

There is a permanent conflict being carried out in the guts of this society. Open hostilities that we see when the mask slips, are only one side of the continual warfare. Behind the police murders, the ruined forests, the domestic battery, the workplace casualties, the factory farms, a mosaic of hidden violence is taking place. It's hidden in the conventions, the regulations and hierarchies. It's in the possibility of a bailiff at the door, the certainty of a preacher's moralistic hate, the inevitability of the fumes and carcinogens, and the predictability of venom for the rebels which is carried by reporters. Until you've trained your eye to see, also hidden are the many contrary relations; rebellious smiles that are exchanged, the moments of solidarity, the communities and individuals in struggle: behind the years of captivity, the corresponding seizures of freedom. The times when the hand of who wishes to domesticate us, gets bitten. To awake to the nature of the war pressing against you, is to glimpse something of what this world denies to us. It's only a step further to feel the presence of a wildness barely suppressed; coursing like lava beneath the factories, suburbs and prisons, waiting to sweep them away. From the foundations up, warming our friends and burning terror into the hearts of the enemy. Anarchy is the stance we freely choose to fight for the destabilisation of an existence unworthy of us.



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GLOSSARY

Building on the glossary entries from our last issue, here we examine some more dynamics we come across in this world and our struggle within and against it. We don't proclaim ourselves specialists or academics, and we've tried to make it clear which parts are more speculative and who else's ideas have sometimes been in our consideration. We can say with confidence that the concepts or institutions we bring up are vital to consider if we want our journey to be one in the direction of de-civilisation and liberation. The best ways to walk this path, we don't pretend to know. Simply, this is a starting point for conversations to come, wills to be armed and passions to be lived.

Alienation – The result of individuals and, through them, societies 'becoming alien' (i.e distant, disengaged, even uncomprehending) to the results of their own activity, the environment in which that activity occurs, from the people who share that environment and activity, and from themselves. Alienation is marked in those of us living out systems of social relationships which thus redirect our energy from living on our own terms in a manner we ourselves can choose and assert, and into **simply reproducing and reinforcing that social system in order to attain the means for survival**. Individuals with the means (intellectual, ecological, social) to create lives they freely desire are difficult to base top-down authoritarian systems upon without the draining use of constant force. Alienation makes it possible to relatively smoothly maintain the centralisation of wealth, knowledge and power, separated from us yet raised by ourselves and many like us.

A well-used example of alienation was deployed to describe private property and the economic exploitation of capitalism, by which the worker is separated from what they produce: their 'power to' do whatever it might be is sold as labour power, transforming it into an owner's



'power over' them and thereby alienating human beings from their capacity to create. However it would be a mistake to simply stop there, as Marxists mostly do for instance. (In the 20th century what became known as 'the Fordist compromise' began to allow producers a limited amount of access to the commodities they produce; without however changing the course of alienation, now even more marked in the 'post-industrial' consumer classes.) **We believe that the problem runs much deeper and older than wage relations, in both the 'external' world of habitual interactions and their ramifications and in the psyche.** While alienation can be and is implemented through many institutions (religion, for one) with a far longer history, a more holistic example of how alienation begins to sink its deeper roots would be the dispiriting result on untold numbers of land-based cultures from assimilation into conquering empires, and the industrial revolution that forced a mechanical division between individuals and their livelihoods, their tools, their communities, their

lands; the separation between production and knowledge itself. Let's take a step back to a more fundamental appraisal of what it might mean to be a potentially-free being on a living planet.

What do you know about the trees outside the window? What keeps them healthy? What about the other animals that live close to you; do you recognise their calls or tracks? What they do, what they prefer? What do you know about the lives of human animals that go on over the other side of the wall next-door, or the masses you pass on the street? What do they know about you? How does that make you feel?

What do you really know about where the food you eat comes from? Or about what has to happen for our homes to be lit, heated, or built? **How many of your survival necessities or subsistence skills are truly in your own hands or those of your relations?**

What proportion of your conversations still enjoy the depth of face to face interaction? How much of your daily environment can you navigate on foot, walking, climbing, swimming, being helped by a companion, or how much of it is it necessary to depend on regulated means of transportation through? How much of your immediate surrounding area are you physically, socially or legally barred from exploring? Why?

How much of your daily activity is to suit your own needs? Aside from within the

"Alienation defines all social relationships in a world of work and money, politics and economy, where wealth and power are concentrated in a few hands. Under such circumstances, there is no direct relationship between an individual's thoughts, her desires, his activities and their outcome. "Life" is something that happens to her, not something she creates. It is an alien imposition upon the nothing that he has become. If she still desires greatly with a creative energy that demands to be expressed, this condition is intolerable. But to fight it he needs some understanding of how it functions."

- *Strangers in an Alien World*

symbolic order of the wage economy, that is. **How much of it do you even really see or understand the repercussions of?**

Would we live in this manner if we could directly see and touch the impacts that are hidden from most, in ghettos, toxic dumps, slaughter-houses, hospitals, cemeteries, refugee camps, battlefields and felled rainforest in distant lands, youth jails, oceanic garbage-gyres? Or have we become so distanced from other lives by the allotment of everything into categories of utility, so justifying their and our exploitation, that we cannot empathise with parallel lives that become mere resources for our own, as rulers living off us cannot empathise with ours?

Does the concept of diversity have much relation to your life beyond the array of brands at the supermarket, or inter-relatedness have a meaning beyond message boards? We are tricked and trick ourselves into believing that the damming of a river or disappearance of wildlife doesn't really affect us, burying ourselves in air-conditioned coffins as a society to separate ourselves from the world we were born in.

Do you even remember how to enact and express your joy as you may have in your early years? What actually gives you deep satisfaction; or fails to, even though it may be what advertising and marketing, your parents, school, politicians or your peers tell you should do? How in touch are you with your own desires, multi-sensuousness, thoughts and feelings? Might they be directed by social constructions of gender roles, 'human nature', class positions, urban desensitisation...? Might any tendencies which don't fit those constructions be smothered daily, in this world we endure? **Do you ever feel like something is missing?**

What about your own body; are your familiar with its cycles and drives, or are they an abstraction in a textbook or something that simply comes upon us from the blue? Is health just something obscure that a technical industry exists for and which we're objects to? Isn't the direction of our culture one directly away from the immediacy of human sensations, evidenced by inflating reliance on machine-readings of our 'vital statistics' and symptom-numbing drugs, shifting value from group play or physical activity in general into the spectacle of online games and, at best, exercising isolated with the iPod, or the generational

proportion of Japanese society with a disinterest or even phobia of partner sex?

Do you find that you float from one hobby, job, friendship group or city to another, but never seem to be able to feel at home in yourself? **Have you ever felt, like a comrade wrote, that the only revolutionary thing about your life is its relentless circularity?** What systematically seems to push people into these directions, and aren't reflected in all histories and cultures, which suffer less of the loss of personality, loss of place, loss of purpose? What does it mean to be brought up and inherit not an intimate wealth of folklore to help us navigate a living landscape with reverence, but to be left grasping for a handle on an impersonal life that always gets away from us; as it did our immediate predecessors for multiple generations in the West, with little understanding or influence, our ancestral capabilities, skills and memories expropriated or sterilised? What does it tell us about the trajectory of this system when depression is a main cause of death in the 'developed' world?

It's this 'developed' world that we imagine most of our readers will be accustomed to: with the alienations of wage-labour, claustrophobic built-up areas, an endless routine repeated day after day to attain the means to go on surviving in the way we're used to, navigating the artefacts, mass media representations and bureaucracies of this civilisation, however irrelevant to our own thoughts and wishes. A while ago, Michele Vignodelli characterised the deeply meaningful interactions with a living Earth, as the cornerstone of existence, as having been replaced by *"over-stimulation by artificial, coarse, mechanical inputs, through fashions, revivals, disco music, roaring toys, cult actors, events... a whole flamboyant, uproarious and desperately hollow world. A rising wave of fleeting inputs, a multitude of fake interests and fake needs where our emotional energies are swept away, drowning us in nothingness[...]. This sumptuous parade seems to consist substantially in the stream of toxic, hidden grudges that flows beneath the surface of politeness, in the corridors of industrial hives; it consists in the snarling defence of one's own niche, to protect 'freedoms' and 'rights' that are sanctioned by law, in a deep loneliness which is increasingly hidden in mass rituals, in a universal inauthenticity of relationships and experiences."*

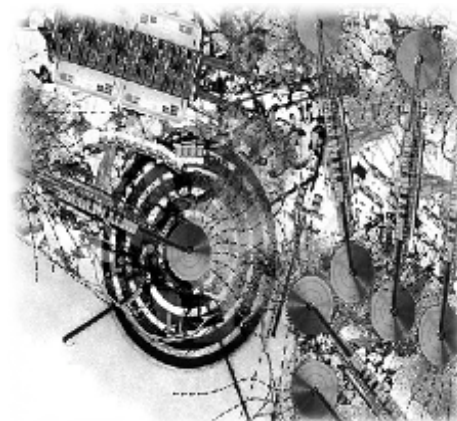
We're awash with communication technologies, and yet more often living alone, with fewer off-screen friends and little real-world social solidarity. In replacement we are given the imagined community of the market, the nation, or the virtual. What was once lived directly, becomes mere representation.

Alienation results in sensations including (but not limited to) powerlessness, shame, despair, delusions, hostility, social withdrawal, feeling constantly threatened or self-destructive, which are all pandemic within industrial civilisation. Its outward manifestations are on the rise everywhere that industry and 'development' have become the social norm, not just in the capitalist 'Old World' but now China, India, Africa. Alienation is needed for how our bodies are currently regulated in ways both great and small by being enmeshed within norms and expectations that *"determine what kinds of lives are deemed livable or useful and by shutting down the space of possibility and imaginative transformation where peoples' lives begin to exceed and escape [the system's] use for them"* (Susan Stryker). It forms a society of individuals largely isolated and dissociated from each other and themselves, despite the crowded cities, depressed, apathetic or filled with violent and directionless anger; and we identify it in how the dominant social mode pushes us further into this estrangement. It's the anguish of the living subjected to a deathly regime, and a condition that must be struggled against to overturn the whole social order – which we are demanded to adapt ourselves to fit. To adapt ourselves to ever-more limited and virtually superfluous roles, at any time liable to be replaced like a faulty cog. Beneath the surface of modern life, we live in what can only be described as a state of captivity, and the neurotic way we internalise this reality to cope with it seeps out and permeates our every interaction. **The loss of perspective that the overwhelming totality of the current system engenders, casting a shadow over all past ways of life, makes it easier to be fooled when we're told that it is us who are maladjusted, malfunctioning, and when the system's guardians tell us they have just the cure for the mysterious undermining of life.**

Yet in spite of generations of 'naturalisation', psychological immiseration tells us we are not at home in the world of social media, council

estates, gated communities, artificial parks, billboards, office blocks, traffic jams, cash machines, asylums, factory farms, call centres and other prisons, stuck in a flaccid cycle of work, nuclear families and programmed entertainment. **This is the environment our pre-determined interactions, which we all go through every day, has created; yet it is created against us and our own self-determination.** Our health (inseparable from that of our landbase), solidarity, spontaneity, and indeed in the era of vast climate changes even our continued existence itself is jeopardised by our own alienated activity. The blackmail of the market keeps our habits and relationships, more often than not, not just delaying but actually antagonistic to the fullness of autonomous creativity. **Mass social organisation is the separate power that stands apart from us as individuals, regulating and imposing on us, as the truly human-scale in life is dwarfed by an unending cycle of representations, bureaucracy, requirements, regurgitating *what is*; and what cannot fail to oppress us.** The conditions of life forced upon us by the economy, the State and technological society have become powers that rule over and direct us, not tools to use as we see fit. The segregation from a multitude of lifeforms displaced by the city not just unfamiliarises us with our planet, but makes it much easier to participate in the industrial structure devouring everything.

Ignore these facts we may, they continue to come back to haunt us in the unarticulated precarity of our helpless dependence, the interpersonal violence, the deadly sadness. Self-medication doesn't cut it. Reality TV can't mask it. The chatter of the crowd won't drown it out. We are under mental and physical occupation by the capitalist-industrial system, leaving the firm but false impression of there being no outside, no choice, no escape. Is this really what we could call living?



Division of Labour – For us as anarchists, a key question should be – what modern institutional foundations prevent non-hierarchical relations flourishing? One of the processes that contribute to the social order as we know it is a highly institutionalised division of labour (or rather many forms of the above). **In its narrow definition, division of labour is simply when tasks or responsibilities are separated out into social roles (even temporarily), but for our purposes we mean something far beyond different people having different capacities, interests or talents which they could or do apply in a non-hierarchical manner.** Rather, the problem becomes when social systems are constructed in which individuals are *forced* to live according to pre-determined divisions of activity, and the power relationships that are the result. The deeper the division of labour becomes as the basis for social life, the more abstract and alienated the forms of interactions that go towards daily existence, and more static *systems* replace free or spontaneous exchange between people as and when chosen. While we're not interested in flattening all of our social life into a cycle of duties all must participate in, it seems clear that the more people know how to maintain themselves and the more readily-understandable the processes by which their culture navigates the world, the less potential for coercion and alienation there is. So although we don't imagine that, for example, an individual within a group having a particular flair for herbalism, interest in fishing techniques or love for music-making constitutes a division of labour in the sense we oppose, the problem seems to become when there is no possibility for knowledge to be generalised if desired, and people are instead locked into their designated stations. **And while it seems there can be certain divisions of labour without civilisation, there can be no civilisation without an enforced division of labour.**

We identify civilisation as completely antagonistic to our desires for freedom. By civilisation, we could briefly and incompletely summarise: urbanised societies which imply large-scale demographic growth and the constant need for expansion and conquest, complex social structures which coercively administer political, economic and military power, and which are served by mining, deforestation, agricultural domestication and the like. **In short,**

mass systematic domination and structuring of human and non-human lives, oppression and alienation of the individual and hence the truly communal. This has been the common structure of civilisations, whether Western, Eastern, Mesoamerican, Asiatic, etc.

In essence civilisation depends on individuals being stripped of their capacity to live in communities that, through the connection of that community to (and understanding of) their habitat, are fairly autonomous of other human social groups. One of the key ways this autonomy is prohibited is by making people dependent on systems of production where tasks are divided out into set roles, which become so consuming that they close the role-player off from the whole until they can see little past the one fragment they're engaged with. Obviously we're talking here about large-scale social organisation where it's impractical to skill-share or generalise knowledge from close contact with people who might have a particular passion for a subject; under mass social organisation it's more likely that you'll be too busy toiling away at some other niche yourself to have chance. **This masks the reality of a subtly violent system where the knowledge or expertise required to transcend the divisions of labour (and thus the set social structure) is withheld.** Life is increasingly compartmentalised and alienated from us.

A classic instance of this division of labour is the existence of politics; one of the more explicit alienations from our own power to act. This is instituted in the form of the State, and maintained by politics of all kinds, apportioning alienated power to those who claim to represent others, often through permanent organised structures. *Anti-politics* means self-organisation, against all delegation, reclaiming the force of our desires.

While certainly effective (in a strictly utilitarian sense) for creating complex productive systems of specialisation that enable greater *control* over the surroundings by the greater social order (at the expense of *intimacy* with those surroundings for individuals), the social reality that complex division of labour tends towards is one of centralisation of knowledge and so of power over others. Some roles are given more social value than others, developing and reinforcing a dominant owner-class. Privilege to

perform some tasks in isolation, for instance intellectual exercises or politicking, belongs to those who are relieved of other tasks by the labour required of others. Meanwhile institutions crystallise around separated roles, institutions such as the State, the Justice System, Religion, the Nuclear Family, the Military, the Economy. This actually entails generalised *de-skilling* and reduction of opportunities from a wider and potentially more fulfilling experience and understanding of the world, and reinforces and extends hierarchies and class distinctions based on who *performs* what, when, for whom, and who *consumes* what, when, and from whom.

In civilisations, some forms of specialisation have led to more, until tasks or technologies emerge that are simply incomprehensible to the vast majority of people who are affected by them. Since no single person has the ability to conceptualise and create these overall processes on an informal level even as they contribute to running them, an institutional division of labour is necessary for complex productive and disciplinary systems. In the current world the division of labour is extremely pronounced, with specialisation running right through almost all facets of civilised life; from how we entertain ourselves in our 'free' time or the technical workings keeping industrial society afloat, to how we raise children or even gain knowledge of other species (reduced from understanding to 'facts'), so much is relegated to the experts, and we barely have time to notice (much less question) what gets taken away at the same time, while our lives fly by through our fingers. The individual is lost in the mass as an interchangeable cog, benefiting an overall system impervious to desire.

In 'Some Notes on Industrial Society and its Ecology', someone noted: *"One of the essential characteristics of present-day society is that within it we are witness to a growing gap between the activity that we carry out and our capacity to depict its consequences. Due to the extreme division and specialization of labor, due to a gigantic technological apparatus that makes us more ignorant every day about the tools that we use (incapable as we are, individually, of understanding their nature, of mastering their production, of repairing their breakdowns), we aren't aware of the significance of our activities. This is why the product of our activities can be calmly falsified and artificially*

reconstructed for us. To give an example, someone noted that it is easier – in terms of the real repercussion of the action on the awareness – to bomb an entire population than to kill an individual person. A bombed population is only whatever flash of light on a screen, whereas a murdered person is a reality whose complete weight the consciousness bears. This is why the current society is able to make us tolerate a daily scientifically-organised butchering: because it renders the relationship between actions and their consequences increasingly obscure. [From financial speculation] to the nuclear industry, everyone can find examples for themselves."

The alienation that stems from such divided thought could be said to account for many of the largest atrocities in history (as well as an infinite number of daily ones); certainly those we have witnessed since industrialism began and propelled us into whole new quantitative fields of misery. Jacques Ellul tells of the results: *"In a society such as ours, it is almost impossible for a person to be responsible. A simple example – a dam somewhere has been built somewhere, and it bursts. Who is responsible for that? Geologists worked on it. They examined the terrain. Engineers drew up the construction plans. Workmen constructed it. And politicians decided that the dam had to be in that spot. Who is responsible? [...] In the whole of our technological society, the work is so fragmented and broken up into small pieces that no-one is responsible. But no-one is free either. [...] Just consider, for example, that atrocious excuse... It was one of the most horrible things I have ever heard. The person in charge of the concentration camp Bergen-Belsen was asked, during the Auschwitz trial, the Nuremberg trials regarding Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen: "But didn't you find it horrible? All those corpses?" He replied: "What could I do? The capacity of the ovens was too small. I couldn't process all those corpses. It caused me many problems. I had no time to think about those people. I was too busy with that technical problem of my ovens." That was the classic example of a totally irresponsible person. He carries out his technical task and he's not interested in anything else."*

Key ideologues in Western history have put great emphasis on praising this narrowing of experience and ability.

(Although interestingly, apparently the Ancient Greeks had great mistrust for specialists and experts; believing that anyone misguided enough to unbalance their life in that way might be useful in limited situations, but showed signals that they clearly had bad judgement in general as a result. We're reminded of George Orwell, speaking at the birth of the intensive bureaucratised era of the 20th Century, who commented: *"Where I feel that people like us understand the situation better than so-called experts is not in any power to foretell specific events, but in the power to grasp what kind of world we are living in."* But, however, Ancient Greek society was largely run on the back of chattel slaves – a pretty clear division of labour – and also spawned various cults of science and number, so in a way the example is redundant, if intriguing to note.) Indeed it's hard to imagine how anything like current systems of domination could have even got a foothold without certain divisions of labour. How else could the orders run on time, the factories keep on producing, newspapers be printed everyday or the scientists focus on their theorising, if it wasn't for a whole plethora of well-managed positions, each taking care of a specific item of modernity and so enabling the overall structure to function? And in the epoch of the computer, the business-people and administrators are more certain than ever that in the future we will all "learn less and achieve more"; that is, surrender all the more efficiently our vision of ourselves as free agents, rather than predetermined machines.

We must exit this labyrinth if we are to stand any chance of experiencing a life dis-alienated, de-civilised and accountable; one in which our actions can be plainly understood and considered, one which we can choose and shape ourselves. **We could start by rejecting the hierarchy of roles in our friendships and struggles, the latter of which too often follow the formalised patterns of the dominant society they claim to oppose. We can develop our skills, individually and communally, and begin to demolish the absurdity that modern life has become by focusing on the forms of relating and subsisting that allow for minimal technical complexity and a healthy scepticism towards expertise.** This is at the core of the struggle of the exploited, the dispossessed and the disempowered against their condition as such.

Patriarchy – To speak with accuracy about patriarchy, we must first understand about the often misidentified construct of gender. Gender (as opposed to sex, which is a tiny part of the bodily make-up of individuals) is a *purely cultural role* that is attributed to individuals because of their (perceived) sex by the society they live under. Gender defines what behaviour, relationships and access to different forms of power are 'appropriate'. It is a performance that we are all expected to act out in daily life. The differentiation between anatomy of the body and gender is important; it is anatomy that for example determines that some women *could bear* children, whereas it would be a gender role (also known as the sex/gender system) to dictate that women *should raise* children.

Patriarchy is one specific direction of socially-constructed gender roles, that has developed alongside civilisation. In the strictest sense patriarchy means the absolute legal and economical power of a male head of the house-hold over dependant female and male family members. More usefully, this specific mode of gender norms has evolved into a system that is sometimes and in some places more subtle but still bars the self-determination of the individuals affected, following some basic structural assumptions which led us to still describe them as patriarchal ideology.

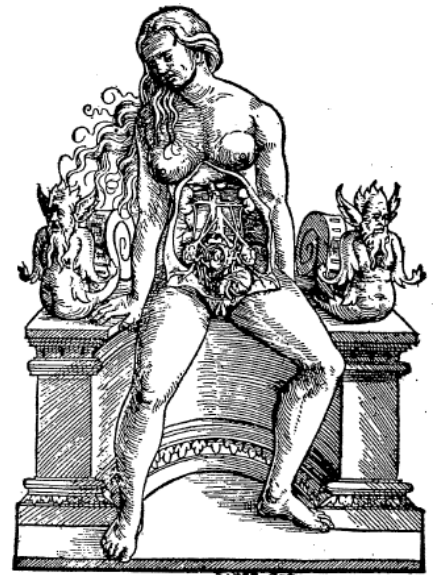
The content of gender roles within patriarchy have varied according to the time and place. **The common elements are a duality of gender based on sex, with some kind of privileging of the 'male half', along with a means of enforcement (social, political, economical) over and between the divided population. These are extremely deeply rooted in various forms in the histories and mythologies of civilisations.** It's been arguably key to initiating and maintaining complex and class-stratified societies, the basis for the State, that extended across the world.

The patriarchy we are most familiar with ourselves, and which is seeking global hegemony under this standardising industrial society, is the one which was explicitly formalised during Western history. It consists of paternal dominance in the family, gendered reproductive 'work', institutionalised rape and objectification, regulation of women's sexuality, and theories of female insuperiority. On an ideological level

Western patriarchy hinges around the 'male' as strong, rational, endowed with procreative means and the 'natural' authority, while 'female' signifies fragility, impulsiveness, provision of the 'lesser' material needed for procreation, and practically designed to be ruled over. While studying historical creations of women's subordination in the Judeo-Christian world (and pointing out that *"the key texts of Western civilization – principally the Old Testament and the works of Aristotle – enable and validate [that] patriarchy by constructing the matrix of symbols that give it power"*), Gerda Lerner noted that *"patriarchal dominance moved from private practice into public law. The control of female sexuality, previously left to individual husbands or to family heads, had now become a matter of state regulation. In this, it follows of course, a general trend toward increasing state power[...]* From the second millennium B.C. forward control over the sexual behavior of citizens has been a major means of social control in every state society. Conversely, class hierarchy is constantly reconstituted in the family through sexual dominance. **Regardless of the political or economic system, the kind of personality which can function in a hierarchical system is created and nurtured within the patriarchal family.** [T]he archaic state, from its inception, recognized its dependence on the patriarchal family and equated the family's orderly functioning with order in the public domain. The metaphor of the patriarchal family as the cell, the basic building block, of the healthy organism of the public community was first expressed [ed. - in Western heritage] in Mesopotamian law. It has been constantly reinforced both in ideology and practice over three millennia."

Whereas men's class positions became consolidated and defined by their relationship to property and the means of production, the class position of women became defined by their sexual ties to men. Marriage became the central institution at the convergence of the State, religion and women's economic and sexual subordination. It's also been posited that patriarchal cultures, living in monogamous households, would have been more likely to develop or internalise notions of private property.

The development of capitalism in Europe following the Middle Ages necessitated another shift and enforcement of patriarchy. At the same time as enclosure



of what used to be communally-accessed lands for the peasant population began forcing people into burgeoning cities to labour in factories as landless workers, a new sense of gender roles solidified into public = male (defined by wage-labour and participation in politics, valued highly) and private = female (defined by the family and the home, valued lowly). Women's autonomous health-care, birth control and culture in general was under genocidal attack from the Witch Hunts onwards and their knowledge expropriated and then regulated by a male-dominated medical profession. **So increasingly reproduction became a duty, yet an alienated one. The focus and rationale of this new drive was so greater efficiency and productivity for the new industrial order and its bosses could be gained.** (It's worth noting though that attempted control over women's procreation was certainly nothing new, and evidence from around the world allegedly points to formal and ritual control over this capacity being immediately increased while women's independence decreased as societies elevated agriculture to their primary subsistence method.) In effect this patriarchal order was also a tactic to break class solidarity, by offering exploited workers the promise of more docile and obedient wives who had been terrorised by violent imposition of their new status. **Women's role as the productive force that sustains workers as wives and the reproductive force that 'mothers' men to go out into the world of waged work became a key aspect of the dominant patriarchy – and remains so to this day.**

Additionally, millennia of objectification and exploitation find expression today in consumer culture where commodified

parts of female bodies fill the media and advertising which we spend most of our lives immersed in, and so fill the culture in general, contributing to a very high level of sexual violence and male entitlement. **There are certainly differences since the era when patriarchies practically enslaved women; at least in most Western capitalist nations that particular phase of gender roles have evolved into ones offering women more mobility (that is, still within the parameters that enclose all of society anyway).** While marriage is losing power as an institution and women are more prominent in the 'public' sphere, patriarchy also still devalues and hides women's activities in other spheres – the fact that today many women are included into previously male-dominated professions (often while still carrying out the 'women's-work' in addition) does not erase the fact that women are still primarily expected to fulfil domestic and child-care tasks for the majority of the global workforce, and even those who gain the 'privileges' must trample others now beneath them in the patriarchal power structure in the process. The system has simply come to the conclusion that it's more successful allowing a small number from oppressed groups to access some of the wealth and other benefits, and so defuse an amount of social tension without substantial change by making it seem feasible to raise your status by complying with that system. Nearly every modern social institution (school, the medical system, prison, work) is

still founded on the assumption that people can and will fit properly into their gender boxes.

Gender has been enacted in quite radically different ways in different societies (which in itself mocks the idea

that people can be 'essentially' characterised from their anatomy). It has not always taken the route which we could call patriarchy. Although some pre-/un-civilised social groups displayed or display similar codes, by and large in these instances it's much more common that traditional engagements of 'men' and 'women' in social life are more evenly valued than under patriarchal systems, although still usually separated into prescribed roles. There's also examples of cultures (such as in 'North America' and India) which honoured a degree of fluidity between the polarities of gender constructs, something like what would be called "trans-gender" (and often heavily penalized) in contemporary capitalist society. **But we see no reason to believe that there is anything necessary or desirable about a gendered division, instead feeling that it constitutes an unmistakable potential root for many oppressions.**

In fact various theorists have made cases that normalising the subjugation of 'women' by accentuating (a tiny fraction of the many) biological features of some humans and not of others, and creating a hierarchy of these differentiations, set a precedent for ideologically justifying slaveries which followed, through the ability to see some people as 'not-quite-people' for systematic exploitation due to their religion, race, or species. Others infer that domestication of non-human animals first institutionalised this worldview in other places, but whichever way the links seem relevant. One of the insidious constructions of patriarchal thought is that 'women' are considered the life-givers, 'Mother Earth' (always attributed as being closer to 'nature' than to 'culture' – as these cultures strive to rise above 'nature' through bending it to their will), healers, and so justifying the gender roles which expect reproductive and nurturing services of women. The 'nature'/'culture' dichotomy serves to enable greater exploitation of the Earth, the supposedly 'feminine' aspects of any sensible way of life (intuition rather than solely reason, compassion rather than solely calculation) having been devalued by the patriarchy.

Regardless of the roots, it seems clear that **patriarchy remains a major underlying force of domination and a heavy burden on all of our lives, without exception.** Subversion and attack on the institutions of patriarchy will be part of any authentic liberatory project. Any

“The Mbuti of the Ituri forest of central Africa provide an excellent contrast [*ed. - to patriarchy*] [...] Though the Mbuti practice some sexual division of labor, the division is not strict, and often manifests as different functions in the same activity, with women and men working together, to care for children or gather food. The Mbuti minimize gender, and except for distinguishing between mothers and fathers use non-gendered familial labels (e.g. sibling, instead of sister) and pronouns. The Mbuti traditionally form exclusive and even lifelong partnerships for raising children, but Mbuti “marriage” does not prohibit extra-marital sex or love. One of the most important Mbuti rituals might be termed “gender-fuck” by North American anti-oppression activists. It starts as a game of tug-of-war, with the men on one side and the women on the other. But as soon as one side starts to win, a member of the winning side switches teams, and pretends to be a member of the opposite sex, to restore the balance. By the end of the game, everyone has changed their gender multiple times, and they all fall down laughing, having exorcised gender tensions (Turnbull, 1983). [P]atriarchy seems to be a possible result among any human group [which] does not specifically organize to prevent patriarchy. Gender distinctions are an obvious axis for conflict within human groups, and overcoming conflict must be a constant activity in any society. The development of patriarchy is not inevitable, or natural, it is simply convenient — for those who wish to gain social power, and take the easy way out of dealing with group problems. Social practices and institutions to prevent or resist the development of patriarchy have been manifold. They range from gender-leveling rituals like those practiced by the Mbuti, to the ritualized collective action, including all-night insult sessions and possible property destruction, practiced by Igbo women against male culprits [who have] infringed on the women...”



- *The Rise of Hierarchy*

argument we have heard which aims to counter that appears massively flawed to us; from the heritage of class-struggle where you can (still!) hear claims that gender oppression is essentially a secondary issue, to the curious 'radicals' who insist that eliminating gender distinctions would actually be in the interest of the dominant order and thus recuperated. In both these divergent opinions (although neither are the exclusive view-points within their tendencies we should add) we can see a common pitfall, dictated in both cases by the dominant patriarchal ideology. In the first case, the narrative of resistance is structured around the experiences of male-gendered workers at the expense of considering the very unpaid labour of roughly the other half of their very class which has been gendered 'female' and which usually makes their wage-exploitation possible (through care work, emotional support, maintaining the private home and so on). In the second, the line is usually that integrating oppressed 'minorities' (as women are still bizarrely categorised) as obedient cogs would remove antagonisms that come up around discrimination, and so make the system run smoother; completely overlooking that gender roles are *already* cogs of civilisation's and so also the industrial-technological system's workings (as well as racial roles, roles of 'ability/disability', etc.), and to lose them would remove a pivotal form of control, disciplining and reproduction of that society. **Even the increasing numbers of humans becoming essential superfluous to the economy due to technological advances need pacifying in many forms to prevent them from disturbing the elites, and we see no reason that gender divisions and norms would cease to be a part of that even in a more subtle or insidious manner, useful as they are to those in power.** Obscuring the issue by pretending that any focus on patriarchy is the same as liberal feminist appeals for (more) female cops, scientists, politicians etc. is nothing but wilful ignorance to the depth of radical critique that exists. We can't compose a radical struggle against this system while blind to gender oppression as an integral dynamic in it.

As we take the view that those gender-assigned as women are obviously not in fact inherently lesser in intellect, ability or agency, then we confront the fact that the roles of patriarchy have evolved from and are daily reinforced by the joint activity of 'men' and 'women' together. This isn't to

say that the results of social norms once they became established would be clear to people at the time that they were contracted. Some could not have been (although the counter-intuitive feel of the imposition of gender roles on individuals from childhood should be a warning sign for those who value self-determination). But the history of patriarchy is also the history of class divisions and power struggles among the sexes as well as between them, the prize of one's freedom often taking second place to status privileges or familial advancement, and today is no different. In many cases the dynamics of patriarchy even between friends, families and lovers works like an addiction to the mutually-reducing yet complementary gender scripts that are construed by the dominant culture as fulfilling an incompleteness in one another, however abusive or degrading those might be. Another mechanism for subduing women has been instituting categories of 'respectable' and 'non-respectable' women that has led to further divisions and secured a level of cooperation with the sex-gender system for its perceived privileges. Women's social situation cannot be described as equivalent to men's concerning the influence and options that were available to them once patriarchies took hold, but patriarchy also cannot be reduced currently or historically to despotic rule of 'Man' over 'Woman', as some feminists implicitly or explicitly paint it, by minimising women's agency and intelligence. Realities of domination and collaboration are always more tangled.

Finally another mechanism used to raise another barrier between us and the demolition of women's subordination is the enforced lack of knowledge of women's long and proud history (among others) of struggle and defiance to patriarchy. For many, discovering the level of disdain for gender roles and the possibility to step outside them in some moments is key to overcoming self-victimisation. Another very large barrier is that fact that even many male-conditioned individuals who are aware of the problem of patriarchy don't consider it as something that actively deforms and represses themselves as well as the female-assigned. People deigned 'women' of course are subject to physical restrictions and are objectified as a sexual resource, but people assigned as men



Sign reads: "Without God, Without Law, Without Husband Free, Beautiful and Crazy"

bear also a heavy price on the level of emotional repression and brutalisation (often then taken out on women, children and those who don't conform to gender norms). The 'male experience' may be what gets considered the default within this culture, but it is not in the interests or the design of those 'men' who are forced within it if what they value is liberation on any level. Therefore, struggle against every vestige of this civilisation, certainly including its gender roles!

Speciesism – As we've described above, the dominant system attempts to justify itself through various predetermined categories of superiority which we, its subjects, are trained to internalise and reproduce among ourselves. Human supremacy over any other species (or, more-so, over the planet as a whole) is another example. While 'women' are socially constructed as the resource of 'men', a whole host of non-human lives are socially constructed as the exclusive resource of 'humanity' in its' abstract conception. The worldview we inherit within civilisation is permeated with the legacies of segregation that follows; land is *there to be* farmed, minerals are *there to be* mined, horses are *there to be* worked, women are *there to* raise children, people of colour are *there to* labour in plantations or modern factories/prisons for the coloniser... Again, ancient philosophers like Aristotle

and Cicero cemented the opinion that other creatures exist for human use that is the heritage of our culture in particular, even before the infamous directives of the Judeo-Christian heritage. This type of outlook spawns a death-dance of hyper-domestication, as the lifeforms that are considered to be less useful or pleasing to a particular civilised culture are systematically exterminated and the rest tamed and made dependant. **Civilisations have been universally raised on the back of enslaved animals, non-human as well as human, and with the non-human often subjected to some of the worst and most degrading domestication.**

We believe that speciesism is both largely a product of (and systematically reinforced by) living in a way that denies us the time and intimacy with, and first-hand observation of, wild beings who have great differences to our own. We lose sight of our own animality, our inter-dependence, and place ourselves at the centre of the universe as a species. Only considering human (or rather civilised) social values and goals is what's called **anthropocentric thought**. We should be clear though that we think this prejudice comes at the expense of the actual individual humans involved, eclipsing the diversity of life with a homogenised common 'human worth' above all and so devaluing the experiences and connections that may otherwise flourish between us and our non-human neighbours. Many people go through their day (week, month, year) without encountering a single other mammal who isn't (physically or for all intents and purposes) on a leash. The proportion of wildlife to farmed creatures has swung rapidly with the ongoing war that industrialism has waged on the planet, and the expansion of the control ethos which underlies civilisation. **The psychological barrier raised between 'us' and 'them' of course smooths the way for mass exploitation**, most obviously by the meat and dairy, fur, pet and vivisection industries, among others, but also allows the devastation of other species' homes or ways of life in the name of 'progress'. As recounted in an anonymous environmentalist article (leaving aside our problem with the mechanistic term 'ecosystems' when what is described are in fact communities of life), *"As a species, we've gained an impressive degree of influence over our environment by deliberately simplifying*

ecosystems so they will support more humans, but fewer other species. Our principle strategy in this project has been agriculture – primarily a form of agriculture that focuses on a few annual grain crops. We've commandeered up to 50 percent of the primary biological productivity of our planet, mostly through farming and forestry. Doing this has had overwhelmingly negative impacts on non-domesticated plants and animals. The subsequent loss of biodiversity is increasingly compromising humanity's prospects, because we depend upon countless ecosystem services (such as pollination and oxygen regeneration) – services we do not organise or control, and for which we do not pay." Self-willed beings are confined and contorted into shapes that serve civilised human ways of life, or bred to require the social organisation which we need so badly to overthrow – from modern corn, for example, which couldn't even exist in



most regions without intensive attention, monoculture and irrigation along with all that entails, to domestic turkey breeds that are so mutated by their engineering for industry preferences that they can no longer mate; each female is artificially inseminated (i.e. raped).

It's important to understand that, as it's been shown that violent cycles of abuse among humans both reflects and informs how we treat the Earth and each other, how we relate to other animals is also absolutely cardinal. With this in mind, we can see how the basis for civilisation really is rape: control of reproduction through selective breeding and regulation of female sexuality. When we look at life with a perspective of wildness, that rejects any notion of ownership of one life over another, the fundamental basis of all animal farming becomes clear. We see it as unsurprising how the disgusting institutions of patriarchy, and slavery of creatures in general, interlock. This co-development of power has been elaborated on by Layla AbdelRahim, as we can hear; *"[patriarchy decided] who*

marries whom, how the wealth goes down, and it's the same with the animals. You the farmer, the engineer, the genetic engineer [decide] who you're going to mate, how you're going to mate, and then you are going to use all the unwanted males for meat or labour and the females [are used] for reproduction and milk, and how do you go about insemination? That's rape. And so this is to-your-face, but in symbolic culture you can call it something else, insemination, husbandry, so it doesn't appear violent. You are going to identify only human animals as capable of experiencing rape (and still in specific circumstances because not every rape is equal in civilisation [ed. - discussion on judicial handling of rape in class society followed]). If it is seen as improving the reproduction, then "it's not rape"..."

We should make clear at this point that we aren't suggesting that humans or any other animal exist in isolation and should have no affect on our wild kin. Co-dependence and co-development are facts of life, and constant within all ecological communities of inter-species interaction. There is also a blurred line around what constitutes the threshold of domestication at which we could reasonably hope to remain: for example not confining any otherwise mobile creature is a necessity to us, but we don't have a problem per-Se with interventions to encourage beings of whatever shape and form who we want to mutually interact with into an area, or an amount of plant cultivation within certain parameters. We are more concerned with the dynamic that comes about when all a particular species becomes to us is a resource, and any mutual co-development is excluded. When we foolishly believe that we can choose to mould all of life around an inflexible civilised culture, without any possibility of a symbiotic exchange in freedom. When we can consider lives in terms of *ownership*, lives that live life *for* others.

There are many ways, subtle or blatant, which we could mention in which this view of superiority has been constructed and upheld. One for instance is the overemphasis on the food cycle, which reduces relations between different species to one particular economic feature of them (perhaps because heavily-domesticating cultures are obsessed with consumption, eat or be eaten, dominate or be dominated, rather than it playing one part of a richer and

more diverse life) and raises ideological 'justification' for top-down hierarchies. We can see that it's not every day that the fox eats the rabbit, for example, but a *certain moment* of their relationship to each other; a relationship which at other times might even look so much as co-operative within a broader cycle.

Focus on the predatory aspects of life above all others, and then raising that into a principle that sought to justify all sorts of not only speciesist but also racist and colonialist behaviours, is what was recommended by influential scientist Charles Darwin, lauded during the British Empire. (We don't seek to overly sanctify the theory of his critic at the time, the anarchist biologist Peter Kropotkin, which posited that co-operation a.k.a. 'mutual aid' was in fact the main driving force in the biosphere, as convenient as that would be for our ethics and desires. We don't believe that there is any one principle within our comprehension which could account for the innumerable processes and communities of life that make up our world, but so neither can we accept the dominant narrative that all existence is a bloody struggle for power and survival.)

Another example of speciesist ideology is the criteria by which we are taught to measure intelligence, and that higher 'intelligence' (let's remember this is the culture that has polluted and proletarianised its own world talking...) entails the right to dominate. That we could ever quantify and order the intelligences of creatures so diverse as human capacity to think abstractly, a steelhead trout who navigates using the Earth's magnetic field to find the river mouth to return to for spawning, or the wolf's ability to smell the age or health of the deer from a hoof-print, is mind-bogglingly arrogant.

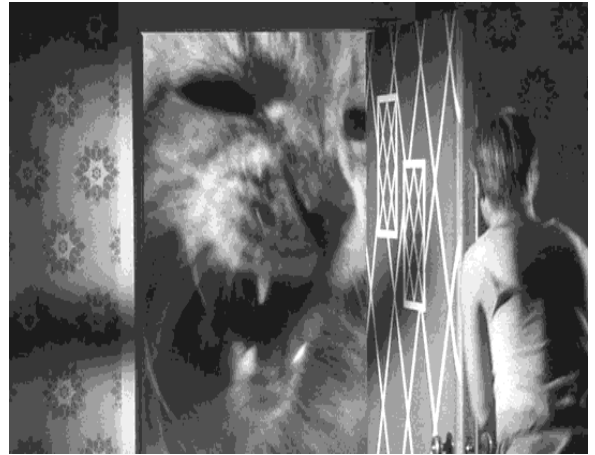
This way of viewing species has grown markedly within the last few thousand years of civilisations. While fairly overt domestication of non-human lives was and is practised by many indigenous cultures (though certainly not all, even to this day with all the civilising influences), none seem to have the same vitriolic contempt for the rest of the living world as have developed within those civilisations. Instead most place social and spiritual value on the uses but also contributions, needs, and wild purposes of other species. The example has been made of the Innu culture of Arctic

regions, which like many others traditionally lacked even a separate concept of 'humanity' compared to other life. (This isn't to suggest that there's a particular culture we would appropriate as our ideal; simply that this counters the 'biological determinism' that wants us to believe civilised attitudes are somehow 'natural' and unavoidable.) Enlightenment philosophers of the West went a long way in construing 'the animal' as incapable of reason, sentience, empathy or the ability to suffer, with the result of institutionalising apathy and cruelty. **This robs us of a crucial means to understand our animate environment, when it is healthy, when it is ill, how to live well in this world, to contribute to wildness, diversity, life.**

Beyond its obvious use in justifying industrial-scale habitat-eradication or factory-farming for slaughter, colonialists used the same framework to reinvent other human races as 'animalistic', to them meaning inferior in the same ways mentioned above. To this day, the paradigm of certain people being dangerous, devalued 'animals' is used by some as the justification for all sorts of horrors. Like many oppressions, speciesism reinforces and intersects with others as well as gender and race – for example also along class lines, with the poor able to at least exert physical or theoretical power over the non-humans lower than them on the hierarchical ladder to alleviate the frustration at being dominated by the wealthier (or 'whiter', more 'masculine', and so on). It's worth pointing out though that in the global drive to commodification of a being's body, not all non-human species are devalued evenly. For example the paper-thin pretence of 'conservation' (especially of iconic, 'cute' creatures); where you can see such wonders as legislation against indigenous peoples gathering, hunting or fishing on their traditional territories, with all scale having been lost while trying to fight the blight actually caused almost entirely by civilisation, not by ancestral subsistence. Or for instance the rhetoric against poachers (i.e. depicted as aberrant individuals rather than another part of the imposed status quo of who gets to consume what, who, when) when

not a word is whispered about the more major threats to, for example, the Chinese tiger or African elephants (i.e. destruction of habitat and food sources or urban encroachment) nor the poverty or alienation of humans in these areas which drives the poaching itself.

Strangely, the same separation and reification within speciesism occurs even in some circles which pay lip service to a critique of civilisation itself, such as deep ecology – where humans are often actually viewed as somehow inherently *lower* forms of life than others, replacing



"If you talk to the animals, they will talk to you, and you will know each other... If you do not talk to them, you will not know them, and what you don't know you will fear... what one fears, one destroys." - C.F. George

anthropocentric thought with 'biocentric' in a misanthropic form and so perpetuating the estrangement of the human animal from the world with a mythical 'nature/culture' split. **Even when not demonising 'humanity', deep ecology and some other strains of radical environmentalism or 'animal rights' try to confer an abstract 'equal right to live and blossom' onto all things in the biosphere. Really this is just the same anthropocentric projection of civilised social-political categories onto the living world, in this case in a formalised, legalistic and bourgeois-humanist vein.** What we prefer, what we seek, is not 'equality' in some abstracted humanitarian ideology but the *uniqueness* of every species and also every individual within each species, blowing apart the foundation for viewing the population of any entire lifeform community as ranked against another, but instead flexibly valuing things based on our own personal desires, connections and experiences of the world.

SCATTERING SEEDS... [Editorial]

Daybreak!

*A tentative text not meant for solace,
The cacophonous (Non)life that runs
In each daybreak its obligatory course.
Another daybreak!*

(Phoenix Project #9)

What's presented here is a combination of written pieces that explore the collision between our whirling desires and the world as it stands today. We're continuing our publishing project, although without any promise of regularity, because of a lack we see in our corner of the world when it comes to more diverse printed material (and the different potential connections it can make) compared to online spaces. Our purpose is to propagate news about and analysis from an international evolving tendency towards a life away from domination of the Earth and all creatures; and some 'classic' writings that we think have new applications and usefulness to whoever takes them up today. Once again this volume is something of a scrapbook of thoughts, reports, personal accounts and investigations, with no overall theme in how they were chosen beyond common ground of the struggle we hold dear – to be rid of the scourges of authority and alienation, to live wildly.

We thought long and hard about whether another publication is really a suitable intervention in the mire of civilised life at this point in time. We're happy that across the world our comrades in this struggle are already active with many decent zines, newsletters, posters, and graffiti, along with the radicalisation of their personal relationships and with that sweetest propaganda, *direct action that speaks and seeks accomplices*. We never want to give up our voices that shout aloud across the social quietening that freedom is still undefeated, that we can and must arm ourselves and find each other.

Within the social war, as much psychological as martial, we have experienced certain words and deeds as rafts that kept us afloat on waves threatening to drown us. Before the swelling tide of cloying social norms, and the State and technological-industrial system's advances, these rafts became our pirate vessels in rebellion against the prison-world of masters and slaves. **Ideas have always been our most potent weapons to sharpen, they are the yeast we add to the wider cauldron in hope to contribute to the fomentation of the necessary courage and determination for autonomous action, they are the finger we point at the entrenchments of many enemies we have so far identified.** We strongly feel that as well as the general fighting spirit to be developed, we want to constantly put forward an unbridled expression of what we at least think constitutes the minimum state of being to be demolished in that fight (i.e. civilisation itself), along with shared interpretations of how this civilisation constricts and corrupts any chance of a free life. The cobblestone, explosive or barricade alone cannot sufficiently express the vast destruction of not just infrastructures and representatives but *also of dominant cultural values* that de-civilisation requires in such a way as to hinder their reappearance. Although attack cannot be absent and the task of destruction is great, discussing, healing, listening, learning, connecting, deconstructing, loving and experimenting all have their own parts to play too and their own available tools.

We think that a variety of subjects addressed in this issue can be practical to these ends as well as to the insurrectional ruptures that would allow us to consolidate our projects outside of the space-time of capitalist economic and social relations, invigorating us with a love for the land beneath the paving slabs and behind tamed environments. Ultimately,

each critique contained within lends itself to the attack as well, to diversify its targeting and refine its aim. When combined with these other practices, no corner of our domestication within reach need be left untouched. **And so in the end, we decided – despite our limited means and hence limited scope – that the pleasure and inspiration we ourselves have felt when writings that reflected our own anger came into our hands, reminding us that we are not alone, was sufficient reason to continue releasing some seeds into the wind, our own message in a bottle...** However, we shouldn't forget that the most vitalising part in our undertaking (most broadly conceivable as individuality seeking a collective fulfilment entwined with a vibrant habitat, in contrast with mass



society) will always be face-to-face, off the page as well as off the screen, as much unmediated as unreserved.

Return Fire is constructed from pre-existing texts or their segments (sometimes with our own notes) and the occasional hitherto-unpublished pieces that we've either written ourselves or that were passed on to us, as well as information we've collated and reassembled from the international counter-information network, on developments in the struggle whose front-line is everywhere and everyone. We feature more new translations this time (whole or in fragments), to contribute back in the way we can. We'd also like to sincerely thank the comrades of the Parabellum counter-information project who took the time to translate our previous editorial into Greek^[1].

As well as the chronology of some excerpts being rearranged for the sake of clarity, emphasis has been added by us in places throughout in the presentation; after all we're not and don't pretend to be 'objective reporters' or something like that... Sources are either listed beneath the titles or in the section specifically for them at the end. **Since we put our own pen to paper for the previous volume we've reflected a lot – but nothing we add to this project can ever be 'definitive' and writing is in itself a reflection of an ongoing thought process.** If anyone should note contradictions or disagreements between different authors we've included, this is simply the nature of the open and provisional dialogue which we want to play host to, without a 'party line' or respect for dogma.

This time the articles address practical rejection of wage labour, confronting industrial energy infrastructure, conditions of clandestinity, coupledom and motherhood within patriarchal civilisation in its present incarnation, dynamic considerations for individuals or groups taking the offensive, realities of climate change and the footholds we can imagine within, the Turkish uprising of 2013, what constitutes the modern "educational" project, information for foraging, queer negation of the socially-constructed subject, occupation or decivilising encampments as well as other moments of struggle in more or less recent history; and more.

Because to our minds theory should always be coherent with practise, and

vice versa, in some cases we've again added listings to give a snapshot of actual resistance to the oppressive structures in question; to 'connect the dots', as it were. These lists are random and non-exhaustive. Much more is always happening than we can sense in the air from here, and we simply wanted to share our inspiration to get out there and add much more to these open and largely-unwritten stories of insurgency.

Every day we're told in a million subtle and blatant ways by the dominant culture that "our type" can't and don't exist. And yet we do. Tearing up the billboards, breaking down the conditioning, deserting or undermining the battalions of work, burning out the occupying forces, claiming a stake within the wildness pulsing through the cosmos: raising the torch which illuminates these pages, from far-flung corners of the Earth. These antagonists generously shared their strength with this project as we feed our own tributary back into the churning waters that beat inexorably against a vast dam preventing our self-willed passage. This zine is for them, and for us. Not because we believe we'll all meet one day on the barricades, but for a whole constellation of barricades thrown up autonomously and unpredictably by irreducible individuals as they grow firm by making war uniquely on everything constraining them.

This publishing project is harbour to all such desires and more. Take what excites and incites you, compost the rest, and etch your own stories into the fabric of daily life by tooth and nail. Don't wait to be further provoked:

Return Fire.



1. www.theparabellum.squat.gr/2013/09/11/eisagogiko-shmeivma-return-fire/



"We always do what we say because we feel the need to carry out the acts we think about. Theory is all the ideas that exist inside of our heads, practice is everything that comes out of our bodies including words. At the same time we do one we also do the other, we are unable to separate them; there will be moments when one imposes itself on the other, but we never want to separate them, it is our spirit, our projectuality."

– F.A.I. 'Friends of the Earth'

...UNDER A CHANGING SKY



Who can avoid – despite authoritative popular media discourses which often conceal as much as they expose – the fact that our world is becoming increasingly unthinkable? Lurking pandemics, oil-drenched seascapes, the drifts of people fleeing an implosion of social and economic configurations, the smoke everywhere from ethnic strife, war, or dispossession, the removal of tenuous previous barriers to exploitation. Instability seems the one sure promise for what will come, for those of us who were sold any certainties by the global system in the first place. **On top of the deepening misery caused by our varied but universal subjugation, and alongside the crash in biodiversity, we must contend with dramatic climate shifts probably on a scale rarely seen in the Earth's existence.**

Parts of the world glimpsed a sign of their future on a planet overheated by ravages of the industrial system, raindrops before the coming deluge, when the super-storm with a centre 300 miles across (the most powerful to make landfall in recorded history) tore through more than fifty cities in the Philippines last November, killing thousands of people and displacing millions. In the aftermath the army swiftly moved in *en masse* to reassert the State's presence, with aid packages stockpiled in town halls and indulged upon by soldiers, only actually distributed in the areas where the world media gathered. The cultivated dependence of industrial society was exploited as ever, with prices of commercial food staples and pharmaceuticals almost doubling as well as the lucrative return of power supplies.

Closer to home, we tasted the climatic furies of winter storms across Britain, with the lasting flooding (most notably of the Thames Valley and Somerset Levels) being the worst nationally in the 250 years since industrialism's onset, if not longer. Scotland

underwent an almost complete shut-down of schools and transport networks during the widespread chaos of early December. A passenger jet was hit by lightning. The media relayed images of whole streets with waist-high waters as thousands across the island were forced from their homes. The military intervened to deal with some badly affected areas, and some quick-minded entrepreneurs made a handsome profit from private sales of sandbags to terrified middle England. Unprecedented waves dashed the Cornish coast, while across the nation flood defences, cliff-faces and in one case a trainline were eroded or lost to sea. As the waters now recede from submerged villages, town centres and farmland, both livestock and wild animals at all stages of the food cycle that didn't drown are being poisoned by redistributed pesticides and toxic chemicals washed out of industrial sites across the countryside.

At the same time and in direct relation the severe drought gripping the western United States enters its second year, causing a state of emergency in California with havoc

wrecked on crops and water supplies. Growing instability of the polar vortex and jet stream weather patterns brings these effects of historic proportions to bear. Here, the government has described the rising flood risk as one of the biggest probable impacts of climate change in the U.K. (corresponding to our lived experience of the last few years), but the truth is that the climate is increasing volatile and the 'experts' have an extremely fragile hold on what to expect. Temperature records being broken all over the planet (in both peaks and troughs) herald the ecological meltdown underway.

It's well known that it's broadly the populations of the Global South who are first in line for many of the impacts of global warming, which are already hitting hard in some regions. Floods and landslides had become common in the Philippines even before the recent spectacularised barrage, and the changing weather pattern had *already* reportedly begun claiming 300,000 lives annually in a nation where 60% of the people now live in flood-adverse areas. The archipelago is in the front-line of calamity brought by storms, with crop failure, water shortages and the spread of disease looming. **Ironically, once again the regions that are already colonised resource-extraction 'sacrifice zones' for largely the capitalist core economies are struck quickest by consequences of the latter's hyper-consumption.** But even within Europe there's examples like the port-city of Rotterdam, the economic heart of the Netherlands that sits several feet below sea-level in places and is subject to constant technological intervention, as it and significant parts of Holland have been for generations to prevent disaster. System failure would submerge its inhabitants. **Across the world many of the most densely populated and fastest growing mega-cities are coastal and vulnerable to the inexorably rising seas.** Yesterday's New Orleans could become tomorrow's Bangkok, Lagos, Mumbai or Melbourne.



