening a new phase of enforced collaboration in the struggle against anarchist terrorism”. Last Monday, the 15th of December, the Spanish minister of Interior Affairs Jorge Fernández Díaz was in Chile to meet the vice-president and Chilean minister of Interior Affairs Rodrigo Peñailillo in the La Moneda palace, the government seat in Santiago de Chile. “In the struggle against terrorism, Chile will find a solid ally in Spain”, bragged the Spaniard, whilst being decorated with the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit of Chile, “the greatest distinction of the country in civil merit” according to the media, a trophy that the Chilean State in this case handed out for the police work and as a reward for the arrests of comrades Mónica and Francisco last year.

Besides praise and rewards, businessman Fernández sold a bit of his own: policial and juridical training, different kinds of repressive material, etcetera.

### **And what will come...**

What is the next repressive step? We don't know. At this moment not much is known about how our comrades are doing, of what exactly they are being accused, what repressive means they are subjected to, whether they are in preventive detention or not, etcetera.

What is certain is that this operation is not a fact standing on its own, but another shackle in a chain. A repressive chain that at times is cruel, and at times subtle, in which since the new laws (one only has to think of the recent Mordaza law) several things are incorporated; the hunt on people without papers through every time bigger racist razzias, the police brutality, until the aspiration to manage the misery and administrate the repression, which, all things considered, is what the State does, with a pseudo-left (with Podemos at the lead) that more and more becomes a clearer parody of itself. Evictions, beatings, fascism, juridical and punitive hardening of every kind, nationalist and social-democratic illusions, is what today will bring us. Something worse does not have to be expected, the worst has never left.

The array of opportunities of the Spanish anti-terrorism is a hotchpotch in which everything can be put. It is there, in sight, to remind us that for the State, struggle equals terrorism. It functions as a scarecrow. Do we let ourselves be frightened?

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The State and its servants say to have opened Pandora's box. In Greek mythology Pandora is the equivalent of the Biblical Eve. With the characteristic misogyny of both mythologies, Pandora opens her box as Eve eats her apple, liberating all the evil that it contains.

We are capable of creating our own story and ridding ourselves of their shit mythology. Our history is different. The "box" that this repressive operation has opened urges us to act, to be careful, to be alert in regards to what their next step will be. It makes us think, again and again, of the world we want, and the distance of that world to this one. It makes us see the urgency of acting, of going forward.

The locked up comrades are part of different projects, spaces, collectives, etcetera, and it is very important that these do not decline, that the ruin (in every sense)

to which these kind of situations lead does not create powerlessness and a feeling of paralysis.

We always say that "the best solidarity is continuing the struggle". Right, but what does that mean in practice? We also repeat in unison that "when you touch one of us you touch all of us". This has become clear through the reactions and protests that took place in several places, just like the unconditional warmth of the comrades on the outside.

We can be certain of one thing, and that is that the locked up comrades can feel this warmth which goes through the iron bars and isolation, because it is the same warmth that they knew to give at other occasions.

*Barcelona*

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## ***Conditional bail for comrades detained during Operation Pandora***

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In the night of January 30th, 2015, the 7 comrades who were still imprisoned following the arrests on the 16th of December 2014 as part of Operation Pandora were released.

One day before, the instructing judge of the Audiencia Nacional (Madrid) permitted access to the investigative file, and what we know at the moment is what has been circulated through the website of Mossos d'Esquadra in a press communiqué. They are facing charges such as membership in GAC (Coordinated Anarchist Groups), attacks against banks, posting parcel bombs (one to the Archbishop of Pamplona, one to a member of the fascist congregation Legionaries of Christ, and others to Italian companies), while "they are linked" – always according to the police – with the explosive attacks against the Cathedral of Almudena in Madrid (February 7th, 2013) and the Basilica of the Pillar in Zaragoza (October 2nd, 2013), the latter having led to the indictment and pre-trial detention of our comrades Mónica and Francisco.

The police statement ends with a victorious "according to the investigators, the structure of the GAC/FAI-FRI

is disrupted in Catalonia, the stronghold of this criminal organisation with terrorist purposes against the Spanish State". What these servants of Power do not recognise (and never will) is that they sought to generate fear to all other comrades with this operation, which not only failed, but we can say without a doubt has generated the opposite effect.

No doubt their release from prison and to receive them amongst us is an opportunity to celebrate, because they are no longer locked up, as much because they are with us again to fight shoulder to shoulder against this world of shit. But it is a "celebration" which remains incomplete. The charges remain, as do the bail conditions – obligation to sign three times a week, passport confiscated, etc. Furthermore Mónica and Francisco are still incarcerated... not to mention all the comrades who risk other prison sentences in other cases, and those who have already been convicted.

**Until we're all free!**



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## THE LEGEND OF THE VALLEY THAT DOES NOT EXIST

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*January 2015 - Italy*

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It is not easy to summarize in one article the question of Val di Susa and the role that anarchists – at least some of them – have “carved out” in it. The matter is large and complex, so we will limit ourselves to our reading of certain key dynamics that we observed after several years of being present in the notorious “valley that resists”. Firstly, we need to clarify the *modus operandi* that the holders of the political line of the movement have developed/imposed in good relations with the anarchists/notav.

Let us start with the conclusion; is there in Val di Susa a real possibility of revolt, already present or potential, which could aim to break down the logic of domination as we know it and that we, as anarchists, fight against every day? The answer is no. In Val di Susa, the scenario is typically that of a local struggle that certainly affects a large area, but suffers from precisely all the limitations of the “not in my backyard” movements. As we have noticed several times, the valsusino movement, for the most part, is not concerned with the struggles that take place outside its territory. And when it takes interest, it is only for political manipulation or as a matter of superficial empathy and entirely “religious”. It is not interested in identifying similarities and differences with existing conflicts and deducing a general critical thinking and attack against power. A power which in

fact is not rejected or questioned but which is essentially asked to rule more “fairly”.

On a strictly local level, it is even more obvious during times of elections, either national or to a greater extent – of course – during municipal elections. At such times, the oligarchy of the movement strives to obtain institutional mandates. This is also the same oligarchy that consults and draws the lines of action in closed meetings just before the decisional mockeries of the so-called “coordination of committees” (1), meetings that are supposed to be horizontal decision-making assemblies but that taste more like the communication of a few to many on the possible actions to be carried out. Thus begins the great waltz of obscene alliances, concupiscence and intrigues to get votes, to increase their personal popularity and to try to take over the control in certain municipalities affected by the passage of the high-speed trains or its infrastructure, to have their own crumb of power and to show off during discussions with the supposed enemies of the state organization.

The No Tav movement makes a great use of delegation, whether in daily management (precisely at the coordination of committees, where the latter – now reduced to a valsusino illusion – are represented at meetings by some individuals) or whether in extraordinary manage-

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ment, as during the elections, when the opportunity to have a seat in municipal councils is desired, promoted and defended. It is during such events, as well as in others that involved many individuals who “come from outside” - figures perceived as double-edged swords, ambivalently attracted but also feared, perhaps for the freedom of action that they could claim and act upon –, that the annoying concept is reiterated with pride that things are done in the valley “*a moda nostra*” [in our own way]. This means in reality they are done as dictated by the oligarchy and accepted by the compliance of the masses, without any tolerance, or in the best case consideration of possible initiatives of groups or individuals outside the scope of supervision of the valley. The “*a moda nostra*” is in effect the dividing line between what you can or can not do, the when, the where, the how and the who, and it is the demonstration of a top-down, authoritarian system said to be refused and fought according to the movementist rhetoric but which in practice is implemented perfectly.

### Val di Susa, the theatrical rhetoric of the struggle

If there is one thing that has been successfully created in Val di Susa, and still continues to work rather well, it is a movement rhetoric that manifests itself clearly when they decide to tell and “sell” their product outside the borders of Piedmont. The word “sell” is not chosen at random. By spending time in the valley and participating in meetings of the movement, we can see how every single fact is treated in a theatrical manner aimed at creating an imaginary: the simple time spent in front of a fence becomes a “great day of struggle”, the attempt by some to force with determination their way through a police roadblock becomes a vile and violent attack by the police against poor demonstrators only present to claim their rights. We find ourselves before a distortion of the facts entirely aimed at creating an imaginary of resistance that can *appeal* on the one hand the beautiful souls of “civil society” (by never speaking of attack but always of resistance to suffered violence) but on the other hand can also draw the attention of the rebels from all over Italy and make them want to come to the valley, demonstrating how the heroic resistance of the valley does not speak the language of the symbolic action or of politicians, but of non-mediated struggle against oppression. All this is accepted and often revived, including by the anarchists most committed in the dynamics of the management of the movement.

This is, however, not only a slightly embellished representation of what happens, but rather the creation of an imaginary instrumental to co-opt workforce from outside the valley using themes and slogans dear to (for example) anarchism. To present the valley as horizontal, headless and generically “libertarian” does not correspond to reality, but is useful to convey forces on the territory. “Specialized” labour can be useful during clashes with the police forces, but as we have already said must

in the meantime be kept well on a leash, as well as not to disturb the population as to avoid the risk of tipping the internal balances of the movement. To achieve this, the logic of the “big family” which we will discuss further proved to be the perfect instrument. The hypocrisy of the movement, the theatrical self-representation, the acceptance of the communicative dynamics of power (mystification, reversal of meaning and language, manipulation of facts, etc.) are intrinsic to the way of being of this No Tav movement. A methodology that may not be shared by all “movementists” but who accept it either out of necessity or to avoid the risk of questioning acquired positions within the movement of “a thousand souls” - and this we think is the case for some anarchists who until now have pretended not to see, have minimized or justified by citing ridiculous explanations.

### The creation of the big family

The No Tav movement is also the child of a society overexposed to the media, and as such had to create an image with enough facets to be appetizing as well for consumers of the media spectacle as for those seeking a place where their mode of struggle would be accepted and shared. The rhetoric of the *big family* was the main instrument for this, very useful to successfully marginalize the not very digestible elements for the spectators of the valsusino theatre. If the presence of militants from different backgrounds has been accepted as an instrumental necessity – this is easy to see when one talks with any “ordinary” valligiano –, it was also necessary that the most disturbing identities are ignored and put in the background, a polished image to present the movement as different from conventional scenarios of conflict. Thus the trademark is one of the great No Tav family, we are all No Tav, etc. In this scenario, the case of the four anarchists (now seven) incarcerated for a nightly attack on the site – that the spokesperson of the movement, using the above-mentioned techniques called “night walk” – is exemplary (2). The movement has always talked about “its kids”, the four No Tav prisoners, always failing to mention their “ideological” membership in order to make them more digestible for the public. It would be harder to sell if they were identified as anarchists notoriously less “attractive” to the consumers of the media of the regime. All this was done in concordance with other anarchists, which of course did not bother too much waving what was called before the “flag of the Ideal” for fear – perhaps – of losing the media support for the sacred insignia of the flag with the crossed-out train.

The “big family” also has another function, which is none other than the conversion of the concept of democracy used by the traditional authorities but too compromised to be resold within a movement that dribbles between the anti-politics in the variety of a Beppe Grillo (3) or the Indignados and the feeling of revolt of other appearances on stage.

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The “big family” is the dogma before which all those who have decided to be part of it, raise their hands. In the same way as in the “civil society” the accusation of being undemocratic becomes a stain to clean oneself of with great demonstrations of loyalty to the democratic dictates. The same thing happens in the valsusino movement where the word democracy has been replaced with words with an identical meaning – often interchangeable – like “big family” or “people’s movement”, in whose name any conflicts generated by real questions are silenced. This is why the valsusino movement is perfectly reactionary since it decided to use methods and structures of constructing consensus and management of reality traditionally shaped and used by power to annihilate dissent and the potential that there exists within its real moments of conflict.

In this context, some have decided not to question certain dynamics and abdicate their own individual subjectivity to the collective objective. The general mechanism of power is replicated and to do so it was sufficient to work a minimum on language.

Popular investiture becomes the goal that replaces in form but not in substance the bourgeois concept of democratic elections – that anyway is not a possible resource in this case – and little changes between the “we are democratically elected” of the politicians and “the people of the valley are with us” of the managers of the movement. This bleak consensus is sought after, nothing more, and the grossly popular/sentimental language of some aficionados of the movement (even anarchists) speaks volumes about the likelihood of these claims.

The management of language and the manipulation of the facts are also evident in the way the issues of denunciation (4) were addressed. The No Tav movement has basically decided not to take a stand by taxing the matter as “a fight between chapels”, shifting the focus and the core of the matter not on the substantive question, the informers and all that goes with it, but on specific details, rendering meaningless an extremely serious act against confidence by reducing it to a skirmish between rival gangs. Nearly a month after the sabotages of Florence and Bologna (5), the call of the movement proclaimed loudly and in a perfect authoritarian style – aimed to halt any further individual critical thinking, to ensure that the spectacle of the movement continues – that we continue united in the struggle, at all costs, and to end once and for all with what has been classified at best as “polemics”. In this story, the “family” anarchists decided mainly not to upset the balance inside the warm belly of the popular movement, or to ignore the issue, either by branding it – using language at the limit of the priestly – as a “skirmish”, maybe this is the product of the used medium (internet) or of exasperated minds, either by shifting the focus on – according to them – the real issue, namely the steps taken backward by the movement relative to the practice of sabotage. All these attitudes are completely in line with the trend of

contemporary Italian anarchism that increasingly tends to minimize the issues of substance as denunciation, the presence in the spaces of snitches or infiltrators in the name of ‘being likeable’, fruit of political convenience, in a utilitarian logic that genuinely turns the stomach.

### The history, stories and fables

Like any national popular movement, that of the No Tav also needs its saints and martyrs, and is willing to sell today in newspapers and on TV wounded and imprisoned, which in itself is already deplorable. It had no qualms to present as saints the pictures of Edoardo Massari or Baleno – or “*balengo*” [weirdo] according to those who made at the time a mockery of him and today a vindication – and Maria Soledad Rosas or Sole, two anarchists “suicided” in a regime of deprivation of freedom in the late 90s, accused of being the authors of acts of sabotage that occurred in the valley against the High Speed... Yes, already in 1998 some were conducting sabotages in the valley, and the sabotages were already deprecated by many. Exquisite “intellectuals” such as the gloomy philosopher Vattimo who at the time had incredibly offensive words for the memory of the two companions, sits today peacefully at the family table next to those who found themselves alone in defending the two “martyrs” in spite of themselves, and do it with all the honours due to VIPs supporting the movement, whether judges, scribblers, famous pro-Zionist writers, etc. But, one might say, times have changed and shooting errors can be corrected and so it seems to be. Some time ago in an interview, the leader of the movement Alberto Perino, while reiterating the solidarity of No Tav with the incarcerated seven, *en passant* admitted the error of assessment in having misjudged the poor Sole and Baleno few years before, so all is well... Not really, but it seems the mantra “what’s done is done, let’s look forward” has taken hold on many, including those who historically have always boasted to “not forget.”