The Cornish seafont of Porthleven engulfed by waves during the 2013 U.K. storms

The callousness of industrial development and civilisation's permanent need for expansion sows the human death and misery of millions. An unimaginable population expansion has been implemented (usually by undermining the bodily autonomy of women) by the world economy of past centuries to feed the capitalist-industrial colossus with workers. **Now we find ourselves often dangerously settled on inherently unsuitable terrain; terrain that is denuded of ecological defences from disaster, whether by deforestation, loss of coastal wetland, spreading a new impermeable concrete skin over the earth or by agricultural degradation of the soil.** When the harsh weather events hit mass society, the effects are already amplified^[1].

This vulnerability is compounded by the overwhelmingly shoddy construction of most cities, due to the cost-cutting and maximisation of profits inherent in capitalist development and the surrounding easily-dislodged industrial detritus^[2]. After the intensification of extreme wildfires, landslides, hurricanes, earthquakes, flooding, blizzards and more of recent years, **the wreckage is just one more source of income for the bosses – continual disaster is a way of continuing to profit even after production has reached other limits on a commodity-colonised globe.** Similarly to the multinational consortium which moved in to capitalise on the bloodshed in Iraq after the Allied bombing had razed much of the civil infrastructure, corporations bid for contracts to re-build damaged areas before the next wave, and whole new markets explode in technological fields claiming to alleviate the certain future turmoil. The next round of failures from the technology provides, as always, the next opportunity for new business, then in turn bringing a new problem for the next generation: except now the cycle comes back around on almost a weekly basis. The State utilises the catastrophic alarms to usher in all kinds of social controls at the micro- and macro-levels and enforce the rule of (those-they-ordain-to-be) experts. These institutions claim to be the only ones who could save us, in spite of their embedded position within the ruling bureaucracy attending to the entire ensemble as it drags us over the cliff of total annihilation.

In the capitalist core countries the temporary respite is over from a percentage of the

more blatant devastation of the land that moving intensive energy extraction to the Global South had afforded us in the last era. 'Fracking' for shale gas is now poised to begin in earnest and despoil the backyards of European consumers, extending the life of the petrochemical machine beyond the predictions of 'peak oil' theorists. The U.S.A. and Canada are even setting up to begin exporting tankers of the liquefied gas, so great is its current (if temporary) abundance. **Really, rather than holding back, industrialism is only speeding up in every corner of the world that its manacles take hold. Within the ingrained grow-or-bust capitalist logic, it can be no other way; there is nothing that the experts could do within this framework, as decades of international summits on the climate crisis show from their sole result – more hot air.**

At the same time the line we're supposed to swallow unfolds before our eyes. A new citizenry's voluntary submission to the machine is cultivated, in the name of the system's new-found pseudo-environmentalism and mythical sustainability planning. Individual consumer wastage of recyclables or energy is to be reported and punished (without bringing into question generalised dependence on these consumables or the foul industries producing them). Nuclear expansion is suddenly the "eco-friendly option". Higher prices are merely the knock-on effect of India and China's economic growth... **We can resolve the situation, the story goes – you will of course have some sacrifices to make, but the world shall continue to comply with the same imperatives which lock you in with such familiarity. Business as usual can and must go on.** Meanwhile back in reality major scientific papers that



Philippines: devastation caused by the record-breaking typhoon

“Climate change fueled disasters kill vast numbers but each person dies an individual death: it may be trapped in an attic with water levels climbing the stairs, unable to scratch through the roof to the open air above or it may be in a nursing home without power succumbing to the latest heat wave. Less spectacularly, death may come after working in the mines seeking out the rare earth metals necessary for smart phones and solar panels. Like nonhuman animals going to slaughter, the numbers are at times so vast as to overshadow the fact that each death is its own tragedy. No matter how long the kill line is; it’s a horrifyingly novel experience for each particular individual. Ten thousand deaths in the Philippines boggles the mind not equipped to process such numbers; in many ways the outpouring of grief after the Boston Marathon bombing seemed greater, perhaps simply because the numbers were smaller and more readily understandable. It is difficult to meaningfully grieve for 10,000.”

– *Instead of Learning to Live We Are Learning to Die*

14% a decade. And that degree of temperature rise is considered a conservative estimate. Crops that are highly sensitive to temperature changes, such as wheat, maize and the Asian rice crop that feeds nearly half the world's population may fare worst – and have already seen yields fail in the major 'food basket' agro-industrial zones internationally. Farming in the tropics and sub-tropics, in places such as the Philippines, will supposedly be hit hardest^[3]. In addition, the devastating impacts already underway on fishing in tropical and subtropical zones will accelerate as ocean temperatures increase and the majestic coral reef organisms are irreparably damaged. It's estimated almost a third of the oceans' surface (that's a quarter of the total surface of the planet) is thick with the floating plastic waste of industrial society.

Even mainstream journalists can now openly speak of the crisis of this civilisation, neatly boxed in between the share listings and airline advertisements, in the effort to find some managerial program that could save it from its death-throes. There's always the conservative rear-guard still clinging to the full-blown denial – such as the British Secretary of State for the Environment, who describes the climatic changes in motion as "really quite modest" – but increasingly they're viewed as an embarrassment even to the rest of the establishment. **Instead more ink, blood and sweat is spilled attempting to construct a working thesis on how to source enough energy to overcome the chronic addiction of this civilisation to fossil fuel while emerging with the technological-industrial order**

otherwise intact. Whether this is possible or not remains to be seen; and they are running out of time. Everything put forward so far to avert catastrophe long enough to innovate new energy sources (desalination plants to counter diminishing fresh water, hydroponic greenhouses for crop cultivation suffering from degraded topsoil, mining for even lower-grade ores) requires even higher levels of energy than at present considering the growing population and rising per capita consumption rate and so seem unlikely. The promises of 'progress' and 'development' are underscored by implicit threats of what would happen should the power structure fall, reminding us of the complete dependency they have in fact wrought. Paradoxically, industrial civilisation meanwhile continues to march us into the gas chamber and makes to slam the door.

It might be said that those invested in the continuation of this civilisation may have their catastrophe averted by much-vaunted possible advances of genetic modification, nanotechnology, geo-engineering, robotics and synthetic biology – 'the final solution', the Earth and ourselves mutilated and artificialised to the highest degree^[4]. (Perhaps they would like this idea more than the beings who would remain trapped in refineries, slums, or the last remaining 'nature reserve'.) But of course, we are not talking about the same catastrophe as the State planners, green entrepreneurs and professional environmentalists.

For us the catastrophe pre-dates global warming or industrialisation. The heights of toxification, mass extinctions and extreme environmental vulnerability within modern life are simply advanced symptoms of diseased

social organisations dating back millennia. These are the same social organisations robbing us of our balance in the world, as well as individual agency and self-creation on terms outside those of civilisation's reproduction.

Maybe the most dangerous disasters are the gradual ones, the full implications of which aren't immediately visible but take the shape of a steady and relentless devaluation of what it could mean to live wild and free. Like the disconnection from the land we endure, that now leaves us comprehending the emergency mainly through news reports, and only minimally through that we personally see, taste or touch as part of our daily reality until the power cuts out and the tap runs dry. Maybe the crisis has always been here, or at least brewing, in the guise of objectification, authority, a long line of



very geology. And yet before we got to the stage of frequent and scientifically-unexplained population plummets of species across the world, we first had to once pass through and then systematise the cultural decision that even a single form of life was less important than the profit or control that their demise would bring to 'us'. Before we reached the stage of helpless confinement within an industrial society we neither direct nor comprehend, we first had to pass through the imposition of complex technological systems in the interests of the earlier social orders, which normalised these processes whose ends we never fully see or understand and which seem to never end. Before it became so run-of-the-mill, so 'excusable' to routinely objectify certain body-types for use and abuse, there first had to be a separation and commodification via a sex-gender system to facilitate the reproduction of certain social arrangements. Before it became conceivable to spend most days of your life serving as a worker for 'superiors', it first had to be engineered that you did not have the knowledge, space, time or company to sustain your own needs and render these hierarchies superfluous.

All of these phenomena have real histories, and continue to be played out today by real people through real institutions. The problem is not ethereal, undistinguishable, although the power relations born of it become so diffuse in our relationships that we are regularly reproducing the problems ourselves (whether or not intended). The mode we operate under – civilisation – is a death-trap.

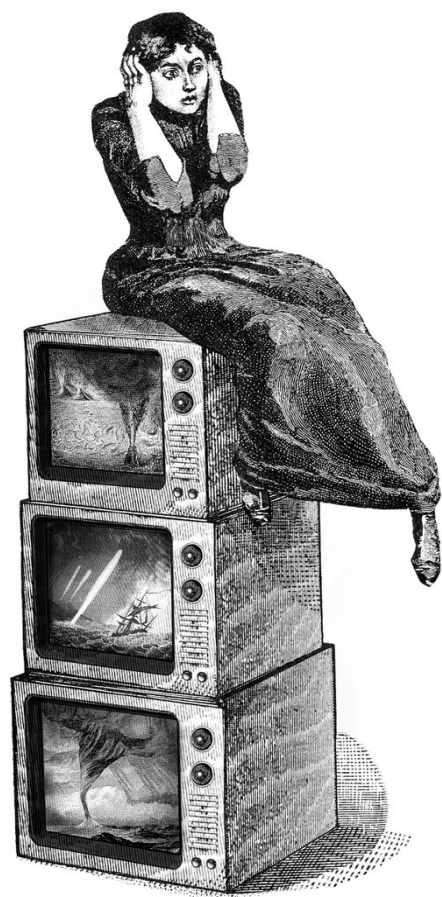
Symptoms are not hard to find, from the huge markets in armaments and robotic drones, financial blackmail, trafficking in human and non-human animals, computerised social worlds inducing suicide and alienation, mass rape culture and domestic torture, a creeping culture of surveillance, climate refugees across the species, pharmaceutical (self-)lobotomising, slavish cooperation with the imperialist dream of 'full spectrum domination'. The climate crisis is only another ecological addition to (as well as a product of) the social, psychological, imaginative, existential and all-enveloping crisis our kind are already experiencing every day. The collective result has been a social system so psychotic that it has placed every element that it depends on itself (soil, water, air, forests, metals, fossil fuels) in jeopardy, along with potentially all complex life on the planet; and removed the ability of its each and every hostage to exist separately or reach self-realisation outside

“[T]he meaning we give to terminal harmfulness is beyond that of the simple capacity to interfere with the health of an organism or an ecosystem. We speak under the eyes of cultural, political and social damage but the juncture that we are interested in identifying is the process that we distinguish; the relationship between power, technology, manipulation, destruction of life, the interests of the acquired legacy of scientific industry, of thousands of years of authoritarian and anthropocentric thinking. Something which goes further than a health problem, implicating the fundamental traits of a technological civilisation which feeds off the time and lives of non-human and human individuals, which sifts and divides living beings into races, species and categories embedded in a hierarchical scale ordered according to its needs” – *Il Silvestre*

warring and hoarding civilised cultures that scorn the idea of both real individuality and real interdependence. The trajectory can only be downwards from there, with loss of respect and wonder at the world turning to the ethos of control and domination, where every creature becomes a gear to be put in the correct place: **citizen, slave, administrator, resource, pest.** We live within the sixth known planetary mass-extinction event^[5], the first to be caused by a single way of life (it would be inaccurately distributing the blame to say a single species) and what has become known as the Anthropocene due to the severe impacts that industrial activity is having on the Earth's

its own paradigm. Our aspirations for freedom are contained, primarily by divorcing livelihood from direct relationship to the landbase we inhabit and then bringing to bear all the controls and manipulations we're prey to following this dispossession. **Each day that passes the crisis may seem more obvious to more people, but each day the laboratories, the media and the public order units refine their methods and the window for revolt grows smaller, along with the portions of modern life that feel worth living.** At the ideological forefront of this deformed culture's trajectory comes academic technoworship aiming to lay the 'ethical' foundations to prop up the murderous corporate and scientific power structure; and it's not just the giddy futurists, who are more obviously in bed with the multinationals. There's even the likes of self-described 'ecologist' Emma Marris – who insists not just that wildness itself is defunct as a concept, and that we should embrace an environment almost exclusively constructed by technology (couching her rhetoric in so-called pragmatism before climate change, and despite admitting having spent almost no time in actual wilderness); but that this is actually desirable.

If you still don't believe that this constitutes a state of war on all levels, featuring aggressors only answerable with our violence, perhaps there's nothing we can say to each other. If you're resolved to



fight, then we arrive at the questions of *how, where, and who with.*

The global capitalist system is not without its discontents. Of the many possible triggers for revolt, a few have been recurrent of late. Though all are inter-related, let's look at one. Within the industrial food system, food prices are closely linked to oil price spikes (due to modern agriculture's dependence on fossil fuel input). Hence the markets have been increasingly volatile, on top of the capitalist speculation factor and the diminishing returns typical of the impact agriculture has on the soil. This is now coupled with creeping colonisation of farmland to turn over to biofuels. Food price spikes in 2008 coincided with uprisings – Mozambique, India, Tunisia, Haiti, and more. Then again in 2011 – Uganda, Saudi Arabia, Egypt... In 2012 we saw food prices reach the third highest on record, with clashes in China, Argentina, Bangladesh, to name a few. With water, fuel, financial and social crises also pressing, the flame and the powder-keg seem on course to collide.

Social revolts can never (or at least rarely) be reduced to a single reason for every protagonist to come to the streets. And even the most confrontational movements don't necessarily open up enough space for the liberatory character of transformation we find interesting. Partial struggles ("demanding the bread instead of looting the bakery") are often opportunities for the State and/or overall social system to increase its hold by adapting and subsuming dissent. **But what we see is a world sliding beyond governments' ability to control and recuperate, more obviously with no convincing answers to their contradictions and little promise for the future. And while nothing is certain, this ground seems at least as fertile for de-civilisation as not.**

From South Africa to Bahrain you can smell the fear from the dominant class, that nervous tic unleashing brutal repression at a flicker of incitement. The U.S., U.K., Israel, N.A.T.O. etc. lend their counter-insurgency/pacification expertise, as well as the proliferating inertia and psychosis of exported 'Western' lifestyles, but will it be enough? Even from here in the insulated Global North, with the image of the British riots of 2011 fading into the background of generally-resumed lethargy (though complementary anarchist attacks on State forces, corporations and communications infrastructure which accompanied those August days have anything but abated in some quarters), we count the fires on the horizon as this year begins with rioting in Thailand, Bosnia, Venezuela and Iceland, and we're thinking – *it's happened here before, it can happen here again.*

Times of 'crisis' (social, financial or environmental) have previously struck with little or no indication on occasion. In zones where State power is rendered more fragile or perhaps is even withdrawing to leave its former subjects to their fate, we may have yet more opportunities to implement our informal principles in the vortex on a human scale. For instance, by utilising our various experiences in DIY healthcare, breaking into warehouses or squatting buildings, making propaganda, fighting cops, distributing or growing/foraging food and establishing subsistence living skills; not to mention pushing ahead with our offensive while the system is already nursing its wounds. And we may have an initial edge in catalysing situations – others may simply be waiting for some external authority to take charge and normality to resume.

The potential for living outside of the institutions which control us could become clearer if the mirage of stability took some knocks. However, between modern society and where we want to go (diffusion into intimate groups propelled by an experientially-informed perception of their place within a larger host ecology) is the ingrained 'need' for those very institutions in the cultural assumptions that are predetermined and implemented under civilisation. **That's why we also take heart from anarchists of the Philippines who toured hurricane-ravaged areas to share solar charging, medicine, a free kitchen, stress debriefing, kids games and other informal relief.** The sentiment they carried: *"For us this is not a heroic act, we believe that helping is a normal and common relationship in many organisms. Currently, human being is essentially guided by the idea of competition reinforced by capitalism and statism. The idea of supremacy, hierarchy, uniformity and centralized patterns distorted our values. Our relationship with nature, to our self and with others is now characterized by domination and control that eventually resulted in inequality, poverty, ignorance, patriarchy and ecological destructions."*

But, in order to not become recuperated as charity work ('one-way solidarity') and so simply become a stabilising appendage to the social machine rather than some of its destroyers, we come to the necessity of the attack. Our deeds as anarchists must also take aim at the *logic of delegation itself.* The logic that would throw in its lot with (even 'anarchist'/eco-radical) politicians' smooth-talking 'answers', or trust in redemption by either a god or a vast array of hi-tech 'solutions' over building our own capacities and relationships, specific to our individual temperament and locality. The logic that leaves us passively waiting for the news

anchor to announce our salvation once again. That retreats into the last woods until the nuclear winds pick up strength, or that says "tomorrow I may fight, when we will be more..." The supreme alienation of a thousand types of specialists dissecting our lives in the name of efficiency's tyranny.

True as it is that post-catastrophe, spontaneous and mutual relationships are often unexpectedly struck up between formerly cold neighbours in the face of the crisis, as the spell of normality is broken along with all its blinkers and guarantees, just as true is authority's response where it can still bring its will and resources to bear against any desertion. Whilst as we've detailed above, the practices we want to hone in the present could also find incisive application in a destabilised scenario, it would be an illusion to imagine simply disappearing into 'cracks' in the system undisturbed, when the powerful would be well aware of the seditious implication this example could set. See for example the State's response to those who didn't want to be quarantined in militarised "protection" camps in the aftermath of the 2012 earthquake in northern Italy, and instead formed autonomous camps with the aid of nearby anarchists: orders for eviction and forced relocation of survivors into the controlled areas, and a fleet of aerial drones patrolling over the territory, villages and even entering houses. The system will only concede ground when under considerable duress from multiple factors, social ones often being crucial. **But, hard though it is to imagine in the world today, seeing as the future seems entirely unpredictable, there's no reason that the offensive we bring to bear with all the strength and consistency we can muster couldn't be a drop in the ocean in that direction, incidentally to our resolve to live with dignity here and now.**

Meanwhile we have serious internal and interpersonal development to do within our own circles (usually microcosms of the wider society in more ways than we'd like to admit), such as countering our own convenience-dependency and infantilisation within consumer culture and the atomised relations born of it. How can we disconnect ourselves from the artificial support systems we're hostage to under industrial civilisation – food, transport and financial exchange systems, among others? Should these systems crash, which downfalls could be celebrated and which may we need to expropriate/supplant on our affinity scale (Western medical care, for example) during transition to an unmediated land-based existence, and the battles required to get there? Might we continue to discover or create environments habitable for us and our non-human kin while uninhabitable for

our enemies (like pockets of unregulated urban space not currently used by industry or municipal authorities, from which to stage violent forays for sabotage or resources)? Is our focus best elsewhere? These are the questions that we grapple with in our own circles, though obviously we can't speak for others. We hear comrades who assert they only want to see the rotten edifices of this system fall and reserve all their energies for hastening this end, without a will to engage with another way to experience the world; 'warrior or slave', as it were. Our full respect is with all those taking the plunge into combatant opposition to civilisation without delusions, we just don't ourselves find it so easy to separate the "negative" and "positive" as in the nihilist ideal, it doesn't satisfy us. Even if selfishly, we want our days to be fuller.

Our aim is always the breakdown of control (including the so-called "creative" acts that empower us while weakening what we're suppressed by). The breakdown even and especially of the limits and hesitancy we bring with us too often to our struggle in daily life: not to romanticise the pain we go through in the process or minimise the

in the ways we discover, not waiting for a utopian future. Because we know that at least we take our own lives in our hands this way, and any broader change which promised emancipation would be a swindle without it – our own pleasure pursued, our own deskilling demolished, our own coherency in action, our own responsibilities established, our own resilience developed.

We expect no-one else to fight our battles for us and to fight no-one else's battles for them (while not foreclosing the possibility that our struggles may in fact be one and the same to a degree). So, if we realise that liberation can only be won and not granted by either authorities or allies, then the anti-political and insurrectionary character of the challenge becomes clear.

Glimpses of this intention are active and spreading across the globe. This was what was said by the anarchists who took credit for a recent attack on a Santiago electioneering office (itself a bastion of



Rioters attack the police deployment on Oxford Street, London, during the disorder of 26.03.11

dangers of any real disintegration on a social level. We won't pretend to have some viable solution for the billions of people on this wounded planet, and we're hostile to whoever falsely claims in their hubris that they have one: usually some form of 'Great White Saviour' redemption trip, and always the seeds of a new managerial apparatus to ensnare us. As there could never be a single formula or approach that would be adequate or freely-desired by a bulk of any population anyway, we'll continue to follow what we simply feel to be right for our ethics, and for the needs of our desired habitat and hence also ourselves and close affinities. It's open for rest to do likewise to find their own paths. We're always open to the insights of others we touch but ready to collide with what impedes us without first searching for consensus – living anarchically

delegation); that their "response amid so much misery is the anti-authoritarian offensive in its multiple facets and forms. It is the incitement to arson by any means. It is the arson itself, the idea that motivates it, and also the hands that concretise it, the unwavering will of those who fight to the last breath, with the means they have at hand. [...] We are considering conflict in these parameters; those who expect revolutionary armies or popular militias do not even understand the nature of the current war. If conflict is asymmetric, then let's bite and disappear (hit and run), let's engage in hostilities against the enemy wherever they are, in every place, **even within every single one of us.** Far from any militaristic drift, let's fight Power in a multifarious manner, with autonomous action, and organized from informality. The attack

is not only possible, it is also necessary. Let's generate situations and means to continue experiencing the conflict, and let's practice our advances wherever they arise."

The misery of these times has whetted our appetite for a great refusal. One which is germinated in the soil of individual will, then to seek achievement in company as desired. A refusal described by Michel Foucault as "a plurality of resistances, each of them a special case: resistances that are possible, necessary, improbable, others that are spontaneous, savage, solitary, concerted, rampant, or violent." In north-west France, rage against a transport network mega-project *and also its world* has spiralled into an ongoing and partially self-subsisting occupation across hectares of wetland and woods, attempting collective subversion of urban capitalist life and its relations^[6]. Some use the space to launch rioting into the nearby city, to raid the supermarket within range *en masse* while fending the cops off with fireworks, or damage power lines crossing the territory. Links among the squatters and discontented farmers threatened by the mega-project are strong, and a militarised police incursion of some months failed to pacify the surroundings. In Mexico, across various municipalities, anti-industrial groups are targeting nanotechnology and bioscience pioneers, harassing, wounding or killing them, attacking their institutions, vehicles and development centres.

The nascent expansion of techno-dystopia has its studious technician-disciples who are the product of years in intensive education and research experience – investments that it tangibly harms the technological establishment to lose. Not to mention the implications of possible infrastructure sabotage for our environment in the here and now – let's remember that when a 2003 blackout caused by overgrown trees coming into contact with power lines shut down electricity to the fossil-fuelled turbo-generators throughout the Ohio Valley (500 power plants shut down in total in



Demonstration against the World Cup in Brazil [ed. - see *Global Flash-Points*]

Canada and the north-eastern U.S.A.), after just 24 hours visibility increased by twenty miles as the ozone dropped by half, and airborne sulfur dioxide fell by 90%. Across the world, indigenous people and peasants still with (at least links to) land-based cultures attempt to slow the boom of

mines, dams and motorway expansion – they may often end up overwhelmed but how much worse would current contamination be if they were already confined to urban exile rather than protecting the Earth with their bodies and sometimes their weapons? Even in the

"The forms of domination we face in impending years are without precedent, as are the alienated social relationships in which we exist now. Economic restructuring, the decline of material resources, growth of the far-right, the crisis of current lifestyles and political forms – nothing can quite prepare us for how these forces will influence our lives. And yet, this has always been the case. The illusion of easy unity in past times, centered around work, based itself on a massive erasure of history, of gender, race and subjectivity. If the uncertainty, the crises and shortages that confront us now appear new, it is only because we have been blinded by the promises of progress and development. The evidences of resource depletion, extinctions and annihilated cultures reach back millennia. It is only that now these reach such an intensity that it is difficult to see anything else. [...] A hands-off approach to social control has largely been adequate in expanding economies, but their contraction may be accompanied by regimes of more explicit control. Cuts to social services alongside prison expansion, with a growing economy in prison labor, is only one angle by which to see the seeds of a repressive future in the present. Civil war in resource-rich areas is another. Urban insurrection without hope or demands is another, as the promises of industrial society become visibly hollow. The uprisings in '05 France, '08 Greece, and '11 London, so often cited, give us a picture of revolt on the part of youth with no hope in the future (not to say that only youth participated). Yet while moments that break with the normalized social order create the opportunity for new explorations, clearly these events do not shatter the structures of domination that compose our societies. Natural disasters, recessions and countless other events may also change the shape of our cities, regions and societies. Yet often, society-altering events in themselves may be less significant than *what we create within the cracks they open*. There is little point to speculating on how our society will evolve in coming decades, on the future fallout of current trends or the unexpected events we can anticipate in years to come. If there is one thing we can use, it is bases of struggle that can adapt to a changing context, relationships and forms of organizing that can respond quickly to changing conditions, calamity and surprises. While we may not often be able to predict new social tensions and eruptions, we can ready ourselves to act quickly, to leap on new opportunities as they present themselves."

– invitation to a 24/05/13 informal anarchist meeting in Montréal

'European Capital' of Brussels, antagonists disturb the spectacle of placid consumption and obedience. Officials are assaulted while going about their duties restructuring the urban environment for those in power, internet relay cables and power supplies are mysteriously cut, 'Eurocrats' personal cars burn in the night. In Greece, ravaged by the economic policies of the new junta (European Union, International Monetary Fund and European Central Bank), anarchists bitterly contest the rising far-right on the streets and defend semi-autonomous spaces from their and the State's aggression, while anti-capitalist and insurrectional groups carry out bombings of cleared economic centres, rob banks to collectively resist wage-slavery, block mass transit in the city and have engaged in more than one armed exchange with the law-keepers.

Nevertheless, the achievement is still principally individual, and cannot solely be measured by external factors nor reduced to geographical points of 'counter-power'. The subject of a queer-bashing who bashes back (or bashes first...), the worker who downs tools and abandons their post with the workplace in ruins, the migrant who stabs the cop to stay free, the one who breaks open a single creature's cage – the rebellion starts here, and who knows where the fire spreads next, or when it might ignite in minds the dream of total liberation.

So we find ourselves elsewhere than all beaten 'revolutionary' tracks, teetering on the brink of ecological endtimes, without anything certain we can read in the changing skies. Some situations seem familiar, the majority are uncharted territory. Some enemies are found in new fields, many more in the same as always. **Omnipotent as their ranks may seem, we'll find out what's really possible in the years to come. Who will keep believing in or defending a decomposing order, stay bought off with its circuses and concessions. Where else the signs of fragility will start to show, and what can be done to put a brick through them. Which will gain traction – the deadening call of duty to whatever cause, or the innate passion for the adventure of living beyond moral obligation.** Despite all terrible signals that the source of all life and sustenance, the land we exist upon, is fading into critical condition as the machine-world responsible for the poisoning moves to supplant it – there is still solace to be found, whispers of the wind through the branches, the feel of the sun against your face or the surf lapping around your feet, the reflected gleam of an owl's eyes on a fire-lit night, whatever nurturing we need to light us up and keep us going through the heartbreak must be found. Along with the necessary ammunition. Put another way, as the message accompanying the anarchists' bomb in the BBVA bank branch on Paseo de Husares in Madrid read; *"Our hate is stronger than theirs."*

Self-creation, de-civilisation, renewal of ecology and an effort to extend that "harmony of opposing tensions" in eternal motion which we call our anarchy. The quality of our lives defined not by social accommodation or by material wealth, but directly proportionally to the harm we together manage to inflict on what harms us. What better challenge for those unafraid to die trying?

1. Compare this to the ancient Jarawa band society who astonished the world by entirely surviving the 2004 tsunami and earthquake which rocked the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the Indian Ocean, despite being so close to the epicentre of the massive Asian earthquake that the tsunami hit them almost immediately. It was assumed that they would have perished along with many of the islands' settlers, until Indian military helicopters came under arrow fire from the indigenous when flying over the forest. Government officials and anthropologists believe that generations-old knowledge of the land, and the movement of wind, sea and animals accumulated over 60,000 years of inhabiting the islands as foragers may have warned the tribes of the tsunami in time to prepare. By comparison, the State-resettled people of the islands who have adopted cultivation, pig-herding and Christianity were badly hit. Still, progress leaves no respite for the surviving forest-dwellers, with civilisational encroachment through roads, logging, Western foods and diseases already steadily killing them.

2. For example when the sixth largest earthquake to be measured shook Chile in February 2010, most of the dead had been crushed while at offices, on transport arteries or in apartment blocks, and evacuations were caused by incidents such as the flaming chemical plant outside Santiago and not just by the structural damage. As for the dangerous materials used in construction, the casualties of various industrial diseases stemming from the wreckage of New York's World Trade Centre 'Ground Zero' (both long-term and from the instant dust-cloud of wildly toxic carcinogens, dioxins, lead, P.A.H.s etc.) exceed those immediately killed by the Al Qaeda attack.

3. Phillipino farmers affected by an even more recent storm 'Agatan' have complained that the non-traditional seeds now in use, while higher-yielding, are weaker and less resilient to the floods and storms compared to those still grown in the Jabonga highlands, as well as more expensive to grow and dependent on synthetic chemicals. Now after the storm the communities are dependent on handouts to eat.

4. Still others welcome the 'necessity' of casting aside our biological forms as individuals altogether to overcome the rising challenges to sheer organic existence, and herald the 'Singularity' cyborg adaptation of (wealthy enough) humans via implants, brain or organ 'upgrades', even extracting one's 'memory' into a computer simulation. And others seriously bank on the colonisation of other planets as this one degrades. This is the extent of the cultural psychosis.

5. As the near-universal plunge of biodiversity is being named, due almost exclusively to habitat loss/fragmentation, hunting or culling, pollutants, out-competition by introduced species, and climate change.

6. See *Return Fire* vol.1 pg81

INDUSTRIAL POISON SPREADS ACROSS BRITAIN

European pollution spikes have so far marked the early spring of 2014, with a heavy smog falling across Paris to rival the world's most noxious metropoli. The French government's response? An alternating driving ban and free public transport until it abated. Anything to keep the machine running. Now a couple of weeks later record-breaking levels are being reported across Britain. Of asthmatics, around 30% (that is, 1.6 million) have suffered an asthma attack as a direct result, alongside a wider spike in breathing difficulties and heart problems bombarding emergency services in the Midlands. In some parts of London children were banned from outside play-areas. Scientists admit that the air many of us breathe when we step outside now causes cancer anyway (with 3.2 million premature deaths worldwide in 2010 alone: motor vehicles, power plants and other industrial processes being the primary sources of toxification). During the 'Green Games' fervour of the 2012 London Olympics^[1], someone in the periphery mentioned nitrogen dioxide levels in the air as bad as the Olympic precursor of notoriously-toxic Beijing, and that the city has the worst air quality of any European capital (29,000 premature deaths attributed to it annually – enough to reduce the average lifespan in the whole country by six months, and nationally air quality is designated the biggest public health hazard after smoking). Counter-pollution technologies are so far laughable, such as smoke-stack cleaners that just move the air contamination into the soil and water or London's gimmicky 'spray-glue' capture vehicles, and it's only a matter of time before face-masks and indoor air filtration systems are as common (and futile) as in much-maligned China. How long must we be violated, and who what depth, before we locate the bombardment's source; and do away once and for all with the totality that binds us to self-destruction.

1. ed. - see *Return Fire* vol.1 pg26



Some of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police vehicles that were torched during clashes against fracking exploration in Mi'kmaq territory [ed. - see *Global Flash-Points*]

'I DIDN'T WANT TO BE A PROUD WORKER'

[ed. - What follows is a recollection by imprisoned anarchist Gabriel Pombo Da Silva. For the background of his case see *Return Fire* vol.1 pg75. You can send letters to Gabriel Pombo Da Silva, Topas Prison – Salamanca, Ctra. N-630, km. 314, 37799 Topas (Salamanca), Spain.]

“He was the son of a very poor family who spent his days surrounded by animals, he was always dirty because he liked to climb trees, explore caves[...] At school the teachers beat him because he spoke a native language and the dictator did not like that. Also, whenever he could the boy escaped into the forest where he was filled with wonder about everything. One day his parents decided to go away to another country where the men, women and children were whiter. A country where (his parents said) they would be able to live more freely, where they could earn money and get out of poverty, buy a big house and be happy. [...] The boy could not understand why he should leave his woods, the sunshine, the rain, the sea, the rivers, his land... He didn't understand what poverty was, perhaps because he didn't need material things and he didn't care about wearing second-hand clothes. [...] The boy grew up and learned the story of his country through the tales of the political exiles... that is how he knew that his land didn't belong to the dictator and his friends but that they had won a war, that they had suppressed the revolution and filled this country with blood and misery... and for that the natives like us were condemned to flee from one country to another. [...] That is how the adult-child went back to his country to fight for the revolution. After many battles, the adult-child became a boy-man and was forced to survive twenty years torture without Sunshine, Water, Trees and Animals. One day he managed to escape and continued to struggle and talk of life, love, revolution, and dreams. Locked up once again, this child-man continues to smile; and his eyes are two black olives with the sun for pupils.”

(from Gabriel's biography 'A Boy's Story', in the solidarity pamphlet 'Until We Are All Free!')



I like to sit down in front of the typewriter just as I'm waking up, when I still don't know who I am, where I come from, or where I'm going. My head is in the clouds, hazy and chaotic, beyond Space-Time or any Dialectic.

While I write, my sense of self (whatever that may be) gradually “returns.” I open “my” cell window, take a deep breath of the cold morning air, and feel my lungs expand. I make coffee, and its aroma relaxes me, reminding me of “another time” – my childhood – as well as my mother.

My mother woke up every day at 5 a.m. to go to work. She would put the coffeepot on the kitchen stove, and in a few minutes that familiar aroma I found so appealing was wafting through the air. When I was little, I was convinced that one of the reasons my mother was so “dark” was because of all the coffee she drank. Who knows why? Kids have crazy ideas.

On weekends, “class” wasn't in session, so I was usually able to go to work with my mother. I enjoyed helping her.

My mother was (and is) a “cleaning worker,” and to earn a living she had to clean other people's shops and offices. She always took pride in her work. Or perhaps it just was pride in having a job. I never knew exactly which.

My father (now dead) was a construction worker, and he built houses for other people while we lived in a rented shithole. He also took pride in his work. Or perhaps it was also just pride in having a job. Again, I didn't know which.

Even as a child, a deep feeling of hostility was beginning to grow within me toward what we now call “wage-labour,” but what was simply called “work” back then. Somehow, my daily reality was teaching me that those who had nothing were being forced to sell their time as well as their energy to those who had everything.

When I asked my parents why there were poor people and rich people, they told me it had always been that way since the beginning of time. My parents' “mentality” always shocked me: beggars were beggars because they were lazy, whores were whores because they were deprived, thieves were thieves because they were evil.

You had to work, obey, be honest, and be a “good Christian,” always willing to suffer and turn the other cheek. Someday, in the “great beyond,” we would find our reward.

When I was a child, I was embarrassed to say that my mother was a “cleaning worker.” Now, I feel embarrassed for having been ashamed of my mother, for having been ashamed of being poor (I mean “proletarian,” since we never had to go begging) – as if having been born poor, in the heart of a proletarian family, was a “sin” or something you chose.

No, I couldn't get used to that “order of things.” I didn't want to accept such an order. I didn't want to be a proud worker who worked for “other people” and sold his time, his strength, all his energy, and sometimes even his Soul for money...

To me, prison wasn't anything distant or mysterious. Half the people in my neighbourhood had been or were currently locked up in some cell.

Very early in the morning on (prison) visiting days, I would watch mothers, sisters, and wives (why are women always the ones who unconditionally make trips to prison year after year, while it's the “men” who disappear into thin air after no time at all?) set off with their little plastic bags full of food and clothing to wait for the bus that would drop them off near the prison.

Off those women went, with clean clothes and food that were often bought on “account” (credit), because in those days money and well-paid work were in short supply in my neighbourhood.

That's exactly why so many people were in prison. It had nothing to do with being "lazy," "depraved," or "evil." Not everyone wanted to join the diaspora of immigration (like my parents did) or exile, so instead of accepting the exploitation of wage-labour or the dictatorship of the post-Franco [ed. - *Spain's military dictator, General Franco*] market, they decided to "steal" or "take up arms" against that entire order of things.

Those women who bought on "credit" and marched with their little plastic bags like a silent army toward prison, often depriving themselves of food so that their sons, brothers, and husbands would never have to do without their little package of food and clean clothes, were the very embodiment of love and solidarity. I felt tremendous love and respect for them.

One of those women (she was both a mother and a grandmother) was called, or rather we called her, Doña Cristina. She was a little old wrinkled lady with a kind, cheerful personality, but so tiny that the plastic bags she carried almost touched the ground, making each step she took seem like a superhuman effort. On more than one occasion I helped carry her bags to the bus stop.

Doña Cristina's son had been in prison for 12 years. He had stolen several cars (during the Franco era) that he later sold for parts to scrap yards and repair shops in order to make some money. He was one of those (thousands of) prisoners who didn't benefit from the "political amnesty" at the end of the 1970s [ed. - *transition to democracy*]. He was also one of the rebels who organized the Committee of Prisoners in Struggle (COPEL, which was already in decline by then), and no one wanted anything to do with them.

If my family was "poor," then Doña Cristina's family lived in the most abject destitution. The subhuman conditions in which that woman survived (together with her daughter and her children's children, and without a "husband" or any kind of economic support) infuriated me so much that I decided to help her out...

It was the summer of 1982.

Like every morning, a swarm of human beings was set in motion. They spread out in all directions like tiny worker ants – little rows and groups of men, women, and children on the way to their

"Rachel said she had told her partner not to bring the kids when coming to visit her. *"They were just too young. They would only be confused by the Plexiglas in the visitor's cubicle. Being able to see their mother, but not reach out and touch her."* I thought of an article I'd read once, about animal testing laboratories. One method used by lab technicians to create symptoms of stress and depression in mammals involved removing newborn babies from their mother, then placing the mother in isolation. I looked up at the florescent ceiling lights within their shatter-proof wire cages. Soon the nurse came and people lined up to receive their daily doses of sedatives and anti-psychotics – a precautionary measure, prescribed to virtually everyone, like cutting off the beaks of factory farmed chickens to prevent them from pecking themselves, or each other, to death from the stress of confinement and isolation. My views of the prison system solidified: prisons are little more than warehouses for concentrating the poor. Rather than being populated by the people most harmful to society, they are crowded with those who have been the most harmed *by* society. Rather than being "correctional" facilities, they are a method of ridding the streets of those who act as living reminders of the crisis of poverty, the widening income gap, the future of hardship which may very well await many more in the coming years if something does not change. Prisons are a way of sweeping people under the rug. They are a way of pretending that nothing is wrong."

- These Burning Streets

workplaces and schools. From their outfits and uniforms, it was easy to figure out their job, schooling, and even the "social class" they belonged to.

Few workers went to work in their own cars. Most of them used public transportation or woke up a little earlier and went on foot.

I was sitting at the wheel of a Seat 131 I'd stolen that very night from another part of the city. My friends' faces were tense, observing every movement on the streets adjacent to the Bank – every car, every person, everything.

I watched a cleaning worker enter the Bank at this early hour: the headscarf covering her hair, the yellow rubber gloves, the little plastic bucket that probably held cleaning products and supplies. I was reminded of my mother, who was doing exactly the same thing as this woman, but in another country 2,500 kilometers away.

Toni tapped my shoulder and told me to move the car. Here, parked right in front

of the Bank, we were drawing too much attention to ourselves.

Toni was known as "Lefty." Years later he was found murdered alongside his girlfriend Margot. Both of them had been shot in the head. Word on the street was that it was the work of the Vigo police department's Robbery Squad.

Toni was 15 years older than me, so he must have been around 30 at the time. He had just recently been released from prison and was part of a group that was responsible for supporting and disseminating the struggle of prisoners.

I always liked his demeanor. He didn't talk too much, and when he did speak, he was usually very specific.

Moure (who committed suicide years later) was sitting next to me in the passenger's seat. He winked at me, smiling while he cleaned the oil off the weapons he had in his lap.

Moure also belonged to the prisoner solidarity group. Like Toni, he was older than me and had been in prison.

We drove to the outskirts of the city since there usually wasn't any police presence there. After all, the poor didn't need to be "protected" from their misery. The money was downtown, in the Banks.

Once we were out in the sticks, we got out of the car to stretch our legs a bit. We'd spent the whole night driving around, and we were tired and needed sleep.

Toni picked up a twig. In the dirt, he began to sketch out the positions we would take up and the steps we would follow during the robbery. We also

Moure followed a few steps behind, also masked and armed with a revolver.

I saw them disappear into the Bank. Some pedestrians were dumbstruck by the whole scene. They were staring at the Bank, and then they looked in my direction.

I didn't know exactly what I was supposed to do with these "spectators," but to calm my nerves I decided to get out of the car and do something. I grabbed the rifle and approached them, saying something like: "Move along assholes! Get out of here before I start shooting!"

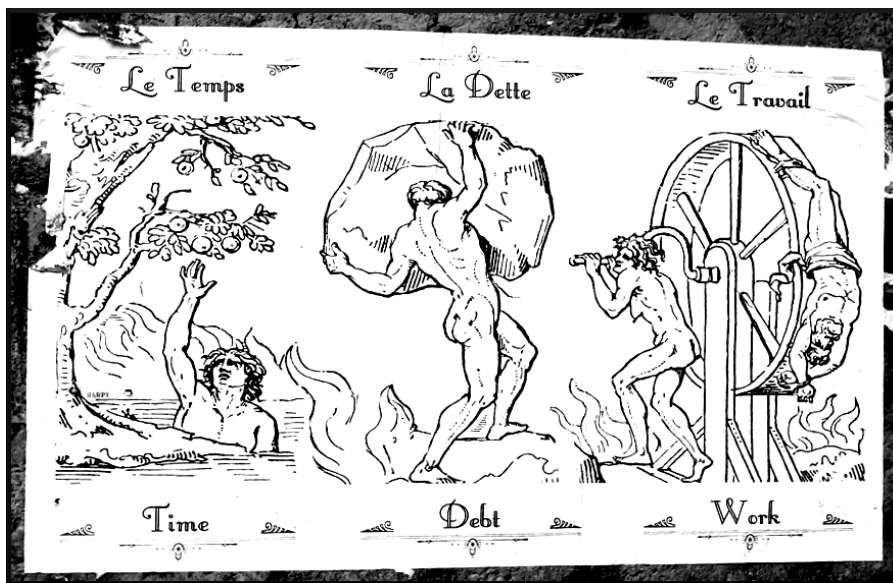
them at a spot we had chosen in advance, where they hid themselves, the weapons, and the money. I had to get rid of the car far away from our "base," and I usually torched the cars we used.

A few days later, Doña Cristina found a bag full of 150,000 pesetas on her doorstep. Around the neighbourhood, graffiti appeared in red paint: Total amnesty! All prisoners to the streets!

The neighbourhood leftists talked about "political prisoners," but people in the neighbourhood didn't understand them. After all, the "political prisoners" had already been released thanks to two partial amnesties. They talked about "solidarity," about "freedom," but only for prisoners from their organizations. What about the prisoners from the neighbourhood?

I didn't attend "political" meetings. I was 15 years old and didn't understand what the people there were saying. Also, it was always the same ones who spoke. They talked like "television personalities."

I said goodbye to my friends with an embrace. They had a meeting to go to. I was planning to rob a food warehouse in Revilla and then distribute the food throughout the neighbourhood. It was an action I managed to pull off successfully.



discussed the roads and routes we would use for our escape after the robbery.

During this first action, I would have to remain in the car and "cover our withdrawal" in case the pigs showed up. For the task, Moure handed me a Winchester repeating rifle that very much reminded me of the ones "cowboys" carried in Hollywood movies.

Once everything was sorted out, we got back in the car and headed for our target. Each one of us was immersed in himself. **At such moments, there is nothing left to say. Everything has already been said. All that remains is total silence, complete concentration, and indescribable tension.**

We arrived. When we were a few meters from the Bank, Toni told me to stop the car, but we hadn't yet come to a full stop when I saw him leap out as if propelled from a slingshot. With a ski mask covering his face and a pistol in his left hand, he shouted: "Come on, let's go, let's go!"

I wasn't wearing a ski mask, and the only thing partially covering my face was a pair of sunglasses. Luckily, it wasn't necessary to repeat my threats. The spectators left the scene. I remained outside the car, watching the Bank with my rifle pointed down the street in case the pigs showed up. **My heart was beating furiously in my chest. I reached for my asthma inhaler, then remembered that I had left it at home. My hands were sweating. Each minute became an eternity.** If the pigs appeared, I was prepared to shoot. That's what we had agreed to. I told myself that next time I wasn't going to stay in the car. It was better to be inside the Bank. Finally, I saw my friends exit the Bank and come running in the direction of the car. I jumped in, threw the rifle in the back seat, and picked them up.

In the car, all the tension and energy that had built up during the robbery was released. My friends were all smiles, and so was I. They joked about how I looked with the rifle and sunglasses. We took the prearranged route at top speed, and I left

"Call me when you're planning another action. I'm just not interested in politics."

Over the course of two years, we managed to successfully expropriate over 20 bank branches and a dozen gas stations, along with other actions of that type...

Almost 30 years have now gone by since those events, those times, those "speeches," yet differentiating between prisoners still seems to be "topical."

It's absurd to think that only prisoners with political consciousness are worthy of our "solidarity." As if Doña Cristina's son wasn't also a result of the system's contempt. As if the "lumpen" were incapable of drawing conclusions from their own experiences and circumstances. As if their lack of "education" and "culture," of money and support, wasn't punishing and ostracizing enough in itself.

In prison, those differences are meaningless and irrelevant, because the

architecture of prison doesn't "mix" prisoners according to their "political ideology." It's quite the opposite. Time, architecture, "employees," conditions, attitudes, and individualities are all artificially constructed in such a way that the "day-to-day operations" produce relationships of power and coercion – in other words, alienation, contempt, etc.

One defense mechanism (or even better, self-defense) against these false "dichotomies" (compartmentalizations), inside as well as outside (the System is the same on both sides of the walls), is informal organisation based not only on action, but on any activity in accordance with a "distribution of tasks" that pursues two simultaneous ends: "living our lives in the here and now," but also defining more "ambitious" goals that "transcend" our own "individuality" without dehumanising or alienating anyone in the name of some hypothetical "community" or "communism."

What we want, or at least what I want, is the disappearance of power relations based on coercion: to live and act according to the principles of our hearts, to see "others" not as "objects" and/or "subjects" but as individuals.

Freedom doesn't mean "alienating" ourselves. It means understanding our common "interests" and desires in pursuit of a shared liberty, and in that sense living/organizing and acting/thinking in concert without having to "sacrifice" oneself to delegation, participation, dirtying one's hands, getting involved, accepting "responsibilities," etc.

No single organization takes precedence over my individual liberty, and I don't want to be part of any revolution that doesn't let me dance.

EXPLOITERS SMASHED & EXPROPRIATED

30.06.13, Jakarta, Indonesia: *Three-floor clothing warehouse burnt down* "to show to the unionists that the workers goals are not to be workers anymore, and not for eight-hours, democracy inside the factory, freedom of association or other reformist demands." *A contribution to the Informal Anarchist Federation / International Revolutionary Front (F.A.I./F.R.I.) by 'Anger Unit' of the International Conspiracy for Revenge.*

04.03.13, Athens, Greece: *F.A.I. 'Lone Wolf' cell claims the attempted expropriation of Emporiki Bank.* "The blowing up of the ATM was by the method of Plofkraak (using an LPG cylinder that drains the gas inside the safe and ignites/explodes by the use of a battery that activates the ignition lamp). But this time luck was on the side of the enemy[...] this ATM had a special protection system (insulating material lining the inside of the safe which absorbs an amount of the explosion). So the ATM blew up, but we didn't manage to break into the safe. Then we poured gasoline onto whatever was left and we delivered it to the fire of destruction. From now on, whatever can't be robbed, will be burnt[...] We hate money and its power. We expropriate it only to ignite, through the new anarchist urban guerilla, the destruction of the false idols of economy and the morality of the civilised..."

23.04.12, Barcelona, Spain: "At 11:30 PM an employment office was attacked with stones from the ground and once the windows were broken, paint bombs were thrown on the exterior. Then, the street was blocked off."

30.04.12, Hamburg, Germany: *Work agency windows smashed.* "Work takes away any passion from your life, it reduces it to producing and consuming, steals any time from you for dreaming and to live." *They mention Christy Schwundek, "shot dead by the cops at the jobcenter in Frankfurt, just because she did not want to submit to the usual intimidations", and Holger Wiemann, "who has been sentenced to 3.5 years of prison because he set the jobcenter on fire in Wuppertal, since he was in a rage against it."*

17.04.12, Cambridge, U.K.: *A promotional employment van is set on fire outside the Jobcentre by F.A.I. 'Fire Cell'.*

29.03.12, Barcelona, Spain: *The general strike that paralyzed much of Spain begins in Barcelona at midnight with pickets closing down bars (later in the day it escalated into the largest rioting seen for 30-odd years). In the centre, one group of hooded picketers enters a casino, presumably to shut it down, but once inside carries out a quick robbery and made off with 2,300 euros in cash.*

03.10.10, Athens, Greece: *Dozens of anarchists storm a supermarket.* "Some of the comrades were blocking the street outside the supermarket holding a banner, distributing flyers and shouting slogans, while the rest of the group was expropriating the products from within. The products were distributed afterwards at the local public market[...] Police arrived within a few minutes and did not manage to locate any of the people involved in the action. [...] There is always room for patience, tolerance and submission. There is always the chance for each and every one to mind his *[sic]* own business, to look out for his survival, to try to move through the choking reality of our everyday living and to end up at his little nest in the conformance of the drug of his choice. But there is another way[...] against this monstrous system that is controlling our lives[...] for the total overthrow of it and not just demanding better terms of slavery."



08.09.10, Buenos Aires, Argentina: *A part of the Luciano Arruga Brigade (named after one of the many youths "disappeared" by the Argentinian police during the post-fascist democracy) "attacked the offices of exploitative French company Carrefour, stealing a significant sum of ill-gotten money[...] Additionally, we stole a weapon and ammunition from a member of the Argentine Naval Command, which carried out repressive assignments for the exploitative business. [...] Apart from recovering resources, this action was carried out as a protest measure against the French state's xenophobic treatment of the Roma[...] Also, against the downsizing policy directed at the Carrefour workers."*



08.07.10, Buenos Aires,

Argentina: Various cells of the Luciano Arruga Brigade claim two bank robberies ("On both occasions, we took money from the tellers and – after a hasty retreat – left behind fake bombs in order to delay the pigs."), seizing weapons from two private security firms' employees, and unspecified attacks on class-collaborationist unions "against the bourgeoisie and the union bureaucracy".

26.03.10, Buenos Aires,

Argentina: Anarchists announced they "reclaimed money and a handgun from corrupt union leader Amadeo Genta and his goon when we assaulted them..."

01.01.10, Tijuana, Mexico:

'Anonymous Anarchist Action' claims seven successful hold-ups of OXXO stores. One cop dies during the robberies: "It was him or us[...]" All capitalist businesses are our objective: banks, stock exchange, currency exchanges, insurance companies, department stores, OXXO, Super 7, Seven Eleven, supermarkets." During the night they also machine-gunned 3 police vehicles and a private cop car in different parts of the city, without causing injuries. "We did this as a gesture of solidarity with the international hunger strike of anarchist prisoners called for by Gabriel Pombo Da Silva... from the 20th of December until January 1st..." Gabriel's hunger-strike (he was then held in Germany) was joined by anarchists in Chilean, Swiss, Swedish, Spanish, Argentinian and Italian prisons. The month beforehand, 'Anonymous Anarchist Action' burned 28 pick-up trucks of the Tijuana cops' brand-new fleet in solidarity with the upcoming hunger-strike, and two days into the strike anonymous comrades announced robbing a jeweller's shop in Rome.

'FACE TO FACE WITH THE ENEMY'

[ed. - This passage relates to the late 2013 death of Chilean anarchist, insurgent, hip-hop artist and bandit Sebastián Oversluj: gunned down in Santiago by a security guard of the state-run bank Banco Estado as his group prepared to execute a hold-up. Some managed to escape but two of his comrades (Alfonso Alvial and Hermes González) were arrested nearby, both with a history of street-level rebel activities and who the prosecutors want to connect to other robberies and attacks, and another is now a fugitive. Little over a month later a woman in black entered another Santiago branch of Banco Estado and badly wounded the security guard present with four shots, shouting "This is for revenge!". She collected his weapon and left her own, fleeing on a bike. Moments later the comrade Tamara Sol Vergara was captured after she drew the guard's loaded pistol in a nearby police station. Despite the patriarchal insinuations of the media – that there must be "romantic ties" or "emotional instability" to explain a woman's armed decision – motives for an attempt on the life of a capitalist lackey seem clear. Tamara Sol refused to identify herself or collaborate with the cops. She was brought to court the next day, where her grandmother shouted out to her "Strength, Sol, we love you. We are proud of you." (The family has had members assassinated by agents of the powerful in the past during the Pinochet regime.) Outside clashes broke out between cops and the solidarity gathering, one briefly detained for aggressing a journalist. Respect and complicity with Sol, Alfonso, Hermes and the fugitive in these tragic days. In honour of Sebastián, his life of propaganda by the deed in many forms, we present an excerpt below from the statement by ten anarchist and libertarian Mapuche indigenous action groups of Chile, who are named in the full text available online as 'With Tears in Our Eyes, With Closed Fists'.]

"The silent one walks insurgent, with meticulously thought-out, detailed steps, it is the voice of consistency, of confronting the world of daily and systematised violence, and hurling ourselves into the exquisite idea of freedom. Clandestine conversations that culminate in the preparation of actions. There is no time to pause, it is the urgency of being free that pushes us to take little and risk everything. It only takes a few minutes to let them know that we are always here, under their noses, my hands sweat, the cold of the metal that will spit out our hatred is ready, well prepared, hidden, always hidden. Everything has to surprise them, the eternal defenders of the bourgeois order, for our part everything is agreement and organisation.

Our clothes are adapted to the place and time, nothing is left to chance, the nervousness of placing oneself face to face with the enemy and not knowing if this time we will leave successfully.

It is the path we chose to take years ago now, crudely built by hand. Time seems dead, everything looks disturbingly calm. Go over the agreement, you there, me here, our bags empty, ready to be filled with money, none of what we come to steal of the commercial flow of a dead life will be our property, we live for an idea of freedom that doesn't give up. Once again we will let them know that we are always here,

"It's time to go in!"

"An olive-green tarp blocks the view of the interior of the Banco Estado branch located on Avenida La Estrella in Pudahuel [ed. - Santiago]. The impacts of bullets that passed through the partitions' windows and a firearm resting on the floor portray the violent robbery that affected the banking establishment yesterday."

This was how some of us were informed of the painful details of the action you carried out on Wednesday December 11th, 2013, when along with others you prepared to take back part of the wealth stolen by the rich and powerful of this country. And so it is that the vortex of the war brought you to more than a project. You understood the consistency between saying and doing, and you knew to fight the extremely poor conditions with those who raise up those dreams. **Robbery, expropriation, not only of money, but also of the time of waged labour that we recover is what calls us to utilise one of the tools most used by the rebels of history.** We share your decision: You have to contribute in the struggle and deliver your best.

They think that the dreams you hoped for were buried along with your body, riddled by the mercenary bullets of a miserable peon of the State/Capital, but they are wrong on just one point: **Our idea of Freedom does not die.** We unite ourselves with every form of propaganda you used, we value your total and complete integrity, and that is what we vindicate today.

Sebastián Oversluj Seguel died standing, fighting, happy, combating the miseries of this world, assaulting a centre for the accumulation of wealth, and we, despite the deep pain we feel with his passing, we are happy to have had the fortune of knowing you in life, of having crossed paths and shared smiles.



'THE ESSENCE OF MODERN SCHOOLING'

"The family and the tribe are the schools of savages," wrote James Mulhern.^[1] It would be far more accurate to say that "savages" don't have schools, but that would perhaps bring the whole idea of schools into question, or at least get the reader to think about how tribes have been replaced by schools, families by classes. If modern schools are presented as simply more advanced forms of something that has always existed, they somehow seem more unavoidable, a part of our "human nature." **Schooling is necessary to a society to the extent that a given society constitutes a social order where individuals are subordinated to some collectivity. Government and hierarchical social relations maintain "social order" in civilized societies, and are therefore prerequisites for the development of schooling.**

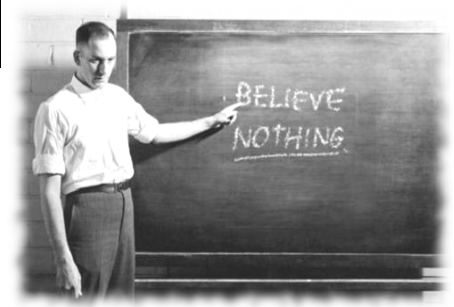
[...] *"The 'Enlightenment', which discovered the liberties, also invented the disciplines,"* wrote Foucault. *"In the eighteenth century, 'rank' begins to define the great form of distribution of individuals in the educational order: rows or ranks of pupils in the class, corridors, courtyards, rank attributed to each pupil at the end of each task and each examination; the rank he [sic] obtains from week to week, month to month, year to year; an alignment of age groups, one after another; a succession of subjects taught and questions treated, according to an order of increasing difficulty."*^[2] The individual was more and more enmeshed in a psychogeography shaped according to the interests of power. Such is the shape of the new schooling being forged during the Enlightenment, soon to be systematically applied by the nation-state. George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, for example, both saw education as a way to create a more "homogenous" citizenry. Benjamin Rush, echoing Aristotle's thinking, spoke the hidden truth of schooling: *"Let our pupil be taught that he does not belong to himself, but that he is public property."*

[...] Benjamin Franklin's virtues of temperance, silence, order, resolution, frugality, industry, sincerity, justice, moderation, cleanliness, tranquility, chastity, and humility were perhaps the Bourgeois virtues *par excellence*.^[3] These values were becoming ever more entrenched in society as industry progressed and *industriousness* became the absolute good: *"The workshop, the school, the army were subject to a whole micro-penalty of time (latenesses, absences, interruptions of tasks), of activity (inattention, negligence, lack of zeal), of behavior (impoliteness, disobedience), of speech (idle chatter, insolence), of the body*

('incorrect' attitudes, irregular gestures, lack of cleanliness), of sexuality (impurity, indecency). . . each subject find[s] himself [sic] caught in a punishable, punishing universality."^[4]

[...] Eventually, schools became graded, policy making centralized, curricula standardized, and architecture uniform. **What emerged were systems of public education, education having acquired its entirely institutional character. This development paved the way for the sterile bureaucracy of the 20th century.** The schools became important auxiliary institutions to the factory, teaching children to be orderly and tractable. **An important transitional period (1800-1830) in the development of industrial society in England and America was marked by a type of school known as a Lancaster or monitorial school.** Such schools were originally inspired by the schooling system in India whereby the caste system was preserved through the gathering of hundreds of children from the bottom two castes (95% of the population) into big rooms where they were taught self-abnegation and little else by a *Brahmin*. Joseph Lancaster, after reading a report of the Hindu system, worked to establish similar schools in England and the United States. These schools were very much like factories, emphasizing economy, routine, and competition. While this particular form of school did not survive, the ethos that informed the Lancasterian system continued. In other words, the factory continued to be a model for schools. Schooling became inextricably tied to the reproduction of the new industrial order and capitalist social relations. Given the importance of the new schooling system, it is no wonder that schooling would soon become compulsory.

[...] During the latter half of the 19th century, the United States, France, and



England, all established systems of public education with compulsory attendance. John Taylor Gatto describes the imposition of compulsory attendance in America: *"Our form of compulsory schooling is an invention of the State of Massachusetts around 1850. It was resisted – sometimes with guns – by an estimated eighty percent of the Massachusetts population, the last outpost in Barnstable on Cape Cod not surrendering their children until the 1880s, when the area was seized by militia and children marched to school under guard."* By 1900, most states had government schools and compulsory attendance.

An area of investigation that very clearly shows the role of schooling in a society is the conflict between a society that has schools (the United States) and societies that don't (American Indians). During the 300 years following the establishment of a Jesuit missionary school in Havana, Florida in 1568, Catholic and Protestant religious groups dominated attempts to educate Indian youth. It was in the 19th century that schooling came to be seen as a way of assimilating young Indians into the dominant (white) society. Civilization, Christianity, and farming were to be the values forced upon the uncivilized. *"In 1819 Congress established a civilization fund, which lasted until 1873 [when the Bureau of Indian Affairs took control of Indian education], to provide financial support to religious groups and other interested individuals who were willing to live among and teach Indians."*^[5] The House Committee that recommended the creation of the fund, revealed the philosophy behind the program: *"Put into the hands of their children the primer and the hoe, and they will naturally, in time, take hold of the plough... and they will grow up in habits of morality and industry..."*^[6]

[...] Schools represented, especially to American Indians, a new relationship to space, which was conceived of in linear terms. Lines, corners, squares, and straight rows represented industrial civilization's relationship to wilderness. **Space was colonized by the disciplinary imperative: freedom of movement was carefully regulated. As the student learns to heed the teacher's commands, he [sic] internalizes the discipline that shapes**

individuals. “A relation of surveillance, defined and regulated, is inscribed at the heart of the practice of teaching, not as an additional or adjacent part, but as a mechanism that is inherent to it and which increases its efficiency.”^[7] Is it any wonder that schools resemble prisons? As Morris and Rothman wrote, “With no ironies intended, they [19th century prison reformers] talked about the penitentiary as serving as a model for the family and the school.” Foucault has written of the transition from the penalty of spectacular torture to that of an organized prison system, roughly coinciding with the emergence of the nation-state and the Industrial Revolution: “The reform of criminal law must be read as a strategy for the rearrangement of the power to punish, according to modalities that render it more regular, more effective, more constant and more detailed in its effects...” An early reformer, Cesare Beccaria, wrote that “the most certain method of preventing crimes is to perfect the system of education.”^[8] Some time later Horace Mann declared that “School is the cheapest police.”

[...] In 1907, William C. Bagley published *Classroom Management*, which concerned itself with the most efficient operation of the “school plant.” School boards were increasingly dominated by businessmen, and a more utilitarian, career-focused education was called for.

“We couldn’t ask more from a patriotic motive than Scientific Management gives from a selfish one,” said Theodore Roosevelt, obviously full of enthusiasm. **Frederick Winslow Taylor (who developed Scientific Management) clearly grasped the import of his ideas when he wrote, “In the past the man [sic] has been first; in the future the system must be first.”** Taylor saw that the best type of industrial management in operation in his time was based on the workman taking initiative and the employer giving some special incentive in order to keep the worker motivated and productive. Taylor’s idea of Scientific Management or task management was that the employer could even more effectively and efficiently secure the initiative of workmen by studying the tasks of the workmen and developing a science for each element of a man’s work and then selecting and training workmen best suited for the tasks which the employer had familiarized himself with. By studying tasks, assigning workmen to definite tasks which they are to perform within a specified amount of time, and monitoring the workmen’s progress, the employer takes on new responsibilities, but will be able to greatly increase the efficiency of his operation. **Taylor was indifferent to the dehumanizing aspects of Scientific Management;** he felt that an increase in

efficiency would bring greater prosperity to all; and the rights of “the people” (in other words, people as consumers) were more important to him than those of employers or employees. Scientific Management sounded the death knell for what was left of the dignity or autonomy of labor – a prerequisite for the fast-paced consumer culture of today.

There was much enthusiasm for scientific management in the corporate world and especially the corporate media: articles appeared in popular magazines seeking to apply Taylor’s principles to the army, the legal profession, the home, the family, the household, the church, and of course, education. Taylor’s ideas “were adopted, interpreted, and applied chiefly by administrators; and while the greatest impact was upon administration, the administrator, and the professional training programs of administration, the influence extended to all of American education from the elementary schools to the universities.”^[9]

An abstract of a speech (regarding the application of scientific management to schools) delivered to the High School Teachers Association of New York City was published in the *Bulletin*:

A [...] Purpose or object of ‘Scientific Management.’

1. To increase the efficiency of the laborer, i.e., the pupil.
2. To increase quality of the product, i.e., the pupil.
3. Thereby to increase the amount of output and the value to the capitalist....^[10]

Another development was the Gary Plan, started in Gary, Indiana in 1908 by William A. Wirt, superintendent of schools there at the time. The Gary Plan consisted of the departmentalization of school subjects and children being “platooned” into groups that would use assembly rooms, gymnasiums, shops, laboratories, and playgrounds at the same time as other groups used classrooms so that all facilities were being utilized; and at the sounding of the bell, children would change classes. **The Gary Plan allowed administrators to show how efficient they were. After it was endorsed by the Federal Bureau of Education in 1914, it was blocked in New York in 1917 where riots broke out in opposition to it: schools were stoned**



“Society highly values its normal man [sic]. It educates children to lose themselves and to become absurd, and thus to be normal. Normal men have killed perhaps 100,000,000 of their fellow normal men in the last fifty years. [...] Children are not yet fools, but we shall turn them into imbeciles like ourselves, with high IQ's if possible.”
– *The Politics of Experience*

and police tires slashed and 300 students (mostly Jewish) were arrested. Nonetheless, by 1929, the Gary Plan or variants of it were in operation in 1,068 schools in 202 cities. After 1930, this specific form of schooling declined, yet Wirt’s innovations left a permanent mark on schooling in general.

[...] As John Taylor Gatto observed, “**Before the 20th century there was no parasitic army of assistant principals, coordinators, and assorted bureaucratic specialists.**” The increasing complexity of the administrative hierarchy and the proliferation of

standardized tests helped to ensure teacher conformity. Given impetus from the work of Edward Lee Thorndike, standardized testing spread rapidly after World War I and the Carnegie Corporation poured over \$3 million into the effort. **Worldwide, universal primary education became the goal of virtually all governments in the post-World War II era. Also in this era, higher education experienced tremendous growth in industrialized nations.**

More and more money is being put toward postgraduate training and scientific and engineering research and experimental development.

[Schooling] looks now like a finely tuned behavior modification machine, channeling people into various meaningless jobs for the rest of their lives. Schooling produces masses of people, not autonomous individuals. Individual parts of the schooling machine don’t really matter any more. Technology has obviously served to institute new forms of social control, as Marcuse observed in *One-Dimensional Man*.

Our very consciousness is surrounded on all sides by a mass media, and in this modern context, schooling becomes a technique of propaganda that functions *through the use of knowledge*, not in the service of any classical ideal. When Jacques Ellul wrote about modern propaganda in *Propaganda: the Formation of Men's Attitudes*, he emphasized that it is above all a set of methods of a technological society based on mass media that addresses individuals only as members of a mass that shares common feelings and myths. Ellul pointed out that not all propaganda is explicitly political. Schooling is a type of sociological propaganda, aimed at the integration of the individual into the social group. As students go hazily from class to class, box to box, schooling as a technique of social control perpetuates itself. And as leftists drone on about better education for the people, for the masses of people, they are unaware of what an important role they play in reproducing existent social and economic formations.

[...] In many ways, resistance to the proliferation of the factory system parallels the resistance to compulsory schooling. When a definite loss of autonomy was seen as a new and threatening imposition, radical acts of resistance and sabotage were not uncommon. The industrial system (along with puritanical morality) served to domesticate the exploited, allowing for resistance to be more easily recuperated through institutional channels such as union bargaining and political reformism. What were considered factory virtues are virtually the same thing as school virtues. Discontents who have internalized these virtues aim at tinkering with the repressive apparatus, not destroying it.

[...] In Hebrew there is one word for both "education" and "chastisement." The

powerful men of the ancient world were rather clear about what schooling entailed. **Today it is of the utmost importance to conceal the role of schooling in society.** Submission to authority is always the goal of schooling. The power wielded by authorities – the power to reward and punish, to habituate the individual to desired patterns of thought and action – works to integrate the individual into a hierarchical social order. [...] Society is the main actor, and individuals merely respond. To those who haven't picked up on this clever phrasing, "society" can be understood as those who have the power to make administrative and legislative decisions. Individuals only act as a part of "society" to the extent that they submit to existent social conditions, and possibly try to influence those who hold positions of power. [...] A more in-depth critique of schooling in particular came from Ivan Illich in *Deschooling Society*, published in 1970. Illich was opposed to the school as an institution and formed a cogent critique of its functions. Schools divide social reality: "education becomes unworldly and the world becomes noneducational." Illich saw childhood as a product of industrial society and a social category that perpetuates the authority of the schoolteacher. "Once young people have allowed their imaginations to be formed by curricular instruction, they are conditioned to institutional planning of every sort. 'Instruction' smothers the horizon of their imaginations. They cannot be betrayed, but only short-changed, because they have been taught to substitute expectations for hope." His criticisms of schooling are manifestly evident and entirely valid: "The school system today performs the threefold function common to powerful churches throughout history. It is simultaneously the repository of society's myth, the institutionalization of that myth's contradictions, and the locus of the ritual which reproduces and veils the disparities between myth and reality."

The themes inherent in theories of schooling have been rehashed for centuries.

It is all too easy to see the devastating effects of schooling in our everyday lives: people have lost their imaginations and others must determine the meaning of our lives. Students are taught to recognize that they are constantly under surveillance. The rooms are distributed along a corridor at regular intervals. The teacher stands in front of the class making sure that everyone displays acquiescence in receiving the lesson. Later the students are examined, tested – observed and controlled. The examination "manifests the subjection of those who are perceived as objects and the objectification of those who are subjected. The superimposition of the power relations and knowledge relations assumes in the examination all its visible brilliance."^[11] We must be made dependent, even helpless – memorizing bits of knowledge without any need. **All sorts of industries would collapse, John Taylor Gatto observed, "Unless a guaranteed supply of helpless people continued to pour out of our schools each year." Capital must dominate the future not just through the production of new commodity-things and technologies, but through the production of commodity-people. Every individual is merely a component, a piece of machinery.** This is the essence of modern schooling. [...] Yet the level of sensual freedom most of us experienced continued to be high until we were sent to school. At school, we found most of our life being structured into time slots in which we had to do certain things. "Pretending" was frowned upon, called immature. This intensive repression was very effective and it was not long before we learned to be good producers and consumers, seeking ever the approval of authority and our peers.

Still underneath it all is the wild animal we truly are. *And in all of us, it sometimes rebels.* We do not fully accept authority. We want to be able to just enjoy ourselves. We hate work and are bored by commodity consumption. We know life can be much fuller.

"Studying – or critiquing – civilisation and culture and ways of transmitting these knowledges to future generations basically made me examine the concept itself (that exists only in civilised human society) that is based on an understanding of people, and children, first of all as incapable of learning the right knowledge, how to live in the world. And by this of course the civilised mean in the civilised world, domesticated world.

And so first of all you mistrust them to learn because obviously these knowledges are not 'natural'... All other species, all the children are perfectly capable of learning how to live in their diverse biospheres and societies. So by taking children and forcing them to learn a certain standard, first of all you preclude the fact that they will be free to learn new ways, so you make sure that the paradigm repeats itself. [...] Human animals and non-human animals, they all are perfectly capable of learning about the world, enjoying the world, interacting creatively, socially, with the world. We're all part of this world. And in this domestication, in these civilised pedagogies, we are being misled. We are being forced to learn how to live in bondage.

[And so] the education system itself has to be dismantled."

- interview with Layla AbdelRahim on fighting domestication and colonisation, dismantling the school system, living and learning



RAGE OF THE WILD-CHILD WITHIN

01.02.14, Athens, Greece: *Two private school buses set on fire. "THE ONLY SCHOOL THAT ILLUMINATES IS THE ONE BURNING[...] LONG LIVE THE WILD FOXES OF THE WESTERN METROPOLISES". Signed 'Armed Teenagers'.*

10.09.13, Santiago, Chile: *The group 'Children Mutilated by Education' in affinity with the Informal Anarchist Federation / International Revolutionary Front let off a smoke bomb at the National Institute college to sabotage routine and order. Because "we don't want to carry on contributing to this stupid progress, we don't want to spend the best years of our youth confined in school with a few pathetic days of rest conceded only to make us more productive[...] In this place we are taught to obey without question, timetables, routines, ways of acting and following a way of behaving that will serve us later to be another cog, being a work hand or a professional with stupid routine activities. [...] There's always been people interested in knowledge and sometimes knowledge can offer us the cognitive weapons to break through the ruling ideology with which they try to inculcate us. This is more a critique of school as an imposition[...] for all those inspectors, teachers and directors who feel as if they have supreme authority, humiliating us and writing records and notes on us as if it was nothing when in reality they are playing with our future, acting just like judges and prosecutors. We remind them that despite our young age we know how to recognise those who hurt us[...] We will be the youth that do away with this shit."*

11.04.13, Reñaca, Chile: *Hours before a large 'march for education' renamed by the combative ones as the 'march for delinquency', arson struck the mansion of the former rector of University del Mer (who previously spent several weeks in prison due to all the money that he stole from thousands of heavily indebted students).*

23.05.13, Stockholm, Sweden: *On the fourth consecutive night of rioting after an elderly migrant was killed by police, at least two schools go up in flames alongside a shopping centre, police station and over 70 cars. Throughout the uprising schools were consistently smashed and burned.*

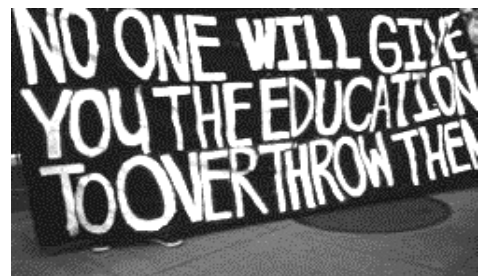
16.05.12, Montréal, Canada: *About a hundred people make a noise demo at the Tangay female detention centre (where three women accused were held after smoke bombs in three Montréal subway stations crippled the entire network for over two and a half hours during the morning rush and cost the city several million dollars in lost productivity.) This takes place during the Quebec 2012 student strike, sparked off by a tuition fee hike, which spiralled into many riotous assemblies (sometimes on a daily basis) and sabotages, and drew in broader participation from the disenfranchised, anarchists and other anti-systemics. Two of the prisoners are also accused of ransacking the University of Montréal during an occupation in April, and one of ransacking the offices of the former Education Minister as well as assaulting a photojournalist at the courthouse. The crowd communicate with the prisoners by using megaphones, fireworks are set off and a smoke bomb thrown at the cops.*

24.04.12, Barcelona, Spain: *"[A] religious school was attacked with paint bombs on the exterior, the locks sealed and the windows were blown out. [O]ur comrades are the ones that instead of occupying their schools and spouting reformist proclamations, decide to destroy the classrooms and burn the books."*

22.03.12, Barcelona, Spain: *A warning call evacuates an elite business school, before the bomb explodes. A reminder that "the origin and causes of our daily problems have no metaphysical foundation whatsoever. Poverty, exploitation, repression, and systematic abuse are the results of very concrete structures, of specific decisions taken by specific people who have specific interests. One such structure is called the College of Business Administration and Management (ESADE). Nestled in the middle of the wealthy Pedralbes neighbourhood, this school produces a stream of executives who – day after day – order, manage, and benefit from the destruction of the lives of the great majority of the population. Each year, the school propels social predators into the world, and for the rest of their lives they dedicate themselves to plundering and trampling [the exploited]."*

15.03.12, Valparaíso, Chile: *Incendiary/ explosive placed against the Association of Police Chiefs and Officials office to coincide with the first march that year of the confrontational Chilean student movement: "not in order to support their demands for free domestication but rather to contribute to the spread of revolt and direct action against all that oppresses us. Since we do not aspire to be students nor workers, we are free individuals recovering all that is wild that civilisation has robbed us of..."*

06.02.12, Santiago, Chile: *BBVA bank broken into to set a fire that destroyed the branch and damaged Santander bank next door. "This action gestated in the eternal hatred of a life rotted by a world of adults, a boring life of cement and rules... in every time they categorise us as men and as women, in every day of school, in every punishment, in every childhood dream transformed into adult realism... in every one fallen, every one murdered, in every particle of bastard asphalt[...] FIRE TO ALL THE PRISONS! TO ALL THE FAMILIES! TO ALL THE SEXUAL GENDERS! TO ALL AUTHORITY AND ALL THE CITIES... WE ARE CHILDREN AND WE WILL NOT PLAY WITH MUD WE WILL PLAY WITH FIRE"*



22.01.12, Hammamet, Tunisia: *Students armed with molotovs, stones and firecrackers attack their school which wanted to force them to be accompanied by their parents to justify their repeated absences.*

19.02.11, Grenoble, France: *"IUFM gates (school for teachers) has been closed with chains, and doors stuck with cold weld. Graffiti followed:*

1. This idea is echoed elsewhere: "In the most primitive cultures, there is often little formal learning, little of what one would ordinarily call school or teachers; for, frequently, the entire environment and all activities are school, and many or all adults are teachers..." "History of Education," *The Encyclopedia Britannica*. [ed. - We could consider the view of some Innuit elders, for instance, who said that "traditional knowledge is not static, and not something abstract and separated from the context in which it is produced, but is always related to the present. In this respect it contrasts with the modern education system, which sets great value on the absorption of objectified knowledge." (Saulla Nakasuk, Hervé Paniaq, Elisapee Ootoova and Pauloosie Angmaalik)]
2. Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*
3. David B. Tyack, *Turning Points in American Educational History*. Noah Webster: "...good republicans... are formed by a singular machinery in the body politic, which takes the child as soon as he can speak, checks his natural independence and passions, makes him subordinate to superior age, to the laws of the state, to town and parochial institutions." Benjamin Rush: "The government of schools... should be arbitrary. By this mode of education we prepare our youth for the subordination of laws and thereby qualify them for becoming good citizens of the republic. I am satisfied that the most useful citizens have been formed from those youth who have not known or felt their own wills til [sic] they were one and twenty years of age."
4. Foucault.
5. Jon Reyhaer and Jeanne Eder, "A History of Indian Education." Jon Reyhaer ed. *Teaching American Indian Students*.
6. Joel Spring writes, "In the early days of missionary schools, teaching the value of work became a major source of conflict between teachers and parents." Joel Spring, *The Cultural Transformation of a Native American Family and Its Tribe 1763-1995*. Along with the teaching of "a good work ethic" came profound social transformations. For example, "Among Choctaws, who traditionally did not have social classes, schooling became an important means of creating and distinguishing social classes."
7. Foucault.
8. Cesare Beccaria, *An Essay on Crimes and Punishments*. Beccaria nonetheless did not foresee the rise of common schools and compulsory schooling.
9. Raymond E. Callahan, *Education and the Cult of Efficiency: A Study of the Social Forces that Have Shaped the Administration of Public Schools*.
10. Some suggested labor saving devices were printed outlines, seating plans, recitation cards, and attendance sheets.
11. Foucault.

"there's no good master, burn your school" [...] "better unemployed than teacher" and some more... On a school: "school is prison / scols [ed. - like a suck-up] are screws, death to the director / down with all prisons". A Renault shop (employs prisoners) attacked: glass broken and about 30 vehicles with tires down."

21.09.10, Coacalco, Mexico: *Butane gas bombing at the New School of Technology headquarters* "because it represents the new era of these centres of domestication called schools, where they learn things that are useless for a free life, but necessary for a life of slavery and alienation. They create beings that depend on technology in order to live in these concrete nests called cities, but more closely resemble large prisons. They train malleable minds to be used for entrepreneurship and to expand civilization..."

"They're wonderful these basic facts of school. [...] The elementary knowledge to all and each, the basis for knowing, the necessary know-how for living in the city, the particular useful things, the things that are more worth knowing how to do, speak, shut up if you want to get out of it. The particular things that you are interested in understanding, if you don't want to die too alone, too poor and not totally depressed. The essential things to a life in society, to a life like those who teach it to you, all of which you should know in order to manage for the better the way you are screwed. Read - the verdict - Write - inside the boxes - Count - the number of years that remain for you to endure. The ways of being, of bearing your slavery as serenely as possible. The modes of (non-)thought adapted to this stupid joke: your rotten condition. The schools, moulds for hordes of neurotic citizens and devotees who, like those who came before, assure and defend with passion and conviction the survival and the perennialness of (those who have made that which is) this world. The school makes it very easy for the cops, advertisers and other cynical, deceitful bastards. The school fabricates cops, advertisers and other deceitful, cynical bastards. The values of the school are those of the hated society: work, competition, performance, pridefulness, ambition, submission, obedience, collaboration, snitching... (etc, etc) Carrot, stick, efficacious results."

- *Because It All Starts In School, Start By Setting Fire To Your Own School Today (Hurry, There Won't Be Enough For Everyone)*

L'AMOUR CIVILISE

Translated from the French-language anti-civilisation journal *La Mauvaise Herbe*, Volume 11. no2



There's no right life in a wrong world.
- Theodor Adorno

Perform. Alarm clock. Shower, toast, coffee. The news. Crisis. Bus, subway. Emails, Facebook. Perform. Work. Lunch. Crisis. Coffee. Work. Subway, bus. Cook, eat. Emails, Facebook. Perform. TV series. Beer. TV series. Bed. Perform. Love.

L'amour.

Cohabitation, life as a couple.

Our world is a disgusting world - a thankless world. We spend life convincing ourselves of it, and it's true; and we chat to each other about it, we study it. "*Oh look, the world is now 5.6% crueller than last week!*"

Civilisation saves nothing. It advances, it consumes, it transforms everything it touches, and it touches everything. The process is total and self-referential. We are touched by it, changed by it: we sabotage the machine, the machine sabotages us.

But love?

The wheel turns. Perform. We want a full life, a real and happy life. We feel that it's possible and we want it. *We deserve it.* We have a right to it. Life as a couple, romance. Intimacy with another person. **The masks come off. We devote ourselves, we ally ourselves to this person, who will be there when things go badly, and when they go well. A person who will not abandon you.** A person who wants what's best for you, who really wants to know you, who knows you, who loves you as you are, sincerely.

Here, in love, everything has to be perfect. We realise we're in love, it's like fireworks. We go out, we have fun, it's the best. When we fuck it's a marathon, it's the frequency, the amount - we break the records.

The rest, the world, it's shit. But love, it's perfect. In a world of fakes, there are at least some honest things.

Outside, the wheel turns. The world is not getting better. Every day we are

trampled; the imbeciles are kings, the sociopaths give lessons in ethics. Smog, disease, poverty. Civilisation is hungry, and it opens yet another abattoir.

During the day, it's war. It's horrific. We die inside.

At night, everything has to be perfect. We pretend like nothing is wrong. *Nothing's up.* Love is our solution, it's our reward. *At least we're together. It's not that bad. But with time the brutality of the world invades our bubble. Stress, fatigue, humiliation. Time goes by, every day is the same. We can no longer recognise ourselves.* We get bored, we find ourselves ugly. We can no longer manage to perform; it's draining.

And no-one feels alive. The other is not perfect - has never been perfect. We manipulate ourselves and each other; *it's not that bad, we have good intentions.*

And it gets worse. Finally nothing is intact. Love is not what it was. We tear away from it. The dreams collapse. We no longer know who we are, we want to die.

There's nowhere to seek refuge.

The masks and artificial world remain, another life-lesson in a game where all the rules are against you. The love of the revolt remains, and love's revolt. Civilisation destroys everything? Let's destroy civilisation.

The wheel does not turn in circles. We cannot perform, we can only *be*. Love does not obey. We only really become close through something more than words, despite machines, above the noise. Our affection, it's like our anger. Love fights against the crazy daily rat-race and wants its death. **Love is what it is, sensual and subversive under the veneer of appearances.**

Together we realise that solidarity, liberty and empathy are not just words, but simply what we are... and we are the hatred of industrial society.

Together and against everything.

D'un amour chaotique.

Un amour sauvage.



PLAN FOR EUROPE'S BIGGEST CHILDREN'S PRISON

In January [2014] justice secretary Chris Grayling announced plans to build Europe's biggest child prison. Euphemistically called a 'secure college' or 'Pathfinder' the proposed facility is, in reality, an enormous new prison built to save costs by warehousing children and contracting out its running to private sector companies such as Serco and G4S.

The state intends to create a small network of "secure colleges" to hold the current 1,117 [ed. - imprisoned] children in England and Wales.

Construction of a 320-bed, £85m "pathfinder" secure college, which will hold girls and boys between 12 and 17, is due to begin next year, on land next to Glen Parva prison, Leicestershire.

The bill's proposals would allow staff in secure colleges to use potentially fatal restraint on children to enforce 'good order and discipline.' In 2008 the courts ruled that using force for these purposes breaches children's human rights because it can cause serious harm and was not shown to be necessary (the court referred to evidence that in secure children's Homes restraint is not used to enforce good behaviour by children convicted of an offence). Restraining children for reasons of "good order and discipline" is no more necessary now and it is just as dangerous today as it was in 2008.

This is about life and death for children. The 2008 case was triggered by the deaths of children in custody who had been restrained for failing to comply with orders. Fifteen-year-old Gareth Myatt protested when prison officers in a G4S-run secure training centre tried to remove a piece of paper from his room, which had his mother's mobile phone number on it. He was restrained by three officers who ignored his desperate pleas that he couldn't breathe. Adam Rickwood was 14 when he took his own life after being restrained by four members of staff in a secure training centre run by Serco.

This is blatantly a return to the old system of 'borstal' in which so called 'delinquent youth' were intended to be reformed, a system where training, education and moral influence were applied to fit offenders back into society and prevent them from reoffending again. The conditions in such borstals was a regimen designed to be "educational rather than punitive", but it was highly regulated, with a focus on routine, discipline and authority. **Borstal institutions were designed to offer education, regular work and discipline, though one commentator has claimed that "more often than not they were breeding grounds for bullies and psychopaths."** Evidence exists of brutality, both by staff towards the inmates and between inmates creating an atmosphere mirroring prisons, but for children instead.



The Criminal Justice Act 1982 abolished the borstal system in the UK, introducing youth custody centres instead.

There should be no illusion that imprisonment of youth and their so called reforming is an act of violence by the state to make those who rebel against their authority into upstanding citizens to fit back into the system. Of course imprisonment of youth has continued since the 'borstal' era, but what is apparent by this move is to incorporate into the general privatisation of the prison system, youth offenders, into an already ever increasingly securitised apparatus that aims to violently restrict freedom to those who do not fit in, to enslave them inside and once outside.

Fire to the new 'borstals'!

Let's break out of the prison society that surrounds us!

ATTACK THE PRISON APPARATUS AT EVERY CHANCE!

The poverty of the imagination lies in the political and the spiritual... The handout's gone as soon as you've got it, living hand to mouth, served up to you on a plate, the waterholes are pretty much always open. Some swallow the label that reads passive-victim, get angry with others for the shit groove they've carved out for themselves, do you only see yourself in terms of customer, worshipper, addict, patient, worker, prisoner and claimant, because these are not empowering positions to hold. It's no wonder you seek out mind-altering substances, who wants to look in the mirror at a brow-beaten servant failure? You sell yourself, the price of flesh, you put yourself on the shelf, the human commodity, they buy you to use you up, abuse you, cheaply priced, throw you away, then wash their hands, no strings attached, no responsibility, no respect, the body is now a commodity, a disposable nappy. What an ugly way to live.

Give me something to do, make me feel useful, make me feel important, give me a responsible position, give me authority, give me all these, then I will feel my worth, my place in society, my function in life, make me a knight then I can step - once to the right - from the black square - to the white square - I've completed a move, I've accomplished something, I'm a chess piece, I'd like a uniform, this security makes me feel so free, I have great responsibilities you know, what will I do when I have to think for myself?

Living without taking risks is the worst choice for it means dying impoverished.

[anon.]



A MUCH-NEEDED INVITATION TO DISCUSS THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE STATE, CAPITAL, & ALL FORMS OF AUTHORITY

[ed. - This text emerged from Barcelona in 2010, at the dawn of the period which saw the re-emergence of an insurrectionary presence on those streets after a lull of some years. Adding to the night-time actions, anarchists of different tendencies notably began carrying out attacks and disruptions in broad daylight, such as road blocks by burning barricades and destroying traffic signals, hurling molotovs on parked luxury vehicles, breaking surveillance cameras and bank windows, paint-bombing real estate agencies and fashion stores. The tone of these particular authors is somewhat dismissive of actions which don't necessarily resonate in 'the social sphere', which we don't entirely share, but we think it's a worthwhile read for whoever has, does or will go on the attack and pays attention to all the relevant dynamics.]

Some of the tools or practices that define us as anarchists/autonomists/anti-authoritarians are direct action and sabotage, which we use in order specifically to contribute to the extension of social conflict and revolt, thereby keeping our lives in our own hands.

The goal of this document is to invite all those who have taken their first steps – all the [Iberian] Peninsula's and (why not?) the world's anti-authoritarians – **to open up a space for argument/discussion/reflection/(self-)critique, and to leave behind silence, anonymity, and communicating with one another solely through claims of responsibility for the actions we carry out.** It's very important to us that we don't remain isolated in the face of the diverse reality in which we live. Therefore, we need continuous discussion, the purpose of which is to keep the necessary tools of struggle in good working order, sharpening our aim and exceeding our limits along the way. We also want to draw inspiration and encouragement from all the little jolts and gestures of solidarity, which remind us that the struggle continues and we are not alone.

A FEW PRELIMINARY EXPLANATIONS: ATTACK AS PART OF POLITICAL PRAXIS

The instances when we practice direct action are quite varied. Sometimes, in the case of direct, frontal attacks on the symbols of capital and the state (those responsible for Earth, animal, and human exploitation), actions have an attacking quality. Other actions are carried out defensively in response to aggression directed against us, like social conflict,



imprisonment, and death. And still others develop within the contexts and time frames of specific campaigns.

When we talk about direct action, we don't just mean going out one night to smash, destroy, burn, etc. **Our understanding of direct action is that it is valid when it is also accompanied by revolution in one's everyday life.** Additionally, we must be capable of analyzing what types of actions are most appropriate for the times and the situations we find ourselves in. Through the different communiqués that are circulating, we happily see that we are once again taking back the night. But we're not taking back the streets during the day, which would provide us with the knowledge and opportunities we need to spread our ideas and practices.

We also understand that revolutionary practice can't be based exclusively on direct action. Instead, direct action should be complemented by other political projects and spaces – anarchist libraries, social centres, newspapers, magazines, radio stations, street propaganda, and collectives that tackle specific problems – **but only when these are disassociated from authoritarian logic and peaceful coexistence with existing power structures.** It is in the sum of these practices that we find our overall contribution. Otherwise, if there is no networking, interchange, and mutual support, and if we don't manage to understand the contribution each of us makes, our actions and initiatives will ultimately remain isolated, valueless, and insignificant, which would be a shame and a real waste of energy for everyone. It's completely understandable that each

comrade tends to focus on the type of practice that responds most closely to her [sic] concerns, and we don't want to fall into the stale (and often poorly developed) critique of specialization, since we do think certain practices require special – if not exclusive – dedication and attention. But we want to emphasize our belief that we make a key error each time we look down on the initiatives mentioned above, whether for political or strategic reasons. Weighing the practice of propaganda against that of action, as if both weren't intimately related and mutually reinforcing in a synergy of nearly undefinable limits (action is without a doubt the best form of propaganda, while propaganda extends, sustains, and gives content to action), is too simplistic an approach to even consider. **Propaganda, at least as we understand it, is a moment of anarchist political forment, a way of nourishing the soil from which actions and everything else sprout.** We have to find the forms that enable us to strike more and strike better, and extend them to different areas of life. Sadly, for many, the principal meeting spaces for this purpose are the countless *fiestas* that fill the weekly "anti-authoritarian" agenda.

CONFRONTING ATTACK

In questioning ourselves about possible reasons for the lack of actions, the loss of the streets, or the pitiful social peace that has befallen us, we concluded that it was necessary to engage in self-critique (but always with humility). We reject arrogant attitudes, bragging (which perhaps we've all done at some point), and vanguardism. **We've all felt and experienced fear, put up with some shitty situations, or simply avoided them. As human beings, we can't deny those feelings, but we must work diligently so that they don't paralyze us, lead us to passivity or inaction, and make us "put out the fires" in our own lives.** By the same token, we have to be sincere with ourselves and experience these processes step by step, decisively but without rushing or doing a shoddy job, and always looking ahead. Just as we don't believe in hierarchising the tools of struggle, we also don't feel that someone is greater or lesser because they once did some thing or another. Devaluing our experiences of attack and the emotions they trigger, along with denying our own weaknesses and feelings, not only signify self-deception, but also a lack of revolutionary honesty toward our comrades (especially the youngest ones). What's then conveyed are fetishistic

“The state imposes an artificial stability. Under the urban asphalt the social tensions can grow discreetly, until an unpredictable moment when they burst forth and destroy that stability. History doesn’t change in peaceful waves, but in violent ruptures. But if we wait, be it for waves or for ruptures, while the state busies itself every day with winning the contest, we won’t be able to facilitate the rupture or be prepared when it comes. We have to prepare ourselves. Yet while preparation is very important, courage and ease of action are more important still, and one does not attain these qualities talking and drafting proposals for hours on end[...] Ease of action is attained after the action. Courage is attained with practice, or with groups of friends who are also afraid but decide to confront this fear together. [...] More actions can be carried out in broad daylight, checking out the surrounding streets first to make sure there’s no passing patrols, dedicating thirty seconds to your target - all the while greeting the witnesses with a well masked smile - and disappearing into the multitude. In this way a simple painting or broken window becomes a public event, a little rupture in normality that will affect the rest of the day of everyone who saw it and infiltrate in their conversations with colleagues and family.” - *It's Easy to Attack*

visions of violence and struggle divorced from the codes of values and humanity that characterize their practice. In addition, a door is opened to disastrous and sometimes irreparable results. By saying that, we don’t mean all actions should be governed by the same principles. The anarchist/autonomous milieu, despite its reduced size, encompasses a rich diversity of tendencies and ideological poles. But due to the serious consequences that can result from putting action into practice, we believe that an effort must emerge from each of these ways of thinking to put on the table all the truths and lies of a tool that won’t admit its mistakes.

Another immature approach to attack is the oversimplification and linearity with which actions are often evaluated. **Placing them on a “hardness” scale, or to say it another way, a scale that goes from a low to a high level of spectacle, reduces analysis of the action to its most superficial aspect, failing to comprehend that it’s not only the tools used – hammers, incendiary devices, explosives, firearms – that define an action’s character, but a complex of parameters among which one finds the tools, but not just the tools.** We think an attack can be evaluated via multiple facets. An attack is coherent if it responds to the political principles that led to its planning. It has agitational value insofar as its capacity to create cracks in social schemes and composition. It is personally satisfying if it responds to the need for revolt and confrontation of the people who participate in it. It is strategic if it is directed toward achieving an objective within a predetermined plan. It is effective if it really manages to achieve that objective. And so on and so forth. By analyzing things this way, we realize that breaking a window – at a specific time of day, with a specific goal in mind, within a specific context – can often achieve what using more destructive tools can’t. And of course the opposite also applies: at other times, sitting down to analyze the situation and think about what action should be carried out, we reach the conclusion that it’s more appropriate to turn to something more than a stone or a hammer.

AFFINITY GROUPS AND NETWORKS

Actions can be carried out by affinity groups, but that affinity shouldn’t be based solely on *compas* [ed. - “*compañerxs*”, *somewhere between friends, colleagues, affines and comrades: no direct English equivalent exists*] sharing a certain practice. We understand and experience affinity as something deeper and more personal: knowing your *compas* well enough to reach a high state of tune and rapport. Knowing their character and the way they will react to possible unforeseen circumstances having to do with other components of the group allows the most appropriate decisions to be made at the least favourable moments, thereby avoiding arrests and other unpleasant situations. Likewise, it also seems vitally important to us that everyone should feel comfortable and secure – in short, at ease – about the action to be carried out.

Another crucial aspect, and one that often suffers from a severe deficiency, is the matter of the “networks” or infrastructure (human and material) that support a group’s activity. Organising a network of collaborators and material elements (safe houses, tools, etc.) significantly broadens the perspectives and possibilities to which an action group can aspire.

On the other hand, the scant support and communication between groups (consolidated or emerging) should be increased and improved in order for us to contribute to our overall conception of what is possible and viable. **Here an important role is also played by people from other generations with more knowledge and experience.** This aids in transmission of technical knowledge and more general advice (like how to “move around” on the streets), while also preventing the repetition of errors.

Because ultimately, in the face of all the system’s repression and all the witch hunts society has organized against the “enemy within,” we need strong support and solidarity among ourselves.

FROM THE DEFENSIVE TO THE OFFENSIVE: REALISING OUR OBJECTIVES AND DISCOURSE

When we read communiqués that claim responsibility for an action, we see that most of them accompany attacks whose discourse is anti-repression and anti-police. We spoke above about different actions and approaches we can direct at our enemies, but we realise that we normally allow ourselves to be carried away by the current generated by their repressive maneuvering. **We believe that, apart from organising the necessary responses, we should be taking the initiative to attack more and attack better. In other words: truly shifting to the offensive; diversifying our targets; “taking careful aim”; always trying to cause as much material damage as possible; bringing the conflict to those who are specifically responsible, focusing especially on their property (homes, cars, shopping centers); striking the actual structures of capitalist and state institutions; and letting our imaginations run wild.** Remember the symbolic aspect of these actions. No action will destroy the entire mechanism of power by itself, but there should be an urgency to how we materialise the confrontation.

Communiqués must serve more of a purpose than simply communicating the action as an event. Although writing more involves a certain added risk, we still truly lack communiqués with sharper discourse and clearer political positions. This is doubtless an aspect for all of us to work on.

KEEP LEARNING, KEEP FIGHTING

Even though this world takes so much away from us, it also provides us with a wide range of useful means for the development of direct action. In this sense, any tool is capable of being turned into a weapon. Common pieces of furniture we find thrown away on the city streets, as well as objects that are easy to find in any store, etc., can be tremendously destructive. It’s necessary to make the effort to learn the techniques of sabotage and to put creativity to work on what can be useful to us. Making the decision to attack a target as a group is not difficult. There are many ways and countless different methods that have already been

put into practice, and there are still many more to discover, right there in our reach.

Nevertheless, that shouldn't take away from the fact that sound preparation and well-studied methods will allow us to carry out solid, secure attacks with the highest probability of success.

We dream of a world filled with little gangs/groups/crews spread throughout the cities; a world in which bosses, the rich, judges, pigs, reporters, torturers, and exploiters can count on being ridiculed and attacked; a world in which they fear for their property and the tranquility of their filthy lives.



Incendiary clashes in Barcelona, in 2012's general strike

Like we've said, our words are animated by a deep desire to encourage, provoke, and discuss. We aren't the first and we won't be the last to write and say these things, but the flame of freedom born in our hearts drives us to say them again and put them into practice.

Because we want to keep fighting, we must keep learning. This is our small contribution to the interchange of approaches and experiences called for by collective learning. We invite those to whom these lines are addressed to reflect, share knowledge, and contribute to enriching the heritage of a struggle based on all kinds of experiences. It has been forged by all, and it belongs to all.

SOLIDARITY AND FREEDOM FOR THE OPPRESSED, PRISONERS, AND THOSE UNDERGROUND.

A WINK TO THOSE IN STRUGGLE ON THE OUTSIDE.



- Barcelona, Summer 2010

'THE SEARCH FOR AFFINITY'

We believe that anarchists have the most amount of freedom and autonomy of movement to intervene in social conflictivity if they organize themselves in small groups based on affinity, rather than in huge formations or in quantitative organizational forms. [...] Many draw back in front of affinity. It is in fact a lot easier and less demanding to sign up to something, be it an organization, a permanent assembly or a scene and to take up and reproduce formal characteristics, rather than undertaking a long and never exhausted search for comrades with whom to share ideas, analysis and eventual projects. **Because affinity is exactly this: a reciprocal knowledge between comrades, shared analysis that lead to prospectives of action.** Affinity is therefore directed on one hand towards theoretical deepening and on the other towards intervention in social conflictuality.



permanence. It can "increase" up until the point that a shared project becomes possible, but on the other hand, it can also "decrease" until it makes it impossible to do

anything together. The archipelago of affinity groups therefore constantly changes. This constant change is often pointed out by its critics: one cannot build anything from this, because it is not stable. We are convinced of the opposite: **there is nothing to be built around organisational forms that revolve around themselves, away from the individuals that are part of it.** Because sooner or later, at the first blows, excuses and tricks will anyways surface. The only fertile ground on which to build is the reciprocal search for affinity.

Finally, we would like to point out that this way of organization has the further advantage of being particularly resistant to the repressive measures of the state[...]

Where crystallized formations and big organizations can practically be dismantled in one hit, because of the same fact that they are rather static, affinity groups remain agile and dynamic even when repression hits. Since affinity groups are based on reciprocal knowledge and trust, the risks of infiltration, of manipulation and snitching are much more limited than in huge organisational structures to which people can formally join or in vague surroundings where it is only necessary to reproduce certain behaviour to join the club. Affinity is a quite hard base to corrupt, exactly because it starts from ideas and it also evolves according to these ideas.

[...] It is true that the search and the deepening of affinity require a lot of time and energy, and that therefore it is not possible to generalize it to *all* comrades. The anarchist movement of a country, of a city or even of a neighbourhood cannot become one big affinity group. **It is not about enlarging different affinity groups with more comrades, but to make possible the multiplication of autonomous affinity groups.** The search, the elaboration and the deepening of affinity leads to small groups of comrades that know each other, share analysis and pass together to action. [...] Since its search is permanent, affinity evolves in

"Those scrappy guerilla conflicts in which underequipped ragtag rebel forces manage to inflict surprisingly serious losses on powerful armies of state. Lacking the vast, if unwieldy, arsenal of the establishment the rebels fall back on cunning. Their attacks while often slight are frequent and sustained aggravation can be more demoralising over time than a few high-casualty spectaculars. At such an ordnance disadvantage guerillas use whatever lies at hand, sometimes finding in the material of the everyday a devastating dual purpose."

- We Have to Talk About Kevin

ANIMALS MADE TO ORDER



[ed. - Posted 04.03.13 on the blog *Uncivilized Animals*, based in the (occupied) United States]

There is a scale of violence that can only be achieved by a civilized society.

Free people with simple tools are just not adequate for the realization of some tasks. Warriors can only do so much without the support of bureaucrats and the tip of a spear cannot reach as far as a predator drone.

Most helpful to achieve certain levels of violence is rigid hierarchy, wage or slave labor, complex technology, standardization, mass society, and a cool distance (physical or psychological) between assailant and victim. **In short: people need to show up for work and the trains need to run on time.** To the extent that these things are missing, the scale of violence will almost necessarily be diminished.

Enter Jackson Laboratory. They have achieved a scale of ongoing violence that is difficult to conceive. They provide a key part of the infrastructure of the animal experimentation industry.

A staggering number of the mice who fill the cages in animal laboratories around the world originate from JAX Mice & Services, a division of Jackson Laboratory based in Bar Harbor, Maine (with additional locations in Sacramento, California and Farmington, Connecticut). Approximately two-thirds of Jackson Laboratory's \$214 million 2011 operating budget was dedicated to JAX Mice &

Services. **From June 2010 through May 2011, JAX Mice distributed over 3 million mice to more than 900 institutions in 56 different countries.** And more than 1 million live mice are held at the Bar Harbor headquarters.

But as *The Connecticut Mirror* has explained: "[t]hese aren't just any mice. These are the product of a sophisticated, highly controlled and protected mouse-breeding operation. They live in rooms designed to be impenetrable to the smallest unwelcome microbes, in cages stacked floor-to-ceiling and supplied with filtered air that changes once a minute. They're cared [sic] for by handlers wearing protective suits, who know their inbred charges so well they can spot a potential genetic mutation that even a biologist might not notice."

JAX Mice has over 7000 different genetic strains of mouse available for purchase by animal experimenters around the world. Many of the varieties have been bred specifically to exhibit particular pathologies or to develop various diseases. The "features" – or more accurately, ailments – of each genetic strain can be found by using the extensive JAX Mice online database. Using their advanced search, one can search for mice by "phenotype of interest" or "human disease of interest." Their database can also be searched by "disease term."



Stock Number: 000646 "It is highly susceptible to cortisone-induced congenital cleft palate. It has a high incidence of spontaneous lung adenomas, and lung tumors readily develop in response to carcinogens."

"The anthropocentric paradigm of the system makes a *thing* of every living being, turning it into goods, flesh for slaughter, exploitable resources, organs for dissecting: a malleable and modifiable pile of cells, genes or atoms. The system's different forms of oppression merge and permeate one into another, forming a net of links and relations. Taking out a single issue from this net means losing contact with reality and misunderstanding the development of power. We have got to ask ourselves what we are opposing, we must recognise the need to unite the different battles for liberation, never losing that tension that put us against the whole of society, that doesn't let us feel satisfied, that never let us hide behind words..."

– *Message for the 2010 animal and earth liberation meeting in Italy from Silvia Guerini*^[1]

1. ed - see *Return Fire* vol.1 pg14

To begin to understand the full scope of what JAX Mice offers it is worth taking some time to explore their database. Here are a few examples of what can be found with even minimal effort:

- If you were looking for mice who would develop tumors with unusual frequency you would have over 200 strains from which to choose. You could then decide that your preference is for muscular tumors, skeletal tumors, tumors that develop in the urinary system, the respiratory system, or the reproductive system.
- You can find mice with heads that are of an abnormal shape or size.
- You can find mice who have been bred to be obese.
- You can find mice who suffer from paralysis and can select a strain with either front or hindlimb paralysis.
- There are mice who age and/or die prematurely.
- There are mice who suffer from a very wide range of eye abnormalities.
- There are mice with abnormally high or abnormally low pain thresholds.



Stock Number: 002726 "exhibit a phenotype similar to amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS) in humans; becoming paralyzed in one or more limbs with paralysis due to loss of motor neurons from the spinal cord."

Every one of these conditions – and countless others – is a deliberately inflicted injury. The people at Jackson Laboratory are literally selecting for illness; breeding for disease and pathology. They may often speak of finding cures but their routine activity is the deliberate imposition of suffering on millions of individual animals. Furthermore, this suffering is generally amplified once the mice arrive at their final destination and are used in experiments at other institutions which can be highly invasive and most often deadly.

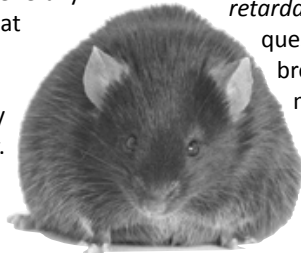
So those are some of the mice... but what about the services referenced in JAX Mice & Services name? If mice are the raw material, services may be said to provide the "value added" portion of their operation.

The JAX Mice site has a page titled "JAX Surgical & Preconditioning Services". Experimenters can order mice with diet induced obesity, mice of various ages, and/or pregnant mice timed to deliver pups after being sent through the mail.

There are also various surgical procedures that mice may be subjected to prior to being shipped out. There is a lengthy list of "standard surgeries" they will perform for a set fee. They are willing to remove various organs, insert microchips, or do a brain cannulation. The brain cannulation procedure is described on their site as follows: "The cannula implanted in mice consists of a guide cannula and a dummy cannula. The guide cannula is placed into the brain at predetermined coordinates through a hole drilled in the skull. The dummy cannula consists of a cap that screws onto the guide cannula and has a stylet that inserts into the guide cannula to prevent materials from entering it when it's not being used."

JAX Mice & Services boasts that: "We can age JAX Mice to display one or more of a variety of disease phenotypes, such as Alzheimer's, alopecia, cancer, diet-induced obesity (DIO), and diabetes."

The possibility of inflicting debilitating injury on an individual prior even to birth – effectively imposing cradle-to-grave suffering – may initially seem odd when in fact *it has become commonplace*. Human children are increasingly poisoned in the womb, being born with a heavy body burden of industrial chemicals. They are then nursed on breast milk that may contain "DDT (the banned but stubbornly persistent pesticide famous for nearly wiping out the bald eagle), PCB's, dioxin, trichloroethylene, perchlorate, mercury, lead, benzene, arsenic... paint thinners, dry-cleaning fluids, wood preservatives, toilet deodorizers, cosmetic additives, gasoline byproducts, rocket fuel, termite poisons, fungicides and flame retardants." (This is not to



Stock Number: 000697 "Mice homozygous for the diabetes spontaneous mutation (Leprdb) become identifiably obese around 3 to 4 weeks of age."

question the prudence of breast feeding for both mother and child; in a toxic world, this rocket fuel laden diet seemingly remains the best option available.)

In sum, the mice at Jackson Laboratory are simply further along the same trajectory of domestication that we ourselves are on. If they are a paradigm example of what it means to be domesticated; we are nonetheless following the same path even if we have not received our Stock Numbers yet. Not surprisingly, there is a wide gulf dividing so-called laboratory mice and their wild counterparts; for example, research results on laboratory mice cannot be reliably extrapolated to apply to field mice. The former have been too thoroughly manipulated to shed light on the later. **But there is reason to be hopeful and to believe that the project of domestication is never complete, that fissures remain like cracks in concrete.**



Brain cannulation

an open field. The rats who had never previously been outside very quickly began to engage in the wild behavior of their peers, behavior that was suppressed

when they were confined to a laboratory. They developed natural social hierarchies, mapped paths through their new terrain, and found food that was radically different from the pellets that were provided in the cages they left behind. Berdoy has said that: "This shows that while we can take the animal from the wild, **we have not taken the wild out of the animal.**"

The wild remains in every one of us regardless of how long we have lived in a cage.

NO COMPROMISE – TOTAL LIBERATION

14.12.13, Lyon, France: *Air France travel agency gets locks glued and 'Stop Vivisection' graffiti* – "Air France is the world's first transporter of animals to laboratories. [...] We then headed toward the city centre and glued about 20 locks of shops selling fur and leather products. [...] Animal exploitation is everywhere in this society and we will fight until our last breath. Furthermore, France has seen a huge increase in the far-right politics lately. Racism, sexism and homophobia are everywhere and anyone working beside those oppressions will also be targeted."

16.09.13, Portland, U.S.A.: *An Oregon section of the Informal Anarchist Federation (F.A.I.) slashed several tyres of dairy vans to "continue the momentum" of similar attacks on speciesist companies.* "We are happy to see the surge in illegal actions in Portland. Keep fighting. Until all humyn and non-humyn prisons are destroyed".

26.08.13, Sun Prairie, U.S.A.: *At 7am* "a cell of the Animal Liberation Front entered the back yard of Brian L. MacMillan[...] Vice President of Wild Fur Operations at North American Fur Auctions, the largest fur auction house in North America." *They smashed a window and inserted his own garden hose, flooding the house. Against* "the torture and subjugation of what is wild and free. All who contribute to industries of earth and animal destruction shall take note."