Some pseudo-critical supporters of the movement – it frees the consciousness to shake the worn cloth of independent thought, as long as it does not entail a too radical critique for the structure that welcomes us! – while claiming to share a series of initiatives of the movement and affirming to understand the objective limits, think that anyway the most important is “to be there” whatever that means – and whatever it takes –, repeating that the valsusino movement is the only popular movement that has cleared the practice of sabotage as a means of struggle. This is true and false at the same time.

While it is true that a famous assembly ratified sabotage as an allowed practice – although with a series of restrictions – and that this is a quite unique event in Italy, it is also clear that it was done holding their noses and out of pure political calculation. There was a need to revive a struggle that had lost *appeal* among Italian and foreign anti-authoritarian militants because of the

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marked tilting of the movement toward the electoral plague. Attendance “from outside” began to dry up in the valley (except for those from some historic urban areas, co-responsible in some cases in the valsusino consensus machine), there was a need to relaunch the *brand* in a slice of the “market” too important to the movement which without “cannon fodder” to send to the melee in the forests would have to deal with the almost total absence of villagers on the barricades or with a lack of “expertise” in certain “hot” situations... So what better than sabotage!? The practice is a common heritage of different realities, refers to an epic of glorious struggle, can be played by the media. The game has been made, although the mechanism immediately risked to break down because a few days after the famous assembly sabotage happened and some, still the same *notav. infam*, immediately evoked the spectre of provocation, forgetting that a few days before the arbitrators of the movement had legitimized the practice of sabotage and therefore dropped the matter.

Sabotage then becomes a means of political co-optation, and not a strategic practice in a struggle for liberation inserted in the war against domination. So a few months later, we arrive at today, the same agitators are treating certain sabotages as despicable practices, useless and harmful to the cause of the movement itself, which would lose the appeal at the national level at a time when sympathies for the symbol of the crossed-out train would be increasing. All in spite of the maxim that the same No Tav touted throughout half of Italy: “bring the valley in the city” that is to say, to act all against the high speed on the way we consider appropriate... But not today, not today you!... First of all political convenience!

### **Notav anarchists, No Tav and anarchists**

If the dynamics of the No Tav movement add nothing to the perspectives of revolt, it is also true that in any way that the matter was intended to be confronted from the side of the rebels there is nothing else to it than a struggle against a particular condition of domination that is not concerned to confront the tentacular interconnections of the latter, but only wants to resolve the question in its surroundings, a classic struggle for the defence of its garden in short, but in which the chaos of events could make some interesting sparks. Unfortunately, the wholly political tactics of movementist entrisism without conditions that has been implemented by some anarchists did nothing more than to legitimize a specific movement as representing a kind of revolutionary vanguard. Nothing could be further from reality, of course, but in creating this false imaginary, some “revolutionaries” have certain responsibilities.

Already the acceptance of extended group dynamics and attaching oneself to the decisions of the majority, or the dogma of populism with the “big family” sauce, all this has led FOR YEARS some anarchists to walk

alongside priests, mayors, judges, former military and so on and so forth, and this uncritically, without really trying to develop a discourse of radical critique of certain mechanisms of the movement, to which indeed it was decided to submit with a pragmatic political perspective to not break the popular front – this tempting prey for those hungry for legitimation and amateurs of microphones – which obviously was a useful job pool for its own purposes. Instead of carrying through their own ideas and practices a critical systemic approach, some anarchists have focused their criticism against the existing on one aspect, the opposition to a local manifestation of power, neglecting, setting aside, blurring, diluting all the other elements that have the same importance in the revolt, elements that build the logos itself of the refusal and attack against domination.

*For years*, the reason of the movement, much like the reason of the state, has been accepted by most of the anarchists present in the valley, who have happily agreed to the game of politics made of compromises, closed eyes, seeking consensus. Certainly, sometimes there was some stomach ache, but it has always been relegated to a dialectical movement that has always basically left a bitter taste. When some companions were attacked by the family for choosing to refuse a legal defence in the trial of 53 for the events during June/July 2011 (6), how have the anarchists aficionados of the valley positioned themselves? In our memory little or nothing was said, as they have ignored other more or less important events, always branded as unimportant issues or otherwise subordinate to the movementist unity. But the political methodology of some anarchists, what did it actually result in? While many anarchists have served months in prison and faced trials for events that occurred in the valley, what was the contribution of anarchist theory and practice in the valsusino movement? Little or nothing, and that is because it was decided to make the anarchist practice subordinate to political convenience. Perhaps in the minds of some this made sense – although this is hard to see – but essentially this only led to failure. Anarchy in the valley has been sacrificed on the altar of populism that does not want to know of anarchism and does not seem to have changed its mind the least about it. In some cases, talking with some anarchists, one definitely has the impression that the atmosphere of the extended family (which exists only if we accept the principles of the movement from A to Z) has alleviated the suffering that years of militantism has brought upon them. Anarchists who, grateful for these unexpected caresses are so willing to give body and soul to the movement, a sort of religious love that would envy even the most pious of the priests in the odour of sanctity.

Faced with these mechanisms, all those who opposed and still oppose the High Speed and the world that goes with it, but refuse to say No Tav because they do not share the objectives, methods and means, are ignored, reviled, derided, slandered, spied upon, smeared (apol-



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ogies for the involuntary quote in the style of Proudhon). Proposals to move autonomously on the basis of affinity are seen as a waste of time, the refusal to participate in the movement theatre is seen as essentially inaction, while they, shouting “the important thing is to be there” agree to be puppets of those who skilfully manage the plots of the movement. Then, occasionally, something happens, and someone who previously pretended not to see, even manoeuvring in the shadows alongside interlocutors that today are branded as inadmissible, opens his eyes for a moment and feels compelled to express his grievances to the thousand souls of the movement. As with the text “*Alle compagne e ai compagni di strada (e di sentiero)*” where the writers are surprised by a series of events, however, resulting from the dynamics in place for years, which they themselves at least by their silence helped to consolidate and then have turned against them (we are referring here to the nomadic camp in 2014 and the involvement of mayors in initiatives for the four – and later seven – arrested anarchists). One might quote Oscar Wilde, who argued in one of his axioms that you should never argue with idiots because they drag you down to their level and beat you with their experience in the field, and this is also valid with politicians and those who chose to play their game.