15.08.13, Corvallis, U.S.A.: *Liberation of captives from the Department of Fish and Wildlife.* "Wire cutting tools were used to completely cut open 2 of the game bird pens and partially cut open 2 others giving 3 ringnecked pheasants, 1 white pheasant, and 1 mountain quail a chance to escape into the surrounding wildlife area. [...] There are over 100 registered captive wildlife facilities in the state of Oregon that imprison pheasants, quail, mink, elk and other wild animals. These facilities generally contain little to no security, require little to no specialized skill set to raid, and hold animals which in many cases can be directly liberated into the wild. All it takes is a little determination and a \$15 pair of bolt cutters to make animal liberation a reality." *Done in solidarity with anarchist prisoners and fugitives.*

27.07.13, Canelones, Uruguay: *Several birds, guinea pigs, rabbits and other animals were broken out of the Atlantida zoo and relocated,*

graffiti left behind. "There were those who by pure instinct flew away towards the horizon. [...] For a life in freedom, away from the domestication that we try to force on them..."

20.07.13, Ukraine: "2 dolphins were set free from Yevpatoria dolphinarium as a result of a special operation with diving equipment. [W]e covered 2 km underwater and breached the security perimeter: We cut the nets and entered the dolphin containment pools. In the next hour we cut a large part of the perimeter barrier. [...] As soon as dolphins got wind of freedom and open water, they escaped into the night sea." *Carried out by 'SEALS on tour' cell of the Animal Liberation Front and Informal Anarchist Federation (A.L.F./F.A.I.).*

11.06.13, U.K.: *150 hens liberated from a south England intensive farm on the June 11th day of solidarity with long-term eco-anarchist prisoners.*

03-07.04.13, Cartago, Costa Rica: *'A solitary fox' in affinity with the Earth Liberation Front (E.L.F.) glues locks on "various commercial establishments of technology, sale of meat, chicken restaurants, pharmacies, telephone transaction establishments like Movistar, as well as appliance stores, etc, because the destruction of the planet by large-scale industry and production doesn't stop, neither do we..."*

18.01.13, Athens, Greece: *"Against the authoritarian tombstone of the general social apathy, we promote the chaos of direct action." A.L.F. 'Chaotics' rampage with spray cans; among their many targets are fur, leather and pet shops, a butchers, an animal laboratory office, house of a known poisoner of stray animals, and a hunter's car gets attacked with a hammer. "Nonnegotiable solidarity to the urban guerrilla captives..."*

04.11.12, La Paz, Bolivia: *Two smoke bombs ignited in a central Burger King takeaway by F.A.I. 'Incendiary Nucleus of Action for the Spread of the Revolt'. "[W]e will not give up our appetite for disruption until there is an end to every relationship based on domination[...] we will empty and destroy all the cages, physical and mental, that ravage our bodies and our lives, robbing us of the potential to disobey and destroy civilisation, a potential that day by day, through our actions, we are reappropriating."*

08.08.12, Santiago, Chile: *Invasion of a research facility at the Catholic University to interrupt a course on laboratory animals. Windows were broken, and animal liberation slogans were left behind on the walls. Two days earlier another group broke into an animal lab at the University of Chile, and two days later police closed roads surrounding the Catholic University after a bomb warning call and discovering a suspicious object...*

09.05.12, Ukraine: *Firebombing in an undisclosed locality, against the offices of a company tasked with capture and disposal of stray animals and their crematory. "A terrible law aimed against stray animals is passed on the eve of the World Football Cup that will take place in Ukraine this year. We speak of the animals who didn't choose to live in the city streets, who ended up there by human will and civilisation's logic of development. Well, the masks of humane animal care and "westernness" are dropped now: municipal services are expected to hunt and kill our four-legged brothers and sisters. This is a bloody cleaning in anticipation of guests from "civilised West". [...] It is hard not to notice: cruelty towards those who stand "below" in the hierarchy of species gives birth to the cruelty and coldness towards other human beings. And vice versa: if we are taught that it is okay to live with prison system for humans (with all its macabre attributes and features of suppression and coercion), then how much easier it is for us to agree upon an existence of death camps for "lesser" animals? Fused into the disgusting back loop scheme these dual relations suck from us all that is left of humanity and dignified attitude." F.A.I./A.L.F. 'Two Sequoias' are responsible.*

05.05.12, La Paz, Bolivia: *Locks are glued shut by 'A few wayward noctilucae' of the F.A.I. "against speciesist incarceration ideology and the interlocking patriarchal ideology that justifies domination. Thus, we blocked the entrances and left flyers in: an agency of 'Pill' milk, the 'Lain' weight loss centre, in the 'Apisbol' company which produces bee products and sells beekeeping supplies, the 'Cochabamba' fried chicken restaurant chain, in the 'Femenina' leather shoe store, in another 'L.A.M.' which sells coats made of alpaca wool, a meat market part of the 'Bambi' network, and a 'Bible Center'. [...] For its part, the attack on 'Lain' is an attack on the hegemony of oppressive beauty that disciplines our bodies and thins our minds, creating an idea/image of the perfect body. Making technological intervention over bodies necessary to reinforce the sex/gender system and its false, alienating dichotomies. Man/Woman, Feminine/Masculine, Heterosexual/Homosexual. Making it clear that the perfect bodies in advertising are nothing more than artificial and technological social constructs."*

08.03.12, Bristol, U.K.: *Windows of Beauty Box beauty salon are smashed by anarchists of the A.L.F./E.L.F. and 'Suckers' sprayed across the front of the shop. To "reject the standardised, sanitised forms of beauty peddled by this society and shops like this one", and "because we cannot ignore the capture from the wild, enslavement, and slow poisoning of the Garra Rufa fish used in "fish pedicures"." They clarify that although the action coincided with International Women's Day,*

"we are fighting against oppression every single day and will continue to take actions whenever we want to." Thoughts sent to those who were repressed by the cops at a Bristol gathering for animal liberation the week preceding, and solidarity "with all those struggling against oppression in whatever form."

20.09.11, Florianopolis, Brazil: *An unfinished vivisection lab at the Santa Catarina campus was doused with petrol and kerosene "then lit with a simple match, letting the fire perform its duty in destroying that vile building." A.L.F. Brazil.*

15.09.11, Mexico State, Mexico: *A.L.F. vandalise a KFC outlet, release a reptile from captivity into a suitable wild environment, but are thwarted from burning trucks at an ostrich-skinning facility by a security guard. This is in solidarity with anti-civilisation prisoners; two days before, A.L.F. Mexico State had burned a KFC and freed two turtles into a large lake, similarly in solidarity.*

24.04.11, Amsterdam, Holland: *Two fur shops get their windows broken and smoke bombs put inside, and a petrol station is sabotaged, claimed by E.L.F./A.L.F. 'Green Commando' "in solidarity with the comrades of Bologna" (Italy) who were facing heavy repression for recent attacks.*



21.01.11, France: *Two floors of an administrative building belonging to vivisectors Biomatech are destroyed after incendiary devices are placed against "the proposed expansion of this torture centre" and the imprisonment of anarchists.*

19.05.10, Madrid, Spain: *Claim from the anarchist group 'Wild Earth' – "In the early morning hours a fire was started at the front door of the EPHOS academy, a place of learning for future murderers. In this school they teach the future leaders of pharmaceutical companies to kill our animal brothers and sisters and the earth without mercy. 'Here the land is devastated and animals murdered' was written on the walls. [...] The earth devastated, our minds wiped out ... and we fight amongst ourselves for a larger piece of this absurd pie (increased wages, reduced working hours, better labour contracts...). We do not believe in the crisis because we have been in crisis since our birth: indoctrinated in the schools and in the family, exploited at work and murdered in the hospitals or in jail." In memory of Mauricio Morales (see Return Fire vol.1 pg92).*

"Often in the fight against the State/Capital we see an enormous indifference to animal liberation, when we should instead recognise that forgetting about the animals means to allow the chain of exploitation to persist, because authority occurs when a being (regardless of species, gender or origin) is seen as inferior, as an object, as property. Many often continue to reproduce and put into practice these stigma that society imposes on us and many prefer to ignore it. In the social war this must be present and solidarity also claimed with animal prisoners, it's important not to stop practicing our offensive..."

– Henry Zegarrundo (see *Rebels Behind Bars; Further Details About the Police Operation & Snitches in Bolivia*)



PROTECTING LAND, DISRUPTING EXTRACTION & GOING FERAL



Throughout 2013, like in years before, anarchists and others organised a series of encampments along various themes in different parts of the world, or contributed to and extended pre-existing ones. Some were directly to oppose a specific development, others more generally to share skills, discuss practices, and meet accomplices old and new. Below we present some of the content which either went towards initiating the events or came out of them. For kindness wildness and the revolt!

U.S.A.

[Release about the Feral Awakening gathering, scheduled for the early autumn in the Western state of Oregon, "a place for folks to gather together in the wild who desire to see the destruction of civilization and wildness flourish in its place":]

We'd like to invite groups and individuals engaged in struggles against the destruction of the Earth (and indeed all interconnected forms of oppression) to join us and share your stories, lessons, skills, and whatever else you may have to offer.

We're hoping to have **skillshares with earth skills such as cordage making, basketry making, flintknapping, plant walks, shelter making, primitive trapping and whatever else comes up. Also hoping for workshops on primal parenting, basic anti-civilization theory, anarcho-primitivism, beyond agriculture, moralism, ethics and nihilism, science, technology, [and] spirituality** amongst other things.

This will be a loosely organized gathering, without having a very specific schedule.

SPAIN

*[In the province of Catalunya, an occupation camp starting 23rd August was called against the M.A.T. pylon mega-project. This wasn't the first occupation in the course of the struggle, and aside from the nuclear and 'alternative energy' issues described below, a statement from a previous forest camp describes some of the other motives for the powerful to push the project through: "Some of the "problems" this MAT line hopes to solve are: to be able to secure electrical power for the tourist villages (especially in summer) of Girona (Costa Brava, for example); electrical supply for the TAV/AVE [ed. - high-speed train, resisted in Spain in a similar manner as the Lyon-Turin one is in France/Italy] (which would happen to be the first one to need it!); avoid electrical blackouts like the one of 2007 in Barcelona... We're not going to enter the debate arena in which one side shows an "independent study" that states how much this power line is needed and the other side comes with yet another study that shows the opposite. It's obvious which side we're with, but we state that **it is imperative to actually fight this power line and not just keep debating and making press conferences. In the meantime, we're trying to build the foundations of a new world starting right here and now, reconnecting with the Earth[...]** hurting the empire and making pressure on its fissures. From here, from the forests that have always hid the rebels, maquis [ed. - anti-fascist partisans], conspirators and plotters." Here's the call for the 2013 camp:]*

ACTIVE RESISTANCE CAMP IN DEFENSE OF THE LAND – AGAINST THE M.A.T. AND THE WORLD WHICH NEEDS IT

WHAT IS THE M.A.T.?

The very high tension line ('Muy Alta Tensión' – M.A.T.) is an electrical motorway which transports at least 400,000 volts. It is being constructed in order to connect European States to each other and also Europe with Africa. It is necessary in order to sell and distribute excess energy produced by nuclear power plants and the so-called alternative sources of energy. At the same time, it is the network which capitalism needs in order to supply the electricity necessary for other projects and infrastructures of death and destruction, such as high-speed railway lines. Those responsible for all this are always the same ones and the construction companies in question are directly involved in other projects which are destroying lands around the world; companies like Vinci standing out in Europe and Endesa in South America.

WHY THIS CAMP?

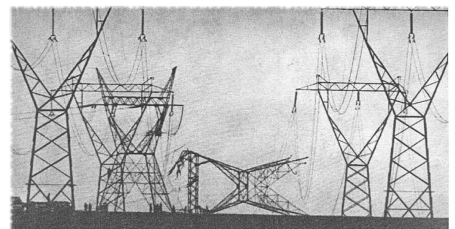
So that the last decisive section for the connection between France and Catalunya cannot be constructed. So that the energy coming from 6 French nuclear power plants does not cross this land or any other. So as to treat the struggle against the M.A.T. as a starting point for questioning our way of living, which is mainly imposed by the domination of Progress. So as to create on the affected land a space for meeting, information, agitation and action.

WHY HERE AND WHY NOW?

After more than 10 years of struggle, we are at a decisive moment. In September, expropriations [ed. - compulsory purchases] are expected to begin, directed against owners who have refused to sign the sale of land needed for the construction of the M.A.T.'s last pylons in Girona. It is because of all of this that we are inviting you to participate actively in the camp, in order to share, struggle and resist in a self-run space, without leaders and representatives. We want to create moments of exchange and connection between various struggles, because the M.A.T. affects us all and is not an isolated struggle.

AGAINST PROGRESS, ITS INFRASTRUCTURES AND ITS DEFENDERS: LET'S TAKE OUR LIVES BACK!

[ed. - Following on from the week-long resistance encampment, a large abandoned farm-house was squatted and the access-road barricaded in Oriol, very near to where two of the pylons are to be built, under the noses of a heavy police presence in the area. 'The wild and free squatters of Mas Castelló' announced that they wanted "to fill the house with life and energy, for there to be workshops and spaces to share practices and learn from each other, sharing skills and experiences, rebuilding the spaces as we need them, and coming together to liberate our lives from the apathy imposed by obligations and codes that we have never wanted to follow." The headquarters of Endesa were paint-bombed in Barcelona, and another of their offices in the city has their locks glued shut shortly after, due to their involvement in the M.A.T. and also "other high-voltage power lines that devastate the territory, fortify progress and civilisation, and reinforce the domination of the State and capitalism."]



THE PHILIPPINES

[From a report on the 2nd Solidarity Eco-Camp, which took place in Tanay, Rizal, over four days during March 2013 following the Black&Green Forum in Quezon City. The crew who organised the event invited other anarchists from Indonesia, Japan, Germany, Greece and the U.S.A., "to strengthen the relationship with other affinity groups and build an international network". Recurrent themes that came up were mining, advancing State control and militarisation as the dominant system struggles to keep up resource extraction in an increasingly unstable world at ever-greater cost. However in general it was seen that autonomous groups in the represented regions were fighting over "multiple and interconnected social and ecological issues". We print extracts from the report concerning the state of struggle in the territories in question, in the words of the different individuals who travelled to the Philippines:]

– Mining corporations in the Philippines such as Sagittarius Mines/Xtrata, Philex and among others [create] the destruction [of] lakes, rivers, bays, forests (upland and mangroves) and other ecosystems are being used and exploited in favor of the capitalists to the demise of marginalized communities. We encourage people and community to directly take action in defending and reclaiming their lives by protecting their own habitat. [...] The massive destruction of the ecology of the archipelago is directly attributed to investments of corporations who are up to extract natural resources to gain more profit. [...] Like any government in the world, the Philippine Republic is guilty of executing people both political and innocents.

– The history of Indonesia is a history of agrarian conflict which has endured since colonial times, and continues to the present day. Conflicts which remain unresolved or which are even deliberately cultivated to reinforce structures that benefit political and business elites. And then, as part of these conflicts, acts of violence emerge, by state security forces against the people, legitimized in the name of the law. [...] Another source of violence comes from those elements of society whose discourse supports that of the state and corporations, with their slogans about resistance, saying that resistance should be non-violent, meaning that the people do nothing in the face of the state...

– [U]nprecedented enormous protests against nuclear society have been happening in Japan to get our destiny back to our own hands. [...] The Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant accident is the

second largest nuclear disaster after Chernobyl [ed. - see *Return Fire vol.1 pg43*]. Approximately 30,000 people died from its accident, and currently, around 150,000 people still live in evacuation under government orders or by their own choice and certain number of those people cannot go back to their home town forever because of high level of radioactive contamination.

Although it was triggered by a large earthquake and tsunami, this accident was definitely a human disaster. **It means that an electric company and the national government are responsible** due to a series of underestimations sustained by a "myth of safety", such as that of the height of a possible tsunami, the possibility of a "station blackout," and duration of power failures. In addition, confusing and misleading information, and also a deliberate concealment of information occurred. **In the background of this, there is the "Atomic Village" or "Atomic Circle," a very closed relationship among politicians, government offices, academics, industrial leaders, and the media.** Japan has had no true independent regulator of nuclear issues. This disaster revealed that Japan is the society simply determined by the economic growth led by the state policy.



– The German state as one of the powerful leaders in Europe and also in the world has to defend its capitalist interests by any means necessary. [Concerning] one of the main topics (mining) at the Eco Camp, **German business is actively participating in the overexploitation of natural resources around the world and of course also in the Philippines.** Since over 10 years the "Commerzbank" gave credits to the mining company Lepanto to support gold digging in the Cordillera region.

This area and their people are strongly affected through the environmental pollution. In the Tampakan area in Mindanao a Gold and Copper project was developed by the big Swiss mining company "Xstrata", one of the shareholders is the

"Deutsche Bank". This bank also gave loans to "Atlas Consolidated" to finance their copper mine in Toledo City, Cebu. But also other big companies, like for example "DHL" try to make substantial profits out of this dirty economical practice. They provide everything what is needed to take care of the mining sector needs.

– [from the *Open Coordinative of Thessaloniki Against the Gold Mines, which are in Halkidiki, northern Greece:*] Soil, water and air are priceless, and belong to all of us. Gold, on the other hand, is an abstract concept that, especially today, acquires value when it functions as 'money', when it is used as an effort to counterbalance the 'over-the-top money', money invented out of thin air, that came into being three decades ago through bank lending and the stock exchanges' system of speculation and gambling. [...] 'Development and progress' is the echo following the announcements concerning the goldmines, as well as the wind turbines on Lesvos and Limnos islands, and elsewhere, the waste incineration factories; all these plus innumerable other such crimes are presented as the antidote to the crisis, the same crisis that the development itself created. The case of the

goldmines is the most extreme one, out of all these 'developing crimes in the name of progress', due to the fact that no one even dares to oppose the destruction that they are about to cause, but also because – as we all know by now – the multinationals will draw all the profit, apart from a short-term small portion that will go to a few hundred workers. Furthermore, it is not coincidental that this scandalous transaction scam of the northern-eastern Halkidiki mines took place during a period of affluence, at a time when no one paid any attention, while the realization of the mega-project, the actual construction of the mines, is pushed forward now, amidst the crisis. **Here, we are faced with blunt blackmail: we have to either accept such a plainly and straightforward destructive proposition, or else we will not manage to survive.**

– Since **Americans** are in a period of what may be the final transfer of capital from the taxpayers to the elite the authorities are taking every measure to protect their interests from civil unrest. Federal and State governments are implementing policies to aid in a rapid increase in mining, oil extraction, timber harvesting and many other ecologically damaging activities which are also inspiring resistance. [...] After the evictions and disruption of the Occupy movement many activists refocused their attention to stopping the XL Keystone Pipeline, the rapid increase in coal mining and the associated rail lines and super ports. There is also an increase in protests and direct actions against the rapid increase in hydraulic fracturing or fracking though no wide spread campaign of sabotage by the public has occurred yet. Fracking is a process of pumping toxic chemicals into the earth to force carbon to the surface. The contamination to fresh water and the surrounding ecosystem is already driving many into poverty as their land and homes have become worthless. This crisis is likely to grow dire when the tens of thousands of wells already in operation run dry during the decade and the small amount of profit shared with local land owners also evaporates. It is very important that the Anarchists and other opponents of corporate and government domination start to work together and consider new strategies of resistance while at the same time organizing systems of mutual aid as the economy continues to collapse and the repression increases.

RUSSIA

[This is from the announcement about the "Free Life Studies" event which took place in Southern Russia, June 2013:]

This event will be based on self-organisation and initiative of everyone involved. So the outcome depends on those who wish to participate. There will be nobody who you can look up for guidance, only those who knows some bits and pieces, those who can offer you some answers, not order you around. **A primitive schedule is being worked on (dinner times, hikes, lectures, workshops and entertainment) but the end result will depend on your applications and your willingness to add something to this schedule. We are counting on your participation.** You can always send us a list of themes you are interested in, but even better, find a person who will be able to arrange workshops on this event.

The aim of this camp is to find ways of dropping out of the system, not getting coopted!

Of course, there's no escaping from talks about civilization, saving of mankind [sic] etc, but our concrete aim is creating base of knowledge and skills that facilitate the search for personal freedom. We encourage radical activism, but stand up against passive self-sacrificial activity.

General plan of event

1. *Recapture and adaptation of free spaces: methods of search and capture. Land, apartments, houses.*
2. *Living outside civilizational framework: forest camp in mountains. Communal life.*
3. *Nomad's life. 5-days hike in the mountains aiming at reaching Black Sea.*

All active and self-sufficient individuals are welcome!

Please send us letters with fake names and true intentions or talk to us in person if you've uncovered our identities. Don't forget to tell us the city you're coming from and the name of an activist who could vouch for you [Translator's note – Russian anarchist scene security measure for some years now].

SWEDEN

[Information from on the ground in the Gällöck area about an occupation of Swedish eco-radicals together with the colonised indigenous people of that land, the Sami, to prevent the British firm Beowulf Mining digging for iron. "Gällöck is a very beautiful place, with cloudberry, blueberries, reindeer and the small lake Gällöckjärvre which is full of fish and so clean we drink the water from it. It's surrounded by swamps and an old-growth forest with many of the species extinct in other places. [...] **Civilization and Economies have clearcut forests, built dams in the rivers and when nothing is left alive come the mining industry like "saviours". They offer work opportunities that only lasts a couple of years and sacrifices the last sustainable livelihoods before they leave an even more devastated landscape behind.** [...] A mine in Gällöck does not only afflict the area close by but also risks Luleå river. There is a risk for dam failure and that the water quality decreases. A waste-water big dam is planned in the forest and in the lake Gällöckjärvre, where poisonous waste water would be stored for eternity. That waste water would not ever leak is only a dream." Support for the opposition to the mine is durable among the local settler population as well as the Sami and eco-radicals. "We stand in solidarity with indigenous culture and fight against the mega-machine of mining."]

Right now there is a battle to save Sápmi (occupied by Sweden) from more mines. Sápmi has already been exploited and colonized by the Swedish state and corporations for generations. Now an entirely new area is under attack from the mining industry, the forests, mountains and lakes west of Jokkmokk are threatened.

Since a month there is a blockade against British Beowulf Mining's test mining project in Gällöck going on. Activists have joined together with Sami people to save the place from a big iron mine. **The 29th of July the Swedish police came and tore down the first blockade and arrested 6 persons. The same night the blockade was raised again, with improvements to the company's great disappointment.** The activists plan to stay for the winter when the reindeer and herders come and legally can stop the test mining.

Resistance against the planned mine is growing while the Swedish police have said they are doing what the mining corporation orders them to. Beowulf is currently silent and probably do not want more bad exposure and might try to beat the activists in the waiting game. Meanwhile more people join the protests in different ways through art and music as well as supporting the growing protest camp.

Update: The second barricade also was destroyed by the cops the 12th of August and a security guarding company is hired to protect the testmines and the road[...] Mining test dates are set for 21st of August but can probably be delayed even more...



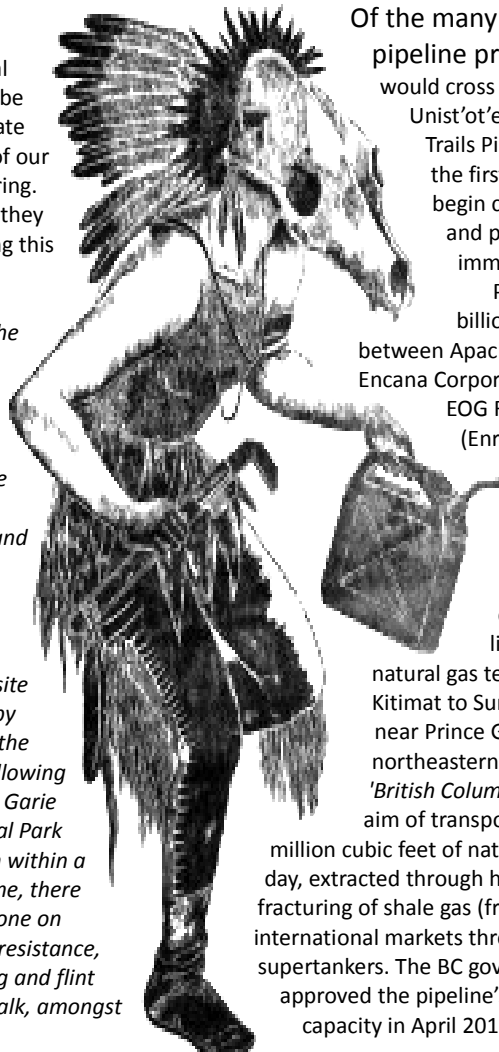
AUSTRALIA

[Announcement of Fierce Dreams, a three-day gathering from October 18th-20th in the Blue Mountains, west of Sydney:]

For many of us it is becoming increasingly obvious that civilisation cannot be redeemed or fixed. One look at the nightly news, or our fractured communities, or the devastated environmental landscape around us is proof enough. [...] This event will be an anarchist encampment/autonomous zone aimed at breaking down the barrier civilisation puts between each other, the wilderness and the wildness within ourselves. [...] Together we will talk, weave, play music, gather, make fires, play games and explore ideas relating to a vision of life beyond mass society. We will work to undo the domestication that civilisation has strongly conditioned us to believe as 'normal'. We aim to forge links between those of us who will not accept the damage inflicted by mass society and the empty promises of technology.

[...] This Blue Mountains area, like the rest of Australia, is under occupation by colonising forces. We acknowledge this and support Aboriginal efforts toward their own liberation. We respect the original inhabitants of this area (Gundungurra and Darug people) and when the final site is determined we will be approaching the appropriate groups to let them know of our intentions with this gathering. We will accept any advice they have with regard to holding this event on their land.

[ed. - Actually in the end the gathering could not take place in the originally planned location. The Australian military accidentally started a huge bush-fire while testing ammunition in high heat and with strong winds – the resulting blaze destroyed hundreds of homes and evacuated a great many people. Even the back-up site 50km away was affected by smoke and threatened by the travelling fires, and the following day the caravan moved to Garie Beach in the Royal National Park south of Sydney. Still, even within a vastly shortened time frame, there was "anti-civ discussions, one on domestication, ecological resistance, rewilding, knife sharpening and flint firelighting, and a plant walk, amongst other things..."]



CANADA

[On un-ceded northern lands claimed by the Canadian State, a long-term occupation camp has been erected by members of the Unist'ot'en clan and other grassroots rebels of the Wet'suwet'en Nation five years ago. **This is because they are fighting all pipelines, current or future, slated to cross their traditional territories; including Enbridge Northern Gateway, Kinder Morgans northern proposal, Pacific Trails, Pembina, Spectra, and others. Pacific Trail Pipeline's proposed route is through two main salmon spawning channels which provide the staple food supply for the people. The Wet'suwet'en are made up of five Clans, with territories that they are expected to manage for their future generations. Neither the Unist'ot'en clan nor the other grassroots Wet'suwet'en are associated with the Office of the Wet'suwet'en, the colonially-recognised council that seeks to manage and pacify relations between the occupiers and the occupied. Anarchists have been actively complicit with the blockades (see **Global Flash-Points**), and solidarity from other indigenous groups continues to reinforce the resistance. Below is some background of the case from a couple of years ago:]**

WHAT IS PACIFIC TRAILS PIPELINE?

Of the many proposed pipeline projects that would cross through Unist'ot'en land, Pacific Trails Pipeline (PTP) is the first one slated to begin construction and poses an immediate threat. PTP is a \$1 billion partnership between Apache Canada, Encana Corporation, and EOG Resources (Enron Oil and Gas). The 463-kilometer pipeline would connect a liquified natural gas terminal in Kitimat to Summit Lake near Prince George in northeastern BC [ed. - 'British Columbia'], with the aim of transporting up to 1 million cubic feet of natural gas per day, extracted through hydraulic fracturing of shale gas (fracking), to international markets through supertankers. The BC government approved the pipeline's expanded capacity in April 2012.

WHAT ARE THE UNIST'OT'EN SAYING?

The Unist'ot'en clan of the Wet'suwet'en Nation has been vocal about their opposition to PTP. Clan members have built a log cabin and protection camp in its path. Most recently, on November 20th, 2012, Wet'suwet'en Chief Toghestiy intercepted and issued an eagle feather to surveyors. In Wet'suwet'en law, an eagle feather is used as a first and only notice of trespass. The surveyors and all other people associated with PTP were ordered to leave the territory and told that they are not ever allowed to return to Unist'ot'en land. The road has now been closed to all industry activities until further notice. On August 23rd, 2010, Toghestiy and Hagwilakw of the Likhts'amisyu clan gave Enbridge representatives trespass warnings during a Smithers Town Council meeting where Enbridge attended to attempt to smooth over their recent oil spill on the Kalamazoo River. In November 2011, setting up a road blockade with "Road Closed to Pacific Trails Pipeline Drillers" signs, the Unist'ot'en and the Likhts'amisyu of the Wet'suwet'en escorted out PTP drillers and their equipment.



WHAT IS THE CARBON CORRIDOR?

Pacific Trails Pipeline, along with Enbridge pipeline and Kinder Morgan Trans Mountain pipeline expansion, are part of a larger energy strategy. Like Alberta, the British Columbia government aims to be an 'energy power house' by exploiting some of the largest shale gas deposits in North America and using pipelines to place fracked shale gas on the more lucrative international market. According to the Canadian Center for Policy Alternatives, much of the shale gas produced in BC is currently destined for Alberta, where it is used as fuel in the tar sands. All this is happening as Keystone XL pipeline to the U.S. Gulf Coast and Enbridge's proposed reversal of the Line 9 pipeline to open up Ontario, Quebec and U.S. markets are also putting short term corporate-driven capitalist interests and resource-extractive colonial developments ahead of Indigenous self-determination and stewardship, destroying and exploiting the land and ecosystems, and disregarding the safety and health of communities including those who have to work the poisonous jobs in these industries.

EXPLOSION AT THE JUSTICE ACADEMY, BUENOS AIRES, & INDUSTRIAL LOGGING OPERATION ARSONED, BRYANSK



[ed. – From the autumn of 2013, two important communiqués for direct attacks on the structures of authority and ecological destruction, and which concern ideas and practices in their global insurrectionary tendencies. **The first calls attention to a lack (which we also perceive) in deep debate beyond the local level, and the second highlights the drawbacks of attempting coordinated actions internationally in reply** – suggestions for which have been publicly brought up at least twice before in recent years through communiqués by active groups, and it's good that the issue is now being addressed in the same forum. Increased dialogue and mutual development of the struggle for liberation are more necessary now than ever, above acritical backslapping and rhetoric. **Asymmetric warfare is contingent on analysis and adaptability: our challenge is to find ways of organising and attacking which open more doors than they close, and for this, discussion and reflection is more valuable than clinging to ready-to-wear proposals. It's good to be clear about what we might hope to gain from some of the ways of anarchist self-organisation that are being put into practice, and we think that there's more than one way that comrades might use such tools, some more promising than others.** Contrary to the second communiqué, hence we're glad to see the issues raised in the communiqué by Argentinian comrades. However, similarly to the Russian comrades, we're unsure about the desirability of 'themed' campaigns. As well as the potential advantage this could offer the security services, we are also wary of the potential development of a vision of struggle that sees the anarchist offensive as a symmetrical, 'head-on' assault on whatever aspect of power, giving us an illusion of grandiosity at the expense of real depth and holistic antagonism. **Ourselves we believe one of our greatest strengths is our unpredictability and range of targeting, and the use of communication to show the links between different institutions which are being hit with an insurrectionary consciousness.** (More chaotic approaches to coordination without a restricted focus, such as the context the Russian group place their action within, perhaps offer different, diverse opportunities.) But, in the end, individuals and groups will do as they see fit, and each blow landed in the face of this rotten system brings us fierce joy. We thank these groups for their contributions.]

Buenos Aires, Argentina – claim for the attack on the Justice Academy:

Certainty is ours!

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

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

Inside the dense network weaved by the enemy we believe that justice is a fundamental pillar, an indispensable supporter of the management of the misery. Businessmen [sic] and politicians demand and create laws and then lawmen [sic] and police enforce them with the

approval of that part of society which encourages the use of certain measures, or that is simply an accomplice of repression through its disgusting indifference.

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

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

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

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

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

to do it is largely available, your genius can do the rest.

That's why we are sharing the knowledge on how to fabricate a homemade device.

We want to inspire those who oppose the system but don't do much in practice. Information is available and if one doesn't do anything it's because one has decided not to do it, full stop.

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

All over the world there are dozens of cells and groups that give shape to the FAI/FRI following the proposal that came from Italy about ten years ago as a response to the insults of the Italian Anarchist Federation. These groups and cells gained further strength thanks to the comrades of the Conspiracy of the Cells of Fire^[1].

Beyond a few etymological issues concerning words we find a little bit disputable (federation, front), which is not an important point because as the comrades of the CCF said: *"we don't have the slightest affection for words.*

International communication creates ways and possibilities of struggle that each time require new words to express themselves", we would like to highlight how rough the approach to what the FAI/FRI should be is. **With very few exceptions most interventions didn't kick-start any debate, as far as we know. Little has been done in**

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

Anarchists must never put strategy and caution aside. Power is always a step ahead. Historically the lack of a common signature has never undermined coordination and debate between anarchists from different

"What do we consider an "informal organisation" to be? A whole made up of individuals, groups, structures, movements and other more or less stable forms of relationship between people who attempt to enter into contact in order to deepen their reciprocal knowledge. [...] We think that the Anti-authoritarian Insurrectionalist International should not have a quantitative aim, we should not simply seek a numerical growth in its adherents. This growth will only come about if the participants find it useful to establish reciprocal contacts for going into, each on the basis of their own personal and political affinity, reciprocal knowledge with a view to working together. These contacts will, let's say, be the result of the existence of the International, but will not in any way be bound by it. The individual participants will look for their own comrades, starting off from reciprocal knowledge within the international and building their own kind of affinity with them. This could therefore exclude all the others with whom, although belonging to the same organisation, do not feel close because they lack this affinity. Here the non-quantitative concept of organisation becomes clearer. Not having the characteristics of formal organisations, it does not have growth as its objective, therefore makes no claim to draw into it the whole reality of the struggles in their various national and international expressions as though it were a tiny social laboratory. Instead it intends to limit itself right from the first moment of its existence, to becoming a point of reference, an occasion for those interested to meet and exchange knowledge and form links of affinity, friendship, affection, not in order to create a wider circle of friends but in order to make the others' experiences available to those who want it in order to widen their own possibilities of struggle, therefore their own revolutionary capacity to act on reality."

- For an Anti-Authoritarian
Insurrectionalist International

parts of the world. **As for the international Front, we wonder whether we are going towards spectacularization instead of heading to seriousness and strength.** This shows the difference between calling things by their names and imagining things. Surely

there are groups that coordinate and carry out their particular attacks, but it seems to us that the only aspect they have in common is the acronym FAI/FRI.

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

At the moment we are not thinking of finding agreement. We'll see what happens out of this declaration based on respect and acknowledgement of those who struggle against the enemy and don't rest on the safety of mere theory.

We take the opportunity to send our love to the comrades repressed and tortured in Uruguay... they have now been released but are subjected to many restrictions^[2]. Active solidarity with Gabriel Pombo da Silva, prisoner in Spain^[3], Marco Camenish in Switzerland^[4], Nicola Gai and Alfredo Cospito in Italy^[5]. Active solidarity with Hans Niemeyer^[6], Alberto Olivares^[7], Freddy Fuentevilla, Marcelo Villaruel and Juan Aliste^[8], prisoners in Chile, with the brothers and sisters in Greece and with all dignified prisoners in Argentina.

Love and strength to Felicity Ryder^[9] and Diego Rios^[10], whose situation is difficult beyond imagination. **We hope you'll get these words and know you are not alone.**



*We salute the clashes in Brazil,
Colombia and Mexico!*

The conspiracy for revenge doesn't stop!

LONG LIVE ANARCHY!

Bryansk, Russia – Earth Liberation Front / Informal Anarchist Federation claim for the attack on an industrial logging operation:

On October the 2nd of 2013, 2 incendiaries of 1.5l petrol each were placed at the sawmill situated on the land of a hunting resort under Bryansk (western Russia). Tongues of flames rose up to lick the rags left by unfortunate woodcutters right on the device. A nearby hill offered an awesome spot to enjoy the night scene: thick smoke was soon gathering under the roof and coiling around the compound in a mist-like fashion.

We suggest this action to count as our input to the Phoenix project (#7), a project for the revival of direct action deeds and anarchist resistance after the repressions of 2010-2012^[11]. We wholeheartedly support our mates from Moscow cells of CCF and ELF when they state the necessity to resume and widen our attacks on state and capital.

Some thoughts about the recent critique by anonymous comrades from Argentina. Without any second thoughts of being self-referential or posting useless bravado:

Interior debates are not always worth it to publish in English on international sites. Besides we thought that a series of attacks on similar targets still sparks debates in the anarchist community at least on the local level (we can name the anti-police campaign of 2008-2011^[12], Khimki and Butovsky forests^[13], recent protests against the mining project in Voronezh^[14]). Sometimes things go beyond debates.

We also considered it agreed upon that it's very hard to coordinate timed hits on similar structures at the international level (like fur farms, woodcutting businesses, cops, prisons, military structures, industry, banks, gas and oil etc.) as this takes more time and we are communicating on a more or less public level here. So our enemies can get the better of us. **It is debatable whether we should risk our freedom during the next action for a chance to see a communiqué about similar action taking place 6 months later somewhere else.** Besides, one cannot say we do not coordinate to some extent: notice the series of attacks on power supply lines and electricity industry objects in Belarus, Canada and Indonesia, actions taken against banking institutions in the UK, Russia, Germany, Italy, Greece, numerous coordinated hunger strikes performed by our imprisoned comrades throughout the planet.



Aftermath of the first act of the Phoenix Project, an explosive attack on Koridallos prison director's personal car in Athens by the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire together with F.A.I. 'Consciousness Gangs', 07.06.13

For our collective the whole FAI-FRI thing is more important because of the feeling of being part of some wider community. In the past that was the "social anarchist" organisations' exclusive domain. Now anarchists of other inclinations can feel camaraderie and support across the globe. Just several years ago in our country if you wanted to get in touch with anarchists you'd have to suffer through established mainstream anarchist organisations. And if some shit happened they were the first to mumble about police provocateurs and stuff. **Now people who feel the same, who are edging towards rebellion and actions as no less valid than anarchist theory, can link up outside the pacifist and reformist anarchist framework.** And when we read about hundreds of cars burning in one part of the world^[15], banks going up in flames in another^[16] and construction vehicles sabotaged somewhere else^[17] – so much the better. A short trip in memory: recall the heated discussions over the FAI acronym just a little while ago (or early discussions over the support/denouncement of CCF). **We believe it is the achievement of every group from FAI-FRI that things have changed.**



Indonesian police school burns in Balikpapan as the fifth act of the Phoenix Project by 'International Conspiracy for Revenge', 24.08.13

We understand that your concern is lack of streamlined coordination in our attacks, but we have another issue to discuss as well: **new groups to be formed, spreading of information, countermeasures against repression.** If one wants to coordinate her [sic] attacks more thoroughly, she needs only to read other people's communiqués better. But to fight the still ongoing repression aimed at direct action groups world-wide – this is the task we believe should be addressed ASAP.

- ELF/FAI, Nestor Makhno Commando^[18]

1. ed. - See *Return Fire vol.1 pg40*

2. ed. - After a riotous demonstration in Montevideo on August 14th 2013, two anarchists were arrested and bailed; before another demonstration on the 24th four simultaneous operations in the vicinity of La Solidaridad squat carried out by the intelligence police, Department of Special Operations and Interpol snatched 12 more, to be insulted, beaten and threatened with rape (as none ended up charged it seems the main intent was identification). On the 28th one of the bailed was called to present herself to immigration officials then kidnapped again by the State. The other bailed was seized by an unmarked car outside her own house the next day. This takes place in the context of a police wiretap campaign, harassment, eviction attempts and other attacks against the anarchist movement in Uruguay.

3. ed. - See *'I Didn't Want to be a Proud Worker'*

4. ed. - See *Rebels Behind Bars; "Mayday is Not a Celebration – The Colonisation of Everyday Life"*

5. ed. - See *Rebels Behind Bars; Verdict Read Against F.A.I./F.R.I. 'Olga Cell'*

6. ed. - See *Global Flash-Points*

7. ed. - A former combative prisoner of Pinochet's dictatorship, Alberto is now part way through his sentences after a number of expropriations in Chile. He partakes in the January 22nd prisoners' collective, hunger strikes and other protests.

8. ed. - See *Return Fire vol.1 pg72*

9. ed. - See *Return Fire vol.1 pg98*

10. ed. - See *'On the Open Road'*

11. ed. - The Phoenix Project is carried out by various groups as a campaign open for any anarchist to join, and was inspired by the arson against the National Association of Prison Guards in Santiago during May 2013 (as revenge after anarchist prisoner Ariadna Torres was punished for insulting a judge and the jailers seized her letter to the outside – see *Rebels Behind Bars; The Temuco Bombs Case*). It has spread from Greece to Indonesia, Russia (as above), back to Chile and as of March 2014 so far also to Mexico.

12. ed. - Multiple and concerted attacks (primarily in the Moscow district but also in other cities) on police traffic posts, service vehicles, stations and in one case even personal cars outside a cop's home. These years saw the rise of insurrectional anarchism in the Russian state territory, with the birth of the Russian groups from Conspiracy of Cells of Fire and the Informal Anarchist Federation alongside other guerrilla formations and many anonymous attacks. The campaign even spread into Ukraine, where '8th of May Movement' carried out a molotov attack on a police station in Kharkiv. It wasn't limited to police; you could see nine luxury cars mysteriously burning in Moscow the same night that anarchists reported two police cars doing the same at their station in Troitsk after their visit, or as the St Petersburg revolutionary organisation R.A.T.S. arsoned a bulldozer and road roller where the business centre of oil and gas traders Gazprom was being constructed while in Eastern Degunino the second unclaimed bomb attack on police stations in the district within two days damaged the structure and two cars of the attendant fleet. Simultaneously with the improvised explosive attack at the police centre of Pezna (for which no group took responsibility), the Animal Liberation Front torched a forest service vehicle in a Moscow region game preserve.

13. ed. - These two forests in Russia are both under threat and are the stage of fierce eco-defence.

14. ed. - The nickel mining project is a threat to Azov Basin, especially to Khopra River (believed to be the

cleanest river in the basin). The project is also 15km from a unique oak forest and home for endangered species. Another Russian nickel mine near Norilsk is believed to be one of the most polluted places in the world, a wasteland with no vegetation for 24km around, producing smog, acid rain, respiratory diseases and toxic metals in the human body. In June 2013 a crowd of several hundred stormed the premises of the mine's geological exploration party, torching cars, construction trailers and drilling rigs.

15. ed. - In the first three months of 2013 in Buenos Aires, 'Friends of the Earth' arsoned 100 cars which were either luxury models or belonged to private security. Two months before, they had burned over 100 more. The group regularly torches luxury, private security, police and other governmental vehicles (some in daylight hours), among other actions, and since 2011 began also claiming as a F.A.I. group.

16. ed. - Shortly before this claim, F.A.I. groups had firebombed a Banco Estado branch in Santiago, Chile (frequented by guards from the adjacent prison) and a Barclays branch in Bristol, U.K. From the Bristol communiqué by F.A.I. 'Improvised Guerrilla Formation': "our attack on this predatory institution aimed at the principle of civilised progress itself which banks represent so well: economic growth, development and expansion, which needs masses chained to their jobs and the earth to be ravaged, the essence of industrial capitalism with all the class slavery and domination of wildness that it requires." Meanwhile the Santiago action was by F.A.I./F.R.I. 'Victor Lambros Incendiary Group'. Victor Lambros is the son of Pola Roupa and Nikos Maziotis (militants of the armed social anarchist organisation Revolutionary Struggle), born July 24th 2010 in Greek prison before the two gained pre-trial release. He's named Victor in memory of Pola's father (a saboteur during the Nazi occupation of Greece), and Lambros in honour of the anarchist guerrilla Lambros Foundas (also a Revolutionary Struggle fighter, killed during a shootout - see **Return Fire vol.1 pg62**). "In July 2012, the whole family went into clandestinity, fleeing from sentences of 50 years in prison. To date they have not been arrested. For us, the flight of these three compañeros represents that, even in the most difficult situations, there is some hope."

17. ed. - In Moscow not long before this, C.C.F./E.L.F. arsoned bulldozers at a highway construction site.

18. ed. - This group was previous known by their torching of a mobile phone tower near Bryansk and expropriation of portable equipment from its booth. They're named after an anarchist guerrilla who fought at the forefront of the Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine during the Russian Civil War, after organising many expropriations of landowners' estates for peasant unions following his liberation from life imprisonment during the 1917 revolution. Makhno battled in succession against the Ukrainian Nationalists, the Imperial German and Austro-Hungarian occupation, the Hetmanate Republic, the White Army, the Red Army...



The banner (in Krakow, Poland) reads: "STRENGTH, LOVE & SOLIDARITY TO THE INCENDIARY HOSTAGES OF THE SYSTEM IN ITALY, GREECE, MEXICO & CHILE"

EXCERPTS IN UNORDERED TIME FROM A HEALING FEMALE LINE

"Our first experience of fear is to be separte from the mother body, the source of all life and happiness" - C.G.Jung

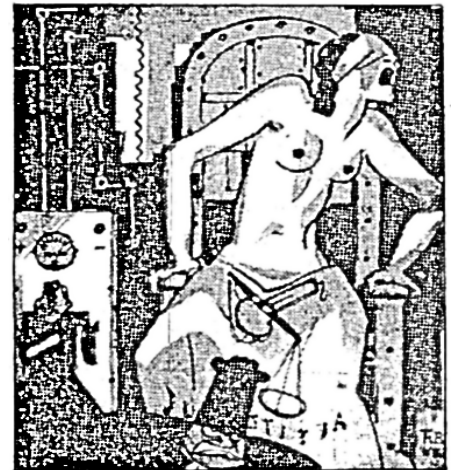
In this culture our second experience of fear is to be trapped by our mother/parents in the house, the unit of capitalist exploitation which extracts profit from the lives and life-force of women and children. Animals in captivity often have problems breeding and displaying healthy, parenting behaviours with their offspring.

I am in my mother's house. I know the doors are locked. They will be, because it is night outside. They are always locked to the night. The night is, for her, dangerous. Dangerous for women, dangerous for children. Full of strangers, bad people, criminals, fear. **Her fear.**

I am required to be a part of the house by my mother. If she catches me trying to break away she will give me fear. Pour it into me from her mouth, from her eyes, her words, the ways in which she holds her body until I am bound by this fear also. For her peace of mind she needs to know that I am here, inside this house. Then everything that she cares about is locked up inside, safe, because she does not want to feel that fear. To get caught up in imagining the worst things which could happen away in the outside world. Things she has been told. Fears she has been given, from the man in the corner shop, from the girl at work, from her family, from television, from newspapers, from others, fear from her mother and her mother before that and how far back? **I am locked in, by more than keys.**

I am afraid, I am afraid of my mother's fear, but beside that I have my own, underlying tension. It makes me nervous to be trapped. Unable to escape. That is my fear, the fear of imprisonment. They fight within me, the fear of the guard versus the fear of the prison.

I learned to walk quietly around the house, so that I could listen. To check that the house remained silent I learned every squeak in every floorboard and every creak in every door until I could traverse the house as silently as a ghost without even thinking of it. It became habit, in order to bear everything. I would not even make the sound of breathing. Sometimes when I met people around the house, and spoke to them they would jump, with, "Oh! You scared me." Strange I thought, they could be



afraid of me? When there were much more scary things in the house.

I would not always stay locked in. At night when everyone was asleep, I could creep ever so quietly downstairs, avoiding the one, that creaky step. I could quietly unlock the back door, slowly moving the keys in the locks, not a creak, not a clatter and exit, ever so carefully, slowly shutting and locking it behind me. **AND BREATHE.** Then I was **FREE!** Outside in the world which was **ALIVE!** Everything sparkling in the streetlight, moonlight, starlight night and rustling in the wind, wafting tantalising scents of plants and earth and tarmac to me. The sound of my footsteps clear and crisp on the streets.

It is like playing Tetris to a point in a circle repeatedly around you. The game you learn to play from your mother, the flow of objects in space. Processing, preserving, purchasing, discarding. Working, scrubbing again and again and again. To survive. What would the earth come to look like around me if I could get to it? Down through the layer of concrete I have been caged upon and play that game there, planting and weeding. Letting things live or die.

The house becomes an extension of your body as you teach your child the game. Something that must be cared for, continued. You build the computer uterus, the cotton wool world of childhood, laced with television dreams. The place in which to hide from outside eyes the shit and the blood and the sweat and the tears of real life under the bright, clean hygenic carpets and work-tops. Women's work. **Until one day you give birth for a second time. They leave the house conditioned to go and make another unit, to feed the rich, to continue the factory farmed human breeding program.**



I ask myself. Shall I let it live or shall I let it die? This my creation?

"Got comfort, a pool and all the things that people come to Spain for during the summer. I'm sure you'll feel better about your home once you've had a trip away for a while. Sounds to me like you're going stir-crazy. I can understand that. I get VERY stir-crazy here," says Mother.

The underlying fear that if you don't tow the line you will be attacked. A surface calm exists, hiding the emotions of a disturbed childlike being. I remember my dreams when I was a girl in her care that she was trying to kill me. The evil mother, the one which you hardly ever saw, suppressed as it was behind the mask of idyllic motherhood... But occasionally a crack would appear in that controlled exterior allowing out the years of rage in random unheralded violence. Crying out that the world is selfish, selfish.

The repeating patterns of abuse. Mother tells me about how horrible her mother and older sister were to her.

"They used to make things up about me, then punish me for them by not speaking to me. You know she didn't mention me in her will, or you two. I don't care about the money. She's having a dig at me from beyond the grave. I try to tell myself I don't care, but it still hurts. She didn't come to my wedding, none of my family did."

"That's interesting," I say, "you and my older sister have played out the same thing with me for a year when my child was young and I don't know why."

"I don't remember," says Mother.

How deep do you want to dig? How far back do you want to go? How much do you think you could handle to know? Picture albums by a railway line are sometimes not always picked up. Then the patterns just repeat as people go on unknowing and unknown.

Mother says, "It's like when I was young there was no security, my mother and father fought, my mother and sister ganged up on me. It was like the house had a personality

and it was my anchor, my security and ever since I've needed that in my life. It was my comfort, my significant other." Prison.

Learned helplessness is where you put a dog in a cage and give it [sic] electrical shocks if it goes on one side. It learns not to. Then you shock it if it goes on the other side which it learns and then you shock it randomly no matter what it does. In the end it just gives up and lies down there. Even when you open the cage and it could walk free.

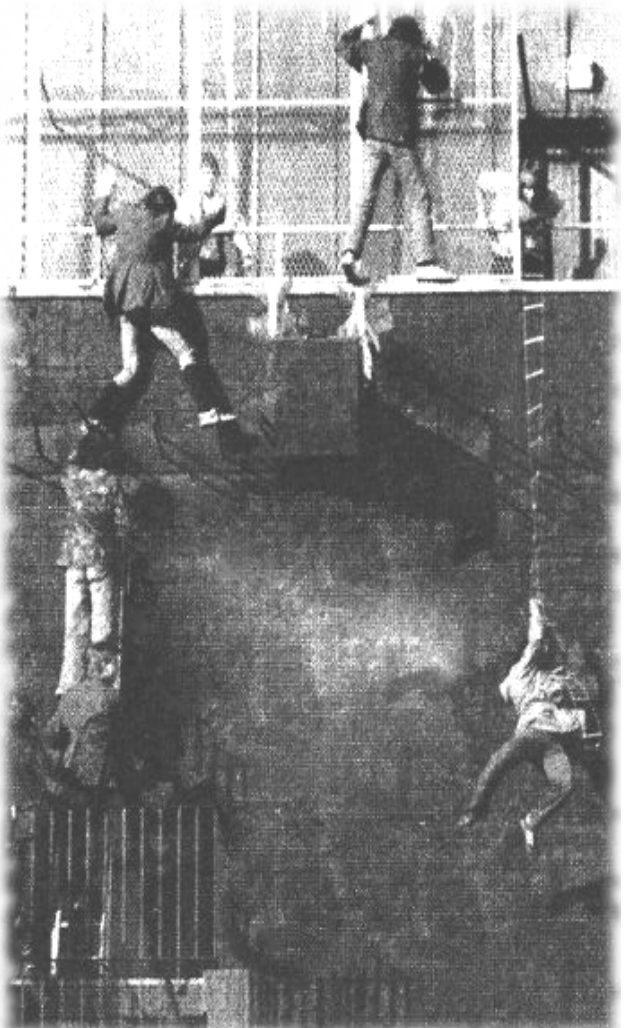
I'd been up LIVING, in the night. Dancing and dancing, in a squat in another town. Train home in the morning light. I was happy to put music on and play Tetris in a circle around the house. Allowing my mind to wander as my body moved through the space. Letting the ego step back. While passing through the attic I thought to go and do something (I don't remember what now, it must have been something as interesting as tidying paper clips) and felt myself repress that drive, NO, a constriction in my trunk associated with the decision to not do the thing I wanted. I stopped still, thinking, "That's interesting, I wonder how it would look, that repressive construct, if I enlarge upon it through my body and allow it to flow onto my face." I did so, and turned to look into the mirror to see what it was, and I was terrified for there was the face that used to haunt my nightmares, the child killer. The face of my mother SCARING me. Taught helplessness.

When I think of the violence in my childhood I feel powerless.

The house, my mother's body. My body, my mother's body, her mother's, mother's mother's, makes more compost. Life striving after life striving after life, while trapped in this machine perpetuates the loneliness.

"Women's unpaid labour in the home has been the pillar upon which the exploitation of the waged workers, "wage-slavery", has been built, and the secret of its productivity."
 - Mariarosa Dalla Costa

"Every trauma that occurs is an individual trauma perpetrated by individuals and experienced by individuals. Every trauma is a social trauma with roots in social institutions and implications for society at large, and every trauma is a historic trauma, fostered by the past and reverberating into the future. Our society is made up of vast numbers of traumatized individuals, and our culture has come into being through a universally traumatizing process. The outcome - today's technological civilization with its massive psychopathologies and unending ecological disasters - is a collective reflection of the traumatized personality." - My Name is Chellis and I'm in Recovery From Western Civilization



THE FAULTLINE OF ISTANBUL

– *Insurrection Notes From Taksim*

“People flock the streets, barricades are set up, cars are burning and everything that’s not bolted down gets thrown at the police. The sky is clouded by teargas and a scream for freedom makes its way through the dust. The planned destruction of one of the last green spots in Istanbul, to have a shopping mall instead, was the spark that brought thousand of people to the streets for resistance. So far the revolt spread like a wildfire all over the country. No matter how different the motivations and reasons of everyone involved may be, they open new spaces of self-organisation, solidarity and controversy by rupturing the existent.

All these things that are rarely happening in this world as we know it. Between school, work, paying your rent, feeding your family and so on, it seems like there is no time to dispute with the destruction of our environment. We like the fact, that there are people that still doing exactly that. As we can see, the small fights in your daily life can be the trigger of a general uprising. We are recognising the smoke signals of the cities and we see these fights matching up with our own ones – against displacement, degradation and police violence. That’s why we call out for solidarity with the people of the uprising. Let them see the signals from on the Bosphorus as well, so that they are not alone.”

– leaflet handed out at a June 7th spontaneous solidarity demonstration in Berlin while blocking traffic, building barricades and attacking police with stones, paintbombs and fire under the Turkish-language banner “Özgürlük için omuz omuza!” (“Side by Side Towards Freedom!”)