There is still some slag left after this summer, and the question that arose during the exchange of words between the writers of *Finimondo* and those of *notav.infam* (aka Askatasuna and Comitato di Lotta Popolare (CLP) of Bussoleno) gave some the opportunity to remove stones from their shoes, but be aware that these stones in some cases resemble political convenience (again) in a hegemonic struggle (“*straccetti di benzina, stracci politici e delazione*”) for the No Tav movement, which in fact does not address the substance of the question. As if having put “ideas and heart” would absolve anyone of having accepted the “reason of the movement”, with all that follows.

Let’s put aside the tedious communiqués transmitted from Rome (NED - PSM) and Turin (Macerie website), one almost priestly in tone, the other that continues to elude, although articulated more wisely, issues inherent in the nature of the notorious No Tav movement.

We know that we have not dealt with the accuracy that would require all of the topics covered, as we know that we left out other issues that deserve an equally thorough discussion, but what we want is to open a hole into the real scenario that unfolds in Val di Susa, as well for those who still wanted to touch the question of the valley, as for those interested to include this experience in a more general reflection on domination and the forms that the latter manages to insert inside struggles to make them harmless or more easily recuperated.

**M. and V.**

(from Val di Susa)

## Notes

(1) The Coordination of Committees is the general basis of the local No Tav committees, the space in which should be discussed the proposals of the various groups, the appointments of the struggle, etc. Symbol of the horizontal decision-making of the movement, in fact the internal debate is almost absent and the dynamics of leaders is perfectly in place, as that of the delegation almost totally overt. This coordination discusses little or nothing, limited to publicly communicate and ratify decisions taken elsewhere by a small elite (of the valley and not) that establishes the line that the movement has to follow.

(2) On December 9, 2013 four anarchists are arrested (Chiara, Mattia, Niccolò and Claudio), accused of having participated in an attack against the construction site of Chiomonte in the night between 13 and 14 May of that year, which ended with the burning of several machines. Under the same charge will be arrested on July 11, 2014 three other anarchists (Lucio, Francesco, Graziano). The trial against the first four defendants, who have claimed during the hearing the responsibility of the facts, concluded on 17 December, with a sentence of 3 years and 6 months in prison. The charge of “terrorism” that the prosecution had tried to shift on them, was dropped.

(3) Beppe Grillo is a famous comedian who has for years lend his voice to protest against government policies, ranging between leftist citizenism and right-wing populism. In October 2009, he founded the Movimento 5 Stelle which, having conquered several local governments, is also present in parliament since February 2013.

(4) On 28 December 2014 the site *notav.info* – considered as the “spokesperson” of the No TAV movement – published an editorial note in which they accused the editors of the site *finimondo.org* to be the authors of the sabotage that occurred a few days before along the train line between Florence and Bologna, but also of others in the past. The next day, the 29th, the same item was broadcast by another site linked to Autonomy Turin, *infoaut.org*. Accuses resumed the same day by the daily mainstream *La Repubblica*. After a belated awareness, the Piedmontese have slightly modified the same day their text to delete their blatant accusation. But on 30 December, it is *Finimondo* which made public what happened, explicitly accusing *notav.infam* for having indicated their editors to the police. The ensuing controversy is still not completed.

(5) On December 21, 2014 in Florence and in Bologna on 23 there were two incendiary sabotages against the High Speed line.

(6) On 27 June 2011, after a day of clashes, more than 2000 agents of the security forces evicted the No Tav encampment, dubbed “Free Republic of the Maddalena”, opened in Chiomonte May 22 on the terrain where there had dug an exploratory tunnel. On July 3, there was a protest with 60,000 people. Many protesters launched an assault against the area manned by the police in an attempt to reoccupy it. Over 200 protesters were injured in the clashes, and five of them arrested. For these days of clashes, the Court of Turin sentenced 47 protesters to prison terms ranging from a few months to more than four years on January 27, 2015.

(7) From 17 to 27 July 2014 was held in Val di Susa a No Tav march that touched seven villages, with a nomadic camping. During the stops there were various initiatives, including meetings with the local councils.



## **STATEMENT OF ANARCHIST COMRADE ANDREAS-DIMITRIS BOURZOUKOS, IN THE TRIAL FOR THE VELVENTO, KOZANI DOUBLE BANK ROBBERY CASE**

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*July 2014 - Greece*

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To begin, I would like to clarify the reason I am here today, by taking advantage of the procedure of statements. What will follow therefore, will in no way have an apologetic character, since my acts and choices are included in the wider anarchist struggle, the struggle for life and freedom. Consequently, they are acts that I support with every aspect of my being and I will continue to do so as long as this world remains as it is.

So, no, I am not apologizing, I have to nothing to say and analyse on a procedural level about my actions. I refuse the charges exactly because I refuse civil legality. I refuse to legitimize your role and your justice which is driven and instructed by those governing.

I therefore do not hope for your leniency, I will not bend before the threat of your laws and the many years of prison that await me, even in the worst of conditions that your state reserves for those who refuse to bow their head. These new prisons called “C- Type prisons”. I am here to highlight the characteristics of my choices

and exacerbate the dispute between us. You, a part of the judicial authority, and me, a part of the anarchist struggle. And when I say “you”, I do not mean just you specifically, but all the people who hold positions of authority. It is a dispute that escapes the narrow frames of an inter-personal clash, it is a class and social war that spreads in the space-time continuum, it finds its roots in the initial forms of capitalism and the relations of exploitation and authority which for centuries now have defined the human race.

Therefore, although I am an anarchist and I do not recognize any court as competent to judge my choices, I cannot ignore the authority of this mechanism and not illustrate the perception and interpretation of the laws and justice. I cannot remain silent before this covered up firing squad and bow my head in fear that my turn has come.

I consider it therefore my obligation to bring the revolutionary counter-argument against the monolithic judicial authority, against the silence you are trying to enforce.

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To take things in order, I am in a special room, inside a special court, I am tried under a special law and the future foresees special detention conditions for me, my comrades and any troublemakers that bother the smooth operations of this whole system.

Special categories of people amidst a mass of identical, docile and subjugated citizens, this is an easier way to interpret this whole intentional differentiation. On the other hand, all we have to do is see the role and use of the laws and justice, to fully interpret the reasons behind this intention.

Justice is by definition a form of social control, a way to conserve obedience and compliance in society through a system of rules that define what can happen and what not, what remains in the frames of systemically acceptable and what is out of this norm.

The state of justice that you claim, enforces the terms of subjugation in a system of exploitation and wretchedness. "Justice" is fair therefore, because it's obeyed, but what happens with those who refuse to comply, those who deviate and escape the predefined social behaviours?

"Law and Order", the dogma that covers the gap, securing the maintenance of civil legality with stricter laws, exterminating sentences and rigorous oppression.

Thus, the state enlists the judicial authority in order to stomp out any deviating behaviour, to maintain social and political stability.

Allegedly expressing the interests of society, basically however forcing the citizens to follow the laws, giving thus, indirectly the monopoly of violence to the state mechanism. Since the one who receives the state violence cannot and is impossible to respond with the adequate counter-violence, but only accepts the authority of the state and the enforcing of laws for the "common good" with docility.

A precondition of capitalist-political stability is the legalization of the system and the violence it produces, and of course, the custodians could not be any other than the judicial authority, which is called to "cover" all the structural unbalances of the system, so it does not collapse socially and economically.