[ed. - The occupation of Taksim Square and Gezi Park in Istanbul began on May 28th to resist the government’s plans to build a shopping centre and destroy the green area. Clashes begun on May 31st, and escalated from demonstrations to full-blown rioting across 67 cities all over Turkey. An unprecedented amount of people flooded to the streets regardless of the barrage of tear gas, bullets (both plastic and live), water cannons and more, as the uprising generalised itself past the specific ecological concern. Besides the destruction of the construction equipment, it was the police who saw the largest amount of anger directed at them. Here’s a text from local anarchists about the context and events of the revolt. As we prepare to print, Berkin Elvan died on March 11th, having turned 15 while in a coma after being shot in the head by a tear-gas canister in June, becoming the most recent dead from the uprising. The next day, after the funeral, banks were attacked and a ruling party election office was trashed and burned. Nothing is over...]



Mayday 2012 riot in Istanbul the year before the Gezi Park protests. Various eco/anarchist organisations and individuals rallied behind a banner: ‘We Are Going to Burn Banks, Factories, Jails, Constitutions, Flags and Uniforms’. A strong black bloc launched attacks on various banks and companies such as Starbucks, Burger King, McDonalds etc. while destroying advertising and transportation infrastructure.

Actually it was NOT totally unpredictable, but we somehow couldn’t see it was coming. What have people of Turkey being doing until this revolt? Students have beaten up the teachers who gave them grades lower than they deserved. People stabbed doctors who neglected their loved ones. They shot sergeants to run away, and deserted obligatory military service. They

crashed police stations and beat up abusive police officers. After courts gave their verdict, people gave a taste of their own verdict at the hallways of courts. Women brought their own justice to their violators. They committed suicides under the pressure of big exams, credit card debts...

Insurrection of individuals and revolutionary groups finally touched each other and got connected in Gezi Park Resistance (as of May 29 to date [ed. - article posted mid-June]). **So, we wanted to share some of our observations from behind the barricades with you:**

- Roads were blocked, trunks and back seats are checked to see if they secretly sneak gas bombs to police. Because police used ambulances to sneak bombs, people carefully searched them; people stoned fire trucks because they were observed to be carrying water for the water cannons that put out fire barricades.
- ID checks for those who were suspected to be undercover police.
- CCTVs and cameras were dismantled and damaged.
- More than 40 outstanding barricades were set. Pavement stones, billboards, traffic signs, trash cans, whatever is in hand and lying around, were used.



– Banks, ATMs, billboards and bus stop advertisements were destroyed.

– Police containers and police cars were set on fire, OR used for the benefit of public.

– Construction machines and buses were overturned, damaged and set on fire.

– Food and necessary supplies were shoplifted from corporate supermarkets around the neighborhood.

– Media vehicles (CNN van) were overturned and destroyed.

– A bulldozer was captured to counter-attack riot control vehicles, and water cannons were pushed out of the streets.

– Young kids who were abused and humiliated by cops every day set the record straight by stoning and cursing them in their face. They wrestled back their integrity.

– Trucks and bulldozers were captured and used to build barricades.

– Unorganized and largely apolitical youth got acquainted, discussed and mutually learned tactics and strategies with more radical and organized groups.

– Thousands of young people got firsthand experience in clashing with police forces.

– A large solidarity network was spontaneously organized for food, drinks, solution for tear gas and cigarettes.

– Drink and food points were set up to disperse free stuff to whomever in need.

– People started to frantically share everything, their chocolate bars, cigarettes, their home-made food, food they were given by others.

– Trash and litter were collectively collected, even the cigarette butts.

– Everybody was helping everybody with anti-acid solutions against tear gas on the barricades.

– People opened their houses' doors, as well as small cafes and shops, for perfectly random protestors, who were cornered by police forces.



– Housewives and other people in the neighborhoods joined the protests with making noise with pans, etc.

– Food and anti-acid solution kits were placed in a lot of spots.

– First-aid points were set up.

– Doctors ran from barricade to barricade during heavy clashes.

– Street vendors happily proliferate in the absence of police, who normally chase them and confiscate their stuff.

– Sex workers, including transsexuals, could work, stroll around, and mingled with others freely without being abused.

– A vacant area under closure had been liberated for the public and turned into a small park.

– Some other vacant houses, which were under mortgage closures, were occupied and put into use.

– A small urban garden was created.

– A free library was set up.

– People read bulletins and pamphlets like they never did before. They thought things they never thought before.

– People claimed back and made the streets their own again with graffiti, stencils and various different flags and colors instead of billboards and commercials.

– Instead of going to work or back home with public transportation or cabs, people marched slowly under clouds of tear gas chanting slogans and curses. They weren't scared anymore, they kept on marching.

– People determined their own agenda, not parties, powers or leaders.

– Not a single woman was abused. They freely marched, strolled around and stayed in the park.

– People spent their time together instead of killing it in front of TVs or computer screens.

– Masses were disillusioned and openly started to criticize mass media.

– Kurds freely waved their guerrilla flags (PKK [Kurdish Workers Party]), showcased portraits of their guerrilla leader under arrest (Apo) and enjoyed themselves with their traditional collective folk dances. Nationalists willy nilly had to get used to it. Even some of them couldn't resist and joined the dances.

– Middle-class activists, with their pristine bourgeois hygiene standards, ate the same food, shit in the same portable johns and went long periods without showers together with the homeless people and street animals.



People realized life without cops is JOY, indeed.

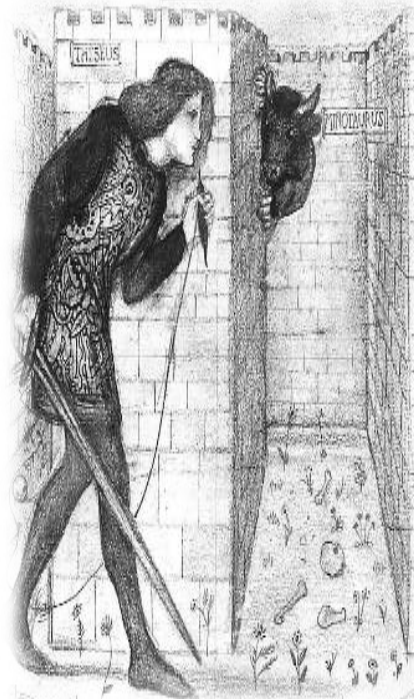


'A QUESTION OF... BALANCE'

*They have black flags of hope
and melancholy is their dancing partner.
They have knives to cut the bread of friendship
and blood to clean the dirt away.*
Leo Ferre, *The anarchists*

I have had occasion to experience some kind of banishment for short periods of time: life in hiding, prison, and expulsion. Even if they all are conditions that are imposed by repression, each one is very different from the other. I am going to talk about them, as they are experiments in freedom.

However, I intend to expose the thoughts that these circumstances raised in me rather than describe their practical aspects. I'm going to take into consideration the 'inner' dimension involved, then I'll try to draw some general conclusions. This is the way I prefer. In fact, as concerns the many events I experienced, I tend to remember the ideas and emotional states that characterised them. I'm going to use narrative, articulated discussion and short notes. I'm sometimes going to quote other people's words, but only because these words had a decisive importance for me on these occasions. And only some distant echo in the reader's own experience will allow him [*sic*] to distinguish these notes from a mere literary exercise. **My most extreme experience doesn't concern fear or the privation of freedom.** In one of his First World War poems, the poet Ungaretti writes that one day he felt as though he was '*docile as a fibre in the universe*'. The poet, however, uses this expression to say that he thought he was part of the universe, whereas my experience was shocking and bewildering. I remember Ungaretti's words coming into my mind as the most appropriate (when your heart throbs certain correspondences of the mind push your ideas into a strange universe called intuition). I proudly changed 'docile' into 'fragile' and tried to convince myself that the latter was the word the poet actually wrote. But I didn't only feel as if I was 'fragile', I was also 'docile'. Why?



I had got lost in a wood. While looking for a way out, I fell down a cliff. Luckily my rucksack prevented me from breaking my back, but I was in such pain that I remained motionless on the bed of a dry river for a night and a day. I soon finished my food and

water. I spent days trying to climb and find a spot from where to orientate myself, and one night in the rain. The fourth day passed and besides being hungry and very tired I started to feel a strange interior dizziness. At a certain point, the different aspects of my character started arguing with one another

*as though they were different people. Their discourses were so realistic that every time I woke up after falling asleep with my legs wrapped around a trunk to avoid falling down, I couldn't say if I had really met someone or if I had just been dreaming. Two voices were the most frequent: the pessimistic one and the optimistic one. The former attacked the awkward ingenuity of the latter with arguments that I will never forget. The quarrel was mainly about the relation between man [*sic*] and nature. The optimistic one interpreted the shapes in the wood (branches of trees, paths between the bushes, etc.) as signs of a way out and cheered up. The pessimistic one sneered at this reassuring anthropomorphism as he claimed that a wood didn't give any signs, it just was. But the optimistic one didn't give up; on the contrary he created deities for himself as companions of travel. It was when I slid on a sloping rock dozens of metres up that I really felt as if I was a 'docile fibre in the universe'. **Out of the blue I realised that freedom is often no more than a question of... balance.** So many desires, projects, and discussions on the power of the individual transforming his [*sic*] life: a few centimetres further and everything was finished. I regretted pathetically that I wouldn't be able to write anything to the world on whose fragile borders I was still advancing hesitantly.*

[...] Kafka^[1] says that logic cannot resist against those who want to stay alive. I decided that each time I talked with certainty about the struggle and radical projects I would always remember what I felt when I was on that rock.

Life with its necessary illusions had always taken me away from awareness of my 'docility' towards the world. In fact, I couldn't have done anything had such awareness been alive. What can we destroy and what can we build if we don't know whether we will be there a moment later or not? While I was in prison or in confinement I promised myself I would do many things once my imprisonment was over. Of course it was not so. Life absorbs you and makes you forget the punches you take head on. But I realise that the sense of vacuity I experienced in that wood has penetrated me like a note that secretly accompanies any affirmation I make. **If I were to listen to that rocky demon more often, I would talk much less.**

Upon those bare rocks where eagles build their nest, I guessed how strong the thought of committing suicide could be. The idea that you can say goodbye to the world at any time makes life wonderful. '*Go ahead, dare further, no one can compel you to live!*': through the obstinate voice of that demon we can face any enemy. In fact, all blackmail collapses on the sharp point of this kind of awareness. On the edge of an attractive cliff, in the absolute emptiness where fiction disappears and only what counts really counts, I met unreserved love.

In other words, the optimist prevailed with reasons that reason doesn't know. When one night in the rain a kind of cosmic voice (my personal Mephistopheles^[2]) proposed a pact to me, I felt an irrepressible euphoria: '*If you renounce your ideas I will take you out of this wood*'. I said euphoria, which is what I felt when I refused the offer. *Still rhetorical even when he is delirious*, some will say. After all, even our hallucinations reveal who we are.

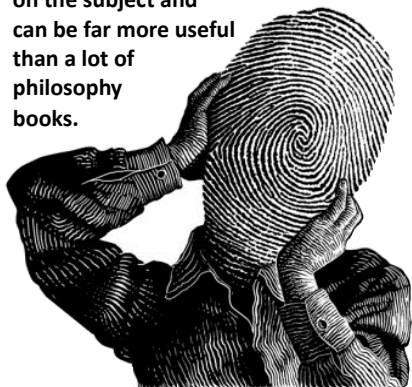
It might seem strange, but my experience as someone in clandestinity is all there, in the experience I've just told you about. The rest is a series of details. We only really remember what shocks us.

As I listened to my various selves arguing in the wood, I understood the meaning of Nietzsche's^[3] affirmation that what we call 'I' is only an illusion of grammar, our life being just a space which innumerable entities in conflict pass through. **After that, I have often found myself thinking about the concept of identity.**

What really frightens us is our lack of control over what surrounds us. I am sure that the few days I spent in the woods affected me far more than the months I spent in prison. Everything is (or seems to be) under control in prison, at least it was like that under the conditions that I experienced there. Of course your freedom is taken away and you hate your jailers; but everything repeats itself in the same way, with you on the one side and them on the other, and you can carry out your minimal project. **In other words, there is a code.** There is a big difference between the prisoner who absorbs this code until he becomes part of the total institution and the one who cannot accept it. But even the most determined rebel uses certain codes. On certain occasions, on the contrary, all codes collapse because nothing, not even our lack of freedom, is sure. I think that lack of all guarantees can lead to insanity. In this sense, I perceived better what a radical critique of psychiatry is.

I have often woken up suddenly with the fear of not having water (and in such cases it has always been a great pleasure to find a bottle close to my bed); on the contrary, I have hardly ever dreamt about prison.

As for the concept of identity, the condition of being in clandestinity is a remarkable experiment on the subject and can be far more useful than a lot of philosophy books.



Coeurderoy^[4] said that we should be able to change our name every day. That is also what I said to the cops when they questioned me, and I added that the concept of identity is authoritarian. The not so relaxed reaction of the cops showed me clearly how categories of identity are dominion's pivotal point.

What is identity?

A certain image built up with a number of elements comes into play in our daily relations. Our past and what others know about us become quite habitual aspects, and we don't usually give them much thought. When we become intimate with someone, we open up to him or her what is most precious to us, affections and ideas that in themselves have a story. A

clandestine person, on the contrary, continuously has to create his or her identity, which has to be coherent in order not to be suspicious. To get used to a name that isn't yours is a very particular experience, which might be impossible for someone (maybe because it is very similar to 'I is another' by a clandestine of poetry called Rimbaud). An interesting and useful aspect of this condition is that it helps you to develop a basic skill, i.e. it teaches you to talk about yourself with extreme sincerity without mentioning any details about your life. It is not so much a capacity for abstraction but rather the ability to transform your experiences into a distillation of thoughts and emotions. A different concept of identity is maybe what is left over from this process of distillation. In the course of this interior alchemy you must throw away something important, which can be painful. For example, owing to my 'character', it was hard for me to renounce to the public aspect of my subversive activity. (I use the inverted comma because I can't forget a sentence of Valéry's^[5] notebooks in which he said that what we call character is something temporary).

Surely, a comrade on the run is always thinking of his [*sic*] identity at risk and how to get involved in other comrades' projects (*do they remember me?*). In this case coherence, which in social relations is a guarantee of the 'regularity' that shelters us from fear and chaos, and which is often far less obvious than it might seem, assumes a very particular dimension, where the tension between theory and practise is at a more interior level. This coherence can sometimes be reached by paying a high price in the sphere of affections. I chose not to be too rigorous when I had to go clandestine (as proved by the visit police paid me a few months later...). But I can guess how one can open or close oneself by paying constant attention. I understand the comrade who says he knew authentic freedom only as a clandestine, when he travelled incognito through countries and people. I had a little taste of this one night on a hill, as I looked at the lights of the towns from the distance of the fugitive. **Those who are banned can overturn their condition and become bandits.**



[...] Living in hiding and being held in prison are very different conditions also as regards the perception of one's identity. I remember having felt a deep and almost euphoric joy when from my cell I started writing to my comrades whom I hadn't been in touch with for a long time. I was writing with 'my' name, I was receiving letters and talking about past experiences and future projects: all this filled my heart and days with joy. Comrades talk about prisoners, organise solidarity initiatives and make public their ideas. Those who live in hiding are even more isolated. Their coherence is proud and difficult as they cannot have an external insight. **May the wanderers be remembered.**



"Often our brothers and sisters don't have anyone to talk to, clothes to change into, or anyone with whom to discuss their position; often they are defamed without the ability to defend themselves, and the silence that surrounds them is only broken by the echoes of slurs. And this occurs because instead of rolling up their sleeves, doing work, creating and uniting wills, some prefer to follow blindly or destroy themselves with fear. As long as one forgets the role each of us plays and the vital importance of concrete gestures, forgetfulness will continue to consume [our comrades] who have fled or gone underground."

- letter from then-fugitive Gabriela Curilem, wanted in the 'Caso Bombas'^[1]

1. ed. - see *Return Fire vol.1 pg73*

Living in hiding is an experience of strong relations and complicities, but also of great solitude. The demon of nostalgia often visits you, and brings you memories that you

considered buried: a far off childhood friend, the smell of the shop where you used to go as a child, a girl you loved when you were teenager or maybe the beautiful woman who passed in front of you the day before; and then words, places, songs,

everything seems to conspire to make you feel nostalgic. Nostalgia is a strange world as it can make even a stupid Sanremo song sound sweet to an anarchist...

Everybody knows the difference between nostalgia and sadness. The former is a black-coloured sensation, but it's a black that gives you something. Have you ever noticed that gloomy people have a distracted and scrupulous kindness of their own? As they are caught by nostalgia for their past, they develop a particular sensibility for unknown people, as if they wanted to fill the emptiness with a promise of happiness. Living in hiding is more or less like that.

Ferre's lyrics, which I quoted at the beginning, have just come back into my mind. Curiously enough, I found them written on a wall with a felt-tip pen. It is singular that anarchists are depicted as nostalgic people, isn't it? *'They have black flags of hope/and melancholy as their dancing partner'*... Well, I think that living in hiding has turned me into this: my irreducible optimism has become more melancholic, as though it were accompanied by a gypsy tune.

The homologation of activities and gestures is making all critique more and more inoffensive. We often have the impression that speaking is pointless. Living in hiding and being held in prison were all very different experiences for me from this point of view. In prison I experienced the power of words. To speak to the guards, director and staff in a certain way, or to speak to other prisoners during the 'sociality' time has practical effects. Rebel words are likely to bring about action; therefore they are feared.

If you are clandestine, the power of words is sometimes limited, and this is not only for security reasons. It can happen that you think twice before speaking because what you say risks looking as if you are giving a lesson, because it can't be put into practice (especially where others would be exposing themselves publicly whereas you can't). So you prefer to keep quiet, **unless you find a new form of complicity in a common project.** After all, you are even freer to act because you have an advantage over the enemy: *the latter doesn't know where you are...*

[...] **How is it possible to be invisible to power and its guardians – in other words, how is it possible to defy identification – and at the same time be socially visible?** I think this is the main problem that regards all clandestine comrades. I also think that

we can begin to talk about our wanderer comrades starting from the condition of wandering on a large scale, so that our comrades are less distant.

1. ed. - Franz Kafka authored novels such as *The Trial* and *The Castle* in the early twentieth century (although many were only published after his death and against his wish that the manuscripts be destroyed), with themes such as alienation, bureaucracy, or physical and psychological brutality. Credited with inspiring genres such as existentialism.

2. ed. - Mephistopheles is a devil-like character in German folklore.

3. ed. - Friedrich Nietzsche was a philosopher of the late nineteenth century and critical of religion, 'truth', culture, science, morality and philosophy itself. Influential on nihilism and post-structuralism.

4. ed. - Ernest Cœurderoy (1825-1862) was active in the 1848 Revolution in France, opposed the rise of Napoleon III and was forced into exile. Known for appealing to the 'barbaric' impetus for destruction of the ruling order. "In civilisation, I vegetate; I am neither happy, nor free; why then should I desire this

homicidal order to be conserved? There is no longer anything to conserve of that which the earth suffers."

5. ed. - Paul Valéry (1871-1945) was a poet, essayist and philosopher.



'ON THE OPEN ROAD'

[ed. - Extract of a letter by Chilean anarchist Diego Ríos, who has been underground since 2009 suspected of bombings against structures of exploitation in Santiago.]

I do not know prison; I have never been in one, and I just cannot imagine the smell of the air there, or the unbearable walks through its corridors, or much less the loneliness of its cells. Today – on the open road, in secret, leaving no trace – I can enjoy the wind, the night, the rain (which is always a good reason to hide my face), the company of a stray dog, the knowledge that I am far away from the swine who are paid to hunt me. **Today I run far from the city, but it is not only the generous oxygen from the trees that swells my chest, it is also the pride of knowing that I have more brothers and sisters than I can possibly be aware of.** But knowing that they are there doesn't matter; their actions speak to me, *they are their actions.*

My footsteps no longer have the certainty of a fixed destination, but they are still heading toward the destruction of power, so they have become quicker and more unpredictable; I am carrying all my hatred and contempt for its laws, its authority, its society, and I have no room for guilt or fear of punishment. I have also thrown away the naive idea that freedom is the place that exists outside the prison walls. For me, freedom is neither place nor permission; *it is action*, it is the anti-authoritarian meaning that fills each act, it is the nervousness that precedes attack, it is the uncontrollable regard for a comrade, it is feeling alive because you know that your life no longer belongs to capital, but confronts it.

The destination to which the road I now travel leads me no longer matters; there I will find free and wild individuals with whom to attempt revolt, with whom to sharpen solidarity, with whom to support the unbreakable will to blow up the existing order, to destroy every jail and every cell.

I do not need to enter a prison in order to feel the anguish of seclusion in my own skin, so I hope that each one of these words arrives loaded with all the force and affection with which they are written, to each one of the comrades captured by the state and by capital, anywhere in the world. Also know that many of us continue to fight the monster that holds your bodies, that we are defending you from oblivion, that no walls will be able to isolate you from all the warmth that we are sending your way – no matter how high or how thick, we will find something to burn.



The banner reads; "Brother Diego Ríos: Two months into your enormous decision we salute your insurrectionary steps with fire and rebellion"

WILD PLANTS - Ramsons & Dandelion (leaves)

Another spring-time, and plenty more help we can find among the plants shooting up around this time in many parts Britain. We'll give a very basic introduction to two of our other plant-friends in this issue, with a rough idea of what they can look like. More research is recommended, but also just getting out there and exploring different nooks and crannies of your landbase will tell you more than we ever could in an article.

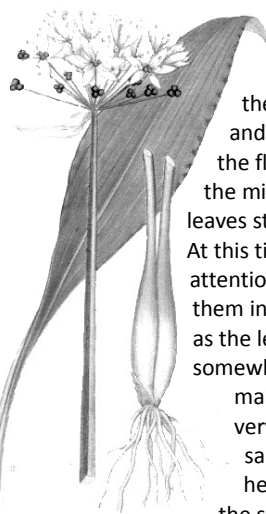
Ramsons

This perennial plant is also commonly known as wild garlic. Gives off a strong garlic smell that can fill woodland during flowering, especially if you crush the leaf in your hand (to check it's not the later-flowering and poisonous Lily-of-the-Valley) if you're still unsure! They like semi-shaded woodland (often under deciduous trees), fenlands or being near water drainage ditches. The leaves will generally be available to gather from late January until late May.

Ramsons have similar health benefits to common garlic in lower quantities, but with the advantage over its domesticated relative that it has more of the active substances and even some not found in cultivated garlic at all. Some of its properties are: stimulant, astringent, anti-asthmatic, and diuretic. It helps to reduce cholesterol level and blood pressure, and eases stomach problems, diarrhoea, and lack of appetite. As an anti-bacterial it's good for treating colds, flu or bronchitis, and also can be used in fungal infections and various kinds of skin problems. Juice from the leaves was traditionally used on festering or otherwise difficultly-healing wounds. The active substance adenosine acts as a muscle relaxant and as a protectant against poisons such as caffeine. The extract from the herb also has a great effect against lead poisoning, and it can be drunk as a tea to repel intestinal worms. *Ramsons are not recommended for people suffering from ulcers or gastritis.*

Another common name for ramsons in some parts of Europe is bear's garlic – because brown bears dig up ramson bulbs to eat after their winter hibernation to cleanse their stomach, intestines and blood. They're also popular with wild boar!

Other uses for the extract of ramsons is as a moth repellent, and the juice of the plant serves as a general household disinfectant.



Nutritionally, ramsons are full of iron and vitamin C. All parts of the plant (bulb, leaves and flowers) are edible. As the flowers begin to open in the middle of spring, the leaves start to lose their vitality. At this time transfer your attention to the flowers, using them in exactly the same way as the leaves. They have a somewhat stronger flavour and make a decorative and very tasty addition to salads. The flowering heads can still be eaten as the seed pods are forming, though the flavour gets even stronger as the seeds ripen. Sometime the bulbs are used like capers.

A few of the tasty applications of ramsons are added to soup, used to make pesto, steam-wilted like spinach, or finely chopped into mashed potato. The bulbs can apparently be used in a similar way to garlic cloves but the flavour is supposed to be less pronounced.

Dandelion (leaves)

This well-known habitant of the meadows, fields, gardens and 'fallow land' of Western Europe is actually thought to have originated in Central Asia, but now grows almost anywhere in the world, preferring moist conditions. Their characteristic yellow flower-head (earning it the nick-name "lion's tooth") becomes the white wispy bundle many of us blew to the wind as kids.

All parts of the plant are edible and medicinal, but we'll focus this time on the leaves as they're some of the best nutrients in the spring time (used for centuries to cleanse the liver after a long winter of eating hard-to-digest foods). If you're unsure what you've got is dandelion rather than dock, break the stem or root – dandelion excretes a very bitter white milky sap. The leaves are best collected before the plant flowers in May (as the energy moves up into the blossom, the greens become much more bitter), but you can collect them



year-round for the remedial properties or if you don't mind the difference. It's very important to avoid dandelions from areas which may have been especially chemically-tainted, as with their deep root they can absorb and hold toxins.

Dandelions are one of the most nutritious plants on earth. They contain more beta-carotene than carrots, more potassium than bananas, more lecithin than soybeans, more iron than spinach, and loads of vitamins A, C, E, thiamine and riboflavin, calcium, phosphorus, potassium salts, zinc, and magnesium. Medicinally, eating the leaves boosts digestion and promotes healthy teeth, gums, and skin. They're a very potent diuretic and an excellent remedy for water retention or urinary disorders in general; the French name for dandelion, *pissenlit*, wet-the-bed, aptly describes its effectiveness!

Europeans traditionally used dandelion to treat fever, boils, diarrhea, diabetes and eye problems. In what's now called North America, people used it to treat kidney disease, skin problems, heartburn and swelling. In China, the plants have been used to treat appendicitis and help breast-feeding mothers with their milk flow.

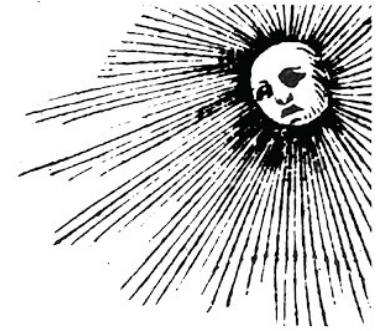
Dandelion leaves can be eaten raw, in salads and such, used in stir-fries, or cooked in a small amount of salted water if you prefer them less bitter. (Another recommendation we've heard is to boil the whole flower-stalks for ten minutes, drain them and serve them as noodles!)



"One of our greatest fears is to eat the wildness of the world. Our Mothers intuitively understood something essential: the green is poisonous to civilization. If we eat the wild, it begins to work inside us, altering us, changing us. Soon, if we eat too much, we will no longer fit the suit that has been made for us. Our hair will begin to grow long and ragged. Our gait and how we hold our body will change. A wild light begins to gleam in our eyes. Our words start to sound strange, nonlinear, emotional. Unpractical. Poetic."

- *The Secret Teachings of Plants*

POEMS FOR LOVE, LOSS & WAR



Ephmera

To love is to melt.
 Each lover is a sun, each beloved, a moon.
 Nature is the great cupola of
 beings beneath the vivifying gaze of the sun.
 My beloved came to me.
 And was in me.
 She — lives in me.
 That is why she was *Heliófila*.
 You love several (suns). Are you a comet?
 Errant star, messenger of unsayable
 lovely things, your love was a twinkling.
 Comets cannot love.
 To love is to fight.
 And they, for lack of strength, cannot be attracted.
 They are rays of moving light.
 Balaguero gazed at the sky and fell in love
 with the light.
 That is why he is *Fotófilo*. But what does he love?
 Your orbit is infinite.
 Is love then infinite too?
 No!

Love is the concretization of feelings in a chosen being.
 Love is gravity. Attraction. Weight. Affinity
 always force.
 And force is a concretization of active energies.
 Your Balaguero is alone.
 Oh, wandering star, return to your sun!
 Be favorable to him.
 On starry nights I dream of a solitary star,
 wandering, in love with a lost sun. It is "Her."
 But in my sidereal walk through the imagination I don't
 find you. Are you only a "little boat that retreats"?
 You are like so many loves, an impossible, a dream,
 an illusion.
 Chimera, be reality!
 Be *Heliófila*!
 Salud!



[ed. - By *Biófilo Panclasta*, anarchist
 vagabond and Colombian exile of the early
 twentieth century who was thrown out of
 scores of countries during seditious
 adventures in the Americas,
 Europe, Asia and North Africa, shot at
 Germany's Kaiser, threw dynamite at France's President,
 slapped Russia's Czar, and was held in hundreds of prisons.]

Obituary For Riyano

Ino, my friend, in a time when the air was still giving you life,
 we both believed that one day we would see
 with our own eyes a new world.
 A world in which people are no longer wolves to each other,
 a world in which we are all lovers and family.

But tonight a star of darkness has snatched you out of this dark world.
Ino, the new world that we "dreamed" of is still too far away.
 And yet, the good days
 we once spent together
 will not be forgotten. Days and nights
 when dreams and passions hotter than a supernova burst
 into laughter, fire, and anger. And the days when the "new world"
 was still too far away for the "awaiting."
 I didn't mind. Not at all.
 Because I know this: you have to live your life
 as fully as you desire. We lived best
 and were the happiest people in those days.

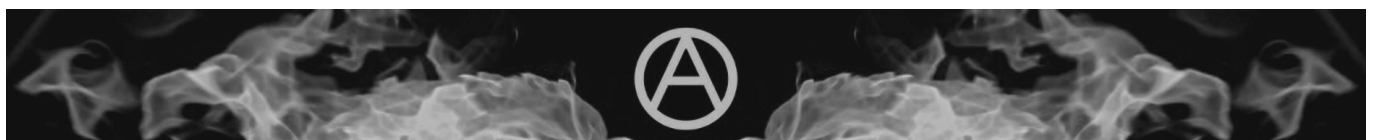
Farewell my friend, You have sailed someplace
 where power no longer applies. And you will never die
 for me. Because everything tossed into the decaying earth is a living organism
 continuing the cycle of life. You are the air that I breathe.
 And *Ino*, I am sure you are loving to read these last words.

One more reason to welcome the fire of Prometheus!

Au revoir, mon ami!

- Eat

[ed. - This poem is in memory of *Riyano Tanjung Pahlevi*, an anarchist of Indonesian
 Borneo who died in 2013 of industrial cancer. It was written shortly after the release of *Eat*
 and his comrade *Billy* from Indonesian prison, unrepentant after they burned out a bank
 ATM as part of an Informal Anarchist Federation / International Revolutionary Front group
 (a third is still wanted). *Riyano* and *Eat* were founders of the journal *Katalis* in 2008.]



Hepatomancy



fall upon me, quiet siege of day
let slip your rain of petals

your pale & baying hounds
that usher in the sun's wild hunt.

dawn lets fall the night's last fading shawls
& her body weeps with cut-glass jewels

thighs a blush of rose
behind the white-blond of ostrich plumes.

in the city I part my hair down the centre like one of Ted Bundy's victims
& write you letters in my head:

your beauty is the flight paths of migrating geese
whose silhouettes flap, transient
against my closed eyelids.

it is a godless country unmarred by the scourges of bullets
& it is no one's.

I cried enough to flood the Euphrates
remembering the soft curves of your body

Tigris, Neander
black channels wending the root systems of briers
down my painted cheeks.

Cosmetic,
like all things are cosmetic
eyelids swollen fat with bruise
hinged black legs of spiders fish-hooked
at the corners of my mouth.

in my poverty I clung to such illusions
forgetting words and the placement of objects
names of whole cities.

my burning palms
my Shirtwaist fire

I would have sold everything to keep him
car stereos, cheap gold
engraved with strangers' names
divided portions of my flesh
wrapped up in waxed brown paper
bound with packing twine.

in shop windows bodies hang
exhumed of the red, bunched fruit of organs

like the halved carapaces of spent missile shells
like grottoes to some bloody saint, left empty
with nothing in them.

I have seen the past, cleft like living waters before me
in the path of a black armada.

I have seen the future, & it is darkness pooling
in the hollow clavicles of children
the televised rape of nations

iridescence
on the wings of flies.

every morning the streets fill with people
& I dream of pressing my lips
to the burst hyacinth of your mouth.

spring would thaw the ground
& we both would fill with life again
writhing with switch-tailed worms.

in my mind I am monstrous
lurching with my arms outstretched
through the brittle celluloid of film reels
staples glittering at the seams of my skull

my body a mess of scars
too ugly to fake.

I am sewn together from the flesh of many,
& we ache.

[ed. - On trial the anarchist Kelly Pflug-Back took responsibility for the destruction of several police cars and corporate shopfronts during the Canadian G20 Summit of world leaders in Toronto, 2010. The above piece was out in a fundraiser collection of her work during her jailterm.]

Four

We were born in the blackened metropolis of a society
that served us strychnine with baby fruit puree

We breathed cancer in the open air
swallowing hypocrisy and delusion
feeling the loneliness of urban psychiatric terrain
inside our skin

We danced our sorrows onto pedestrian streets
filled with grief and reactionism
and ran whenever we had to get away
screamed whenever we had to yell
and these howls were more powerful than sirens

I remember weeping every so often
I remember being a small child
and perhaps a bit of this child is still buried
at nights when we shout our chants
perhaps it's still hidden in words
that are written to demystify a loathsome realistic scenery

Perhaps this child is the howl
that will break down the walls and prison bars
that will crush batons and hands of the authoritarians
whose brains are in complete decay

I spit in their empty eyes! I flirt with freedom!

And so, my comrades, I believe it's time we devoured them!

It's time we cut off the heads one by one from the Hydra
celebrating the end of their hostile dystopia

I therefore speak of that magic moment
where all you need is to have rage

Because rage is to have soul

[ed. - Posted on diskordia.squat.gr]



winged resistance

Overnight train
from Montreal
to Gaspé
morning coastline
slowly clicking by
in the fog
Clear afternoon
hiking up
to mountain lookout
in Forillon Park
I survey the lingering traces
of the families
forced
to leave
their homes by Parcs Canada,
their unwilling dispersal
still remembered
with anger
by the local
lighthouse keeper
who punctuates
his recollection
by spitting on the ground,
then cursing
the name
of Trudeau,
his lips,
tightly pursed.
After all these years
he still mourns
their exile.
But *not* that of the uprooted
Mic Mac
before them
who he
cares little about.
For him,
the civilizing moment
of Settlement
made their destruction
inevitable.
And Today
what could be
more civilized than oil.
On local TV
talking heads
chatter on
about the potential
consequences
of migratory birds
due to the
giant oil slick
oozing out from the hemorrhaging
Louisiana coastline
The gannets
of Newfoundland
who winter
down south
are mentioned
as being vulnerable
and ominous hints
are dropped
of danger

to other
gannet sanctuaries
like the one here
on Bonaventure Island
near Percé Rock.
From my writing perch,
the Rock
hovers surreally
outside my window,
one minute,
glittering red
in the sunlight,
the next
rendered invisible
by a shroud
of white mist.
As the Rock
transforms itself
the pundits wonder
whether
the titanic effects
of the oceanic
oil eruptions
will arrive next year
on the backs
of those gannets
who survive
the return journey
encrusted
in industrial sludge.

Mic Mac exile.
Forillon villagers exile.
Must the gannets
to exiled too,
never to return?
All 3 exiles
imagined the anarchic
black mirror
whose reflection
of Luciferian light
illuminated
the dark corners
of André Breton's
days of exile
in the Gaspé
during the
Nazi occupation
of France.



Lost
in the drifting
footsteps
of Breton,
I walk
among the birds

massed together
on island cliffs,
myself in exile
these last 8 years.

Breton
who had sailed from Marseilles,
fleeing fascism,
pointedly
choosing not
to join
the French Resistance
boldly refusing
to ally himself
with the same
Stalinists
who had ridiculed surrealism
and betrayed
the anarchist revolution
in Spain.
His rebellion
expressing itself
as an act
of resistance
through flight.

Thinking of Breton,
I imagine
the gannets
faced with
a life-threatening
situation
searching
for the nexus

where
fight and flight
converge
their wingspan bridging
the gap
between
liberation and liberty
their aerial formations
heralding
a winged resistance.

In my dream
flying squadrons
fill the sky,
flee contamination,
seek sanctuary,
utter
ferocious clacking sounds,
circle overhead
launch
cross-border
attacks
on BP outposts,
relentlessly
dive-bomb
oil company CEOs
everywhere,
mix the oily feathers
for their fallen comrades
with tar
and ride
the oil barons
out of town
on a rail
of fire
ignited by
the insurrectionary heat
of the rising sun.

- Ron Sakolsky



[ed. - Pierre Trudeau was
Canadian Prime Minister
for a large part of the
'70's and 80's. Known for
invoking War Measures
Act powers against
Quebec independence
militants in 1970. For
more information about
the Mi'kmaq indigenous
struggles, see **Global
Flash-Points**; for the
background on BP's oil
slick affecting the
Louisiana coastline see
Return Fire vol.1 pg28.]

GLOBAL FLASH-POINTS



Borgoño, Santiago (Chile): street blockade, fire and flyers in solidarity with comrades detained in the La Victoria area

Below we carry the stories of some selected acts in defiance which were brought to our attention over the last while. Once again though, we'd like to begin with a few thoughts on how the kind of rebellions we're listing sit within the struggle we want to realise. A struggle which doesn't stop at destruction, but through that same destruction gives rise to the opportunity for elaborating whole new modes of being.

With this in mind, we will openly admit that, although some might consider it elitist, we've prioritised space for actions which have clear liberatory aim or potential to our eyes. We know that we could easily be misled by distance or lack of context, and of course all the motivations cannot be known in their full depth. But for example we find it less inspiring to hear about a union-mediated strike that escalates into clashes, but only with the expressed aim of a minor workplace reform or 'modernisation' and firmly within the language and conceptual orbit of democracy, than wildcat demo that refutes all mediation and is without demands, even if the material damages are minimal. Likewise we don't fetishise every time that masked fighters come together as a 'black bloc' within a demonstration to attacks cops or property because it is the *content* and not the *form* in these cases that is decisive; in case it still needs saying the black bloc is a tactic and not any kind of organisation, so does not in itself constitute any set tendency.

Not that injured cops or disruption to daily life ever displeases us! But we don't want to fall into the trap of uncritically vaunting every outbreak of violence that disturbs the surface of civilised life, because many times these are simply the workings of that systems playing itself out and letting off steam without necessarily leaving openings

which allow us to glimpse something qualitatively different, or indeed the result of ideologies that are completely hostile to our visions (nationalism, for example, thinking of the Ukrainian insurrection at this time).

We're reminded of words from 'On Behalf of the Barbarians' in this regard: *"The critique of progressive ideology cannot consist of a banal overturning of values (for which everything that seems to oppose civilisation becomes a positive position) since this would only make us postpone approaching the other four corners of the problem."*

It is more fruitful to know how to distinguish that which is hypercivilised from that which is decivilised. Hypercivilisation is the fulfillment (in the double sense of realisation and conclusion) of civilisation, the totalitarian display of its technical power; the "barbarism" of a world that passes without respite from "amusements" to the purges of the masses, from domestic commodities to catastrophe. Decivilisation on the contrary is all the material and spiritual autonomy that individuals manage to attain by escaping this robotised society:

"The liberty of the individual is not an asset of civilisation. [...] Liberty has undergone restrictions through the development of civilisation, and justice demands that no one shall be spared these restrictions. The desire for freedom that makes itself felt in a human community may be a revolt against some existing injustice and so may prove favourable to a further development of civilisation and remain compatible with it. But it may spring from what remains of the original personality, still unfettered by civilising influences, and so become a basis for hostility to civilisation." - Civilisation & its Discontents

"anger is meant to be acted upon. [...] when we feel anger, we are often very angry that we feel anger. damn anger! it tells us we can't get away with our old life any longer. it tells us that old life is dying. it tells us we are being reborn, and birthing hurts. that hurt makes us angry. anger is the firestorm that signals the death of our old life." - Warbound #3

an anarchy of passions that shakes off domestication. Just because a river is free from cement dams this does not mean that it will not let itself be subdued by other rocks that put its waters into currents which are not its own. But it will never be an artificial lake. [T]he silence of the one who has no more words because electronic alienation has taken them away from him [sic] is hypercivilised; the one who feels a richness inside himself that he doesn't allow to be trapped with the word is decivilised. The disorder of the one who does not accept any more orders is decivilised; the damage caused by the one who carries them out with too much zeal is hypercivilised. It is about two opposed ways of transcending misery[...] Nationalisms, and ethnic and religious demands are the authoritarian and hierarchical response to the collapse of values, the result in their turn of the decline of ancient communitarian forces. Integralisms of various natures are first of all communitarian ideologies, attempting to restore the identity of the logos (that is language, laws, and order) while common space diminishes. It's about the hypercivilised reaction to the virtual community that is everywhere supplanting real mutuality between individuals. The instruments of civilisation – technological "welfare", democratic dialogue, parliamentary legality, humanitarian and mercantile universalism – are impotent since they are part of the problem."

It's true that we can't know the intention or result of some of the events included below and we don't make assumptions or attribute characteristics to them that may not be their own. While we've no interest in playing the game of 'purists', we need to observe with clarity where there might be an actual willingness to break with the system in its entirety. But we do agree that it's still useful to show that 'social peace' is anything but universal; and in many cases the ones on the receiving end are our common enemies and we can be animated by the blows struck against what exists.

AUGUST

26.08.13, Simcoe, Canada: "We approached the fur farm and laid down in the tall grass so we could watch the guard's building for any sign of movement. Once we were satisfied it was empty, we cut the bands that attach the chainlink fence to the poles and then tore a large area of fence down at the back of the farm and opened the front gate. We estimate we released about 750 mink and 50 fox. The fox almost seemed to understand what was happening because once they realized they were free, they wasted no time leaving their cages and escaping through the holes we made in the fence. After the fur farmers house lights flicked on, we quickly started pulling off breeding cards^[1] and tossing them around the empty cages, and then made our retreat through the corn fields with a noisy group of mink experiencing their first taste of freedom." *Animal Liberation Front (A.L.F.)*

[1. ed. - Vitally kept filed for the torturers' records.]

26.08.13, Qalandia, West Bank: *During the second deadly raid in as many weeks on refugee camps, residents attack the Israeli special forces invaders then fight their military reinforcements for hours on the streets and from the rooftops with rocks, fire, iron bars and even satellite dishes.*

27.08.13, Wurmberg mountain, Germany: *Attack on a new-built ski resort. Windows of several construction vehicles are smashed, hydraulic hoses and electricity cables cut on more vehicles, a snow groomer, snow machines and at electricity stations, and the cable-car infrastructure is damaged in addition to leaving many painted slogans. The Earth Liberation Front (E.L.F.) take responsibility, citing the deforestation, use of water for artificial snow, light pollution and destruction of animal habitat.*

Federation / International Revolutionary Front (F.A.I./F.R.I.), named 'Felicity Ann Ryder Cell' after a fugitive comrade (see Return Fire vol.1 pg98). "At approximately 7:30PM we gained entrance to Gran Turismo Autos, a luxury car dealership[...] via a poorly secured rear window and placed an improvised incendiary device with timer already set under a desk in an office area adjacent to the showroom then promptly fled..."



26.08.13, Portishead & Bristol, U.K.:

Arsonists in Portishead climb down into the Black Rock Quarry in the vicinity of the region-wide headquarters of the police to set fire to their multi-force firearms range construction as it nears completion. The blaze is so fierce that it takes two weeks to put out, wrecking the £16-million complex.

"It put smiles on our faces to realise how easy it was to enter their gun club and leave a fuck you signature right in the belly of the beast, with a curious fox as our only witness.

On the same night others of us attacked two vehicles near St George, Bristol with paint stripper and by slashing the tyres – one G4S and one Amey. In the UK and globally G4S provide prison and security services and profit from many aspects of prison society. Amey, in a joint venture with GEO transport prisoners in England and Wales and run courthouses in Bristol and North Somerset.

[...] Two years after the major UK riots we think an important door was opened for radical and combative refusal of our daily existence on a wide scale. For those of us who took to the streets it was a breath of clean air in the dungeons, a reminder that the encroachment and control is not complete. Even when the apathy and isolation seems to have taken hold again we continue our attacks. The police and security industry specialise in making us feel powerless in our own lives, and making these attacks goes a long way to overcoming this feeling. This is also our way of marking two years that Bristol anarchist Badger has evaded capture after the riots.

[...] Speaking of which, the night of our action coincides with the announced start of the planned cull of wild badgers in the South West of England. Through attempting to facilitate the cull and stop resistance the police shore up the interests of agricultural industry and the land owning classes. We hope this will be one of many rebellions against this slaughter."

The action is signed 'Angry Foxes Cell in collaboration with ACAB', in solidarity also with Kostas Sakkas^[1].

"The struggle will continue until all are wild and free."

[1. Who was recovering from a successful hunger strike for pre-trial release after 30 months on remand in Greece. Arrested outside a garage where firearms were stored, he defends his part in anarchist struggle but denies Conspiracy of Cells of Fire membership charges; see Return Fire vol.1 pg41]

31.08.13, Mexico City, Mexico: *Immediately from the offset of a large protest around energy reform, masked anarchists hurl molotovs at the riot police guarding the Chamber of Deputies, engage in several rounds of hand-to-hand fighting with the cops at different points, and launch long-range rockets at the remote-controlled police surveillance drones flying overhead.*

SEPTEMBER

02.09.13, Melbourne, Australia: *Major arson committed by a fraction of the Informal Anarchist*

07.09.13, Rio de Janeiro & Porto Alegre, Brazil: *In opposition to the annual military parade, black bloc fighters clash with military police. In Porto Alegre at least three banks are smashed up, and a flyer is distributed regarding the foolishness of patriotism, as well as the military slaughter of indigenous peoples; "also we cannot forget the massacre of Haiti, how the forces of the Brazilian Army opened the way for entrepreneurs as part of the plan to exploit this land and these beings, for both army and police are there to kill, suppress and secure the privilege of the rich and the exploitation of the poor[...] solidarity does not sleep, our memory is alive."*

08.09.13, Salbertrand, Italy: *Just hours after a meeting between the Transport Minister and companies working on the site of the T.A.V. high-speed rail development (see Return Fire vol.1 pg70), anonymous saboteurs burn six large concrete mixers in the Susa Valley belonging to one of the construction firms building the trainline, leaving 'No T.A.V.' graffiti on the scene.*



Koningslo, Belgium: A 50-metres-up fire destroys a big telecommunications installation and interrupts three operator services across the entire area of Neder-over-Hembeek, Vilvorde and Haren. The disruption is due to last for months.

11.09.13, Santiago, Chile: In the build-up to September 11th (the anniversary of the military coup that started Chile's previous dictatorship), barricades are erected in the La Pincoya neighbourhood (where the anarchist Claudia López fell during previous clashes: see **Return Fire vol.1 pg62**) during the morning of the 5th and numerous shots are fired at the cops, along with a stolen car being put to the torch. On the day itself vast riots break out like always (as has become annual tradition for anarchists, armed leftists, 'criminals', 'delinquents' and many others who want a chance to turn the tables on the cops). At least three supermarkets are looted, six buses or more burned and in various areas people attack police with firearms, stones and molotovs. Electricity supplies are disrupted leading to street-lighting outages, and 41 cops are hospitalised including a general.

16.09.13, Sonora, Mexico: Yaqui indigenous peoples continue their around-the-clock blockade of Federal Highway 15 for over its hundredth day, resulting in extensive delays and a major impact on produce flowing into the U.S.A. This is a reaction to the planned diversion of Yaqui water to feed the Hermosillo industrial zone (for the Ford assembly plant, Coca-Cola, Pepsi, Heineken, etc.) via an aqueduct megaproject. The Yaqui, who now describe themselves as on the verge of extermination, have a long history of fierce resistance to colonisation. "[W]e have inhabited this territory for 2,500 years, a place where we were born and we have developed[...] with plants, trees, animals, birds, insects, the air, the heat, the cold, the sun, moon, stars, earth and water, [all] of which is our home, food and healing, and the source of our power."

19.09.13, Athens, Greece: Anarchists ambush a police bus at the 10pm shift-change in the Exarchia area. Rubbish containers block the street and 10-litre jerrycans of petrol are rolled under the vehicle. "The cops make it just in time, and abandon the bus before watching the first Molotov light the flammable material. They have fear in their eyes." In memory of anti-fascist rapper Pavlos 'Killah P' Fyssas, killed by a nazi of 'Golden Dawn' two days before.

19.09.13, Buenos Aires, Argentina: Another strike by F.A.I. 'Friends of the Earth' "in the war declared by the lovers of freedom and their enemies. [...] The cars that we burned at 3000 Amenabar street were parked right outside one of the properties of Sergio

Berni (secretary of the Ministry of Security), under 24 hour surveillance by the Federal Police. The little bomb we set off in the Prison Guards' Mutual (Argentine Borders Building) [...] caused material damages; [we salute] all those who, without lots of questioning, go on the offensive against authority all across the world."

OCTOBER

05.10.13, Low Moss Prison, U.K.: Seven hours of disturbance at Scotland's new state-of-the-art jail. Inmates barricade themselves inside cells and two prison officers suffer minor injuries.

26.10.13, Zürich, Switzerland: Unauthorised demonstration against the construction of the Centre of Police and Justice, which would bring together the functions of 30 existing police stations and house 310 prisoners among other things. Cops are attacked with stones and pyrotechnics, and retaliate with tear gas, water canon and rubber bullets. Cat-and-mouse skirmishes and burning street furniture continue into the night.

27.10.13, Trentino, Italy: Three temporary work agencies get broken windows. In solidarity with anarchists Leo, Jose and Kamilla who are accused of attacking several similar agencies.

28.10.13, Gálgahraun lava field, Iceland: Media report that gravel was poured into the fuel tanks of

U.S.A./Canada border: Somewhere in the east during early September, an individual in revolt sabotages a high-voltage power line (an act to which power outage was possibility attributed) by "unbolting a bunch of nuts on two out of the four legs of those steel goliaths of technological enslavement that circulate power cross border, with only a large wrench, and a light metal tube to fit on the handle for extra leverage. [...] I did this for Jerry Koch^[1], for Marie Mason^[2], for Maddy Pfeiffer^[3], as well as for the millions of lesser-known others rotting in the concrete cells [and] against the neonazi pigs of the RCMP [ed. - Royal Canadian Mounted Police] for having arrested and sent several Roma families into detention over the past 1-2 years[...] The lengthy US/Canada border, especially through how it is now being locked down by all kinds of surveillance and control, stands as proof of how the State's despots can go a long way to enforce purely conceptual, schizophrenic borderlines on the "little people", while preserving all the freedoms for the high capitalist ruling caste, who're buying out entire countries through massive loans.

The State agents who maintain social order are all cowards, because from the (perceived) safety of their offices and behind their desks, they defend privileges granted to them simply for being born here; all against people who traveled long distances in harsh conditions and put their lives and liberties at stake so that their children have a chance for a better future.

[P]eople in Southern Ontario and Quebec know full well by now how those capitalist fuckers can intoxicate the environment while taking the lives of many proles and getting away with it. Let's keep stopping the high parasites in their developments, and keep trashing them[...] They weren't very successful at finding and repressing those people behind the several electrical sabotages earlier this summer in Quebec, just as the people behind the more famous one back in 2004. Because tyranny, too, comes with a price... [...] We can't build a free world, one made with accountability, love, understanding, [dignity] and true community, without breaking (away from) the old rotten routines of the prevailing capitalist oligarchy, as, basically, only a functioning society allows it to maintain itself. This society is nothing more than an open-air factory, a mostly invisible machine of mass-exploitation through conformity, where the individual becomes a nuisance, if not the ultimate enemy, as does the natural world. Society is war.

There's lots of possibilities for us to fight the power infrastructure's hold on the masses, while resisting those many invasive, destructive developments of big global finance, where and when we can..." Claimed in affinity with the F.A.I./F.R.I., in solidarity with resistance to the M.A.T. high-tension power line project in Spain (see **Protecting Land, Disrupting Extraction & Going Feral**), and in memory of Mohawk warrior "Splitting the Sky"^[4].

[1. ed. - Jerry was in prison for eight months because he refused to testify before a grand jury trial procedure investigating the 2008 bombing of a notorious New York military recruitment centre (which police link to similar anonymous explosive attacks in New York on the Mexican consulate in 2007, after U.S. anarchist Brad Will was shot dead by paramilitaries during the Oaxaca teachers' strike in Mexico, and the British consulate in 2005).

2. ed. - see **Return Fire vol.1 pg70**

3. ed. - Maddy Pfeiffer (also now out) was imprisoned for refusing to cooperate with another grand jury trial procedure investigating anarchists in north-west U.S.A., especially since MayDay 2012 rioting in Seattle (including the attempted arson of a courthouse and a window-smashing visit to the Mayor's private home, who had ordered emergency police powers).

4. Splitting the Sky (colonial name John Boncore Hill) passed away in March 2013. He participated in a huge uprising in Attica prison in 1971 (narrowly avoiding execution for the death of a guard), anti-nuclear struggle and indigenous occupation/armed stand-off situations. He also attempted to detain former U.S. president George Bush in 2009 at an airport.]

construction machinery on the worksite of a controversial new road, rendering it useless.

28.10.13, Glasgow, U.K.: F.A.I.

'International Solidarity Fraction' smash windows of a Banardos 'charity' group store because of their complicity with immigrant detention machinery.

"Solidarity to all held prisoner by the state and its tools of racist oppression."

28.10.13, Valparaiso, Chile:

An arson targets the Museum of Natural History due to the featured exhibition by the Agriculture and Livestock Service, "a tribute to how science views the world dismembered..."

Although the attempt is unsuccessful the A.L.F./E.L.F. release a statement: "The display cases that they have filled with dead animals are disgusting, and not because of the animal's bodies, but because of their morbid form of displaying them. The idiot who founded taxidermy like other scientists was motivated by an obsessive type of knowing.

Scientists know: a body doesn't need to be opened to understand its inner workings; there are other ways of understanding reality such as contemplation, personal relationships, interactions and more. They should also know that their concept of health will never be healthy while there is someone trapped in their fucking cages or in those jars of toxic liquid. These 'specimens' that are in the 'main room' are

24.10.13, Milan, Italy: Intervention against the conference 'Gender Ideology: What Impact on the Family?' (organised by the Milan local council and various fundamentalist Catholic associations as part of a series of talks on the subject in cities around Italy, with institutional support and patronage). A dozen sneak past the huge police presence protecting the homophobes and patriarchs, and quietly entered the conference chamber. "The values espoused by fascism, "God, Country and Family" were name-checked explicitly and without shame, highlighting once again the alliance between right-wingers and fundamentalist Catholics, united in attacking the self-determination of women, sexual freedom, the variability of gender, the escape from the oppressive roles that see women subordinated to men, and all kinds of non-heterosexual behaviour that is not aimed at procreation. Abortion, euthanasia, homosexuality, transsexuality, contraception, non-procreative sex, everything is thrown into the same pot of conviction by these fanatics, who (living up to the worst clichés) are not ashamed even to compare homosexuality to paedophilia or even bestiality, and to reiterate that the attraction to persons of the same sex is a disease than can and should be cured. The growth on a social level (compared to the past) of a greater freedom in the expression of gender identity (which does not necessarily coincide with the role that is assigned by society) and of sexual attraction (which is not necessarily heterosexual), and the timid hints at a change in legislation in this regard, have recently triggered a Pavlovian response in Catholic extremists and the adherents to the ideas of right. Queer theories, or "gender ideology" as they call them, are seen as an extreme danger to the stability of the social order and to the maintenance of the ideological tenets of their doctrines as authoritarian enemies of freedom, increasingly in crisis and lacking consensus." During the speech of a doctor from Sacco hospital known for publishing books and articles over many years trying to portray same-sex attraction as an illness, they interrupt and begin shouting slogans and insults, throwing leaflets around before police dragged them out.