Always, of course, executing the governmental orders and operating invariably in favour of the state interests. The ability of multiple interpretations of the law by the judges is the back door which always remains open for the ruling class to intervene and guide the juridical authority. Their role (your role) could be no other than the safekeeping of the economic and political elite, the criteria on which justice is served are deeply class orientated and therefore your violence is aimed at outlaws, poor-devils, immigrants and of course those who factually dispute your authority. On the other hand, the flexibility of your laws runs out in the cases of major criminals, just like in the recent case of Thessalonikis'

Mayor Papageorgopoulos, who although was sentenced to life in first instance for embezzling 17,9 million euros, after a year, the sentence is "broken" down to 12 years. Since probably, the 17.9m this gentleman took from the citizens of this country is a crime of a much smaller scale compared to immigrants, who for petty theft get 14-15 year sentences. And I cannot but mention another example of how extremely guided and class orientated your justice is. Of course, I am talking of the decision of the Mixed Sworn court of Patras which acquitted two of the four accused for the case of the shootings in Manolada. Where 35 immigrants were shot for demanding their wages.

Truthfully, what kind of society do you envision and what common good do you defend?

What is the social gain and the values you propose?

You envision a society in the dark, the whole of it frightened, where it will passively accept the violence of the state and capital, and you are accountable for this.

Who was convicted for the millions of euros the political authority has been robbing the public money of all these years?

Who was convicted for the thousands that were led to suicide because of the economic crisis?

Who was convicted for the uncountable (allegedly "isolated") incidents of torture in the police stations?

**NO ONE!**

Of course, I am not saying that you are not doing your job well, quite the opposite! This is your job, to cover up the daily crimes of the state. Even here, inside this room we saw numerous cops, who in a glaringly and excess tenacity covered for their colleagues from Veria police station for the torturing that took place inside there. The oxymoron of the case however is not the cover up by the side of authority, but the way torture is presented as the natural follow up of this application of authority.

Besides, the publication of our pictures served this exact target: on the one side the ethical legitimization of torture and on the other, the diffusing of fear through setting an example for all those who chose to attack the system and its structures.

We are talking of an "aponeurosis" of society in its entirety, an attempt to vanish and assimilate any reflexes it has left.

In the most blunt way, state and government form the terms of their enforcement, through extreme fascist legislations and special acts of legislative content. The most recent of example is the C-Type prisons legislation, the legalization that is, of special detention conditions, a permanent torture that restructures the correctional system on the standards of generalized oppression or-

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dered by foreign and domestic capital, the biggest and best organized terrorist organization.

To make a synopsis, your intention to serve justice is exhausted in the maintaining of political stability and the class divisions which are lawfully created by the capitalist system.

But, since we are talking of terrorism, lets go on to the charges this court of yours attributes to me.

First of all, the terrorist organization one, *article 187A* of the penal code, or “*the commission of certain offenses in a manner or to an extent or in circumstances which may seriously damage a country or an international organization with a view to seriously intimidate a population or compel an illegal public authority or an international organization to perform any act or to refrain from this or seriously damage or destroy the fundamental constitutional policies, economic structures of a country or an international organization*”.

It is important to see this legal characterization and mainly what the law seeks in its entirety.

Firstly, *187A* is basically an idiom, an upgrade of *187*, concerning criminal organizations. The nature of the law contains a very important duality, not so much from a legal-technical point of view -which does not concern me anyway- as much as at a level of political feasibility.

In a nutshell, the judicial authority, in cooperation with the state and government, follow the wild dogma of neo-liberalism inspired by Margaret Thatcher, that “*there are no more classes, only individuals*”. Thus, there is no battle of classes, therefore no political crime, since the state and ruling class define the means and limits of political confrontation in the frames of legality. Authority therefore, cannot be disputed.

Because, obviously, this demotion or to be exact the equation of political crime with common crime means the penalization of every form of resistance, let alone when this is carried out with the use of violence.

We have therefore an idiom, which beyond discrediting the political characteristics of every act, it aims also to make every form of resistance vanish. An umbrella law whose range is constantly widening and recently we even saw a whole village in Skouries [against gold mining] being prosecuted with the *187A*, inaugurating the tactic of mass persecutions in the frames of a terrorist organization simply because these people resisted the expanding mania of capital.

And it is a natural follow up of the systemic crisis, that authority will channel the fear to the resisting part of society, characterizing more and more acts as terrorist, in the hope of maintaining the fragile balances of the capitalist system.

Simultaneously, in the last 5 years we see an upgrade of the oppressive policy. The persecutory authorities in Greece, following the ‘Marini’ dogma and having to deal with an anarchist movement constantly increasing in dynamics, sets up a series of prosecutions from 2009 when they found a bomb in a house in Halandri. Thus, a legitimate house was baptised a “*lair*” and a “*fresh*” tank of prosecutions was created. Any anarchists who had their prints in this house were (and probably remain) possible terrorists, a theorem which the prosecutor in the trial for comrades Sarafoudis and Naxakis took a step further, claiming that it is enough to be an anarchist in order to also be a member of the CCF.

Using therefore the prosecution formula, the persecutory authorities loaded us with indictments seeking our lengthy imprisonment and exemplary punishment.

Your fairytale is nice, but the only terrorists are the state and capital. Historically, from the first appearance of terrorism as a political analysis, this identified itself with state violence.

Terrorism, is transcendence through violence and terror. And those who rush to condemn violence no matter where it comes from surely cannot perceive (or it does not suit them to perceive) the unmistakable difference between primary and secondary violence.

Let’s not fool ourselves, violence defines this system, it exists on a daily level in the entire social web. As long as there are people who live in cardboard boxes while others in luxury villas, there is violence. As long as there are people killed in labour accidents and a few get rich, there is violence. As long there is exploitation of humans by humans, there is violence.

Since forever, violence was a basic structural ingredient of the capitalist system, it reproduces it daily in various ways and has multiple receivers.

It is a fact however, that there is a primary violence applied from authority and is expressed in the most vicious way, systematically, through the economic bloodsucking of the largest part of society in order to feed the collapsing banking system with billions. Through labour, which instead of being a way for everyone to express their creativity and cover their needs, its more like a punishment, where people are forced to work like slaves in the modern galleys of capitalism, through the vicious oppression towards the struggling part of society, through the 1,5 million unemployed who are indirectly sentenced to a form of slow death.

There are hundreds of expressions of this violence -state terrorism- hundreds of examples also, and there is no reason to speak further about this. The issue is that from state terrorism -which claims the monopoly of violence- there erupts also the only just violence, *revolutionary counter-violence*. Because even if the world we are fighting for is that of non-violence, solidarity and

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freedom, we know very well that the privileged ones will not voluntarily give away their authority, without the use of violence.

Against violence, we promote violence, against power, power, at any cost. Even at the price of our own freedom or lives. In order to save our lives, we must be ready to lose it. Revolutionary violence, therefore, has nothing to do with the use of terror. Terror was, is, and will be, the tool of the ruling class in order to enforce itself.

The unmistakable difference of revolutionary counter-violence from state terrorism is summarized in the words of Malatesta: *"If, in order to win, we must set up guillotines in the squares, I would rather lose"*. Despite this however, we are also a part of this corrupt and alienated world and we inevitably carry it with us, and we also carry the need for revolution. We fight for a free future which, for good or for bad, we can see only through the prism of the present. And in order to equip our struggle in the present, expropriation is a revolutionary necessity.