This is the leaflet: "Heterosexuality has been imposed as the only model of sensitivity, sensuality and sexuality. Boys like girls. Girls like boys. Your conception of love is limited to procreation for cannon fodder, while ours belongs to the world of desire, pleasure, affection and the stars.

You also have not stopped propagating hatred of queerness, hatred of difference. We have been burned, imprisoned, expelled, deported, gassed, denounced, labelled as mad, studied, ghettoized, denied, then tested, challenged and hated. Your heterosexism has done nothing but feed our anger, your hatred has only propagated our love. Today more than ever we do not want your blessing for our sexuality, nor your normality, your boredom, your permission to integrate into this racist patriarchal-capitalist system, fuelled by oppression and domination. Accepting integration would be the disintegration of our passions.

Do not try to imitate those who you want to constantly repress. Your images, your blocks, your virtual or commercial orgasms, we do not care. Our love and our feelings are not normalized.

We are not capitalized. We are ungovernable."

an insult to the earth. [...] This attack brings to life our hatred of the SAG [ed. - Agriculture and Livestock Service], for being the state organisation responsible for animal handling, transport of laboratory animals, weak oversight of slaughterhouses, zoos and animal fairs, for perpetuating its 'normal' functioning of sales of blood per litre, and for having their own breeding vivarium. These little known facts must be

attacked, they should know that there are those who are opposed to this slaughter and this way of knowing the lives of the other species."

NOVEMBER

07.11.13, Vancouver, Canada: Nine pumps of a Chevron petrol station are smashed with a hammer, and the previous morning an RBC bank had windows and two cash points similarly broken. F.A.I. 'Informal Anarchist Front' take responsibility, against the investments in "most destructive project on earth, the Alberta Tar Sands" (RBC) and the Pacific Trail gas pipeline being blockaded by the indigenous Unist'oten (Chevron). "As anarchists we have nothing but solidarity for the Unist'oten[...] DESTROY WHAT DESTROYS YOU!"

14.11.13, Moffat County, U.S.A.: Nearly every cage is opened at a mink farm, just two weeks from pelting season. "The surrounding area of Moffat County is pristine wildlife habitat. The ones who escaped this wildlife prison will now live out their lives along the Little Snake and Yampa Rivers." Breeding records were also wrecked. Action by the E.L.F.

15.11.13, Santiago, Chile: A 'salida', (where rioters use the occupied university to take the street, blockade, and attack State forces that pass within range). This sortie responded to the arrest of Mònica Caballero and Francisco Solar in Spain (see **Rebels Behind Bars; The Media-Judicial Lynching**) and also the injury and recapture of Ilya Romanov (see **Rebels Behind Bars; Anarchist Combatant, Ilya Romanov, Injured by Explosive Charge**). Two groups burst out of the Juan Gómez Millas campus, spreading solidarity leaflets, engaging a large police contingent for an hour and a half by burning barricades and throwing molotovs at their armoured vehicles.



19.11.13, Växjö, Sweden: Anarchists smash windows at a police station in response to a series of raids the same day by State intelligence and special forces against anti-fascists across the country accused of attacking nazis as well as storing weapons and incendiaries. "Even though we do not share the socialist views with the anti-fascists, we do share a common enemy..."

21.11.13, Warrumbungle mountains, Australia: 125 emus liberated from a 'wildlife breeding enterprise' where they are farmed for their oil and slaughtered.

21.11.13, Marseille, France: Several hooded individuals throw molotovs at the police headquarters in the "sensitive" Félix Pyat housing estate (designated part of the State's priority security zone) after clashes with youths. A patrol vehicle and three of the cops' personal cars are burned. A reinforced protection operation is then set up around the station (known locally as "Fort Chabrol", maliciously targeted regularly, scene of a 2009 grenade attack).

West Gloucestershire, U.K.: More than 100 cage traps used to capture badgers to be shot are removed, cut in half with bolt croppers, hit with sledge hammers or flattened by people jumping on them during the badger cull, which ended (three weeks earlier than planned) on November 30th.



28.11.13, Gazipur, Bangladesh: Following clashes between garment workers and police, one of the largest garment factories in the country (for Western retailers) burns all through the night, destroyed with 15 of their full-laden trucks, following rumours of two workers being killed in demonstrations.

30.11.13, Bristol, U.K.: Windscreens cracked on two mobile CCTV vans and a council security van, during Saturday noon and at the foot of the famous Brunel bridge. "Still chucking rocks in the free world."

DECEMBER

Santiago, Chile: 11:30pm – "We waited for the opportune moment and intercepted a 506 line Transantiago bus, getting the riders and the driver off it, to then board and douse the slave transport vehicle with about 20 litres of fuel from end to end; with a homemade lighter we set fire to the bus, which did not hesitate to be completely consumed[...] [F]or the destruction (not partial but total) of a society that sees us as disposable raw materials, and that has no qualms at destroying millions of lives [and] which keeps the planet and our lives subjugated to miserable, psychopathic and maddening routines." *The intersection where the action took place (outside the Juan Gómez Milla campus) has round-the-clock police patrols trying to prevent such attacks, as for decades it has seen the greatest intensity of conflict.* "Death to the civilisation that every day drowns deeper the illusion of a happy and less artificial life."

Lantin prison, Belgium: A prisoner escapes after other inmates divert the attention of the guards by causing a small explosion, and then make a human pyramid to help them climb the wall. Accomplices are waiting in a car outside; when a guard comes to ask them what they were doing there, they point guns at him. Police investigations, road blocks and a helicopter don't manage to get hold of the assailants.

01.12.13, Montevideo, Uruguay: Two rabbits liberated by the A.L.F. from the veterinary school "who were to be used as objects of experimentation. We left in their place some flyers expressing our rejection of imprisonment, exploitation and of any speciesist practice. Science, 'progress',

02.12.13, Mexico City, Mexico: Explosives set off against a riot police bus parked next to a youth prison and against a bank, "in solidarity with the fight that *compañero* Mario Gonzales is waging against the destruction of his individuality in prison. The *compañero* has already spent 57 days on hunger strike as a form of pressuring for his release[...] These attacks are also our offensive response to the offensive that the government is waging against the anarchist spectre: intimidation, house raids, harassment, people being followed, surveillance, beatings, torture, etc. And we firmly believe that the response be necessary and diverse, by day or by night, individually or collectively, with or without claim of responsibility, with or without a firm cell, by molotov, rocks, machetes, arms, propaganda or explosives..." *Signed, 'Informal coordination: Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution – Práxedis G. Guerrero'*^[1].

[1. Práxedis Gilberto Guerrero was part of anarchist groups rising up in Mexico in 1910, and died in combat while with a guerrilla group that had hijacked a train and advanced south from Ciudad Juárez, to destroy railway bridges and drive out federal forces.]

capital... all of them leave victims in their path and now is the time to put an end..."

02.12.13, New Brunswick, Canada: After heated confrontation between police and demonstrators against potential shale gas drilling ('fracking') who were blocking another highway earlier in the day, barricades of flaming tires are lit at three points along Highway 11 in the afternoon. "This is a permanent blockade, everybody is sick and tired of this," said one *Elsipogtog* First Nation resident from the scene. The day also saw several banner drops in Montréal, Toronto and Hamilton in support of *Elsipogtog*, along with an hour-long blockade at the federal Vancouver port terminal and protests in Halifax and



Ottawa. The blockade is 18km northeast of *Elsipogtog*, where the *Mi'kmaq* indigenous fighters have been showing fierce resistance to fracking exploration on their unceded land for months. This is the latest major clash since heavily-armed police supported by snipers had raided an anti-fracking blockade camp on October 17th (claiming to seize three rifles, ammunition and crude explosives from the site), firing into the air and using gas and 'less-lethal weaponry' to force the fracking company vehicles through and arresting 40. *Mi'kmaq* and Acadian settlers had fought back with stones and molotovs, torching six police cars, then 30-40 occupied another highway. Supporters

"Innovations, from tactics to weapons, should be released as soon and as often as practicable. Perfectionism, sclerotic planning processes, excessive secrecy, risk aversion, and other plagues found in hierarchical organizations are the enemy of success. Make the attack to demonstrate the innovation and generate the coverage. Let the other members of the open source insurgency advance the ball. Remember, with many minds looking at the problem, no bug/deficiency/defect is too difficult to overcome."

– *Fourth Generation Warfare and Standing Orders for Open Source Insurgencies*

"The strength of our movement comes, precisely, from the fact that it is sustained in an "uncontrollable" spontaneity, that impulses, without pretending to channel, without wanting to use it for its own benefit, the action that it started." – *22nd March Movement*

had broken through police lines to join them, and inter-tribal solidarity was felt across Turtle Island ('North America') with marches and blockades. A few days later, police had abandoned their detachment in Elsipogtog following an arson attempt. The fracking company had reported several company vehicles damaged and more than 1,000 geophones (devices for mapping gas deposits) sabotaged, along with miles of cables. The Mi'kmaq resistance is grassroots, and out of the control of the State-recognised Elsipogtog Band Council. This comes at an important time in Canada, following mass indigenous mobilisations in the last year (see *Return Fire vol.1 pg66*) and popular opposition to oil and gas infrastructure projects as Canada seeks to position itself as a new "petro-state".



06.12.13, Tampere, Finland: An estimated 500 people protest the presidential celebration on Independence Day with an ice hockey demo against nationalism and capitalism. Banks and department store windows are smashed, national flags trashed and some cops injured.

13.12.13, Bloomington, U.S.A.: For two hours a crowd of 50-70 people (mostly masked) held downtown streets to express rage after homeless 24-year-old Ian Stark froze to death, "Participants in the march disabled several dozen parking meters, wrote graffiti, paint-bombed banks, popped tires, and distributed hundreds of fliers about Ian's death, homelessness, and policing in Bloomington. Participants also took the opportunity to run into several yuppie restaurants and rain fliers on the passive diners. Despite several rounds of toe-to-toe conflict with uniformed police, the emergence of at least three undercovers, and interference from a mega-douchey citizen-cop during the course of the march, we stayed tight and found our way back into the streets, lighting more torches and fireworks."

13.12.13, Paris, France: A device explodes at a branch of Bouygues (who build prisons) and windows are broken. Dedicated to the five anarchists accused of the Zaragoza cathedral bombing, and those held from Kozani in Greece (see *Rebels Behind Bars; Trials Against Eight Fighters Over Armed Robbery, A Shoot-Out & Alleged C.C.F. Membership*).



13.12.13, Athens, Greece: Around 40 anarchists chase the guards away from the Exarchia police station, "torching the front door, the guard booth, and police service vehicles. At the same time, another group of 30 comrades blocked the traffic and erected barricades..." Carried out in response to the heavy policing in the area on the 5th anniversary of the killing of Alexandros

Grigoropoulos a week before (see *Return Fire vol.1 pg17*). "It is also dedicated to the anarchists on hunger and thirst strike in Koridallos prison," seeking the reuniting of their community following multiple isolation punishments for beating a notorious guard.

15.12.13, Stockholm, Sweden: Around 30 nazis attack an anti-racist demonstration called in regards to their recent mobilising in the Kärntorp suburb, armed with shields, knives, pyrotechnics and bottles. The result, as reported by a member of the anti-fascist demonstration: "After their initial progress throwing everything they had at us we pushed them back together with the local people from the area. Bleeding they ran, leaving their comrades behind to be treated the way we treat nazis."

16.12.13, Porto Alegre, Brazil: Incendiary attack on bank ATMs right in front of a police station, closing the branch. "Let this be a fire starter for all rebellious hearts to take action in the struggle against the "growth acceleration projects" as well as the 2014 World Cup, which comes trampling at high speed. It is obvious that the struggle is not just limited against this sporting event that has violated many people. Furthermore, we signal with the heat of this fire our solidarity with Rafael Vieria and Jair Seixas Rodrigues "Baiano" (imprisoned in Rio de Janeiro for riots over the past months), with those who resist the Belo Monte hydroelectric dam, with all those who face trials or persecutions as a result of the winter's protests in Brazil (from June to September), and of course we don't feel



13.11.13, São Roque, Brazil: A masked group storm the Royal Institute vivarium, force doors and liberate more than 300 mice and rats from the laboratory. Expensive microscopes, computers and other research equipment is destroyed. Three cars and a motorcycle parked on site get vandalized, and the invaders leave anarchist and A.L.F. graffiti, as well as three security guards tied up (one with his own bootlaces). On October 17th an anti-vivisection protest had culminated in a first mass raid that liberated 178 dogs and several rabbits from the Institute. Photos taken inside were circulated, of puppies immersed in liquid nitrogen and kept in fridges, animals without eyes or legs amputated. The very next morning after the initial raid, around 500 people again had attempted to break through police lines to get to the laboratory, coming up against tear gas and rubber bullets, and burning a military police vehicle and two belonging to a TV channel. This second raid to rescue the remaining animals came just a week after the Institute announced due to the October invasion and the "irreparable losses and damage suffered[...] with the loss of almost the entire breeding stock of animals and nearly a decade of research – as well as the continuing instability and security crisis that jeopardize the physical and moral integrity of its employees", it would close down. This was followed by a ban on animal testing for cosmetics being passed. A large percentage of the world's animal testing happened in Brazil, as a stronghold of the cosmetics industry.

distant from all those who struggle against Power in every corner of the world..."

16.12.13, Bristol, U.K.: *Arson of a van belonging to EDF, "the large energy provider and joint owner of Hinkley Point nuclear power plant[...] Uranium mining for nuclear production is an endlessly destructive scramble for the last remaining supplies. Indigenous communities still on the land are usually the ones bearing the brunt[...] The huge scale control, centralisation of resources and capital, and blind dependance on complex science and technology represented by nuclear power are the anti-thesis of the world we desire and fight towards."*

19.12.13, Brussels, Belgium: *Fire mysteriously erupts in the garage at the Italian embassy. The night before the BMW car of Georgios Papastamkos (Vice-President of the European Parliament and member of Greece's Nea Dimokratia party) had been set alight (claimed in "solidarity with anarchists kidnapped by the State"). Italy is another country, as comrades noted, "never failing to distinguish itself in the repression against anarchists and fighters."*



11.12.13, Asbeek, Belgium: *The two cars of the director of Bruges prison (biggest in Belgium, notorious for its high security wing and isolation module) are burned outside his villa; fire spread and destroyed his garage, and the villa was rendered uninhabitable without electricity, heating or water.*

24.12.13, Olympia, U.S.A.: "[W]e climbed onto the roof of the Westside Olympia Police Sub Station and smashed out 8-10 of their surveillance cameras. This Sub Station existed without cameras for a long time, and was a site of many anarchist attacks in the past. When we saw that they had finally put up cameras... we decided they needed to come down." *3-4 windows smashed too.*

24.12.13, Bristol, U.K.: "Early morning mass was blackened this Christmas eve for the catholic Cathedral in Bristol's wealthy Clifton neighborhood." *Locks were glued shut, anarchist and queer liberation slogans*

sprayed on the "grand exterior", and stained glass apparently broken by stones. "We hate the many forms of churches and priests who work to instill subservience and patriarchy with their wretched morals, when not still with the whip. The Catholic Church, especially, dug one of the deepest foundations of authority in the Western(ized) world, as well as ascribing strict gender roles and turning 'heterosexuality' from one possibility into an obligation. All in the interests of power, mass economic productivity and future reproduction of the oppressive social order, making our individual bodies and desires evermore alien to us. Neither do we forget the indigenous peoples put to the torch or converted at gunpoint once their lifeways were eroded by the marauding civilization, a missionary-aided genocide still underway today." Signed, 'Queers Gone Wild!!'

31.12.13, Seattle, U.S.A.: *An anarchist noise demonstration converges outside the youth jail with smoke-bombs, spray-paint and fireworks. Paint-bombs thrown at the jail, then at the police vehicles tailing the march, followed by fireworks and rocks, and objects were pulled into the street to slow police advance. This was distributed as a leaflet:*

"The City of Seattle is currently in the planning stages of a new 'Children and Family Justice Center' to replace the current jail at 12th and Alder. While this new jail is proposed to have fewer beds, it integrates seamlessly with new methods of soft policing and diffuse control. When the alternatives to incarceration are ankle bracelets, a parole officer and mandated social services, the jail is not shrinking, but simply expanding its boundaries outside the prison walls. The prison before us is quickly becoming the social prison that surrounds us. Let's destroy this world of domination instead of dressing it up in new clothing."

JANUARY

01.01.14, Krasnoselsk, Belarus: *An excavator burns in one of the active quarries in the district. F.A.I./F.R.I. 'Friends of Freedom': "10 liters of petrol and significant number of rags was used for the act as the thing was huge, the size of country cottage."*

05.01.14, Wolverhampton, U.K.: *Rebellion at Oakwood 'super-prison', which is run by private security company G4S and is the largest in the country. Up to 60 inmates take over a wing and barricade, smash windows and trash cells after a nine-hour stand-*

off. Extra prison officers are brought in to try to contain the disorder, including "tornado" squads in riot gear. The jail, run by G4S since April, has already seen many protests including two rooftop occupations.

06.01.14, Rovereto, Italy: *Break-in and arson at the new technology facilities of the mechatronics company Polo della Meccatronica. "The main application fields of mechatronics are robotics, industrial automation, bio-mechatronics (which has to do with domotics, meaning home automation, where functions of living beings are being reproduced with the use of cyber-technologies, like the exoskeletons designed by the army) and automated systems for motor vehicles, especially for mining excavators and construction machinery. [W]e placed three incendiary devices in the false ceilings on the upper floors and left another, which we linked via a hose to the gas cylinder, in order for it to slip under a door. We are sorry it didn't explode. This resulted in causing minor damage. It is true, that we are not some sort of specialists. These sabotages can, however, be realised by anyone who cares about the disaster that occurs from exploitation and technological society."*

08.01.14, Bath, U.K.: *Car showroom attacked with a timed incendiary device. "Damage to the building facade. A brand new 4-x-4 and three cars also consumed by the flames. A direct attack on exploitative manufacturing industries who profit from choking our world, who also make status symbols for our class enemies", by F.A.I./E.L.F. 'Perennial Resistance'. "With the cops cleared of the execution of Mark Duggan that started the riots of 2011, as good a time as ever to re-ignite the streets." Solidarity also with the struggle against U.K. road building programs^[1], with Marco Camenisch (see **Rebels Behind Bars; "Mayday is Not a Celebration – The Colonisation of Everyday Life"**, then on hunger strike), Alfredo Cospito and Nicola Gai, with Henry Zegarrundo who is "targeted by the Bolivian prosecutors, those on the run, and the anarchist and indigenous peoples still fighting the highway development^[2]."*

[1. See **Return Fire vol.1 pg67**
2. See **Rebels Behind Bars; Further Details about the Police Operation & Snitches in Bolivia**]



09.01.14, Vancouver, Canada:

Incendiary device left in the ATM area of an HSBC bank, "causing a massive fire ball." This is in answer to the call for solidarity with Fallon Poisson, Amélie Pelletier and Carlos López^[1]. Also in support of the Mi'kmaq indigenous resisters. "SOLIDARITY WITH ALL LAND DEFENDERS AND ANARCHIST COMRADES! SABOTAGE THE SYSTEMS OF SOCIAL CONTROL, DOMINATION, PATRIARCHY AND OPPRESSION!"



[1. Since two dual rocks-and-molotovs attacks in Mexico City damaged the Ministry of Transport and Communications and several vehicles at a car showroom on the evening of January 5th, and apparently coming under police fire that night though none were injured, these three anarchists have been imprisoned before trial.]

09.01.14, Malang, Indonesia: *A bomb, consisting of a small amount of black powder mixed with pieces of iron from nails to strengthen it, obliterates a bank ATM. Claimed by F.A.I./International Conspiracy for Revenge 'Sebastian O. Seguel Cell' in solidarity with anarchist prisoners such as Andreas Tasvdaridis and Spyros Mandylas^[1], and John Bowden^[2].*

[1. Andreas Tasvdaridis and Spyros Mandylas were arrested in Thessaloniki, Greece, after a parcel-bomb was sent to the commander of the anti-terrorist force which investigated the first phase of the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire. Andreas claimed the attack, as the 5th action of the Phoenix Project (see **Explosion at the Justice Academy, Buenos Aires, & Industrial Logging Operation Arsoned, Bryansk**), and both stated that Spyros had no involvement. 2. John Bowden has been in the U.K. prison system more than thirty years, at the forefront of the prison struggle throughout most of his time inside. The system and the vengeful screws that are its foot-soldiers have constantly tried to break John, viciously brutalising him and subjecting him to the worst conditions on offer.]



13.01.14, Italy: *Action for the four latest No-T.A.V. arrestees. "This morning, while the Court of review was deciding to keep Chiara, Claudio, Mattia and Niccolò in jail, the Palace of Justice stank of shit more than usual. All thanks to some jovial person who, unnoticed, blocked a dozen lavatories with 'pens, polystyrene, plastic bits and tweezers' and left some stickers on the flush in solidarity with the four arrested comrades. As a result some areas were flooded including the fourth floor, where investigating judge Bompieri's office is, and the sixth floor, where offices of prosecutors Rinaudi and Paladino are."*

05-06 & 16.02.14, Sydney, Australia: *Two fascist groups are targeted. The first is Party for Freedom, who are attempting to host an 'African crime forum': the venue (a party member's business premises) had its racist murals repeatedly paint-bombed in the past and the day before the event was no exception, and the Party for Freedom website was hacked and rendered unavailable. "The forum was largely disrupted, as a crowd of anti-fascists gathered outside the building, playing loud anti-racist music, heckling those attempting to enter and distributed a couple thousand fliers in the area denouncing fascism and Australia's brutal border policies. Most of the racists who showed up turned back once they saw the crowd outside and less than half a dozen of them managed to enter, [under escort of] the NSW riot squad."*

The second group is the 'Australia First Party', who previously tried to disrupt indigenous commemorations of the invasion of Australia and genocide of their peoples, and who have rallied outside the Greek embassy in support of the ultra-nationalist Golden Dawn group. Their headquarters are paint-bombed, graffitied and have windows broken or stained with etching fluid. "We also mustn't forget that the state with its prisons, cops, screws and politicians do more damage to refugees and indigenous people than these sects ever could. We look to rebellions from Palm Island to Naru as inspiration in the struggle against the colonial state and its border regime. Solidarity with recently imprisoned antifascists in France, Sweden, Austria and Catalunya. Solidarity with refugee revolts"

16.01.14, Burgos, Madrid, Zaragoza & Barcelona, Spain: *On the 10th, a large demonstration in Burgos (opposing the gentrification of a traditionally working class neighbourhood through construction of a ritzy boulevard) was attacked by police; heavy rioting ensued in the city for four consecutive nights, building barricades, destroying the construction equipment, attacking banks and wounding several police. Regime media websites are shut down by cyber-attack, and students called "an indefinite strike of education until the final halt of constructions and as well the*

release of the arrested." Rebellion spread, as relayed by this anonymous account: "People in dozens of other cities organized solidarity protests. Protests were held in Madrid on the 14th and 15th, turning into riots both nights[...] On the 16th, solidarity protests also turned into riots in Barcelona and Zaragoza. In Barcelona, masked protesters smashed over a dozen banks, luxury hotels, Starbucks, Burger Kings, and other businesses, setting fire to a number of them, and

pelting police with trash, bottles, and unprecedentedly potent fireworks that set the police jumping (in a city where riot police don't flinch when quarter sticks of dynamite go off at their feet). The protest/riot went all the way to the Generalitat, the seat of the Catalan government, where people continued to throw objects at police. Police reinforcements arrived, dispersing protestors, who subsequently attacked a police station on Las Ramblas [ed. - throwing bottles, flower pots, tables and chairs at the dozen of agents who were supposed to protect the place, who had to find refuge inside: five police were injured and six vehicles damaged] and smashed more businesses in Jardinetes de Gracia, a significant distance away. The same day, authorities in Burgos announced that the construction project was suspended."

25.01.14, São Paulo, Brazil: *Over 2,000 people (equalled in number by military/riot police) come to the streets against the coming World Cup football tournament. In cities like São Paulo alone around 70,000 families have already been displaced during the preparations (with over half of that number displaced in Rio de Janeiro too). The Brazilian World Cup has the highest budget recorded in history, and repressive forces trained by U.S. counter-terrorist brigades are conducting slum-clearances and a policy of extermination against the population in the poorest zones to spruce up the national image. There will be a 2km exclusion zone around the stadiums. When police block this particular demonstration, the march diverts and begins attacking shops such as McDonalds and throwing molotovs inside various banks. "The Military police lined up in order to stop the demonstrators from going to Praça da República where the main show to commemorate São Paulo's 460th birthday was happening[...] exemplary citizens fused in the spectacular orgies offered by the state, to which they bow their heads in front of 460 years of state terrorism..." Bottles and cans are thrown into the concert, at the stage. Burning barricades are erected in the street. "With the masked ones in front, the demonstration went down Avenida*

Brigadeiro Luis Antônio shouting against the world cup. Scared, several merchants closed their doors as the crowd was getting close. [...] Around 17h30, roughly a thousand people occupied Avenida Paulista and closed both lanes of the road.” 22-year-old *Fabricao Proteus Chaves* was shot twice by the military police while being persuaded, and was in a coma for two days – unfortunately his condition now is unknown to us.

27.01.14, Rome, Italy: *In solidarity with the No-T.A.V. prisoners*, “in the early evening, a group of some twenty anarchists interrupted traffic on the eastern ring road near the new Tiburtina railway station, which will soon be dedicated to the TAV. Slowing down the traffic with smoke bombs and torches on a road of fast travelling, we put out dumpsters on the street bonded together with steel wire, to which we tied a banner in solidarity and against the isolation conditions in which the revolutionary prisoners find themselves right now. Finally the dumpsters went up in flames!”

FEBRUARY

02.02.14, Alessandria, Italy: *Two-hour intervention at the prison, where anarchists are also among those held. People are constantly hitting the outside fence to make noise, and throw several firecrackers above the wall of the enclosure, while also using a microphone and loudspeaker. Prisoners respond with screams and burning rags.*

03.02.14, Padre Las Casas, Chile: *Incendiary device set against bank ATMs despite the police patrol and nearby police station, “with the goal of blowing up isolation and greeting the prisoners (mapuche and non-mapuche) incarcerated in the territory dominated by the Chilean state. [...] We wander lurking around the prison society, nothing is more important to us than to destroy its regimen of life and the institutions it fosters. BIRTH-OBEDIENCE-DEATH; While those most attached to this so successful linearity will be your misery, and if you leave... prison (the material reflection of society and its relations) awaits you. [...] Freedom for the celestial *machi*^[1] who defend their territory from extermination by rich land owners and capital. *Taiñ newen*^[2].”*

[1. ed – Mapuche healers and spiritual figures.
2. ed. – In Mapudungun (Mapuche language), “newen” is strength, associated with ‘nature’.]

07.02.14, Paris, France: *An Orange truck full of fibre-optic installation equipment is burnt out. “Against the digital grid, from surveillance cameras to the domestic use of internet, increasingly depleting our lives and relationships. Regarding the company Orange, we also chose this truck because Orange exploits prisoners for shit wages*

28.02.14, Koridallos prison, Greece: *During the 36th trial session of the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire / Informal Anarchist Federation ‘Imprisoned Members Cell’, Vassilis Foukas is called as a witness. He had previously served as deputy chairman of the Court of Appeal during cases against various urban guerrilla groups, and so the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire had attempted to burn down his house in 2009. After Foukas broke off his testimony and made to leave in a huff (after it was revealed that he had illegally accessed witness statements), he is attacked by the anarchists on trial. One jumps over the court benches towards him and cuts off his exit and another gives him a strong slap. Before the other comrades jump in, the cops manage to help him escape.*

with which to buy shit products in a shit environment. Fire to the virtual world! Fire to those that enclose us!”

07.02.14, Upper Hutt, Aotearoa-New Zealand: *A KFC fast-food outlet is badly fire-damaged. “The first of many actions by a brave new ALF member.”*

10.02.14, Barcelona, Spain: *During a week of autonomous actions called against the new abortion ban, the Vidal i Barraquer Foundation has all its windows broken “to indicate their active complicity with the Spanish Episcopal Conference in preventing abortions.” (During the week a bank ATM, the offices of Radio Estel, broadcaster of Barcelona’s Archdiocese, and headquarters of the magazine ‘Catalunya Cristiana’ were also smashed and spray-painted) “Their role is part of the oppression gear that condemns many women to be mothers even when they do not want or cannot afford to give birth. Their idea of family perpetuates the patriarchal system, the very same system that causes abuse involving both male and female children as well as subjection to the macho type, with devastating consequences[...] Social peace is over! [...] For the death of patriarchy...”*

11.02.14, Bristol, U.K.: *“This morning smoke rose above Clifton from the two vans and one large white personnel transporter we’d torched with low-tech firestarters after breaching the compound of the Royal Marine Reserve’s Bristol detachment, who’ve been deployed in Iraq and Afghanistan. [...] Our target’s security force counterparts in Russia are presently gathered for the Winter Olympics. Remembering the huge spectacle of troops and guards for the London Games and bearing in mind that the event always means militarised repression among the other atrocities, our arson demonstrates that the anti-Olympic flame lives on.” Carried out by F.A.I. ‘Mutiny Group’ in memory of Darko Mathers^[1].*

[1. Darko Mathers was an anarchist active in Dark Matter Publications and the website Prison Island UK, and died in early 2014.]

Porto, Portugal: *The Spanish consulate is paint-bombed and ‘FREE ABORTION’ sprayed on the façade, against the rising anti-abortion legislation in Spain.*

14.02.14, Moscow, Russia: *International Revolutionary Front - F.A.I./E.L.F. visit the deforestation site of a sand quarry construction and burn two excavators.*



14.02.14, Sydney, Australia: *Rowdy demonstration in memory of indigenous man TJ Hickey, chased to his death by Sydney police ten years ago. In the early morning before the march, anti-police graffiti goes up in many areas. “Throughout the rally, police made attempts to confiscate banners they considered “offensive” but were repelled by the crowd. Near Central station one pig was knocked off his bicycle after shoving a protester for stepping outside “the allocated area”. Police responded by detaining one young man but were forced to release him after being surrounded by the demonstrators. At the end of the rally pigs made another attempted to make arrests, snatching three people they accused of “carrying an offensive sign” but again had to free them when the crowd cornered the pigs. In response to the police attacks on the protest and their media statements afterwards, (where they threatened to ban next years march and track down and charge “4 – 5 troublemakers”) 10 CCTV cameras mounted on businesses were immobilised [by] spray paint and hammers.”*



14.02.14, Nijmegen, Holland: A group calling themselves 'Mutineers' placed a table laden with stolen goods in a shopping street, each item with a tag explaining it was stolen and inciting people to take the goods and begin to steal themselves. The table was empty in 15 minutes.

20.02.14, İstanbul, Turkey: An excavator is left unusable after being attacked with a time-set incendiary device; several spray-painted tags around the site claim the action as 'ELF-FAI/IRF'. The group announce their resistance to the ecodical projects in the area, such as a third bridge over the Bosphorus river, and 'Canal İstanbul'. "The industrial capitalist civilization is spreading with bridges and double highways on Earth, is securing itself inside concrete forests which it builds, considering nature as only a resource, it is spreading by narrowing the margins of wild life everyday in the name of meeting the deficit of energy and it is making itself dominant. For that reason, placing ourselves against a society, which believes that building, development and expansion is virtue, we take some kind of responsibility for eliminating everything involving this automation process and as a part of the global total liberation struggle we choose to realize this by putting into practice simple incendiary methods, sabotage and direct action..." As well as in remembrance of the dead from the Gezi Park riots (see *The Faultline of İstanbul*), this was in solidarity with anarchist prisoners across the world, and the direct action movement "against the rising church in Spain." A salute to fighters in the streets of Turkish cities, "the rebels, anarchists and black blocs who participate actively in the social explosions in Egypt, Brazil, Ukraine, Bosnia and other parts of the world..."

22.02.14, Sydney, Australia: During the week of action called for the Zone Autonome a Défendre occupation in France (see *Return Fire vol.1 pg81*), the local headquarters of construction corporation Vinci and their subsidiary Advitam are attacked in the evening. "Some windows were cracked, and the slogans: "AGAINST VINCI AND ITS WORLD" & "THE ZAD IS EVERYWHERE" were painted." Vinci are the ones trying to develop the land that the Z.A.D. occupies. "Around the world capital seeks to commodify and industrialise the last remnants of wild nature. From airports to highways, coal mines to high speed rail lines, any level of ecological destruction and community displacement is acceptable for a project deemed important for 'economic growth' and the increasing flow of commodities. [...] The only way to defeat these developments is through our collective and combative struggle..."

23.02.14, Turin, Italy: 32 ATMs of San Paolo bank blocked-up with silicone. "Because it is the bank more involved in the construction of the high-speed railway line in the Susa Valley, and is also the major financier of the new Lombard highways: Tem, Brebemi, Pedemontana, Cremona-Mantova, of the TAV Genoa-Tortona (Third Pass) and of a string of other major works in Italy."

24.02.14, Porto Alegre, Brazil: 10 new police 4x4 trucks burn inside the military police's main barracks. The fire was stopped before it could spread to the 200 more new vehicles in the adjacent lot, "solemnly awaiting delivery to fulfil their function: to oversee, to humiliate, to assassinate."

27.02.14, Bolivia: Much graffiti on the streets in solidarity with Sol Vergara (see *'Face to Face With the Enemy'*).

science and industry, the A.L.F. liberated four rabbits from a pet shop. "These living beings who get transferred by luggages get murdered when they're not sold and their cuteness is over." They also call for more direct action "from our friends from the ALF, ELF" and dedicate the act "to all the species about to be ravaged in the destructions of the Northern Forests of İstanbul."

05.03.14, Algiers, Algeria: Trains in the eastern suburbs were stalled for more than a day, due to "malicious acts" committed during the night against catenary poles used to power electric trains. The sabotage caused more traffic disruptions in what has become an ongoing campaign of vandalism and disturbances between Algiers and Thénia, including a blockade of the train tracks by the inhabitants of Hai El Kerrouche, who oppose the establishment of a landfill site near their city. Riot squads are now assigned to monitor the passage of trains, and clashes are erupting sporadically between residents and riot police.

05.03.14, Oakland, U.S.A.: 'Technophobic Women's Action Team' paint-bomb three traffic CCTV at two intersections (including those reported to be the largest revenue-generating cameras for the council) and leave them temporarily inoperable. The attack happens in the night after the Oakland City Council voted to continue with the Domain Awareness Center program. In the past the same group has targeted a private security surveillance trailer, stating that "[as] women moving through this society, we find ourselves constantly under the male gaze. Strangers evaluate our bodies everyday. Our images are taken, altered, and force-fed back to us everywhere we look. [...] As anarchists, we recognize increasing surveillance as an attempt to suppress dissent. The imminent creation of the Domain Awareness Center - a public-sponsored, privately run entity that aims to integrate all surveillance footage in Oakland [ed. - as well as collating all present numberplate recognition, gunshot detectors, highway patrol cameras in cop cars, cameras in schools and private businesses, social media feeds...] - exposes the complete and total enmeshment of

22.02.14, Nantes, France: Over 20,000 people fill the streets against the shipping port/trainline/airport mega-project of Notre-Dames-Des-Landes (see *Return Fire vol.1 pg81*), along with 400 tractors of local farmers who oppose the development. A bloc of around a thousand break away to fight with the police for several hours, injuring eight cops. During the riot a courthouse is vandalized, a city transport network car and construction rig of the railway are burned. Many vehicles are overturned, dozens of places are ransacked (banks, council offices and travel agencies, including a Vinci agency, the company tasked with the mega-project). A police station closed by fire-damage. The city transport network suffers extensive damage to bus-stops, ticket machines and metro-stops. According to the President of the Chamber of Commerce, "The thugs were very organized, nothing was done by chance. [...] A number of protesters came together to prevent the police from intervening, allowing the thugs to do their job." Water cannons and tear gas are deployed, but after nightfall around 200 fighters are still reported to be roaming the streets. The Interior Minister of France complains that the delinquents are waging an "urban guerrilla" campaign.

MARCH

02.03.14, İstanbul, Turkey: During a demonstration against a change in the law that would allow stray animals to be used as subjects of experimentation for



state and corporate interests. With the DAC, there will no longer be any "private" cameras. All images will be aggregated, and mined for information. [...] As Oakland anarchist women, we're sick of the machismo and militant posturing combined with little concrete action to back it up. We're sick of proving our competence and radicalism enacting an agenda written by anarchist men. [...] To all those fighting the DAC, who have seen their pleas at city hall fall on deaf ears, we issue an invitation to join us in taking the next logical step."

12.03.14, Catalunya, Spain: Fascist bookstore 'The European Library' is attacked at 10:30am by hooded individuals, who break the windows and throw paint-bombs, with the shop open and customers inside. In the past this place had already been trashed during the September 2010 strikes, books ripped up and thrown around and the shopkeeper beaten.

08.03.14, Berlin, Germany: Fire set at the entrance of the Lichtenburg court, connected to the adjacent womens' prison which was also the target of the attack. "Against prison, capital, the State and patriarchy! For anarchist praxis!"

08.03.14, Tyendingaga, Canada: Mohawks blockade passenger, freight and oil-tanker trains for hours in anger at the ongoing social apathy over missing and murdered indigneous women. A large armed police contingent moves in to clear them out, leading to one cop being minorly injured after a police car window was smashed. The action halled back to the Mohawk railway blockades of 2007 which caused \$100-million in economic damage.

10.03.14, Brighton, U.K.: After a three-day rooftop protest at a squatted church resisting its eviction with a black flag and crowds outside, bottles and paint-bombs are thrown at a passing police car after provocations and the squatters abandon the building. Three were sadly arrested in the surrounding area but all others escaped, and upon entering the church a cop breaks their ribs falling into a trap left behind...



14.03.14, Sabzevar, Iran: The day of Persian New Year, anarchist and E.L.F. graffiti is left in anger at the site where the last of the area's trees had been recently cut down.

15.03.14, Athens, Greece: Action against franchises owned by a money-laundering network engaged in "a network of forced prostitution, women slavery and human trafficking..." The targets were three bakeries of To Horiatiko and another of Attika Bakeries, which are attacked using stink bombs "in order to sabotage the food production, whereas at the same time we distributed flyers inside the venue to inform customers and people passing by about the background of the owners of the bakeries and what lies behind these companies."

17.03.14, Steyning, U.K.: Anti-militarists blockaded NATO's Post 2014 Strategic Narrative Conference at a stately home in the Sussex countryside. Meanwhile, banners were hung off road bridges close to the venue to 'greet' delegates as they arrived. They succeeded in blocking the front entrance for more than an hour, leading to chaos on the main road. The conference aims to set the agenda and content for NATO's 2014 summit, in Newport, Wales.

20.03.13, Bury Saint Edmunds, U.K.: Four cars (including a Mercedes-Benz) have tyres punctured, corrosive substance applied to the bodywork, anarchist symbols and anti-wealth slogans scratched in the paint.

21.03.13, Volos, Greece: "We chose to torch the tax archives, and poured records with gasoline and lit them on fire. Our goal was to expand the flames throughout the whole of the building, but due to lack of oxygen the fire didn't spread. Next time we'll be more cautious. The reasons why we chose to target the tax office are self-evident. Our only debt to the main predatory mechanism of the State is its destruction."

28.03.13, London, U.K.: Anarchists joined a demonstration outside the Spanish consulate "to show our anger at the killing of migrants trying to enter the Spanish colonial enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla on the North Coast of Morocco. The Spanish Guardia Civil were responsible for these murders, according to eye witnesses. We also attended the protest to show our solidarity to the 5 anarchist comrades who were arrested in a raid by police in Barcelona November 13th 2013." Cops were already blocking access to the building when they arrived.

"The decision was made to march to the Spanish embassy itself, we took it upon ourselves to add more militancy to the protest, by getting off the pavement and marching with banners in the street, causing disruption to

traffic in a busy high street. Chants of 'the passion for freedom is stronger than any prison' and 'no borders, no nations, fuck deportation' echoed off the walls of the embassies in the area. Once at the Spanish embassy we stormed into the building again screaming anti-prison & solidarity with migrant chants setting off metal detectors[...] We were then confronted by an armed police unit who forcibly removed us from the building..."

Argentina: "In the context of agitation and solidarity days with the comrades Marcelo Villarroel, Freddy Fuentevilla and Juan Aliste Vega [ed. - March 14th-25th], imprisoned in Chile after being extradited by the Argentinean State^[1] [...] we made a bomb threat on the 4648 flight of LAN Airlines with destination to Santiago, Chile. By this simple act we managed to paralyze the airports of Ezeiza and Mendoza (with the corresponding economical loss that this implies) and forced the plane to make an emergency landing. We also stand in solidarity with Carlos Quiduleo^[2], Hans Niemeyer^[2], Sol Vergara, Hermes González, Alfonso Alvia^[3] and all the kidnapped comrades on the other side of the cordillera [ed. - the mountain border with Chile]. The psychological harassment against the enemy has been a historical weapon of revolutionaries, and we will not stop..."

[1. See **Return Fire vol.1 pg72**.

2. Hans was arrested after four months on the run with his parter and child, because he was accused of four bombings during 2010-2011 in Santiago (against an electrical transformer, the capitalist memorial of Jaime Guzmán and a luxury car showroom (both claimed by the 'Autonomous Cell of Revolutionary Crime') and a bank. The cell released a statement denying his involvement in their two of the actions; "They have never gotten close to us and so they have felt obliged to accuse an innocent of these actions. The stupidity of domination and the State reach such a level that they relate these attacks to Hans Neymer by the components used in the devices, even when these materials are within the reach of the whole exploited class, able to be found at any hardware store (10% sulfur, 15% carbon, 75% potassium nitrate or saltpeter) just like the detonation mechanisms and fuse can be bought at any corner store since they are a simple (kitchen) timer or a cheap alarm clock, so it is stupid to link anyone for using items that are everywhere and within everyone's reach." In the end he could only be convicted for the bank attack, sentenced to nearly six years, and is active in the internal anti-prison struggle.

3. See **'Face to Face With the Enemy'**



REBELS BEHIND BARS

- text by prisoners & repression news



Spanish, Italian & French Investigators Collaborate to Capture Fugitive Anarchist, Francesco 'Jimmy' Puglisi

After nearly a year on the run, on June 5th 2013 a house was raided in Barcelona and Jimmy was captured. He had been located in an operation coordinated by the Italian prosecutors but facilitated by other European police forces; **bank and telephone activity of Jimmy's partner was detected in Paris**, where the police claim they could have been sheltered by groups dating back to the '70s. The two then left France and headed to Spain, with false documents.

Jimmy had been convicted the year before along with several other comrades for 'devastation and plunder' during the Genoa G8 Summit of world leaders back in 2001. He was sentenced to 14 years before managing to leave the country, having been identified on CCTV attacking high-street stores and banks with molotovs during the disorder that accompanied the summit and then arrested in December 2002. The well-known anarchist (of the Catania area) had previously been sentenced to a year's imprisonment in 2000 after police found 30 sticks of dynamite, four detonators and 60 metres of fuse wire in his house.



More than a decade on, the Italian State still feels the need to stamp down hard on the legacy of the major uprising it experienced in Genoa during those July days, especially in the turbulent present. Rioting was extensive during the summit, and well remembered by many, with damages running into the millions of euros. People burned vehicles on the main route to the summit, attacked and damaged the

Marassi prison, rioted both beforehand at Italian borders as police attempted to stop suspected radicals entering (even suspending the European freedom of movement treaty) and during the summit itself – 100 security force personnel were injured, although so were many protestors, and young comrade Carlo Giuliani was shot dead by a cop during the clashes.

It's painful to see this comrade back in the hands of the jailers, not to mention the others also subject to the lasting retribution of the judiciary, and it's a sharp reminder in Jimmy's case about both the dangers of the electronic networks that we are often forced to inhabit and the willingness of the democratic regimes to hunt down rebels.

We remember at least that **one of the other sentenced fighters, Vincenzo, is still 'at large'**, so we wish them speed and luck!

REMEMBER THE PRISONERS,
REMEMBER THE DIGITAL SURVEILLANCE,
REMEMBER THE STRUGGLE!

Francesco Puglisi, Casa Circondariale di Roma Rebibbia,
Via Raffaele Majetti 70, IT-00156 Roma
...and search the web for the other G8 prisoners' details

Further Details About the Police Operation & Snitches in Bolivia

[continued from *Return Fire vol.1 pg76*]

Since our last issue, **dignified anarchist Henry Zegarrundo was let out of prison into house arrest pending trial** at the start of May 2013, almost exactly a year after the multiple arrests and consequent snitching frenzy. Over a dozen of his court hearings had been suspended already. In November, yet another hearing (to judge whether to grant time extensions to the investigators) was suspended. The situation remains bureaucratic stagnation, with a planned change in which court would handle the case having been reversed to the original, and a March 2014 hearing delayed; though now Henry can leave home in the daytime.

Meanwhile, we want to address more details that have come out about the level of voluntary help given to the cops by so-called 'radicals' in Bolivia as we mentioned before. **Some were trying to legally clear themselves; many more participated solely out of ideological opposition to illegal actions and the international insurrectional tendency, and syndicalist and 'libertarian' feminist organisations have backed up their snitching members and defended their actions.** Three of the ones who still face charges for the actions in question have given police detailed opinions of who they blame the attacks on, such as their other three co-defendants, and why, often even after their official interviews had finished.

For example, Nina Cortez (at that time still in prison) had already supplied solid alibis for the nights of both attacks she is accused of (due to the partially-covered face of a woman being in surveillance shots nearby).

"I know there are thousands of prisoners in the world, many more than I can imagine. I know that I share sorrows and joys with many of them, as well as the strong political bond of affinity, of complicity and above all of conviction in this social war. I know I desire the destruction of the visible and invisible prisons, but above all and with a priority on the visible ones, the ones that distance us from our bodies' embracing, seeing each other, colliding. Because if in our dreams (my dreams and the dreams of those who read these words) and in each letter and each action we give thousands of embraces across the distance, I know that we also want these to be here and now, and above all physically and for all time!! Therefore, I also know to stop with them, with my own, with those who show their teeth, those who refuse to be domesticated. With the wild ones who look on power with disdain. Those who remain dignified and who call upon silence when it is an ally, but who shout when it is necessary. Those who do not give in. With them, with the wild and indomitable warriors. Our love makes it across bars, walls, spreading through the cracks in the cement, and our hatred lights fires, sharpens knives and loads bullets.

We launch our howls into the galaxy in hope of being heard by our *compañerxs*." – *Action for May 29th and Reflection on the Affects Imposed by Civilisation*

Some of the syndicalist arrestees speculated in their interviews that it was either her or another of the accused (who is now free without charges), while also displaying a dismissive attitude towards women even in their own organisations (usually not knowing their names but instead using “the girlfriend of...”). **But Nina returned to the police to identify who she thinks the person is.** She reported that on the day of the arrests, the woman in question was nervous and tearful – and that she disappeared ever since someone remarked that the image (circulated by the press) looked like her. Nina named both this woman (and told the cops where on her Facebook page they could get the woman's photo to compare it biometrically with the surveillance footage), her address and her partner, **and identified another comrade (also apparently now on the run) as the probable author of the communiqués for the actions.** She gave the police his phone number and the location of other things he'd written to compare the styles. On top of this she connected both now-fugitives with Krudo (another accused) and Henry.

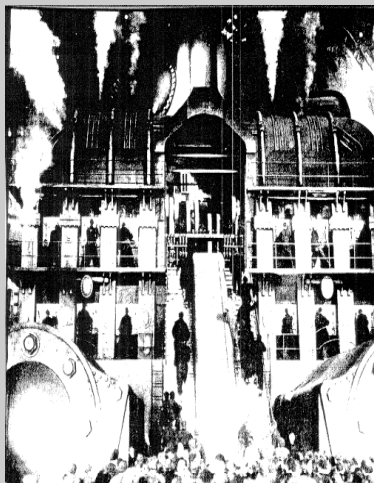
Neither does it stop there... Subsequently Nina submitted a petition to the government asking them to subpoena information out of the web server for the counter-information site that hosted the claims, Liberación Total, supplying the address for the company owning the server, and giving step-by-step instructions on how to request the IP addresses the articles were uploaded from! The day after she then requested release, and got house arrest.

As for Krudo, the other anarchist largely blamed by the snitches for involvement apart from Henry, the situation is complicated. He is still locked up in youth detention, and although as we previously reported did supply intelligence to the police about Henry's relationship to 'foreign' anarchists and solidarity initiatives (as well as the Animal Liberation / Total Liberation gathering), which they will hold against him, Krudo did not give information about the action groups or any illegal activity. He has reiterated that the cops have altered some of his statement. However after some months where he did not take steps to retract his statement or take enough responsibility for his mistakes, Henry has withdrawn his solidarity for Krudo (though he remains supported by other comrades).

In sum, the wider movement in Bolivia has caused much greater damage than anything the police initially could have wielded against the struggles in that country. Comrades have reported that there has been many cases (from all sides) of people uncritically believing or spreading rumours concerning who was and wasn't snitching,

and these dynamics became one of the more effective results of the repression. On top of this the plans for the highway mega-project that some incendiary actions initially opposed (to cross Bolivia from Brazil to Peru and Chile, connecting markets and ports from the Atlantic to the Pacific) continue unabated. Let's hope there's serious lessons to be learned on the ground from damages caused to the struggles by these events.

“Bonnie's heart sank when she considered the horror of the lives that most men [sic] led, trapped for nine/ten hours a day in the slave gangs of traffic, the uniformed peonage – suit and tie and digital wrist-watch – of the office galleys, the nerve-wracking drudgery of the on-going never-ceasing destruction and reconstruction, backhoes, front-end loaders, jackhammers, wrecking balls, freight trucks, nailguns, concrete culverts, asbestos insulation, I-beams, hardware, software, application forms, medical claim forms, auto insurance forms, income tax forms, garbage, mud, dust, sludge, whole monoclines of paper and anticlines of carbon (press hard) and synclines of silent despair. The world of 'jobs.'” - Edward Abbey



“Life unbridled, a venture into the absolute other, requires the total destruction not only of 'my' work, but of the very concept of work and economy as the basis of human relationships.”

- Jean Weir

“Mayday is Not a Celebration – The Colonisation of Everyday Life”

- words of Augusto Silva Sosa & Marco Camenisch (Mexico & Switzerland)

[from a 28.04.13 letter by Augusto, known as 'Mayin', involved in the Casa Naranja occupied space in Mexico City and locked up on charges of theft since November 2012:]

On 1st May one hundred and twenty-seven years ago thousands of workers deserted their factory jobs in the United States, and rebelled against exploitation and the tyranny of the ruling class, and to demand better working conditions such as an 8-hour workday. The authority's response was thousands of dismissals, prison and murders against the revolutionary workers movement. The workers were also accused of being manipulated by eight anarchists, who were sent to the gallows following their alleged involvement in the death of several cops who had been killed in the surroundings of Haymarket square in Chicago. Those anarchists are today known as 'martyrs of Chicago'.

However, meetings and violent struggles going on for over a century didn't succeed in overcoming the limits imposed by capitalism, let alone eliminating the colonisation of everyday life. In modern techno-industrial society work is useless as it only serves trade and social control. Consumerism and trade have a fundamental role in mass society. **The mechanisation of life has been fundamental for mass production and mass society is the result of the deterioration of the working class, which failed to stop the dominance of technology in the production system.** Capitalism is the ongoing colonisation of the planet and its systems of self-regulation, while faith in progress and science is becoming the highest form of knowledge, which increases the artificiality of life and therefore dominion.

Mayday is coming but the old dream of the working class is now buried in the graveyard of the colonisation of everyday life perpetrated by production in order to benefit the realm of the wealthy.

It is an oppressing reality and it is imperative to attack production and develop the discussion on what we need and what we're missing, so we can understand what we really need and where and how to get it.

- Mario Augusto Sosa

D-8-5bis unit, Reclusorio Preventivo, Varonil Sur Xochimilco DF, Mexico

[from a letter by Marco last year:]

Angry greetings on Mayday 2013 –

Celebrating? I really don't feel like celebrating! After all we are celebrating enough, in a sense. For whatever we want to do or not to do following our nature, our life should be just a celebration.

But Mayday is not a celebration, it's not meant to be celebrated. And even less so if Mayday is the celebration of work, a day in praise of work. On the contrary it must be a day of meditation and analysis on and in favour of solidarious organization of **the struggle against work**. And obviously also against the system and all its roots, which force us to work, make work necessary, a question of life or death, and in fact we are killing ourselves and our future with work! For work is slavery. And I don't mean wage slavery, as this concept is huge minimization, especially in the face of so called unemployment in times of crisis when wages are not sufficient to live, or are no longer so, or never were so.

Moreover let's bear it in mind that work and exploitation were born and can exist only under dominion and patriarchal oppression along with the massacres and destructions perpetrated against humanity and nature! [...] In fact since the beginning of dominion, exploitation and patriarchal slavery, i.e. since the beginning of civilisation, this deadly spiral has been set in motion[...] And for what? For the accumulation, wanted and made lasting, of power and wealth in the hands of a few people! Their overproduction of people and goods is be used in the imperialist war, internal and external, the endless war waged from above, a war of everyone against everyone and everyone against nature. This unabated war is intensified for the maintenance and development of this social system, murderous and suicidal.

Divide and rule. Work is the best instrument to achieve this! If in Chicago a hundred work slaves were assassinated in one fell swoop, today – as Bangladesh teaches^[1] – we can add another zero to the figure. **That's progress**, and its existence is made possible by a great number of professionals of violence armed with batons and guns...

The number of their victims in the universal produce-and-throw-away war of technological-industrial capital continues to rise, and is reduced to mere calculation of profitability in the indices of the society of risks. And the number is digitally marked by our zero collective conscience[...] Victims of zero value, never people, except if the victims are rich or if they are useful to the propaganda of terror or used as a pretext for a war. **All for the sake of work.**

And so: neither digital- nor verbal-radical but real solidarity to the core. Enough with the system of slavery, enough with State and capital, enough with work!

- *Marco Camenisch*

Strafanstalt Bostadel, Postfach 38, CH-6313 Menzingen, Switzerland

1. ed. - A reference to the collapse of the eight-story Rana Plaza factory complex that killed over 1,000 workers in the country with Asia's second-lowest wages, and a massive sweat-shop garment industry.

See **Return Fire vol.1 pg75** for the background of Marco's case. He remains active in the struggle with his numerous translations, letters, and hunger strikes in solidarity with many imprisoned insurgents. According to the law, Marco should have long been eligible for parole under restricted conditions, but is constantly denied. This is because he's known to have many contacts throughout the world that could help him disappear, and he has not backed down in the slightest regarding his commitment to the struggle for total liberation, is "disposed to violence" and "promotes delinquency". It's likely that when he reaches the end of his sentence in 2018, he'll then be under a high surveillance regime as long as he lives due to his "social dangerousness" which they have tried to label as a pathology. Before these incredible threats and the full weight of repression, we have enormous respect for the way Marco continues to conduct himself, and he remains present in every action anywhere that reaches for the liberation he relishes. Most recently, he again underwent hunger strike against the World Economic Forum summit in January 2014, accompanied by refusing prison work, also in solidarity with a Turkish anti-repression gathering and in response to the confiscation of some of his possessions by the prison regime.