First of all, in order to liberate time from our lives, to not be trapped in the web of waged slavery.

But mainly, in order to fund the wider anarchist struggle in every aspect. And the anarchist struggle is a course towards the total emancipation of the human being. A course towards the destruction of every institution that cowers the human existence.

The expropriation of banks, was, is, and will remain, a diachronic choice of revolutionary movements, an act of revolt against the economic stronghold of capitalism. Of course, we do not delude ourselves that a robbery will damage the banks, let alone the banking system in its entirety.

Either way, it is a revolutionary act, a crack in the omnipotence of the state and capital. Not, of course, by definition revolutionary, but always connected with the subject that defines the specific characteristics of this act.

You speak of a robbery in the frames of a terrorist organization, let me clarify, therefore, that I was never a member of an organization, but only an anarchist.

As an anarchist, I carried out the robbery and therefore it was a conscious act of resistance, a necessary means for the self-funding of my life and the struggle. A choice that I would make again and still support, since the reasons and motives that led me to this choice is the nature of capitalism, the relations of exploitation and oppression.

And of course, when we speak of a robbery in the context of the anarchist struggle, we speak of specific targeting and specific characteristics during this. For example, our target could not be the 44,3% of the population of the country that owes to banks and is led to forced liquidations in order to survive and not have their house repossessed.

We, contrary to the state mechanism, do not "tax" the lower social classes, the poor and unemployed, those who have nothing. We expropriate the places where state money is over-accumulated (and not only), we target those who steal 37,7 billion euros from society in order to "rescue" the banking system.

We target that 5% of the major families in Greece, who for years now have been oppressing the lower social layers of the country.

When we choose a robbery therefore, we choose a revolutionary means, an act of struggle, and like every revolutionary action, it is organized and executed based on the ethics of the subject. An ethic completely different from what the system enforces. An ethic in the frames of anarchist propositions.

Thus, exactly because our targeting is specific, just like our aims, we choose to arm ourselves and defend our freedom, tackle the armed and ruthless guards of capital, deputies of order and security.

Of course, as anarchists we are completely against the state perception of "collateral damage". This is a term used by dominance to cover up its most hideous and repulsive crimes. Thus, for us during a robbery the weapons are not pointing at everyone, they aim at the expropriation of the money and the necessary enforcement demanded by our act. Despite all this, the same does not go for those who aim at depriving us of our freedom.

In this case we found ourselves in a peculiar situation during our pursuit. Our choice to steal the vehicle of a random driver who we found in our path added a factor beyond us.

We chose to stop the driver from calling the cops to report the stolen car and the only way was to take him with us for the time it took for our comrades to escape.

The dilemma we found ourselves in when the chase started was answered by us exclusively and definitely not guided by an uncritical humanism, but our own personal code of values. Therefore there was no disarming by the cops, I will not give them the pleasure to raise the work of the police once again. Whatever happened was clearly our choice, a decision of disengagement, based on our own criteria, considering all the factors that have come up.

You believe therefore that those choices are in the jurisdiction of a court to judge, evaluate or even stand objectively across them? Of course not, exactly because they are choices that consist a wider struggle, which we are up against. And I am speaking of the totality of the choices, not only the moment of pursuit.

A lot was said during this trial and you many times attempted to present a more "democratic" facade that gives room to the pluralism of opinions, that you allegedly comprehend what we stand for and promote.

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Or, that you do not execute orders, that you are not the representative executioners of the system. That the decisions are not preordained and that your job is to apply the “*letter of the law*”. Truthfully though, where exactly do you apply the “*letter of the law*” since no law has a one and sole evident meaning?

Substantially therefore, there is almost no case of derogation of the judicial authority from the state policy. Even in the cases where the “*human factor*” prevails, or in a case where because of some judicial activism, either the initiative will be assimilated by the system itself, or the aim of the judicial activism will be the change of the state policy and not the opposition to the state mechanism.

Moreover, your direct implication in this consciously bonds you at a policy level also. Something that obviously cannot be hidden, comes to the surface when the stability and the democratic facade of the system is threatened. As for example, the exemplary devotion of the “*chairman*” to systematically dictate the answers to the cops aimed at taking them out of the tough position of exposing their colleagues.

You are accomplices therefore, in the numerous crimes of state terrorism, you share responsibility for the desperate situation we experience every day. Devoted defenders of a system of exploitation and decadence.

Murderers, with their hands soaked in the blood of all the free and disobedient moments. Branches of the “*tree*” of authority and corruption, you are obliged to wash off the blood in order to ease your conscience.

But, the vanity of your existence enforces more blood to wash off the previous one. And of course, an alleged lenience does not clash with your repulsive role. Our secured convictions and many indictments they have loaded us with leave you room for democratic “*sensitivities*”.

The state of emergency we are experiencing is based on the hypnosis of society, it continues to exist as long as fear prevails over militancy.

State and capital demand passivity, the only way to survive without becoming the target of vicious oppression is to simply close your eyes and let your life go, let History be written without affecting it the slightest.

A hibernation in a deep and endless “*winter*”. The “*winter*” of authority and exploitation. The “*winter*” of terror, violence, state, forces of oppression, laws, judges and capitalism.

And still, in this constant “*winter*” there are some who, defying the darkness of the times and the undoubted

superior weapons of the system, fight for tomorrow’s “*spring*”. They carry with them the insistence of spring that always wins in the battle with winter. All these people were guided by a common thing, they were never satisfied with what was given to them allegedly open handed.

They collectivize against the ethical dictations of the time and make the step towards the impossible. The step towards the unknown, but simultaneously exciting, exactly because it’s unknown.

They threw themselves into the struggle first of all to change themselves, but also in the hope of diffusing the struggle in the whole of society.

It is all those people who refused the enforcement of authority and exploitation, which over time have fought giving even their lives for the dream of revolution.

People who fell in love with the Idea of subversion and the need for the destruction of the civilization of fortified misery.

Fortified behind the moments of oppression, behind the diffused fear, behind the continuous “*murders*” of disobedient desires.

A journey has started centuries ago, a path stepped on by hundreds of people in the course of History. A course towards the total emancipation of the human being. A course towards Utopia, towards freedom and anarchy.

And every step towards this direction -small or big- carries the weight of the history of all these people. Every step is a moment of struggle in the path for revolution.

We in turn give the promise that we will never betray the struggle, we will never forget the beauty of this journey.

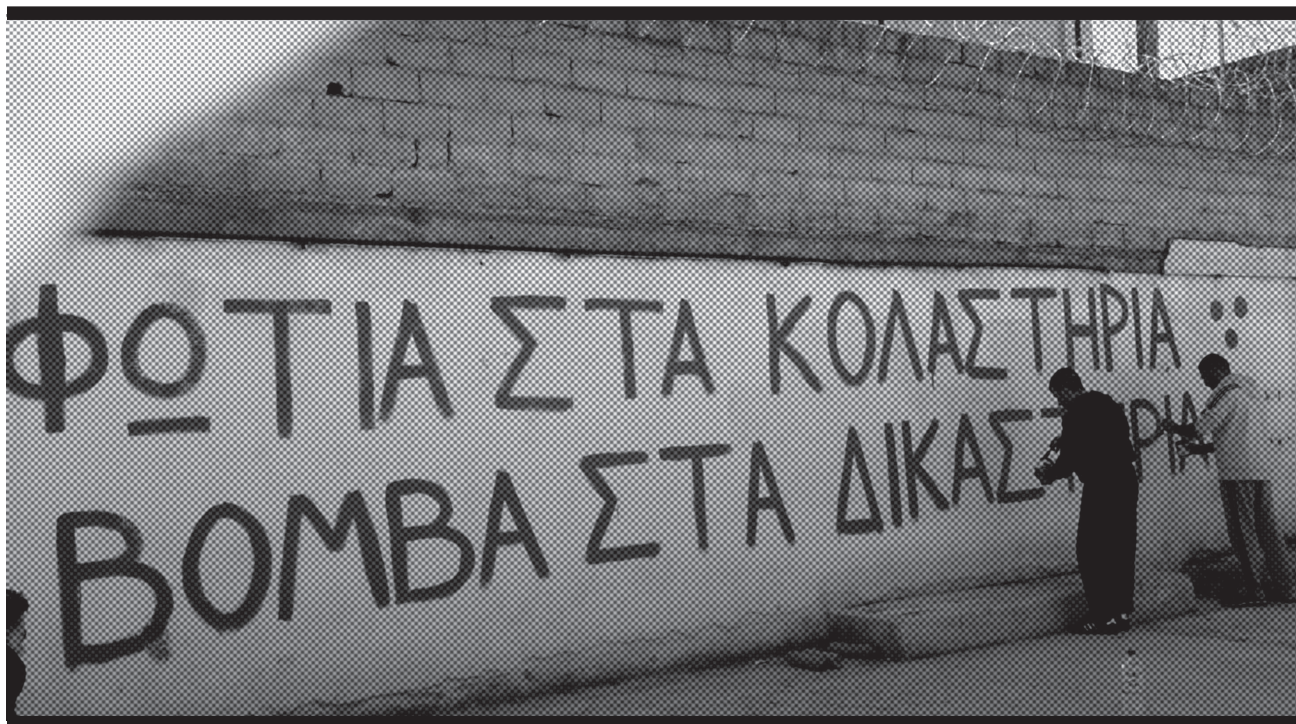
I declare therefore to be an unrepentant anarchist, a part of a struggle that carries the special characteristics of each fighter, a multi-tendency struggle but with the same target, the revolution.

And if one thing is sure, it is that nothing is over, now more than ever we must continue to intensify our struggle, and be the revolutionary prospect for the final overcoming of capitalism.

EVERYTHING FOR FREEDOM, UNTIL THE  
REVOLUTION AND ANARCHY

**Andreas-Dimitris Bourzoukos**

Dikastiki Filaki, A’Pteriga,  
Koridallos, T.K. 18110, Athens, Greece



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## REGARDING THE NEW LAW

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2014 - Greece

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The restructuring of Greek prisons, organised by the Ministry of Justice along with the Ministry of Public Order aims to enhance the penal and disciplinary confrontation with the prisoners. Prisons will be organised in 3 types; type A, B and C. Type A prisons will be used for convicts and people in custody for financial debts and those imprisoned for up to 5 years. Type B will be used for those charged with criminal offences but not sentenced to life imprisonment. Those meant to be detained in type C prisons are defendants and offenders convicted on terrorism charges, on formation of criminal organisation charges, and prisoners that are supposed to incite or participate in revolts in the prisons. The assessment regarding which prisoner is so dangerous to be kept in type C prison is done by a prosecutor.

More specifically, in order to assess how dangerous each prisoner or offender might be, the prosecutor takes into account: the seriousness of the crime done or the disciplinary offence, the possibility of committing new offences, the existence of any other criminal offences, the existence of further clues that related authorities would use against the defendant and finally the personality of the offender. Also, in order for a prisoner charged with terrorist offenses (article 187) to be moved straight to type C prison, they should have been sentenced to more than 12 years imprisonment. For those charged with for-

mation and participation in criminal organisation (article 187A), this limit is at 15 years. The initial detention in type C prison will be two years for “unruly” prisoners and will be at least 4 years for those convicted on terrorism and criminal organisation charges, with a possibility of extension in case the prisoner is deemed dangerous according with the above criteria. In those cases there is no ‘beneficial penalty’. Additionally, such prisoners have got limited visiting hours, they are deprived of any creative activity and the right to work and have no right on permitted leave (‘Custodial Community Permits’) for 10 – 20 years. Finally, they are entitled to just one hour ‘yard time’ per day.

When it comes to the guarding, cops are given more duties and power as guards inside the prisons, on top of their duties as outside guards. Details on those duties are not announced officially for security reasons. This new force formed by cops is part of the Greek Police and will be responsible for peripheral guarding (the radius is decided by the chief of police), guarding the gates and controlling who and what comes in, securing the “safe” transfer and guarding of prisoners, guarding at all times hospitalised detainees as well as escorting them to interrogations, trials or hospital appointments. Also this force will support the prison administration in dealing with unrest in prisons. This force will be fully trained in order to deal with all these duties. All the above meas-

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ures convert snitching to an ordinance as the prisoners that want to give away any information regarding a terrorist group whether this regards to another prisoner or not, are given a reward that could shorten their sentence or even discharge them under conditions.

The new law also sets that DNA samples should be taken in any case of felony or misdemeanor that would lead to three month sentence or above. The examination of those samples will be taking place in state and university institutions. The DNA footprints will be kept in a special DNA archive, in the headquarters of Police Department administered by a prosecutor and will be removed from the archive in case of drop of the charges.

As we said, the war for law and order is seeking for total approval from all the exploited people. Anybody has to feel like its their debt to take part in this war for the restoration of eligibility. Eligibility that regards not only to the spatial and class structure of the prison but also controls the entire space and time of prisoners' lives. This idea of control is also portrayed in a new measure (not yet issued) applied outside prison that introduces the electronic foot tag, a means of 24 hour surveillance. This measure is applied during the permitted leave and could be used for the home detention sentences.

### **Analysing our enemy's targeting**

The new law aims to reconstruct the prisons in many levels (spatial, administrative, technological and personal relations). In reality though it has to do with the revision of the framework of justice system in the new political and social context. The agenda is to deal with problems and malfunctions of the existing system as well as to prepare for the future social conditions. Part of this agenda: war against the powerless people, extended effort to deem illegal large social groups and behaviours, zero tolerance especially to anything radical and revolutionary.

Let's take it for granted that during this recession, lots of people will loose their homes, jobs, rights and dignity. This will be our future since no New Deal is likely to happen again. Thus, all the misfits, all the dissidents and any risky connection have to be controlled. We could describe the targeting for each prison type this way; The target for type A prisons would be: so far family people that tomorrow will be have heavy debts and will be desperate, better to have them locked up than free and able to do something crazy or violent. Besides, according to neoliberal values, each person is responsible for their own failure and have to accept it as such. At the same time though, such offenders, going to prison for drugs or debts, will be kept in a type A which is more "chilled out". The state creates and promotes different type of cells in order to make us feel that we are far away from the 'worst that can happen'. Financial offenders and poor

people that are more likely to turn illegal, have to be productive again and monitored. Thus they have to be chastised. It's likely that after a short imprisonment in a less gruesome than type C prison, the person will be emotionally worn out, regretful and even obedient but not dangerous at all. For all the rest, the real enemies of justice (political activists), long term convicts, lifers and unruly prisoners, the solution is special detention conditions, which feels like a grave.