NOT A STEP BACK...

The Temuco Bombs Case (Chile)

The city of Temuco is within Wallmapu, the traditional territory of the Mapuche people (who prevented its colonisation for over 300 years) which was only invaded by Chile and Argentina in the early 1880s. The area has long been host to fierce resistance by Mapuche warriors to the military/corporate occupation, and more recently also by anarchist subversives and action groups.

The events we'll discuss relate to attacks carried out in the first part of 2013, by a group calling itself 'Incendiary Nomad Cell'. Their first act was an arson of the loading area of the Sodimac Homecentre

(notorious for the animal abuse that takes place there) which destroyed a delivery truck. The cell wrote that "[t]he flame of insurrection will continue to burn and we will remain indomitable before those who try to domesticate us, and we will not allow businesses like Homecenter to do that to our animal brothers and sisters."

The group simultaneously announced later having placed an explosive/incendiary at the regional offices of the *Gendarmería de Chile* – a national organisation of prison guards which evolved from army units that were historically given police and prison duties in Chile (though no longer a formal military organisation, they are organised in a paramilitary fashion and maintain ties with the military, still wearing the grey-green uniforms were adopted under the dictatorship of General Pinochet and inspired by German troop uniform in the Second World War). Cops found the device, and set it off in a controlled explosion.

Next, on March 16th they placed another device in the annexes of the Temuco Special Forces headquarters, under one of their patrol cars, issuing a second communiqué.

On March 26th, the radical space Pandemia in Temuco released a statement denouncing the police harrasment of the space and those who lived in or visited it (like identity checks and being followed), visits from the investigatory officers talking about closing the space down and questioning the neighbours, and collaboration of security guards working for Unimarc merchants around the corner with agents of power in the monitoring of their daily activities. **On March 28th at 5:30am, Pandemia and also the Amanecer space were both raided by the special forces and civil cops**, forcefully evicting Pandemia and leaving 12 cats inside the building. 12 comrades were arrested, under the arms and explosives control law and for infraction of the drug law.

The five comrades who made up the Pandemia space released a statement, announcing that they "*reject victimization as a tool of propaganda, making it clear that here there are no innocent or guilty parties, there is only the result of years of persecution against those who struggle.*"

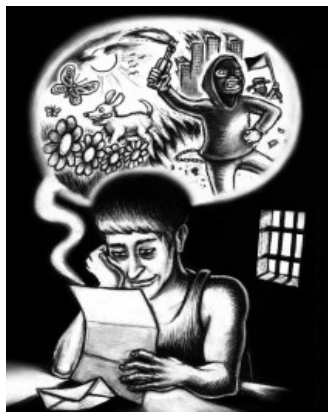


The poster reads: "Immediate freedom for the five comrades imprisoned by the state in Temuco!!! Roxana, Yaritza and Ariadna accused of making explosive devices and Silvana and Juan Pablo accused of petty drug trafficking. The same old story, the same old frame-up. WE WANT THEM FREE AND WILD"

They refused to reveal their identities to the police, and were held overnight without access to water or a toilet – including the comrade Roxana Marín who was at that point five months pregnant. When she displayed a displacement in her placenta (confirmed by the jailhouse doctor), the cops only attended to it after some delay.

Seven of the arrested were soon informed that they would be prosecuted solely for refusing to identify themselves. The next morning they were granted bail, while the other five of the arrested were sent to preventative prison. The operation was headed by a known anti-Mapuche prosecutor; it seems that it also aimed to disrupt the annual commemoration of the Day of the Youth Combatant the following day by taking fighters off the streets^[1].

Of the five still detained, **Silvana Lumilla soon released a letter:** *“Today, March 30th, I was with the 2 compañeras accused for an “explosive device” sharing the module with 48 prisoners of the capitalist system. In the hearing where the charges were formalized we were charged as “marijuana traffickers” (100 grams that can drug 400 people) and for this given 3 months investigation period in prison. These practices are old, neutralizing, discrediting and of course exposing one in image to the morbid curiosity of the formal communication media, to thus unlink the political persecution and replace it with the common crime. I am calm, we have had with the other prisoners an affectionate welcome from women in solidarity, from a cup of tea, toiletries, clothes, conversations, much joy and in spite of the circumstances we keep dreaming and they in spite of months,*



years, an eternity of confinement, all beautiful, free and crazy! [...] We will see each other soon; love and close embraces to my son, mother, siblings, grandmother, family in general, wenui^[2], lagmien^[3], compas and friends. PEWKAYAL!^[4]” **Also accused of the drug charge was Juan Pablo, while Roxana, Yaritza Grandon and Adriana Torres were the bomb suspects.** Similarly to the Santiago 'Bombs Case' (see **Return Fire vol.1 pg73**) the prosecutor delayed handing files to the defence so as to postpone any appeal against the preventative detention. From a letter by Roxana: *“Our strength, courage, and conviction are intact to resist everything that comes to me, my son Leon and my compañero. This being that is inside of me is growing stronger than ever, receiving the energy of all the people who have come to visit me, without concern for the affinity we may have or for whether they might be followed when they leave the*

prison or linked with me. I have nothing to hide, I have felt inside here that these places are made for those of us who do not accept anything that they want to impose on us, on our children, that they are the ones who we have to protect from the threatening clutches of the State-Prison. For the moment there are not words sufficient to express what we are feeling in this disgusting place, but don't worry, they will never cause us to falter in any fucking way.”

The comrades were held in Temuco prison, where tension had been building for months over guards beating young inmates, humiliating them internally and in front of visitors, and throwing food that families had brought to their beloved on the floor. One prisoner, Eliana Becerra, had been on hunger and thirst strike for 36 days. **Due to all this, and on the appointment of a much-hated guard to leadership position, on April 4th the prisoners rose up and rioted.** Chairs, mattresses, blankets, and anything else that would burn was set alight. Visitors hours were taking place at that time (one woman reporting that the guards began beating her daughter right there while she herself was being evacuated from the prison), and from outside the families of some of the arrested from Pandemia could hear the commotion as special forces and riot police entered the jail.

April 5th, Silvana and Juan were both given nightly house arrest while the investigation continued over the drugs charges. April 25th, a communiqué from Adriana and Yaritza was seized by the prison warden due to its “anti-prison contents”. The judge ruled the next day to confirm pre-trial detention for Yaritza despite the argument that her disability (in her upper extremities, affecting fine motor control) would impede her carrying out the actions as alleged. The prosecutor disputed the affects of her condition on her daily life, and claimed that police have the notebook in which she had written the communiqué for the attack on the Special Forces and the Gendarmería (perhaps imprints were left on the pages beneath those written on, it's unclear). Shortly after, Adriana was punished for insulting the magistrate and upholding her anti-authoritarian position, and denied visitors and access to the prison shop for 7 days. May 2nd, the court allowed Roxana house arrest with police checks due to her advanced pregnancy (while the prosecutor asserted that her freedom posed a danger to the security of society), and it's in this atmosphere that her son was born.



“[P]rison is no more than an architectural construct designed to discipline and control the movements/existences of those taken captive by prison society... The only pleasant smell in prison comes from the few brothers and sisters who come to see us, or when everything burns in the fire of a riot. How beautiful, comrade! The smell of the burning mattresses, the smoke filling the cell blocks, the “perfumed ones” [ed. - prison staff] terrified and “imprisoned” (what a paradox...), and the freed prisoners writing banners, securing positions, turning each tool into a weapon and each burning object into a “Molotov”... Insurrection is beautiful when it breaks out. It is uncontrollable (like freedom) and subversive. In those moments, the prisoner is not a prisoner, and the consequences mean shit. No matter how long it lasts, insurrection is something that remains etched in fire on the soul. The beatings, the torture, the isolation, the vindictive destruction of your things (photos, letters, books, clothing, etc.) will always be the bitter consequences of defeat, but the images, moments, sounds, and smells of insurrection will accompany you for life...”

*– Gabriel Pombo da Silva
(see 'I Didn't Want to Be an Honest Worker')*

In September, **Yaritza and Adriana claimed responsibility for placement of the two explosives**, and accepted a fast-tracked process which ended in a suspended sentence of 541 days. **Roxana refused the process, and was finally acquitted of all charges.** The prosecutor appealed the sentence for the two 'guilty', which was finally extended to three years' probation.

1. ed. - *A tradition since the dictatorship, marking the death of young anti-regime fighters, this day still features clashes and incendiary actions year after year between the forces of the law and different revolutionaries and anarchists. English report of hard 2013 clashes: waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=7683*
2. ed. - *“Companions/siblings” in Mapudungun (Mapuche language)*
3. ed. - *“Sisters/brothers” in Mapudungun*
4. ed. - *“So long!” in Mapudungun*

Jeremy Hammond Sentenced (U.S.A.)

[continued from *Return Fire vol.1 pg76*]

On November 8th 2013, Jeremy was given a ten-year prison sentence after pleading guilty to hacking into the computer servers of a string of corporations, government agencies and law enforcement advocacy groups. The sentence was exactly that requested by the prosecutor, with which the judge concurred due to his "unrepentant recidivism." Jeremy had been convicted and jailed in 2006 for previously hacking a racist organisation that harassed anti-war groups. Jeremy described his actions as disrupting a "deserving target" in his statement before the judge, and left court with a fist raised and with the words "hurrah for anarchy!"

Write to the comrade:

Jeremy Hammond #18729-424, FCI Manchester, Federal Correctional Institution, P.O. Box 4000, Manchester, KY 40962, U.S.A.

Elisa Di Bernardo's contribution to the IXth Meeting for Animal Liberation & Operation Ardire updates (Italy)



Hi everybody! To be honest (excuse me for the unpleasant word) I've never participated in any of the previous meetings for animal liberation. This is the first time I'm expressing my opinion on an occasion of this kind, although I'm locked up in jail.

What I'm about to write is not necessarily linked to a precise and univocal topic related to an agenda, but it is meant as a series of considerations and questions, with a holistic perspective and an anti-authoritarian way to perceive the existent.

It may seem an inconclusive series of thoughts... do what you want with it, but I want to let you know that the main goal of my short contribution is to demolish some stereotypes and demystify some 'absolute truths'. And now I'm going freewheel...

Even if I've been vegan for 14 years I've never claimed that veganism is an excellent 'sign' of absolute coherence... and in what respect? To the fact of being animalist, antispeciesist, environmentalist? By now these are overused words, which have been appropriated by an increasingly important and not at all anti-authoritarian fringe. You finish the sentence...

I'm convinced that veganism is not always harmless in terms of environmental impact (let's think, for example, of the multinationals of soya production), unless it is practiced in an anti-industrial way. For this reason I'm sure that some forms of vegetarianism and omnivorism are more eco-friendly (just to use an expression we all understand), again if they are not accomplices of industrial production. 'Omnivorism! Heresy!' will yell some of the people at the meeting. Yes, omnivorism. In my opinion, in fact, we have to pay attention to what we want to realise.

Radical environmentalism? The ideal would be to destroy all techno-industrial mechanisms, not to eat food products that have little connection to the soil; and at this point it doesn't matter if these are vegetable or animal products. The inviolability of life? To protect all living beings from death and suffering is only possible up to a point; and nature, which we claim to love so much is not so merciful as our mythic imagination leads us to believe. In this respect, for example, I know of vegans, animalists, antispeciesists (and all the *ists* you like) who like to interfere with the predatory instincts of the animals they live with, and to prevent possible prey from ending up in the jaws and paws of their predators, which are vegans like their 'owners'... isn't this a reflex of the anthropocentrism we want to overcome?

In my opinion an anarchist who claims to be against all forms of anthropocentrism shouldn't become the saviour of other animal species involved in instinctive predatory dynamics. Do we belong to the nature we claim to respect, defend and free? In what way does the human being interfere with nature and the natural world? **What do these words actually mean and in what way do they encounter or clash with our culture? How can we realise a 'wild' life? (Ah, from how many voices, including**

mine, have I heard this very beautiful word!) How many of us would be ready to get rid of the so-called comforts offered by a city (a very little natural place, I'd say)? In what way can we reconcile animal liberation and human liberation ideally and practically?

Certainly intensive farming and locked up animals are not tolerable, without compromise! **I really think it is useful to stress the importance and urgency of animal liberation with all means necessary. However talking of animal liberation from an anarchist perspective should remind us that the human being is the animal that has been living in captivity for the longest time ever.** Of how many cages we must get rid yet? Many, far too many! Sexism, to reconnect to one of the themes of this meeting, is one of them. I don't know any truth but I've got convictions: as an anarchist, and especially during this hyper-liberticidal time, I refuse to use the concept of 'rights' in relation to humans so I don't use it in relation to other animals either. It is a lie that helps the institutions in their work of representation through delegation.

Radical environmentalism and animal liberation can perfectly reconcile, or rather they should be inseparable. But obviously animal liberation is 'only' a part of a radical environmental approach. I really think that in a trajectory of animal liberation we should reject all forms of specialisation and separate issues, and understand that there can be no freedom without liberation from all cultural traps.

It is good to continue to free animals not only from the narrow cages of breeding farms and laboratories but, if I have to say it all, also from the larger and lovely ones of animal shelters... but would this be more acceptable if there were no roads and cars to interfere with the free running of these animals outside the shelters? **Therefore it is necessary to also destroy the cages represented by roads and cars (for ourselves too)... therefore it is urgent to struggle against the cage of urbanisation... therefore we cannot help destroying the cage of anthropocentrism... therefore we are facing a huge work of cultural subversion so as to free ourselves from all forms of dominion!**

A rebel hug!

- Elisa Di Bernardo

Elisa was held under 'Operation Ardire'. This operation ostensibly aims at the authors of multiple Informal Anarchist Federation (F.A.I.) attacks in Italy over the last decade and related matters, and was launched June 13th 2012 with 40 raids, 24 people under investigation, Elisa and seven others immediately sent to jail on pre-trial detention.

The detainees sent into male prison were held in a newly-inaugerated wing for anarchist prisoners at the Arginone jail, complete with its own prison guard 'Anti-Terrorism Squad' (part of a national pilot project) so as to better investigate their correspondence and relationships to people on the outside. There are six cells in total, with no real recreation space, fridge, gym or gym equipment. Two or three times a day the comrades reported that guards beat the bars and search the cells very often, and make it impossible to communicate with other prisoners. The four others ended up in Rome women's prison.

The prosecutor specified when (sucessfully) applying for extention of the pre-trial incarceration period that it would be justified by the fact that Elisa and others continued to communicate with anarchists on the outside, promote solidarity campaigns and exalt "acts marked by violence". "Danger of escape" was also cited to prevent Elisa and her companion and co-editor of the counter-information website and printed publication Culmine, Stefano Fosco, from their pre-trial release, and both were described as expressing "a non-occasional dedication to committing serious offences against the State, on both a national and an international level".

After a year and two months inside, Elisa and Stefano were both finally released with the court cases pending. They are both still banned from travelling abroad or moving towns and have to report to the police station twice daily. All of the 'Ardire' prisoners are now on the outside, yet to be tried – except Sergio Stefani who on 22nd October 2013 was found guilty of car theft in a separete 'terror' case against anarchists (2009's 'Operation Shadow', after F.A.I. attacks on the manager of Gradisa migrant detention centre, Bocconi University – "the symbol of the free market in Italy", and alleged attempted rail sabotage), and sentenced to 3 years 3 months; he'll also be sued by the prosecutor for contempt of court that day.

"There are moments when all empty words finally disappear and all masks fall off. There are moments when all other people's words fall off without them knowing. There are moments when you realise that this place has changed you and other moments when you think you are still the same person, and you discover yourself again and again. There are moments when you recognise the time of the day by the noise you hear from the corridors and you realise it is becoming normal. There are moments when you wake up in the night with a start because a light is spying over your sleep. There are moments when you see a mother crying because she can't do the most natural thing: to be with her children. There are moments when you cry because of that mother, of all the hugs she's being denied, of her broken relations, and because you think that no one is going to pay for so much pain. There are moments when you think you could look at the imprisoned comrades' faces for hours because you know from their eyes that they have never been scared of this hell. There are moments when you think of the pain of those visiting you, their faces that eventually go away, shocked, as they say "we are leaving her here." There are moments when your blood freezes in your veins when you think of freedom because you also think you won't be able to take the comrades imprisoned here away with you the moment you are free. There are moments, so many moments, when laughter burst like thunder, like a waterfall, and spread freshly on your skin, on your face, in your head. There are moments when you see a comrade smiling again and you think this has made your day. There are moments when you get news of someone who got out or escaped, and the bars crack, and your smile is mocking. There are moments, so many moments, constant moments, when you think of rubble, broken keys, uniforms in flames, and you feel the freshness of bare feet on the grass and your breath is deep."

- letter from Giulia Marziale, seven months into her detention as part of Operation Ardire; she is now out on bail awaiting trial

The anarchists await trial on terrorism-enhanced charges. **A significant part of Operation Ardire is that it targets not only the comrades in Italy, but also wants to extradite imprisoned members of the anarchist guerrilla group Conspiracy of Cells of Fire from Greece (see Return Fire vol.1 pg40) and until April 2014 also (unsuccessfully) sought to extradite Gabriel Pombo da Silva (see Return Fire vol.1 pg75),**

first from Germany where he was then held and again from Spain when he was transferred there. **Originally other long-term anarchist prisoner Marco Camenisch, held in Switzerland (see above), appeared in the order of remand in custody, but since has heard nothing and no moves have since been made to extradite him.**

Throughout the investigation and Elisa's detention, both her and Stefano's long-running correspondence with and support for the "well-known criminal individuals" Marco and Gabriel have been held against them – for example this was the justification for months-long censorship of Elisa's mail. Among other reasons Marco and Gabriel were included in the 'Ardire' investigation due to the international hunger strike of anarchist prisoners carried out in December 2009 – January 2010 (see 'I Didn't Want To Be a Proud Worker'), because of which they were named by Italian investigators as "symbols and points of reference of a new subversive project" of which they would be "ideologists and supporters".

The latest news for now concerning Gabriel is that as of April 18th 2014, the Italian-European arrest warrant was lifted following the two failed attempts to extradite him. He will continue to be confined in the Spanish prison system, probably until 2023. After he had been delivered back to the jails he had escaped so many years ago, the German press ran a story titled 'A Hole in the Cell...' where they alleged that in Gabriel's old cell was discovered a well-concealed chamber of saws, letters and other hidden objects...

FREEDOM FOR ALL THE ACCUSED
FREEDOM FOR ALL

Former E.L.F./A.L.F. Militant Rebecca Rubin Gets 5 Years (U.S.A.)

[continued from Return Fire vol.1 pg74]

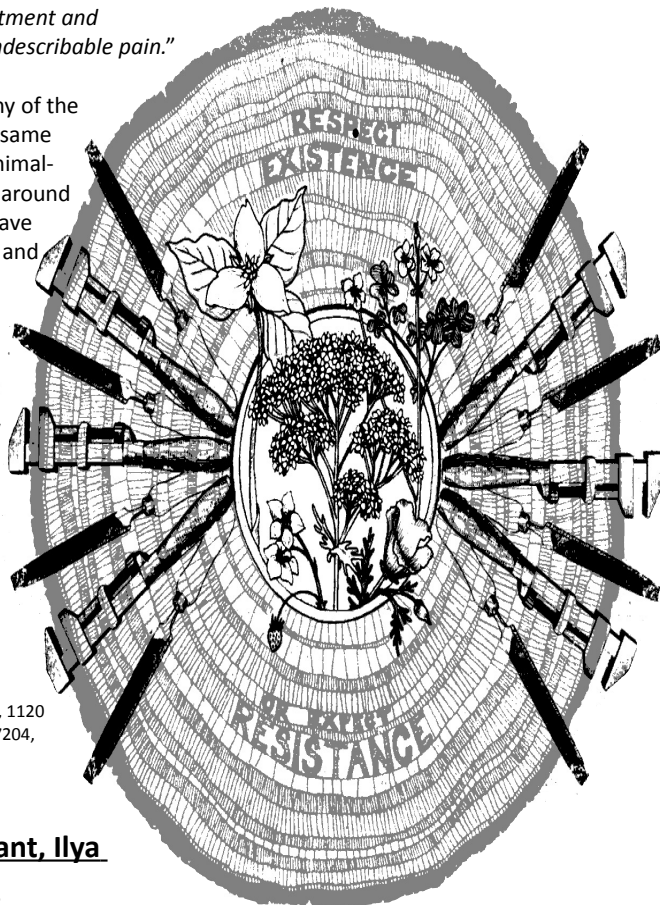
In late January, after changing her plea to guilty, Rebecca was sentenced to 5 years in federal prison (down from the 7.5 requested by the government), followed by probation, and begin a restitution bill over \$13 million.

While when addressing the judge she attributed her part in the four major incendiary attacks to "a point in my early twenties when I could longer contain or appropriately channel the grief, despair, and powerlessness I felt in response to the mistreatment of animals and the natural world" and didn't defend her actions (at least in public), she asserted that "[a]nimals and the natural world have always been for me a source of profound joy, wonder and

solace, and their mistreatment and destruction a source of indescribable pain."

Let's remember that many of the others charged from the same era of North American animal- and eco-defence activity around the turn of the century have snatched and rolled over, and at least Rebecca has apparently still not aided the State in any way to find the remaining two on the run. She was set to turn herself in as early as 2009, but prosecutors previously wouldn't accept any plea agreement that didn't implicate her co-defendants so she refused.

Let's not leave Rebecca alone:
Rebecca Rubin #770288, MDCDC, 1120 SW 3rd Avenue, Portland, OR 97204, U.S.A.



Anarchist Combatant, Ilya Romanov, Injured by Explosive Charge (Russia)

Late on October 26th 2013, Ilya Romanov was involved in a premature detonation outside the regional Russian Army draft office in the city of Nižnij Novgorod. **Heavily bleeding, Ilya made it alone to the nearest hospital and was arrested soon afterwards. Doctors amputated his hand. He also sustained burns to the face.** During interrogation he gave a statement that a pyrotechnic device activated in his hand.

The mainstream media soon reported that the police raid on his home confiscated so-called 'extremist' literature and chemicals for making explosives. However, another report stated that the police only took away an empty soda box, some elements of a microscope belonging to Ilya's 16-year-old daughter, and a tin can with unknown white substance inside – in addition to various radical media items and personal correspondence including letters from his 2002-2012 prison spell. Initially he was charged with 'supply, trafficking and illegal possession of explosive weapons': later changed to 'manufacturing of explosive devices'. In December 2013, Romanov was accused of possessing explosives and, additionally, attempt of a terrorist act.

Since the late '80s Ilya has been active in the anarchist struggle, for example participating in protests against nuclear power, solidarity initiatives with two anarchists arrested for attacking secret

service police and since then also with other prisoners, spreading propaganda and being a member of an independent union for unemployed youth. After being incarcerated for two and a half years from December 1998 on drug charges and on the recommendation of a psychiatric clinic, Ilya went to Moscow only to discover another warrant for his arrest. **He escaped to the Ukraine where he was finally arrested in December 2002 for possession of a firearm, dynamite, an electronic detonator and ammunition.** He was then charged with the bombing of the secret service's premises in Kiev as well as expropriations from currency exchanges and jewellery stores, and entered a long and proud prison struggle while subject to physical and psychological torture until his release ten years later.

Now in still pre-trial custody, Ilya is in a stable condition and doing well although still in pain from his amputation. His family can send him medicine but are having trouble paying legal costs. Russian federal cops raided his family home a second time (confiscating his father's and his daughter's laptops), and around the same time agents visited him without legal notice in prison to "have a word" - only to be met resolutely with silence.

We await more info; meanwhile all of our affection with Ilya and all our anger for those keeping him behind bars.

If you have letters in English to be translated for Ilya:
abc-minsk@riseup.net

Trials Against Eight Fighters Over Armed Robbery, a Shoot-Out & Alleged C.C.F. Membership & on the surveillance operation (Greece)

[continued from Return Fire vol.1 pg75]

Shortly after our last report, sadly a second wave of arrests followed the busted double-robbery in Velvendo, Kozani. **On April 30th 2013 anarchists Argiris Dalios, Fivos Harisis, Giannis Naxakis and Grigoris Sarafoudis were all captured in and around a cafe in Athens.** Argiris and Fivos had been wanted since the robberies as participants, while Giannis N. and Grigoris have since been charged with another bank robbery in Larisa (central Greece). Another unnamed comrade escaped the police cordon though!

All the arrested were immediately imprisoned, joining the throng of anarchists inside the Greek jails. On June 13th, Dimitris Politis (caught in the chase from the hold-up in Kozani), Argiris, Fivos and Kostas Sakkas (see *Global Flash-Points*) were all appearing for routine hearings in separate cases. During their escort from the prison by the notorious E.O.M. (Special Transfer Unit) thugs, upon passing the solidarity gathering held by comrades one of the prisoners was attacked by the guards and thrown to the floor of the hallway, dragged ten metres to the transfer van while being beaten and put in the specially-shaped cage inside while handcuffed. Here is the statement by the four involved about what happened on their arrival back at Koridallios prisons: *"When we got to Koridallios and after more provocations we attacked the 13 cops of the EOM with whatever we had in front of us (chairs, drawers, ashtrays, telephones, fire extinguishers etc.) destroying at the same time the prisoner receiving room while fending off the cops. It all ended with the intervention of the sergeant together with some prison employees in the role of "balancers".* These prisoners and others have set about forming a resilient and resistant community behind the bars and against all odds, defending their dignity in the ways they find possible on the inside.

The trial started on February 3rd 2014 for the four held from the operation in Athens (which was in the Nea Filadelfia area) together with those caught after the Kozani robberies. It contains many cases: Nikos Romanos, Giannis Mihailidis, Fivos and Argiris are accused of C.C.F membership (which they all deny); Giannis M. for a gunfight with cops in Athens (the incident where Theofilos Mavropoulos was arrested – see *Return Fire vol.1 pg41*) which he has taken responsibility for; Grigoris, Giannis M., Dimitris, Argiris and Fivos for the robbery in Kozani, and Grigoris and Giannis N. also for the robbery in Larisa. Additionally, the C.C.F.

member and prisoner Gerasimos Tsakalos has been delivered a pre-trial detention order as the investigators allege that he instigated the Kozani bank hold-up from within prison; something he and they deny.

If the judges and prosecutors expected an obedient and cowed performance from the accused, then they were mistaken. **Here is an example of the statements which many of the anarchists made in the opening session, this one from the declaration of Giannis:** *"I refuse to speak the language of the enemy in order to negotiate my sentence and this is why I do not recognize any legal representation[...] no code of laws can fit the wealth of human relations in such a complex reality which every group of rules fails to mould. Such a procedure stems from state imposition and this serves (keeping connected the authoritarian social web which as an anarchist I want to destroy) in order for raw human anti-authoritarian relations, whose only connecting web will be emotion and conscience, to shine. If the above seem abstract generalities, my refusal is specific when it comes to accepting the ethics of capital, the sacretization of individual property which the whole legal code is orientated towards protecting. I have been a thief and robber disputing the sacred chalice of capitalism. Because property means exclusion, it means accumulation, it is the womb of the dominant form of exploitation and oppression: the economic.*

[...] More substantive I'll speak of my refusal to accept the objective value of human life as it's defined by the law of the state, which provocatively discredits the workers murdered by the impunity of the bosses. Which provocatively discredits the suicides in the prisons where it buries people alive. Which discredits the hecatombs of dead from military operations. Which provocatively discredits the immigrants it drowns in the seas, blows up or shoots at the borders which divide zones of graded economic exploitation. Which provocatively discredits the lives of people, transforming all of us into products, a procedure which goes through the constant torture of the disobedient or the weak. From the child-slaves of multinationals in the third world, to the brutality of the meat industry, it is a very short distance. And in the end it provocatively and disrespectfully discredits earth itself, leading it to mass illness and death by the technological-industrial civilisation of pollution.

This is why I as an anarchist discredit the lives of the economic, political and scientific executives of the system, as well as those who follow their orders, servants of the police-judicial complex which defends murderous order of this world. This is why

when I was up against the cops who tried to steal my freedom, I sought besides my escape also their physical extermination. Do not be shocked little people of the panel of judges, because if there is value in human life it is in connection with freedom and your life, that of the robbers of freedom, has a negative value. And if in my value system maybe a cop could, under specific conditions, be dealt with leniency, every judge however has a place in a grave for those people they have buried alive."

The 8th session of the trial will continue on April 1st 2014.

Current addresses for the imprisoned fighters:
Argiris Dalios, Fivos Harisis, Giannis Naxakis, Grigoris Sarafoudis, Nikos Romanos, Andreas-Dimitris Bourzoukas, Dimitris Politis and Giannis Mihailidis, Dikastiki Filaki A' Pteriga, Koridallos, T.K. 18110, Athens, Greece

**TEXT BY THE DETAINED ANARCHIST
COMRADES OF NEA FILADELPHIA CASE**



We think it's appropriate to publicize some information surrounding our surveillance and our subsequent arrest by the anti-terrorist cops on 30.04.2013 in Nea Filadelfia. Most information is "official", taken from the indictment against us. Through this we were led to some conclusions concerning mostly the knowledge of the cops on the way we were "moving" rather than the methods surrounding our direct surveillance. We also add a few words on some more knowledge of the cops we "discovered", but also a few words on their tactics. The delay is because of hesitation based on the evaluation that publicizing this information could further help the future job of the cops. We weighed it however and concluded that it is more important, even if delayed a few months, to share this information/knowledge because it is more consciously "correct" for us that the interested comrades know the police's minimal level of knowledge, instead of there being suspicion of ignorance.

To many this information may sound obvious, but we are convinced that it will not sound the same to everyone. We obviously cannot make counter-proposals here, only warnings. In no way are we trying to scare anyone with the wideness of knowledge and the dynamic of the enemy, but to say to those who are "researching" what to be aware of in the streets in order to fulfill their raging desires. The "shadow" which many times covers the methods and movements of the anti-terrorist force leads people to over-

evaluate them, when it's true that beyond some things that are made known to us every now and then, many other parts remain in the dark.

The cops themselves almost never reveal their methods. On the other hand, although we have to take our measures against them, a risk for an individual or group level will always remain in a subjective field. No matter what, mistakes are made and will continue to be made in the battle against such strong oppressive mechanisms. Mistakes that will always "cost" more compared to the cops' mistakes which are "absorbed". The situations must be weighed again and the mistakes which happened once, simply, should not happen again. The accumulated experience of so many years must be studied and appreciated and because there is the tendency to prepare for the battles which already took place and not for those that will come, let's be prepared and may luck be on our sides...

Beginning, let us say that our surveillance began at 11.20am with the locating of Grigoris (Sarafoudis) and ended at 16.00pm with our arrest in Nea Filadelfia. **We have reasons to believe that our surveillance began at that specific time.** Because just before that the comrade went into internet-cafe Palladium on 48 Solomou Street at the border of the Exarchia area with the centre of Athens. We basically believe that this specific cafe was/is under surveillance, since we were informed other comrades in the past have been followed by plain-clothed cops when leaving this internet-cafe^[1]. Another main reason which more or less defines the time is the fact that earlier that morning the comrade made a counter-surveillance "check" and made sure his movements weren't being followed.

A usual check we made very often and always before any meeting with wanted or unknown – to the police – comrades, in order to make sure we are "clean". In other words, we think it's possible that the "bad moment" came when a "clean" person entered a "dirty" place and since he was already known to the anti-terrorist force from older surveillance, he was recognized and set under discreet surveillance. The meeting however a few hours later with two wanted comrades Argiris (Dalios) and Fivos (Harisis) sounded an alarm at the anti-terrorist force and an order for arrests was made immediately. The cops as usual, in order to justify the surveillance, also mention in the indictment an "anonymous phone call" to their service which said that Grigoris and other comrades in the same case had weapons, participated in the robbery in Velvedo and often visited the area of Exarchia. In this way, they even tried to disengage the cooperating

internet-cafe in order for it not to be targeted, and thus they wrote in the indictment that they located Grigoris by accident on the crossroad of Patision and Solomou Street, which is 30 metres down the road! Although we know that this ridiculous story with the anonymous phone call is not true, we do not exclude the possibility that Grigoris, for some reason, might have already been a suspect and that he became a target of the anti-terrorist force like that. The story, more or less, after Grigoris' visit to the "dirty" internet-cafe, continues when a while later at another part of town he met the (also "checked out") comrade Giannis (Naxakis).

The two comrades then moved around different areas, to end up some time later in Nea Filadelfia at the meeting spot with the other comrades, where the story ends a while later with the raiding of the anti-terrorist force. During those few hours however, the comrades under surveillance made some moves that from a legal point of view might be indifferent, however, they were able to "betray" some conspiratorial characteristics about how we moved around.

So, here goes:

1. After about four hours of surveillance they saw us going into four different internet-cafes. The first was the 'Paladium' where Grigoris went. The next was on Patision 382 near the Ano Patissia train station, across from the "everest" shop where Grigoris and Giannis met up. The two of them later went to 'Gnet' in Marousi (Tsaldari and Aristidou Street), while the last one was 'Bits&Bites' in Nea Filadelfia (Dekelias 138) where they met Argiris and Fivos. **With these facts the cops have reason to believe that we used the internet to communicate with each other.** They definitely knew we "downloaded" and used the Tor Browser Bundle software (an extensive text will follow about the functioning and security of Tor software) a program for safe surfing which mixes up the I.P. Numbers of the world wide web of users, this way making surfing more "free", since the I.P. number (which is the element that betrays the geographical position of the user) appears to be another one from a different, random place on the planet. Even with this fact however, the Greek police hackers do not have the ability to "decrypt" our course on Tor because it is not a matter of coding but a matter of untagling a large bundle of IP numbers.

And finding the end of the line is an extremely time-consuming and complicated procedure which in our case must be done backwards. Generally, with Tor we felt safe until we found out that recently (August 6th) hackers of the FBI "cracked" many Tor pages for the first time, managing to trap and arrest a large global network of pedophiles, something which created some small concerns concerning its seals. **A mistake we made is definitely that we "downloaded" Tor on the PC of the internet-cafe where we were, instead of having it stored in a flash drive on us, something which besides the fact that it can be shown on the central PC of the shop, theoretically it is possible to immediately warn the cops, through a program, if they have an agreement with the shop.**

Concerning internet-cafes, bad news has been transferred to us that since then, people were followed by plain-clothed cops while leaving various internet-cafes in Athens (Exarchia, Monastiraki, Neos Kosmos, Kallithea) something that tells us that most shops in Athens will be under surveillance. Let's not forget that the abilities of the cops are enough if we consider that only the DAEEB (anti-terrorist force) has 600 employees, as stated inside a court room by they themselves when they were asked.

2. They saw us on Sygrou grove in Kifissia. The two of us (Grigoris-Giannis) before heading towards Nea Filadelfia made a stop in the grove, walked up to the football pitches, sat on a bench right next to the pitches and talked for a long time.

Note that all these hours they followed us, although we checked and theoretically believed that we were clean, in the few reflex looks we took behind us, out of habit, we did not observe anything especially worrying, while we moved with many different means of transport (train, bus, taxi).

Additional things we learned and figured out since the day of our arrest concerning how cops work.

They really surprised us when 80 metres down the road from the cafe in Nea Filadelfia while two of us (Grigoris-Giannis) were walking away, DIAS cops [ed. - *motorbike patrol*] signalled us to stop for a search. If we were expecting something planned, it for sure was not the DIAS on a central crossroad of the area, but another kind of "rushing". After the signal, and after they approached us on foot, we saw, seconds later, the appearance of more forces surrounding us until we were trapped, something that told us that even if we were armed we would had have very few possibilities of getting away. On the other hand, as it's already known, in the cafe where the

operation was carried out a few minutes later, their tactic with the DIAS as bait did not have the results they wanted since one person got away.

Also, something we were not all sure of, which now we are, is the ability of the cops in any police station in the country to immediately identify the info of a fake ID card with the real holder through a photograph. Giannis, who was initially taken to Nea Filadelfia police station, was in a position to see the cops type the info from his fake ID card into their computer and see the photo of the face of the real holder appear on the screen.

It is important to point out one basic difference of tactics of the anti-terrorist force in the case of our arrests, in relation to past operations of the same force against armed groups (CCF, RS [ed. - *Revolutionary Struggle*, see *Return Fire vol.1 pg62*], arrests in Pireus and Nea Smirni [ed. - *both at C.C.F. arms caches*], arrests in Vyronas-Tavros [ed.- see *Return Fire vol.1 pg53*]). In all these older cases the tactic of the cops was this: **having analysed beforehand the profile and interactions of the wanted comrades with other "legal" ones, they placed the latter under surveillance which then led them to the illegals.** Obviously, the anti-terrorist force does not carry out "one dimensional" investigations, neither would they remain at that, schematically however and through the accumulated experience of the last three years we observe that despite the occasional differences, the core of the investigation and its' successes are within the above "simple" model.

In the previous cases therefore, when the DAEEB "discovered" the wanted comrades it never attempted to arrest them on the spot, to the contrary it put them under surveillance for many days firstly aiming at finding the "safe houses" and the weapons of the comrades and secondly their contact circles. The examples are characteristic: in the case of the comrades arrested in N.Smirni - Pireus the surveillance, according to the official documents of the indictment, lasted 17 days. Accordingly, the anti-terrorist force followed the houses of the Thessaloniki comrades in Vyronas-Tavros as well as the house in Volos where the members of the CCF lived... **on the contrary in our case the anti-terrorist force chose to arrest us immediately and not follow us, for two reasons.** The first reason and most important, was that in the past many comrades (among them some of us) have gotten away from anti-terrorist operations because of counter-surveillance methods they applied. The cops either lost them or, in order to not expose the whole operation, let them go.

The second reason is that because of the modern methods of oppression (see DNA) the cops are more sure than in the past that we will be imprisoned and sentenced even without “safe houses”, “weapons” etc.

Concluding, the conclusion we gather is that the enemy quickly adjusts to the conditions and evolves constantly, but many times the enemy itself basically creates the conditions in which it will have the initiative of actions. From our side it is not enough to remain in the tested and successful recipes of the past but to always look ahead, be what they call one step ahead of them. By waiting for the worst we cannot but always become better. Through this text, we seek the evolution of action through the sharing of this experience. We believe that such communication is necessary, even if it's in this way (the immediate contact between those interested is impossible as well as dangerous) and generally that it is essential that those persecuted and imprisoned should put out such information. Things that the enemy knows should not remain a secret within our circles, since they “orientate” to what they know and can be useful to us. There is of course the case that some information remains secret based on strategy, a plan, a new surprise attack in the face of the enemy.

*Detained from the case of Nea Filadelfia
– Argiris Dalios, Fivos Harisis,
Giannis Naxakis, Grigoris
Sarafoudis*

1. ed. - A while following this letter, anarchists raided the Palladium internet cafe of an evening, smashing the screens and the storefront windows, and torched the server. “It was one of the cops' favorite spots in downtown Athens, something that even the owner himself admitted during the attack.” In solidarity with the Nea Filadelfia and Velvendo detainees.

Andre Dahl Jensen Put In Psychiatric Detention (Norway)

In October 2013 news came through from Andre, an anarchist who organised the website A-REVOLT. He described the situation (imprisonment against his will and forced medication) as being “socially and politically executed”. Here is an extract from his first open letter, dated 19.09.13:

“I was temporarily released under forced psychiatry in February 2013, after detention for 5 months. However last month (16th August) I was committed to forced hospitalisation again without any voluntary help/treatment being offered or tried out.

I am being denied practically any freedom, and this has become a politically issue for me as well, as I am an anti-authoritarian. As I see Norwegian authorities and psychiatry refuse to accept or tolerate my political/philosophical views, and my views regarding forced treatment and permanent drugging.

[...] Also I have in this situation also become homeless and almost financially destitute as my former landlord now has seized the deposit. I contacted the social services and was committed on the promise I would receive support and help to solve the situation, they did not follow up on this, in fact It took over 2 weeks before any social worker even contacted me. Now the social worker here has denied me any form of assistance. I am now left to sort out the social situation and paper work alone, through internet and phone.

[...] The situation has become so unbearable and I am becoming increasingly hostile and aggressive, as my patience is wearing thinner and thinner, and they are actively provoking a situation where as I will have a breakdown and so force an outburst of violence. In order to justify more drugging and more abuse and illegitimate authority.

[...] I have no support, no family, no network socially or politically anymore. I have no one

here to communicate with on as an equal, leaving me isolated, alone. Surrounded by people I more or less despise or get on my nerves.

This hospital and the staff ignores all human dignity and rights, they refuse to give patients even prescription-free stomach medicine, when in so much [pain] that they can barely stand on their feet.

Instead one patient had an outburst after 3 days of asking for stomach medicine. And as a result was belted down to a bed and forcefully medicated with Cisordinol. She was screaming for hours because the acid came up in her windpipe because of stomach reflux. I could hear her screaming “what I have to go through to get stomach medicine”

Music/radio is banned, except in your room. TV is off until in the evening. There are rarely any newspapers. Phones are banned except in your room. Patients can stay locked in for up 6 hours in their room at one occasion, or not allowed to go outside in the park for weeks in some cases. Patients have no place to retreat and relax to except their rooms.

Private belongings as per belts, shoes and all is locked in metal closets at security lockdown around 2100. You have one option: co-operate or stay in your room, and even so follow orders. There is no real dialog, the threat of being belted and medicated is constant for most patients.

[...] I have spent 28 months since I returned to Europe in 2009 in detention, and they still insist that medicine will “cure” me. Cure me of what, a decent life as an equal human being?”

Let's remember, the State and the dominant society has developed psychiatry as another tool in their arsenal for standardising and annihilating the individuals who don't conform. **Whether to mute subversives by declaring them 'insane' (such as happened widely in the Soviet Union), catch potential rebels early by turning the most nascent anti-authoritarian sentiments into 'pathologies' or 'disorders' (commonplace in the United States and across the Western world), or quarantine some of the most damaged along with some of the most brilliant from the gray productive mass, mental health institutions have long been about isolating those they consider deviant or 'broken' to prevent disruption of the status quo more than about safeguarding the affected and those close to them.**

“We have to show that attacks by the state won't crush our ideas and break us. It just gives us more rage and strength! But solidarity is not just mutual aid! Solidarity is a way to be a partner in struggle and crime, a way of showing your happiness about an action and deep affinity with a hostage of the state. It's not just about giving a comrade infrastructural help. It's about showing the incarcerated that she/he is not alone and that her/his struggle was just the beginning and will be continued on the outside.”

– Under Night-Time's Lovely Coat: solidarity with Jonatan!^[1]

1. ed. - October 2008, anti-civilisation anarchist Jonatan Strandberg was arrested for three Earth Liberation Front (E.L.F.) actions over a single night in the area of Älmhult, Sweden – fire-bombing a communications mast linked to the Department of Defence, electrical sabotage of a crane on an urban sprawl development, and cutting the hydraulic cables on a logging truck. He was sentenced to 15 months (though another case against him, for a two-million-SEK luxury villa under construction in the forest also burned to the ground by the E.L.F., was dropped) and is now out.

Within anarchists of action we could mention the recent cases where the State attempted to impose a regime more invasive even than 'normal' prison against our comrades. For instance, before she was released radical ecologist combatant Silvia Guerin (see **Return Fire vol.1 pg14**) was in February 2012 briefly transferred to Switzerland's "high security with psychological support" section of Hindelbank prison – a psychiatric ward in all but name. After significantly first being designed in the '70s specially to hold a captive from the Marxist-Leninist guerrilla group Red Army Faction, the unit now holds "dangerous" women with "serious psychiatric problems". The justification for her transfer was "risk of escape", but the threat from her spell on the ward seemed clear – the unquestionable subjection that State psychiatry can wield over who it chooses. Or as another example, three animal liberationists on trial in January 2014 for a number of assaults on fur farms, freeing mink and attacking the farmers and industry, were alleged by the Swedish State to be suffering from mental disorders; resulting in a six-week-long psychiatric evaluation before sentencing. Again, although the verdict came back that they were all "healthy enough to be sentenced to prison", the threat seems latent in a case where there were some defendants maintaining complete silence before the cops and judges.

With this in mind our hearts are with Andre in this most difficult time, that he (and we) might find the connections and spaces to recuperate and heal away from the scarring machinery of civilised madness. From a second letter of his: "An older (pensioner) patient in a wheel chair uttered today that she feared for her life in here, because of the bad treatment. She said "if I die here they will write it off as a suicide, and no one will ever know what happened or what I go through". Staff/guards keep repeating that we must behave, follow orders and try to be happy, and everything will sort itself out. I hit the radiator so hard today that it fell off the wall, took a photo of it. will post. My right hand is already busted from yesterday, as I hit it repeatedly at the window hard. Actively protesting by slamming doors, leaving garbage around, messing up their bunker..."

Having had his appeals and complaints repeatedly rebuffed by his jailers, **Andre reported that he will probably remain committed until August 2014.**

"The Medieval European allegory of the Ship of Fools was more than a metaphor or a literary ruse to critique the Church and the state. In *Madness and Civilization*, Michel Foucault argues that this trope was also a real socio-political tactic used to cleanse the civilised space by isolating the "mad" or the "unreasonable" from "society". For civilisation, "reason" has two constituents: *raison d'être* and sanity.

The sane are here defined as those existing for the purpose of domestication in a "natural" food chain hierarchy. In this sense, "society" consists of those working for the "reason" of domestication and socio-economic hierarchy, exploitation, and consumption and those who cannot or refuse to abide by the domesticator's definition of their reason for existence are either sent to sanatoriums, hospitals, or other correctional facilities to be cured or killed." – *The Ship of Fools as a Place of Spectacle, Healing, and Education Where the Wild are Sent to Die [abstract]*

"The despotic biomedical, pharmacological and psychotherapeutic models of mental health will try to persuade us that the problems lie with us, as individuals, as malfunctioning and maladjusted organisms. I would agree with this in as much as the conditions of our daily existence have an enormously detrimental effect on our physical and mental health: poor nutrition, stressful environments, unstable relationships, pollution (air, light, material and noise), generalised aggression, loneliness, work and technological fallout do, I believe, make our capacity to create and maintain good health, good brains, good social relationships and good moods extraordinarily difficult. But this aside, I think our mental health, or lack of it, is mostly a normal response to abnormal circumstances and is in some sense the frontline, the trenches, in the war against humanity by the nation state and economic onslaught. [...] We have drugs to make us happy – legal and illegal – to make us forget that we are stressed and anxious, to make us feel close to other people or simply to make us feel nothing at all, to keep the economy functioning, getting us up in the morning and sending us to sleep at night. We have talking therapies to help us adjust to the system that our minds and bodies are rejecting. If the drugs and the talking don't help, we have stronger drugs, mental hospitals and other prisons. We have an ever-growing dictionary of 'mental illnesses' most of which can be described very simply, civilization and the refusal of civilization." – *Beyond Amnesty*



The Media-Judicial Lynching - aftermath of the arrests for the Zaragoza cathedral attack [& communiqué] (Spain)

Spanish National Police made five arrests in Barcelona in the early hours of November 13th 2013, little over a month after the anarchist group 'Insurreccional Commando Mateo Morral' claimed an explosive attack that damaged the interior of the cathedral Basilica del Pilar in Zaragoza. (The same group previously attacked the royal cathedral La Almudena in Madrid; see **Return Fire vol.1 pg70** for info.) Four of the comrades were taken in an apartment raid (Mònica Caballero, Francisco Solar, Gerardo Damiàn Formoso and Rocío Yune Mira Pérez), while the fifth (Valeria Giacomoni) was seized in the vicinity of her home.

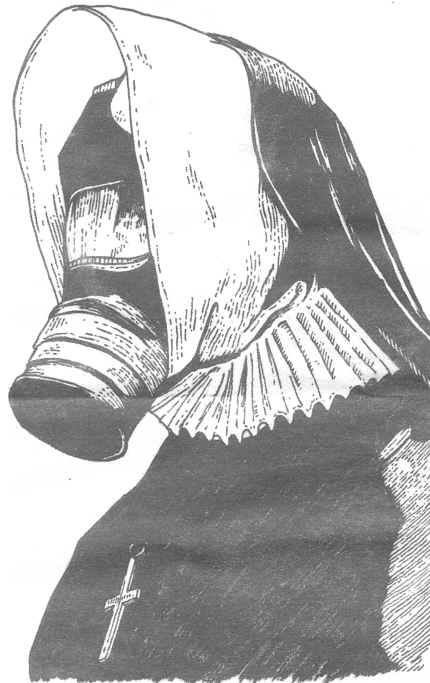
The press immediately began a huge frenzy around the case. All the identities and photos of the accused were released, along with pictures from their arrests and from searches of their homes. **The international element has been one of the points most seized on in the publicity: Mònica and Francisco were both charged under the 'Bombs Case' in Chile (see Return Fire vol.1 pg73), Gerardo is from Argentina and Rocío is also from Chile, while Valeria (an Italian) is, according to the investigators, the one who brought them all to Spain.** As for Valeria, her partner's home in Trento was raided by the Italian political police just after, but they didn't find anything 'relevant'. The Spanish Ministry of Interior claimed in all the mass media that those arrested are part of "a very well organised

commando, extremely dangerous with strong international connections”, while commenting that Mònica and Francisco had already been investigated in Chile for numerous attacks on church property. The Chilean government also made a hurricane of statements gloating over the feast; in fact some suggest that the swoop was timed to occur just before the Chilean general election on November 17th...

Mònica and Francisco are the two accused of placing the bomb at the cathedral, based on footage of two people arriving with backpacks “moving carefully so as not to be noticed”, and leaving shortly before the explosion. Both previously confronted State repression with dignity and rebellion, spending nine months in prison during the Bombs Case investigation while never surrendering to the prosecutor’s blackmail, and carried out a 65-day hunger strike before all charges were finally dropped for lack of evidence. According to police statements, before either of the attacks on the churches the Spanish cops contacted Chilean law agencies to confirm the identities of Mònica and Francisco. As well as personally travelling to Europe after the arrests, the chief of Chile’s secret services convened together with relevant authorities of Mexico, Greece, Italy, Belgium and other countries to discuss and analyse “insurrectional anarchism” and to coordinate responses.

The word from anarchists in Barcelona is that this repression has been built up to during some months of hype by the judiciary and mass media, in response to unrest within and without social movements and struggles. To frame this in the social situation, at a time when Leftist armed groups, Basque separatists and Al Qaeda are fading from prominence in the Spanish media, while at the same time new outbreaks of discontent and disorder occur across the peninsula wrought by austerity measures (and not only), the “anarchist phantom” is being raised once again to serve as the main “internal enemy” to whose nefarious agitation the worst of the wide-spread rage can be attributed. Talk of the insurrectionist “Mediterranean triangle” (Spain, Greece and Italy), as well as bomb placement in Italian bank headquarters of Barcelona and Valencia, was rife.

The following is from a statement by people in solidarity in the city: **“Clearly the press was making public what the police officers told them they had to publish. Fulfilling its role, trying to create a climate of fear and alarm among a population whose main concerns are not those of a church’s bad luck or being killed in an anarchist bombing, but whose main concerns are the daily consequences of capitalist plunder**



and State aggression. If a terrorist is one who strikes terror, the media isn’t much different than Al-Qaeda. [...] What about the Catholic Church? The architect of thousands of deaths, terrorizing millions of minds since childhood, dictating their repugnant views on millions of bodies, capitalizing on poverty and suffering. A hierarchical organisation of terror and repression such as the Church (of any kind) does not deserve any pity when it is attacked.

What about the monarchy? A parasitic institution that lives, like the Church, at our expense and represent the state and the army, apparatus of repression and authority. The misfortunes of the royal house won’t cause us to shed a tear.

What about the banks, companies, politicians...? Their destruction can **only be received with a smile.**”

After five days incarceration, Valeria, Gerardo and Rocío were released on bail (their passports however were retained and they must report regularly to the police station). Mònica and Francisco were put in pre-trial prison, both reported to be in good spirits and staying strong. **The charges against the five are: illicit terrorist association, placement of explosive artefacts (in Zaragoza), and conspiracy to commit terrorist acts. The last charge is based on plans police claim to have found of the monastery of Montserrat in Barcelona, leading them to charge them with preparing to attack this temple too.** However so far they have not been charged with the bomb in Madrid – although investigators say that due to the common claim and similarities in the devices, it will only be “a matter of time”.

Here's some words from Mònica and Francisco: **“Here we are again, surrounded by these concrete walls and bars, among cameras and jailers. Here we are again, without bowing our heads, and proud of what we are. Proud to be part of the unpredictable gale that seeks to do away with any hint of Power, whose mask is once again removed and can be seen as what it really is, in its brutality and, why not, in its debility, too. In this particular case the collaboration between the Chilean State and the Spanish one in order to achieve our incarceration, shows how they can be coordinated to deal with what they perceive as a threat, but the importance that these gentlemen [sic] of Power have attached to us does not reflect anything other than their fragility. Their inconsistent discourses of security are just the mantle which hides their fear of knowing that a happenstance could trigger widespread disorder. Their blows and gags do nothing but give us strength to sharpen our ideas and our lives and qualify ourselves to be in permanent confrontation.”**

We'll leave it there so far, with the prisoners' addresses and the following claim for the action, but first a poem previously recounted by Mònica while she was writing from within the Chilean prison system:

Fences and metal doors surround this underworld trying imprison our joy of living and loving the letters of my comrades are fluttering in this improvised writing desk cries and voices from afar mingle with their words confused, dark memories of murderous volleys and all the same I fill up again with struggles and victories.

I am not alone.

(written in 1984 by Sandra Trafilaf, radical prisoner of Chile during the Pinochet dictatorship)



Mònica Andrea Caballero Sepúlveda, Ávila-Prisión Provincial, Ctra. de Vicolozano s/n, Apdo. 206, 05194 Brieva (Ávila), Spain
Francisco Javier Solar Domínguez, C.P. de Villabona, Finca Tabladiello, 33480 Villabona-Llanera (Asturias), Spain

COMMUNIQUE:

"Besides, I have the right to leave the theatre when the comedy becomes odious to me and even to slam the door while leaving, at the risk of disturbing the tranquility of those who are satisfied with it." - Émile Henry

Authority, a basic principle of the society, exercises its dominion through various different institutions; **the Church is one of the most important because of its historical complicity with the State-Capital, taking charge of laying the foundations of and perpetuating the current state of patriarchal and heteronormative oppression.** The Basilica of the Pillar, in Zaragoza, is one of the most significant temples for the holders of Power. Visited by Franco *[ed. - then Spanish military dictator]* on several occasions and by Pope John Paul II in 1982 and 1984, this cathedral stands as one of the main symbols and a meeting point of fascism. The Virgin Mary of the Pillar is considered the patroness and queen of Hispanicness; flags of all the States that dominate the Latin-American territory are hung inside the temple as real trophies. **The Pillar Square is situated on side of the basilica and features the Hispanicness fountain, which draws the map of Central and South-American continent, taking a great deal of pride in the extermination caused by civilisation.**

Coupled with all of the above, the Virgin Mary of the Pillar was declared patroness of the college of young guards (the Guardia Civil *[ed. - para-military cops]* cadet academy) in September of 1864, and she was proclaimed a patron saint of the gendarmerie assassins on Guardia Civil payroll in 1913. The order was signed by Alfonso XIII, the same one who was targeted by the anarchist that gave name to our group - whose memory we revived in another attack on a symbol of Power in February this year. The comrades killed in action live only through action.