Capitalist power develops custodial and monitoring measures and causes even inside prisons the creation of individuals that can be competitive to each other. This is the logic according to which, it can develop the technical and ideological framework of the laws and techniques of criminalization and punishment. It can foresee the changes in social composition, intrudes into them and forms a new one. This new social composition has to be absolutely coordinated, especially this period in Greece, give the urge of Greek state to reform and harshen the penal system. The question "where is the state" finds its answer exactly when those wondering this, are being thrown away.

Locking these people up, you appropriate them, show them the 'right way'. Each one carries their own history, their own responsibility and faults to be blamed for. One of those faults is avoiding to deconstruct the world we live in (our thoughts, our behaviour, our practices and actions). The worst fault is blocking the possibility of revolt by those who don't yet realise their place in capitalism.

The think tanks that work on security and control suggest that a graffiti artist uses the same practises as an urban guerilla in the sense that they share a similar way of facing metropolis and avoiding police. This suggestion indicates the real pursuit: that capitalism attempts to bring us under its own agenda, for its own survival. The brutality of imprisonment is not just a necessary evil, but main weapon in the war to gain consent by terror.

### **Special detention condition, type C**

According to official announcement, the first type C prison in Domokos, will be used for convicts for terrorism charges, high treason and criminal organisation charges, for highly dangerous detainees sentenced to at least ten years and lifers. The moment that the measures were launched is not random. It happened after some imprisoned political activists breached their caveats (H. Ksiros, K. Sakkas, P. Roupa and N. Maziotis) and after the media outcry about the incompetence of Greek authorities. Similar outcry broke out after the massive escape of long term convicts from Trikala prisons which resulted in the assassination by cops of Mario Kola.



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The mechanisms of power focus on prison itself. The political prisoners and activists must be secluded without any chance for them to get organised, connect to outside comrades, to create any trouble. More prison, less wings, less interaction, means better control over diverse national and cultural groups and conflicting interests. The later is important. The state always tends to control black economy, mafia, drug dealing. Prison is part of that, since many prisoners are dealing with such activities always supported by guards and the administration. The state extends its intrusive policy according to spheres of influence inside prisons as well. Type C prisons separate the ones that can hope for a better day from those that can't be integrated at all to the capitalist laws.

This is the beginning of a new era in Greece, the era of totalitarianism. Capitalism shields itself through the mechanisms of the state. Technical – military upgrade in order to deal with tensions and turmoil. Greek state has to show its force to all these open fronts against it: political and social problems, struggles, clashes, urban guerilla warfare, organised political struggles. That's why its first target are political prisoners, urban guerillas, anarchists and communists.

We talk about comrades that through a versatile revolutionary activity against the democratic apparatus have been hostages of the state law. After a small withdrawal of armed revolutionary actions in in 2002 after the arrest of members of revolutionary group 17N and while the country is entering IMF the incidents of armed actions are growing. New armed groups are being created and organise many crucial actions. In 2009, a year after the revolt of December 2008, the state force is organising a huge repression policy and sets off the domino of arrests of members of CCF and Revolutionary Struggle (the later after the assassination by cops of Lampros Fountas). Not only people that have claimed responsibility for participating in such groups have been jailed but also those radical people that are facing relevant charges. Anarchist and communist prisoners are jailed in many different prisons in the country but most of them are in Koridallos Prison (Athens). The new law appears during a period that imprisoned activists will not surrender but are keeping on fighting. They live in dignity, spreading their discourse, they inform us about the conditions and news from inside prison and express their solidarity with us.

The most radical side of the struggle inside prisons is to share radical discourse with other prisoners, to organise the struggle together with other prisoners and to connect this struggle with the ones outside prisons. The ongoing struggle of some imprisoned comrades or the strong position of unrepentant members of 17N show us that struggle doesn't finish when someone crosses the prison bars. On this ground, the new law aims at separating political prisoners from criminal offenders, stops any possibility for the creation of

relations or radical formations, something that was gained by prisoners' struggles over the last years. Aims at annihilating the anarchist, radical and revolutionary elements and isolate those elements from the prison's society and from the outside world. On top of the physical and social isolation, the new law wants the political annihilation of revolutionaries and urban guerillas.

In relation to all that, in February 2014, ten imprisoned anarchists announced the creation of two networks, the initiative of imprisoned anarchists in Koridallos and the network of imprisoned anarchist (later renamed to imprisoned fighters). A small part of this text will explain better the purpose of their initiative...

"(...) While spending time in prison, we came together, people that didn't know each other, we discuss, we argued and we agreed that our common belief was our desire not to get assimilated by the acceptance of the idea of prison. For us, the fact that an anarchist ends up in prison doesn't mean that they will forget the reasons that lead to this imprisonment nor that they will stay inactive, waiting to get out. As a result, we stand up against the administration, the authoritarian grouping and against the logic of submission and social cannibalism promoted by these logics.

For these reasons we believe that is highly important to create a collective with political features. A collective that has a non hierarchical structure and operation, will not serve as a mediator between the administration and the rest prisoners, and will seek to connect to prisoners that share similar values and with comrades outside prison. We don't look to share identical ideas, but for an expansion and connection with other radical projects and values. It's our defense against the alienating condition of imprisonment and our attack against prison as an institution. We attempt to create relations that are based not on the culture of bullying and intimidation but on the respect for diversity.

On this foundation we created the Network of Imprisoned anarchists in Koridallos and the Network of Imprisoned Anarchists. Those two networks are based on initiatives, with a non solid composition and with minimum agreement and are making actions inside and outside the prison. Also we promote the collaboration between prisoners – not only anarchists – in different prisons that share our values.

A collective of anarchist prisoners can sabotage the normal function of the prison. Depending on the structure of each wing and the administration, there could be revolts that however could be very easily crushed even by other prisoners. It might sound strange but if you decide to revolt you have to take into account not only the administration's and the state authorities' reaction but also the other prisoners hostile reactions.

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It goes without saying that the conditions of the recession, the social polarization, the creation of new radical projects, the consequent repression and the general unstable social reality will keep loading prisons with more dangerous or useless for capitalism people.

What we need is to realise that prisons are one more field for anarchist radical action and to get prepared for that.” (Announcement regarding hunger and thirst strike of imprisoned anarchists of Wing D in Koridallios Prisons)

[In the meantime, the new political party in power - Syriza - announced it will put an end to the type C prisons.]



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- 7 - MEXICO - *The libertarian apology towards juridical language*
- 10 - MEXICO - *The conflict in Mexico and a critique of the anarchist milieu*
- 13 - CHILE - *About the danger of transforming anarchy into a series of “alternative” practices without offensive content against power*
- 15 - USA - *We welcome the fire, we welcome the rain*
- 19 - SWITZERLAND - *Against the “city of the rich”*
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- 34 - GREECE - *Statement of anarchist comrade Andreas-Dimitris Bourzoukos, in the trial for the Velvento, Kozani double bank robbery case*
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