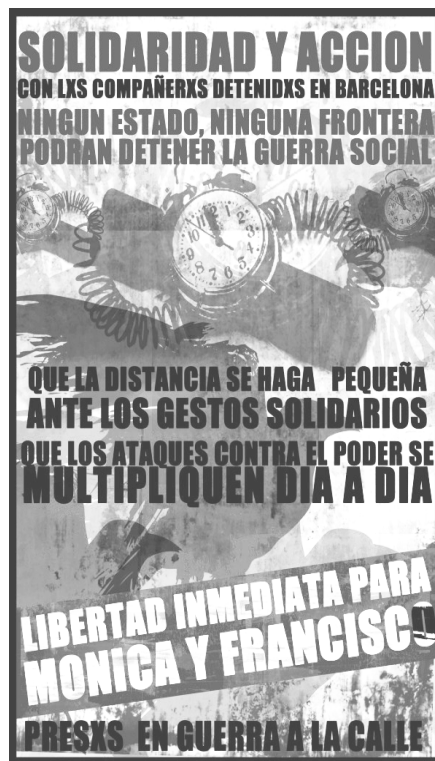
After the triumph of fascism in 1939, the Basilica of the Pillar was declared national temple and sanctuary of the race. It became a prime location for Franco and his entourage, who gave central importance to it in the takeover of Zaragoza and their victory against the Aragón front *[ed. - during the Spanish Civil War]*. **This is the temple where the corpse of Juan Soldevila lays, entrepreneur and cardinal killed by the anarchist group *Los Solidarios* in 1923 for being one of the financiers of the *pistoleros* hired by bosses *[ed. - anti-union assassins; anarchists responded with their own killings at the time, including most famously the Spanish Prime Minister]*.**

This noxious personage pertains to the history of this location, and he is remembered in every celebration which is emblematic of Power, such as the annual Hispanic Day, on October 12th, when our enemies arrogantly celebrate their colonialist expansion making prayers and pilgrimages in this space of intimacy, passing through its area in total tranquillity.

However the habitual calmness was lost on October 2nd, 2013. At approximately 1.15pm, we installed an explosive device consisting of one butane gas bottle filled with two kilos of black powder, including a clockwork mechanism for its activation. This action did not intend to harm any parishioners or tourists, that is why we gave advance warning - ten minutes prior to detonation - to the newspapers *El Periódico* (Zaragoza) and *El Heraldo* as well as to the Basilica of the Pillar, so that they could evacuate the temple.

This action is intended to warn their attendees that fascist standards like this one are not and will never be secure locations.

Insurreccional Commando
Mateo Morral



The poster reads:
"Solidarity and action with the arrested comrades in Barcelona
No State, no border will ever be able to halt social war
May distance get smaller with gestures of solidarity
May attacks against Power multiply day by day
Immediate release of Monica and Francisco
Prisoners of war out onto the streets"

Verdict Read Against F.A.I./F.R.I.

'Olga Cell' (Italy)

[continued from Return Fire vol.1 pg78]



As we reported last time, Alfredo Cospito and Nicola Gai have been held in the AS2 'special' wing of Ferrara prison since September 2012. Some months before their trial was due to take place for the non-fatal shooting of the nuclear entrepreneur CEO Roberto Adinolfi, Nicola was placed under investigation while inside for 'attempted incitement to commit crime' - due to the content of a letter that never made it past the prison censors. Mention was made by the jailers of the bomb attack on the Koridallos prison directors' vehicle in Athens (see *Explosion at the Justice Academy, Buenos Aires, & Industrial Logging Operation Arsoned, Bryansk*) which had recently been dedicated to Nicola and Alfredo. Meanwhile their companions then on the wing, the anarchists Sergio Stefani and Stefano Fosco (*targeted by 'Operation Ardire', see above*), had been under six months of letters censorship on judges orders. This was justified as a measure to combat the risk that Sergio and Stefano's letters could compromise the censorship already imposed on Alfredo and Nicola for months, as *"the same correspondence could contain references to imminent criminal actions"*. To back this up the law-slaves used the example of texts by Sergio, Nicola and Alfredo which were circulated in memory of Mauricio Morales (see *Return Fire vol.1 pg92*), by which they *"renewed their adhesion"* to *"subversive purposes"*...

On October 30th 2013 the trial was held; the court added the aggravating circumstance of the purposes of terrorism. In the days beforehand an ENI store (state-owned energy firm, nuclear and more) was smashed up in Turin in solidarity with the imprisoned rebels, while in Rovertto two cars of Telecom were burned and also fire seriously damaged a telephone mast of the same company. Just before the trial a bomb was thrown over the wall of the Ferrara prison into the screws' parking lot in the vicinity of the wing where Alfredo and Nicola are held as well as Sergio and anarchist Adriano Antonacci (arrested in a separate police operation). This was despite heightened security around prisons and escorts for their directors following the seizure of Nicola's aforementioned letter

and blowing-up of Koridallós prison director's personal car.

More than two hundred anarchists gathered in front of the courthouse to show solidarity with Alfredo and Nicola, while various security measures were put in place outside as well as inside the courtroom. **The court and adjacent areas were heavily militarised (roads closed to traffic access), with large deployment of police, many in riot gear. The police in fact didn't waste time before talking about "serious risk to public order".** Access to court was quickly blocked and only 24 people were allowed to attend the hearing (in a small chamber, clearly to limit the presence of the public, and after searches, metal detectors, having their documents photocopied) where several comrades were also present in a room already full of hacks and plain-clothes cops.

The arrival of Alfredo and Nicola was greeted by the shouts and applause of their companions inside the courtroom. Alfredo and Nicola were not locked up in the usual defendants' cage but instead seated in front of the judge's bench further away from the public seating, where they showed not an ounce of respect for that authority.

Both refused to rise when the judge entered. Regardless of the will of the court, Alfredo announced his refusal to recognise the trial as soon as the judge started talking and began to read a communiqué in which he assumed responsibility for the shooting of the CEO of Ansaldo Nucleare, but he was repeatedly interrupted by the judge. The comrades attending the trial in solidarity began to hurl insults at her.

Police pounced on Alfredo and Nicola at the judge's signal after just a few lines to eject them from the courtroom. Alfredo threw down his text, and Nicola indicated with gestures that he would leave his communiqué on the desk. Both were removed by a strong police contingent in the midst of applause and cries of solidarity from their comrades, such as *"the passion for freedom is stronger than your authority!"*, before they were also thrown out. Cops identified around 80 people in total (inside and outside), and most likely will send information to the prosecutor for the disturbance in the courtroom.

The courts have therefore put on record, and then read, the contributions of the two, **who claimed the action, detailed the process (deciding to attack, observing the target, procuring the weapon, stealing the scooter) to show it is not necessary to be some expert, highlighted their mistakes, clarified that they acted alone, and spoke about the ongoing atrocity of the nuclear industry in Europe and beyond.**

After the removal of Alfredo and Nicola, many comrades left the court in a spontaneous march and occupied the assembly hall of the university located in Via delle Fontane to continue with the meetings of solidarity that have already taken place in Rome and Florence.

Prosecutors requested a 12-year prison sentence for Alfredo and 10 years for Nicola. Additionally, the state advocate requested a million euros in compensation for damage sustained by the government and the interior ministry. **On November 12th 2013 the verdict was issued for the two comrades (both had made it clear they didn't intend to be present): 10 years and 8 months in prison for Alfredo Cospito and 9 years and 4 months for Nicola Gai.**

Here are excerpts from the proud pair's declarations. 1) **Alfredo: "On a wonderful morning in May I acted, and in the space of a few hours I fully enjoyed my life. For once I left fear and self-justification behind and defied the unknown. In a Europe dotted with nuclear power stations, one of those mainly responsible for the nuclear disaster to come fell at my feet. I want to be absolutely clear: the FAI/FRI Olga Cell is only Nicola and I. No one else took part in this action or helped or planned it. Nobody knew about our project.**

[...] I live my anarchy with ease, joy, pleasure, without any spirit of martyrdom, by opposing this civilised existent with all my strength, an existent I cannot bear. I am anti-social because I am convinced that society can only exist in the differentiation between the dominant and the dominated. I do not strive for any blissful future socialist alchemy, I do not trust any social class; my revolt without revolution is individual, existential, overpowering, absolute, armed.

There's no feeling of a 'superman' in me, no disdain for the oppressed, for the 'people'. As an eastern saying goes: "don't scorn the snake because it doesn't have horns; one day it might turn into a dragon!". Similarly a slave can turn into a rebel, one man or one woman can become devastating fire. I scorn the powerful of the earth with all my strength, be they politicians, scientists, technocrats, leaders of all sorts, bureaucrats, army and religious chiefs.

The order I want to knock down is that of civilisation, which destroys everything that makes life worth living day by day. State, democracy, social classes, ideologies, religions, police, armies, your very court, are shadows, ghosts, replaceable cogs of an all-embracing mega-machine. One day technology will do without us and will transform us all into automatons lost in a landscape of death and desolation.

On that May 7th 2012 I threw sand in the cogs of this mega-machine in the space of a second, and during that second I fully lived and made a difference. On that day my weapon was not an old Tokarev but the deep and ferocious hatred I feel towards techno-industrial society. [...] If anarchy doesn't turn into action it rejects life and becomes ideology, little more than shit, in the best of cases a powerless outburst of frustrated men and women.

I decided to go for action after the nuclear disaster in Fukushima. Far too often we feel impotent in the face of such big events. Primitive peoples faced danger, they knew how to defend themselves. Civilised and modern peoples are helpless in the face of the constructions-constraints of technology. Just as sheep look at the shepherd for protection, the very shepherd that will slaughter them, so we civilised people confide in the secular priests of science, the very priests that're slowly digging our grave.

*We saw Adinolfi smiling slyly and playing the victim from television screens. We saw him lecturing against 'terrorism' in schools. **But I wonder: what is terrorism?** A gunshot, a searing pain, an open wound or the incessant, continuous threat of a slow death devouring you from inside? The continuous incessant terror that one of their nuclear plants can vomit death and desolation upon us all of a sudden?*

*Ansaldo Nucleare and Finmeccanica [ed. - their parent company] bear huge responsibilities. Their projects continue to sow death everywhere. **Recently the rumour has spread of probable investments in the enlargement of the nuclear plant of Krško, Slovenia, a high seismic risk area very close to Italy. In Cernadova, Romania, several incidents have occurred since 2000, caused by***

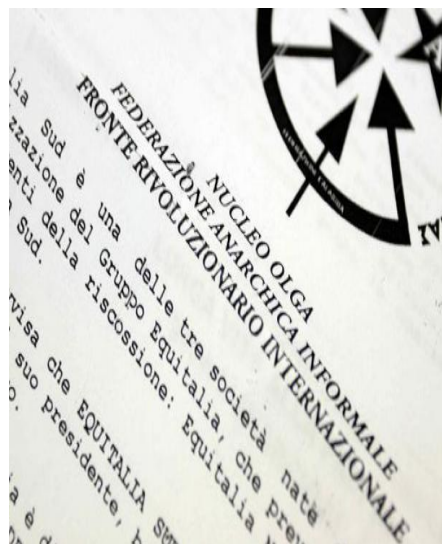


Ansaldo's stupidity during the construction of one of their plants. How many lives have been lost? How much blood shed?
Technocrats of Ansaldo and Finmeccanica, all facile smiles and a 'clean' conscience: **your 'progress' stinks of death, and the death you sow all over the world is shouting for revenge.**

There are many ways to effectively oppose nuclear power: blocking trains carrying nuclear waste, sabotage of the pylons carrying electricity produced by nuclear power. I had the idea of striking the one most responsible for this mess in Italy: Roberto Adinolfi, managing director of Ansaldo Nucleare. It didn't take much to find out where he lived, five sessions of laying in wait were sufficient. There's no need for a military structure, a 'subversive association' [ed. - common legal charge against anarchists in Italy] or an armed gang in order to strike. Anyone armed with a strong will can think the unthinkable and act consequently.

[...] I'm happy to be what I am, a free man even if I'm 'temporarily' in chains. I can't complain much, given that the vast majority of people have chains well placed in their brains. **I've always tried to do what I thought right and never what was convenient. Half measures never convinced me. I've loved a lot. Hated a lot. And for that reason I won't surrender to your bars, uniforms, weapons. You'll always find me an irreducible, proud enemy. Not only me. Anarchists are never alone; sometimes they are solitary, but never alone.**

A thousand projects in our minds, a hope in our hearts that stays alive, stronger and stronger, determined and more and more shared. A concrete perspective that 'risks' changing the face of anarchy in the world. Small, great earthquakes that will stir a cataclysm one day. It will take time, never mind, for the time being I am enjoying the earthquake that broke out inside me from all this desire for joy and struggle."



2) Nicola: "I understand that those who have dedicated all their lives to serving authority won't find it easy to accept the idea that two individuals, armed only with their determination, could decide to try to jam the gears of the techno-industrial system instead of contributing to running it in a disciplined way; but that's just how it is. After years spent witnessing the systematic destruction of nature and all the aspects that make life worth living, carried out by the never-too-highly-praised technological development. Years spent following with interest, but always as a spectator, the experiences of the rebels who, even in this seemingly pacified world, continue to raise their heads and affirm the possibility of a free and wild life. Following the Fukushima disaster, when Alfredo proposed that I help him carry out an action against Roberto Adinolfi, I accepted without thinking twice.

[W]ith another 190 nuclear power stations in Europe alone, the problem is not wondering if another Chernobyl might occur but **when** it will. And moreover, we mustn't forget that these monstrosities don't just kill when they are functioning but also do so with their nuclear waste. This is transported back and forward all over Europe with nobody knowing what to do with it. **The nuclear waste from the Italian power stations, closed down decades ago, is now being transported to France in order to be made 'safe': they get fuel from it to supply more nuclear reactors, and also a few kilos of plutonium that can only be used to make bombs (just to remind us that there's no difference between military and civil use as far as nuclear power is concerned), then the waste is sent back as dangerous as it was before.**

[...] I could talk about the damage and destruction caused by nuclear power for hours, give countless examples, go over what's going on in Fukushima (where some are saying that no deaths were caused by the nuclear power station... [ed. - pompous words of Adinolfi before his wounding]) but I'm not here to seek justification. **Perhaps nuclear power is the one element of this civilised world where the senseless monstrosity of the techno-industrial system can be understood by anybody**, but we have to realise that we are sacrificing all protection of our individual freedom and the chance to live a worthwhile life on the altar of technological development. Now it is up to each one of us to decide whether we want to be obedient subjects or whether we want to try to live, here and now, the refusal of the existent. I have made up my mind, with joy and with no remorse.

We'll get out of here branded as terrorists; the amusing thing is that you can say that without seeming ridiculous: it is what the

law states. One sure thing is that words have lost all their meaning; if we are terrorists, what would you call those who produce weapons, tracking systems for missiles, drones, fighter-bombers, equipment to hunt people trying to cross borders, nuclear power stations, those who do deals with assassins in uniform and famous dictators, in other words, how would you define Finmeccanica? [...] I know for sure that you will use our case to make an example, that your revenge will be draconian, that you will do anything to keep us isolated (suffice it to say that our letters have been subjected to censorship for more than a year), but I want to give you some bad news: your efforts will be in vain. **For at least 150 years, judges, even more ferocious than yourselves, have been trying to erase the idea of the possibility of a life free from authority, but with poor results.** I can calmly assure you that your repressive actions, no matter how wide and indiscriminate, won't be able to disarticulate or eradicate anything.

If you think that, thanks to us, you will be able to trace other anarchists who have decided to put the chaotic, spontaneous and informal possibilities of the FAI to the test, you are absolutely mistaken and you will draw a blank, like always; neither Alfredo or myself know anyone who has made this choice. You are chasing a ghost that you can't lock up in the petty procedures of your legal codes. **That is because it manifests itself in the instant in which the destructive tensions of those who animate it come together in order to act, in the instant when free women and men decide to put anarchy concretely to the test.** Now that the experience of the Olga Cell is concluded I can only assure you that I have found new reasons to feed my hatred and motives to desire the destruction of the existent composed of authority, exploitation and the devastation of nature.

Love and complicity to the sisters and brothers who make the mad dream of the FAI/FRI real with their actions all over the world.

Love and complicity to the comrades who, anonymously or not, continue to attack in the name of the possibility of a life free from authority.

Love and freedom to all anarchist prisoners.

Long live the black international of the rebels against the deadly order of civilisation.

Long live anarchy!"

Alfredo Cospito and Nicola Gai, C.C Via Argione 327, 44122 Ferrara, Italy

SOME NOTES ON THE TAP

A brief summary

The pipeline or methane pipeline TAP (Trans Adriatic Pipeline) should be about 900 km long, starting from the Caspian Sea and reaching mainland in Salento [*southern end of Puglia, Italy*], on the shore of San Foca (Lecce province) to transport natural gas. In late June [2013], the Shah Deniz consortium in Azerbaijan - members include British Petroleum, Total and Statoil - has made its choice preferring the TAP over the Nabucco project which would have had to go through Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Austria. The TAP Project, composed of Axpo Holding (Switzerland), E.ON (Germany) and Statoil (Norway), was considered of strategic interest by the Italian government and the European Union and will supply the European gas market.

Some questions

Opposition to the TAP, as to any bane, as well as a struggle against a prison, is a classical "partial struggle"; partial, to be clear, not in a negative connotation, but in the sense of *defining a particular aspect*. But having a wider horizon in all that we do and in the struggles that we make, trying to identify power and authority of any kind and in all their configurations, and trying to oppose them, is the goal that we have. **Our perspective should be at the basis of our action, a thought which accompanies us continuously as well as a way of approaching struggles. When we oppose war, a technological disaster, a prison, repression, exploitation, authority, morality, we should always keep in mind all these aspects and try to have an overall view.** An example: when we oppose a nuclear plant, we oppose the nuisance it represents, the irreversible destruction of the environment, but what we have in mind is also the use that will be made of the nuclear energy: to continue to reproduce an economic and industrial system of exploitation, or to perpetuate the super-technological and super-controlled city life shaped for commodities rather than humans. This example, which may be valid in many other cases, poses a problem. Can we participate in a struggle while separating, differentiating?

The TAP emerged with several issues: from the environmental devastation to war, to the plundering of resources, capitalist neo-colonialism, etc.; all these discourses are closely related. But what has not been done, perhaps, is attempting to connect all these aspects in terms of perspective. Opposition to the TAP is part of a broader opposition to the state and the economy: in a word, what is called *Domination*, which is also what governs our lives like those of billions of people and because of which we are precarious, exploited, controlled, repressed, etc. Now, we do not pretend that all those with whom we are related in a struggle are comrades or whatever kind of people (just to be clear), having the same approach, but our attempt is to go in that direction. Because when we speak or act out against exploitation, whether of nature or people, it is not intended as a rhetorical exercise. What we want is the existence of horizontal relationships between individuals and, of course, the end of exploitation.

Some notes on method

After this introduction that may be evident but is useful to try to be clear, we come to the mode of action. One that doesn't make it impossible to get in touch with anyone provided it is in a horizontal and self-organized manner. The logic of institutions, parties and delegation are part of the problem, and are therefore part of what we oppose. Also here in Salento, committees against the TAP pipeline were immediately created, with the main reason that this construction would damage the tourist vocation of the territory. They immediately applied the usual standardized and institutional patterns: parliamentary delegation,

petitions, participating in round-table discussions with the TAP project - that is to say with the multinational that will make the pipeline, self-referential demonstrations - in the sense that they are often only composed of banners with their initials, interviews on television and in newspapers - contributing more to the spectacularization of the opposition and not to the opposition itself; especially also as television and newspapers are part of the problem. But it is like that, everyone chooses his [*sic*] path and acts accordingly. The most important thing is that this is not our way to struggle and that since the opposition to the TAP also interests us and concerns us, not only because it is located in the area where we live, we want to search for another mode of intervention. **The error, in our opinion, is to think that if committees are created, you can always find accomplices there to struggle together. It could happen, but considering it in a systematic way, as if it were a fact, is an error that wastes time and energy, among other things.** The struggle against the TAP in Val Susa [*ed. - see Return Fire vol.1 pg70*], to which everyone refers, probably contributed to this ambiguity. As if the important struggle going there for several decades would be reproducible anywhere or would be the only feasible model. Often, committees have a structure and a way of doing that is very political and that differs little from the institutional way of doing things, that we fail to see because we are blinded by an appearance of action at the base.

Immediately putting forth our mode of intervention, without delegations, without politics and with our critique of commodities and the existent; searching for accomplices or partners starting from ourselves: that is what we intend to do to try now to aim high and to fight against a bane, in this case a pipeline, to act against



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

Against delegation

As always happens, someone in the committees is driven by a genuine intention to oppose the nuisances, but his *[sic]* modes of action, petitions or media use, are antithetical to ours. Especially since their leaders never lose the habit of intervening in any given occasion, considering themselves as the sole representatives of the struggle, speaking for others or dissociating from other methods. All it needed to trigger denunciation and dissociation was a “No TAP” scribbled by someone on the wall of a golf club (which is already itself a nuisance, given that to irrigate its huge lawns it takes the water of neighbouring farmers, lowering the groundwater to alarming levels) which hosted a meeting between members of the TAP and local administrators behind closed doors and protected by the police. We wonder if, when bulldozers arrive to begin the works, the *sympathetic* activists from the committees will demand special laws and deportation against those that will have enough will and rage to really oppose it. Expecting that the various members of the committees will at one point realise that petitions or parliamentary delegations do not amount to anything, is an illusion. Especially as to delegate means to reproduce, not hinder, the representative and authoritarian system.



Discussion, criticism and action may instead be immediately valid instruments of opposition, very simple and accessible to all, taking into account the perspective that we talked about earlier. The TAP is only one aspect of Domination, although very large, but we are also interested to intervene in the relationship between individuals, what we are interested to put forth as a mode of action is a truly horizontal, self-organized and from the bottom. And if the struggle can be conducted in this mode, perhaps even involving some or many other people very different from us, extending the critique of authority and questioning at least part of this existent then we would have acted in a right direction, even apart from the final result of the struggle against a specific nuisance.

A spark that can propagate

From the moment the TAP Project was selected to put the pipeline into existence, the various local and national institutions have expressed their position. Some environmental groups such as *Legambiente* felt compelled to express their positive advice. The Italian government immediately declared itself in favor of the project, considering it strategic to the national economy and beginning to mystify the reality about the impact on the territory, new jobs and smaller bills. Local and regional politicians, starting with the governor Vendola and his deputies, have on the contrary begun to speak of consultation, negotiation, confrontation and necessary dialogue with the local populations and the involvement of citizens and

committees in carrying out the work. It is not difficult to understand that their idea of dialogue means to pacify, to avoid the suspicion of a large part of the inhabitants of Salento towards the project, some out of personal interest as tourism professionals, some seriously concerned about the impact on the environment, turning into hostility. *The work must be done, they say, but it is necessary that the opposition is kept under control, that it remains in the democratic cage of petitions and legal methods, pretending to participate while we undergo the work.* Concealing the enforcement of an unnecessary and harmful project that only serves the profits of some multinationals, in dialogue with local administrators, perhaps by offering a serious economic and monetary benefit, seeking to convince people of the goodness of this work, **but also its inevitability.** *The people are a child, like someone said, and this is the moment for candy.* If that’s not enough, the fact that this construction is considered as strategic, can at any moment lead to its militarization. **But this discourse hides a fear, a weak point of those who hold power. Opposition to a nuisance can become a spark, a beginning, a fire that spreads and brings more into question.** An opportunity to oppose in the first-person and to stop a monster and then stop many others, *among them also the mentality of delegation.* From work to school, home, leisure, the places we inhabit, pieces of life are stolen from us and we want to reappropriate them by sending to hell the defenders of progress and this world.

MEMORY AS A WEAPON

SIEGE ON SIDNEY STREET

At the dawn of the 20th century, serfdom within the Russian empire was being abolished, and masses of rural inhabitants were being transformed into industrial labourers. It was a time of great discontent with the existing social order, with very pronounced class divides, and in 1905 revolt broke out against the Tsarist regime. What followed was a major crackdown against radicals, with many interrogations, torture, execution and terror. Many went into exile to escape.

Because of this, by the end of the decade, the British capital of London was described by Latvian historian Pauls Bankovskis as being “swarming with armed-to-the-teeth anarchists who had come from all across Eastern Europe and who didn’t hold anything as holy”.

The siege of Sidney Street is closely tied up with the folklore concerning “Peter the Painter”; one of many aliases of Latvian anarchist Janis Zhaklis. It's actually debatable whether Janis was involved in either the siege or the events that directly provoked it. However, there's only scant information about the individuals confirmed to be involved, and so a look at the background of Janis will help us gain a picture of the times.

“Peter the Painter”, so named in later life because of his work as a decorator as well as being an artist, was born in Latvia during 1883. During the events of 1905, he was a

“Memory calls us, incites us to contribute from our abilities to the clash with this reality.

We speak every night on nocturnal walks, or cycling by day. It asks us not to forget those faces behind the drapes, those ideas behind the fire, that love behind the destruction. It would not be dignified if we left all those beings in the mud of oblivion. To those who gave their life and their death to change everything.”

- Lxs Niñxs Salvajes

combatant of the Riga Fighting Organisation (of the Latvian Social Democracy party). In this group, he participated in the storming of Riga Central Prison (October 1905), the most modern prison of Tsarist Russia at the time, where hundreds of revolutionaries were executed inside those grim walls. Two of their imprisoned comrades were rescued from certain death in the raid. Months later in January 1906, he went on another expedition to attack the Secret Police Department of Riga inside the Main Police Directorate, again to liberate captured fighters. Six were freed; one of whom was Fritz Svaars, later supposed to be inside the besieged terrace on Sidney Street.

Janis then went to Finland, where he was part of an expropriation of the Helsinki Bank – most of the money going to revolutionary socialist organisation – and then headed to Germany to procure further arms. However, Janis was becoming disenchanted with Social Democrats, and attracted to anarchist ideas. When the Latvian Social Democracy party wanted to abandon armed struggle in favour of parliamentary discourse, he co-founded the anarchist-communist group 'The Same – In Word and Deed!' to continue the battle. After the group lost two members (Anna Caune and Karlis Krievin'sh), killed by the police during a siege, Janis escaped abroad with Fritz and another fighter of the organisation known as Hartmanis or “Puika”, who was also part of the events to come in London.

It's known that Janis at least was involved in more travels (and expropriations) in the U.S.A., Switzerland and France, before arriving in England. **In the heady underworld of London, he founded an anarchist group 'Liesma' (or 'Flame' in English). A large part of the focus of the immigrants (anarchists, social democrats and others) was to raise funds; to send money to family or friends who had been left without a 'breadwinner' after the events of 1905, to buy arms, publish illegal literature, and transport them back to Latvia. A great many successful robberies were carried out to this end.** For example, one of the fighters who was later thought to be in the siege, Jazeps Sokolovs, worked in various jewellery shops. Every time he would leave his job for the next one, the previous shop would be expropriated – however the police were unable to prove a connection!

The trail of what became known as the gang which ended up in the Sidney Street confrontation can be picked up in two robberies which failed. The first, in January 1909 and of a factory pay-store in North



London, was dubbed by the press as “the Tottenham Outrage”; culminating in a six-mile armed police chase across the Lea Valley. **The second and more deadly incident was December 16th 1910. The group had rented a house next-door to a jeweller's in the Houndsditch area of the City of London, and began breaking through the wall to access the store during the night.** However police were alerted due to the noise and turned up to investigate. The radicals opened fire to secure their escape, killing three officers and badly wounding two more. **To date this remains the heaviest casualties sustained by the Metropolitan Police in any single incident.** However, while trying to break out of the cul-de-sac, “Puika” was gripped by one of the policemen – the comrade wounded his assailant several times in the struggle and the others shot the cop down, but in the crossfire Puika was hit in the back by a friend's bullet. The gang then managed to carry Puika three-quarters of a mile to an East End flat, but he sadly died there the next day.

Police discovered the flat and the body that day. On Puika's person was found a fake passport, 'Flame' documents, and instructions for electric detonation of explosives. Both Janis and Fritz had lived in the flat too. **There was a backlash against Eastern European refugees in the East End, and the police quickly rounded up several other Latvian anarchists or other revolutionaries, offering a sizeable reward for the capture of named suspects described by the Daily Mirror as “fiends in human shape”.** A fortnight later an informant familiar with the social scene told

police that they knew where the last two or three wanted robbers were holed up – No.100 Sidney Street, in Stepney.

An armed police contingent surrounded the house on the night of January 2nd, 1911, and waited in the snow. At 3:30am on January 3rd, the police Detective Inspector (D.I.) got a neighbour to enter No.100 under the pretence of visiting the landlady about an ill partner, and all were secretly evacuated from the house except the unknown suspects who were asleep in the front room. Around dawn, the D.I. tried throwing pebbles against the window to wake them, but got no response. Then, as he was collecting more, gunfire broke out from the upper floor, and a sergeant was hit. The D.I. sheltered in the frozen gutter for a full half-hour before the shooting ceased, then ran for reinforcements.

It was clear very quickly that the anarchists in the house, with automatic pistols and plentiful ammunition, were much better armed than the Metropolitan Police force at that time, with their antiquated rifles.

The cops appealed to Scotland Yard for assistance, who in turn requested help from the Home Secretary; who at that time was Winston Churchill^[1]. Churchill dispatched a score of soldiers from the Tower of London to reinforce the two-hundred-strong police cordon, and himself arrived on the scene around midday to direct the operation. At this point the battle had been raging for over four hours, and thousands of shots had been fired. The media were in attendance; in fact it was apparently one of the first cases of live news coverage, filmed by Pathé News. Eventually the police force swelled to at least 1,500,

with a crowd of maybe twice that gathering to watch from the street and rooftops.

The assembled State forces were firing from windows on opposite house-blocks. A news report at the time about the 'desperadoes' of the gang alleged that *"it was curious proof of the deadly aim of the assassins that not one pane of glass was broken in the opposite windows; the bullets had all gone through the opening over the heads of the soldiers and policemen as they lay."* At Churchill's suggestion an artillery piece was brought to the scene to shell the anarchists out, as well as a military party of Royal Engineers to gain access to the house by digging an underground tunnel.

However in the end before either were deployed, **somehow a fire began inside the house under siege at around 1pm.** A journalist on a nearby rooftop claimed to see a gas jet burning on the first floor, leading them to allege that the fire may have been a plan intended as a diversion, so that the two anarchists could escape via the back of the house. Another speculation has been that a bullet may have hit a gas pipe, but to this day it seems unclear.

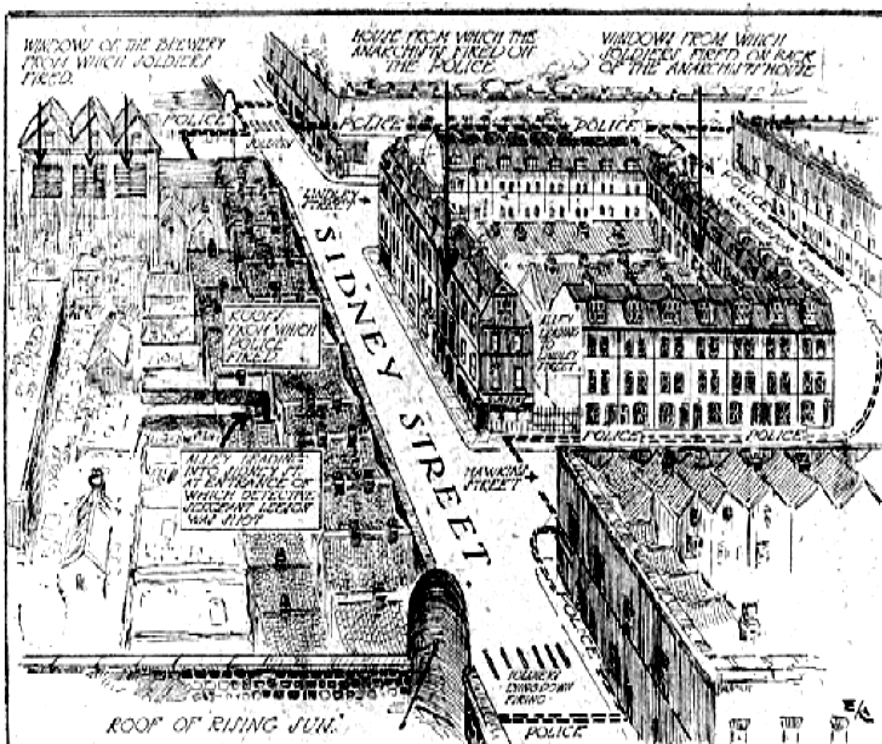
The smoke grew stronger, and, while gunfire continued from both sides, the flames began to envelop the house. By now the volleys from the alleged robbers was coming from the bottom floor alone. **Although the fire brigade were on the scene, Churchill (who claimed to have had a bullet pass through his top-hat on that day although leaving him unharmed, but this has been disputed) prevented them tackling the blaze.** *"No, let the buggers burn!"* he is reported to have said.

There are differing accounts of what happened next. In one story, around 2pm as the fire was gaining strength, there could be heard one or two final shots from the ground-floor of No.100 Sidney Street, and this was thought to be the anarchists taking their own lives. (At the time however the media reported that the two bodies were later found in the kitchen behind the house.) We quote from the second story: *"One gunman leaned out of the window, possibly to take breath, and he was shot in the head, then the other – a burning figure – climbed onto the window ledge, to a gasp of horror from the crowd of thousands. Within seconds, after a burst of shots, he fell backwards into the room, and quickly the fire consumed the house, as the roof and floors came crashing down amongst a roar of flames."*

The bodies in the house when the fire brigade and police finally entered (actually one fire-fighter died after a side-wall collapsed in on five of them) were unidentifiable. It is on the landlady's testimony alone that they were said to be the comrades Jazeps Sokolovs and Fritz Svaars.

Of the arrested immediately following the Houndsditch robbery, seven were put on trial in May 1911 (two women and five men). In the end only five went further than the initial process. However, to the embarrassment of the establishment, as it was claimed that there was four men and one woman involved in the robbery, if all the defendants were found guilty, therefore one of the dead men of Sidney Street would not have been involved. This was deemed to be potentially damaging to Churchill's reputation and further career, and in the end due to lack of evidence all the defendants were set loose with little publicity. One of the two women initially accused, L'uba Milstein, gave birth to her and Fritz Svaars' child afterwards.

There was no sign of the so-called 'leader' Janis, "Peter the Painter", despite him becoming the most wanted person in Britain from 1911. Some still believe that he was inside the house on Sidney Street, and escaped somehow. It was rumoured since that he escaped to Australia; or alternatively that a prisoner in a Siberian Gulag in the early 1950's claimed to be "Peter" and knew a great deal of details about the events in London... Whichever way, Peter the Painter began quite a folk-hero around the East End of London and beyond – and the Mauser pistols wielded by the besieged anarchists on Sidney Street were allegedly nick-named "Peter the Painters" during the Irish insurrection and subsequent war for independence from British rule.



In other repercussions, the Metropolitan Police re-kitted themselves with more modern arms after having been essentially out-gunned by two or three opponents. **This was a lead into the spectacularisation of police operations as well, in collaboration with the mass media,** preceding the current era of dramatic journalism. Churchill also played on his front-line image to boost his popularity as a celebrity states-person.

In 2006, a social housing development was built on the corner of Sidney Street and Commercial Road, and was named Peter House and Painter House – to the severe annoyance of the local councillor and the Metropolitan Police Federation.

A thought in our minds for the fighters who burned themselves out while courageously reaching for the stars.

1. *Beyond our obvious reasons for contempt for any politician, there's a few choice facts to recall about this imperialist character who is lauded in British culture for his personality as war-time Prime Minister during the Second World Slaughter.*

During the same time period as the events in London, during what is known as 'The Great Unrest' he had the pits of striking miners in Yorkshire surrounded by machine-gun nests, ordered gunships up the Mersey, and two rioters were shot dead in Llanelli while blocking train lines. (Tellingly though, he was meant to be in favour of trade unions, declaring that there "wasn't enough of them", presumably because they often offer a more easily-managed form of dispute than 'wildcat' strikes.)

In 1919, shortly after the horrors of trench warfare in the First World Slaughter, he declared his preference to use poison gas in Iraq (where Britain was fighting against a national independence movement) on Kurdish areas in order to test explosive and biological weapons under development; which was in fact carried out. Quote: "I am strongly in favour of using poisoned gas against uncivilised tribes [to] spread a lively terror".

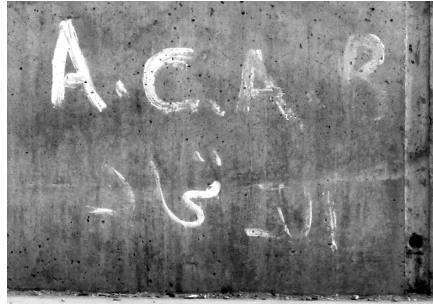
He was also a fan of the early fascism of Italy under Mussolini, and an appeaser to the Spanish dictator Franco following his massacre of anarchist and communist revolutionaries. As far as the British Empire went, in 1937 he said of the Palestine Commission, "I do not agree that the dog in a manger has the final right to the manger even though he [sic] may have lain there for a very long time. I do not admit that right. I do not admit for instance, that a great wrong has been done to the Red Indians of America or the black people of Australia. I do not admit that a wrong has been done to these people by the fact that a stronger race, a higher-grade race, a more worldly wise race to put it that way, has come in and taken their place."

Concerning his 'stoic' conduct during the Second World Slaughter, "[w]hen in 1942 the popular Quit India Movement threatened to disrupt the war effort, it was brutally put down with public shootings and mass whippings, torturing of protesters and burning of villages, leading even bourgeois observers to make comparisons with 'Nazi dreadfulness'. When in 1943 food shortages began as a direct result of British scorched earth policies, the War Cabinet ignored the problem, refusing to stop ordering Indian food abroad in the interests of the war effort. The resulting man-made famine in Bengal may have accounted for as many as four million deaths." Churchill's response was that "They'll reproduce themselves soon enough", and he shed not a tear for the population that was "breeding like rabbits and being paid a million a day by us for doing nothing by us about the war".

If he indeed took a bullet through his hat during the Sidney Street siege, we only wish it had been lower.

THE TRACES OF THE "ARAB SPRING"

[ed. - Transcribed from the English version of the multilingual Dandelion free-sheet's first issue, slightly edited for spelling and grammar etc.]



General note: The term "Arab Spring" is a creation of the media. By the participants in the insurrections it is actually not used and they consider it to be imposed. It is a term that wants to present the social conflict which has been going on down there since a long time and which will continue to do so, as an event with a beginning and an end, limiting it to the Arab region. Therefore we use this term only with quotation marks.

We want to describe with it the totality of revolts that accumulated like a chain reaction in spring 2011 in diverse countries south of the Mediterranean sea. None of the terms like "Maghreb", "Arab region" or "North Africa" embrace all the places where the insurrections developed. Nevertheless we didn't list a complete description at each point in the text.

The insurrections in the North African area caused a large wave of migration. Many of those fed up with their miserable living conditions caught the opportunity, plucked up the courage and set out to search for their luck elsewhere. **The destabilisation of the dictatorial regimes which previously helped to keep the fluxes of migration in check also unblocked the "fence around Europe", at least for a moment.** A "fence" constituted figuratively of police and military controls at land and sea, of prisons for migrants, of "repatriation agreements" and deportations. But concretely it is also constituted of real fences, dozens of kilometres long, 3 metres high, equipped with barbedwire and cameras (like those between Morocco and the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla or soon along the land border between Turkey and Greece)^[1].

Although the news from the Maghreb countries and the Middle East has gotten sporadic *[ed. - this was before Egypt re-exploded]*, we can assume that the situation there is far from being stabilised. **The dictatorial regimes might have changed their faces, the oppression and the poverty however stayed the same. As they will**

always do, as long as we live in societies based on hierarchies and privileges – may they be named "dictatorial" or "democratic". This is also the reason why the revolts continue. And just this is also the reason why many will continue to flee from their situation, hoping to find something better elsewhere. A hope that, inevitably, will fade away...

Once having survived the arduous seaway chosen by many emigrants, most of those having the luck not to have drowned on the way together with the entire choc-full boat, end up in Lampedusa. Lampedusa is a little island in the Mediterranean sea, situated to the south of Sicily. An island that, through its location, has always been the first mooring for refugee boats from Northern Africa. Therefore also there already is a huge prisonlike "reception camp" meant to imprison the arriving people until the bureaucratic procedures decide upon their destiny. To administer the tens of thousands of people arriving week after week after the "Arab Spring", provisional and fenced tent camps were built additionally. Many wait here, after having risked their lives on the journey, to be deported again or to get transferred to other deportation camps.

But it soon becomes clear that those newly arrived people do not only bring along the courage to defy all obstacles of the borders, **but often also the spirit of revolt and the desire for freedom they recently saw revive in their country of origin.** Soon revolts and mass escapes follow one another on the island – particularly in that noted "reception prison" imprisoning at times more than two thousand Tunisians (i.e. about three times overfilled). Hundreds of escapees assemble several times for demonstrations in the centre of the island to protest about their imprisonment and deportation. After Tunisians in revolt had destroyed a part of their internment camp with an arson in April [2011], it is burned down entirely in September after a big prisoner revolt to screams of "freedom, freedom!..."

Not knowing anymore where to put all these people arriving on Lampedusa, the Italian state is forced to give out provisional papers *[ed. - documents for temporary permission to stay]*. This allows many people to continue their voyage. **Others instead, among them many of those participating in the revolts on Lampedusa, are spread to different detention camps in Italy. The unintended consequence of this was the rebellious spirit to be spread to the other prisons.** From Bari to Gradisca, Turin, Bologna, Milano, Brindisi, Modena, Trapani, Pozzallo, Pantelleria, Cagliari and Rome nearly every week we hear of revolts, mass breakouts, attacked guards and, here and there, even burning prisons. And who, whose heart still beats for the freedom of



every individual, could not recognise himself [*sic*] in those gestures?

While the controls in the north of Italy, at the border with France, with Switzerland and with Austria, but basically at the borders of every European state, get massively increased, the trace of the North African insurrections draws itself further, among others, to Paris. There, in May, a group calling themselves “*the Tunisians from Lampedusa in Paris*” together with anarchists and other individuals in solidarity begin to occupy buildings. As one can read on a big banner, they want “*neither police nor charity*” but “*a place to selforganise*”. Keeping to these words they refuse the offering of the city council of about 100 temporary accomodations, which in the end would simply result in a split up of the group consisting of more than 150 people. Instead of arguing about who could receive this privilege and who would not, they preferred to stay together and to keep up their fighting attitude. On the walls of the building is written in big sprayed letters: “*Papers for all (or no papers for anybody)*” and “*Freedom!*”.

After some days the building gets evicted by the police. Some occupants manage to break through the police lines and in the street small fights with the police erupt. Many of the *sans-papier* [ed. - “without papers”] get arrested and temporarily locked up in a deportation camp, some are deported. The following weeks in Paris are marked by unauthorised demonstrations, rallies in solidarity in front of the deportation camp, disturbances of an event of the city council to boost Tunisian tourism and of an estate agency for rich Tunisians. In

“It starts with a spark, one of many, and suddenly the powder is set ablaze. It ignites in Tunisia, in Egypt, Morocco, in Algeria, in Libya and in Syria... and an immense joyous fire embraces the entire region, and imprints on the hearts of everyone in revolt, everywhere in the world, the affirmation: nothing is impossible. [...] In areas where the power of police repression kept watch on every street corner, and sometimes all the way to the heart of each family (based on the Eastern model of state capitalism), a part of the population has taken the streets, the ground is littered with the effigies of leaders, police stations are burned, the prisons and rich people's villas have been attacked, warehouses have been plundered... [...] It's true that the European leaders have not been very reassured. Until now they made the most of this arc of authoritarian states that made up the southern border of the Union. They had established strategic agreements including economic, political and military ties for the majority of them. Agreements where democracy with a splash of 'Human Rights' was pure rhetoric. And yet it's this banner that European and North American leaders wave all the time to justify going to war, or their military and civil interventions in situations of 'crisis'. [...] When Europe talks about democracy it also involves injecting money into Morocco so they can fortify their colonies of Ceuta and Melilla on the African continent, with barbed wire, watchtowers and bullets. *Democracy*, that is drones that fly over the borders of Europe to hunt clandestine people; it is the devices that can detect heart beats to find migrants who are hiding in lorries or trains to penetrate this model of morality and the civilisation which claims to be Europe. [...] Democracy in Europe is, from one day to the next, sending refugees to a country that was considered to be one of the worst dictatorships the day before, but which has since become an ally, but the real conditions haven't changed one bit for the poor. It judges immigrants based on their profitability, and send back those who cannot demonstrate a skill valued by capitalism in this country to be worthy of mercy. [...] It wouldn't seem that barbarity is unique to dictatorial regimes, when, here as everywhere, the state imprisons rebels by the tens of thousands, mutilates and kills as required those who are too recalcitrant or useless (by suicides in prison, wage slavery and 'accidents', or the management of social pacification through drugs in poor neighbourhoods). [...] So, it's this democratic model that the rulers brag about – the one they would like to export elsewhere to preserve their power? Yes! And since that's the case, let's get rid of them as soon as possible.” – *some sparks, Paris, April 20th 2011*

the following months building occupations and evictions follow one another; some stay autonomous and selforganised, others, unfortunately, accept the racket of politicians and associations.

In Switzerland meanwhile one can observe, as already said, that the surveillance around the borders has been increased. In the weeks following the insurrections in North Africa every day drones are flying over the border forests around Chiasso, which, by the way, are filled with cameras and police patrols. In the city, the controls [ed. - *police stops*] of people with dark skin increase and the local “reception centre” fills up, one by one, with new people that committed the crime of not having papers. Due to a lack of regular accomodations, the Swiss state decided to cram a part of these migrants in bunkers of the civil protection [ed. - *Swiss municipal, emergency and nuclear agency*], mostly situated out of the city and

underground. Despite the little information we have we can assume the atmosphere in the often overcrowded accomodations and prisons for migrants being probably rather tense. We know of at least two cases in the canon of Neuenburg where about 30 migrants built up the courage and the dignity to refuse being put in a bunker without windows. Although the deportation camps, unfortunately, haven't started going up in flames like in Italy, we could say, wherever there is resentment stirring, it also contains **the potential to transform itself into open rage and revolt.**

Considering this trace (although only fragmentarily drawn) that followed the “Arab Spring” - can anybody still assume that these insurrections are something far away from us, something not really concerning us? Its social impacts spread like a chain reaction before the fronts of our houses. Saying this I talk about the situation

of the migrants and their struggles against this situation, but also about something else, something socially contagious and strong which is about to spread also here, amongst those otherwise accustomed to swallow and to bow their head: it is the imagination that the rage and the desire for freedom that the poor, the oppressed, the marginals, the exploited and imprisoned are capable – within a burning insurrection – of turning entire countries upside down. Because many of those migrants wandering Europe now experienced this possibility themselves. The possibility to stop respecting the arrogant governments, politicians and authorities and to take decisions that concern our very own lives also in our own hands. And they felt this possibility to a degree we haven't felt here in Europe since a long time. **One part of the social impacts of the "Arab Spring" therefore is most notably also the revival of the imagination of an insurrection, of the dream of a social revolution.**

In the case that we were born here we can keep telling ourselves that the problems of the migrants are the problems of the migrants. We can consider the infamous situation in the deportation camps and asylum accommodations, the permanent fear of controls in the streets, the unconditional exploitation at work and everything else accompanying the fact of not having regular papers as something not concerning us. Or, we consider all this as an expression of the same misery into which this world, in one way or another, is forcing us all. Because we all get blackmailed with the threatening possibility of ending up in prison, we all get cut back or harassed by the police in the streets, we all have to struggle with the absurd bureaucracy of the authorities, we all are valuable for the bosses only as workers to exploit. In the migrants, as in every-body else who feels the oppression on his or her own skin, we simply see brothers and sisters of misery, but in those who decide to fight against the cause of this oppression we see potential accomplices in the struggle for freedom. In the struggle for a world finally rid of all borders, identification papers, prisons and authorities, in which solidarity and mutual aid enable everyone an unlimited development of his *[sic]* life.

1. The enterprise taking care of this "fence around Europe" is called Frontex.

REVOLT STRIKES THE BORDER REGIME

17.01.14, Vienna, Austria: *Police van torched outside the police detention centre, where migrants are also held and deported from continuously.* "With this small gesture we wanted to attack Austria's racist construct and give a small response to the behaviour (and the existence) of cops and other authorities."

08.12.13, Steenokkerzeel, Belgium: *A "gang of joyful troublemakers" rocks up at the detention centre with firecrackers, smoke bombs and fireworks, a week after the death of an inmate in Bruges.* "After some words were exchanged with the prisoners who were on the yard, the guards forced the prisoners to return to their cells."



30.10.13, Gradisca, Italy: *Five-hour riot in the detention centre after police stationed inside prevented some migrants escaping. Many fires are lit, and by the time the uprising has been quelled with a water cannon the centre is destroyed, all sections unusable. This is at least the third major destruction of facilities on the site, along with many smaller uprisings; in February 2011 the arrival of young people fresh from the insurrections in the Maghreb was attributed as the catalyst for the steady trashing of the prison, brick by brick, cell by cell. The police union complained that the rebels "knew exactly what the flaws in the detention centre were". Many migrants had to be released at that time.*

25.10.13, Hamburg, Germany: *During a wave of demonstrations and clashes against the racial profiling approved by the Hamburg Senate (trying to round up Libyan refugees who managed to get to Germany from Lampedusa), in the area of the Schanzenviertel many small groups repeatedly fight with the police, also smashing several windows of their patrol vehicles.*

22.09.13, Paris, France: *Two vehicles of the Red Cross torched.* "Everyone knows that the Red Cross is collaborating toward the incarceration and deportation of the *sans-papiers*. Our intention was to send a small sign of complicity to the escapees from the Palaiseau and the Vincennes administrative detention centres (CRAs), to the mutineers of the Mesnil-Amelot detention camp, and to all those who are fighting in jail. Outside, just as inside, let's attack the deportation machine and every confinement!"

30.09.13, Melbourne, Australia: *Three politicians' offices are vandalised.* "The politicians and bosses have driven wedges between us,

trying to convince us there is an enemy in people from across the sea. [...] We stand by the rioters, the 'boat people', the border-hoppers and 'illegals' in this land and throughout the world. We stand by them til all the prisons are ash and the borders finally broken."

23.07.13, Melilla: *Around 500 migrants assault the border between Morocco and the Spanish enclave of Melilla in North Africa, at two different points, aiming to reach European soil. Three law enforcement officials are wounded.*

19.07.13, Nauru: *Rebellion in the detention centre: 95% of the facility is burned, to the tune of \$600 million. Fifteen guards are injured. Nearly half of the 500 detainees escape.*

21.06.13, Portishead, U.K.: *Arson attack by 'Borderless Solidarity Cell' of the Informal Anarchist Federation (F.A.I.), the heat from which busts out around twenty windows at a UK Border Agency office "from where an immigration crime team work with police, including launching raids in the south-west", and destroys six vehicles stationed there; "3 cars, 2 blacked-out people carrier vans (known to be used for dawn snatches of immigrant family groups) and 1 large van. [...] We don't want a world where the tyranny of immigration bureaucrats can mean the difference between life and death, and unique beings are categorized and labelled to wring the maximum profit and subordination from us all. We don't want the indignity of every movement being scrutinized for the purposes of social control and enclosure, whether at borders, on the housing estates, in school or at work."*

10.05.13, Nijmegen, Holland: *Ten windows smashed and graffiti left at Royal Haskoning Architects for their part in designing the Rotterdam detention centre, where a hunger strike is then taking place.*

09.04.13, London, U.K.: *Glass store-front of Barnardo's is smashed by F.A.I. 'Circle Slab Cell'. "Barnardo's was targeted because they fund and administrate Cedars detention centre in Croydon. They detain children, families and individuals who merely seek freedom from poverty, persecution, murder, rape and other oppression..."*

17.06.12, Rostock, Germany: *The immigration office is heavily fire-damaged by a masked group who light up an amount of tires on the scene. Around this time, refugees are being deported to Afghanistan by the German government...*

20.09.11, Lampedusa: *Tunisian migrants forced to reside in the detention centre take to the streets in a demonstration, seizing gas cylinders which they threaten to detonate. At the same time migrants clashed with the police inside the centre and then burned down two-thirds of the structure. The island's local airport had to close because of the smoke.*

24.06.11, Nottingham, U.K.: *In memory of Jimmy Mubenga, an Angolan migrant suffocated to death by G4S security guards during forced deportation, a G4S security guard is followed home and beaten, and the same night two G4S vehicles get smashed windows and their exhaust pipes destroyed with expanding foam.*

12.10.10, Lisbon, Portugal: *Cathedral attacked with paint-bombs and slogans.* "The S.E.F [*Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras*] and the church go hand in hand. Let both go up in flames!"

'GRAVEDIGGERS OF SOCIETY'

[ed. - Reproduced from the first issue of the journal *Bædan*. Explores ways that capitalism attempts to co-opt queerness and integrate it, as a stabilised identity, into the structures of otherwise heteronormative (i.e hetero-sexuality being held as the 'norm') society, using 'No Future' by Lee Edelman and works by Guy Hocquenghem as starting points. Puts forward a vision of anti-social engagement which encompasses Guy's emphasis on a self-shattering "jouissance" to overcome reified identity. From the journal: "This intensity of enjoyment (the literal translation of *jouissance* from the French) must be the same *jouissance* which shatters our subjective enslavement to capitalist civilization. It is that exact current which permeates all of society and delivers to the necessity of insurrection against all that exists and for a joy we cannot name." While we are less convinced that a 'pure' negativity exists in the way that the authors allude to, we also strongly feel the urgency of a queerness that is neither stable nor controllable...]

Edelman's project, insofar as we can imagine it as a starting point, is intriguing because for him queerness is fundamentally negative. **Whether in the form of gay assimilation, identity politics, or 'radical queer' subculture, any contemporary engagement with queerness must reckon with decades of capitalist integration into society and its state.** These varying forms are joined together through positive queer identity as a shared content. If we read Edelman with a great sense of catharsis, it is because his conception of negative queerness allows us to discard all the identitarian baggage which accompanies queerness. **This move against positive queer projects is a crucial one; it illustrates one truth about capital. Capital is predicated on accumulating value – any value – for its own self-reproduction.** Capital is in a constant process of revolt against itself. Subjects which were once marginalized or annihilated by the civilized order are absorbed into its circuitry, positions that could mark an outside are moved inward. There is no positive queerness that isn't already a site of society's reproduction[...] its dance parties, community projects, activist groups, social networks, fashion, literature, art, festivals[...] Put another way, we are not interested in a social project of queerness, in queer contributions to society, in carving out our own ghettos within the material and symbolic structures of capitalist life. Rather, our engagement with queer theory must be attuned to locating the moments which reveal the potential undoing of society, its structures and its relations. **For Edelman, a theory of queer negativity begins from an exploration of the fantastic position of queers within society's collective imagination. His methodology is to navigate the discourses and nightmares of right-wing heteronormativity. Citing one fundamentalist pundit after another, he fleshes out the terror with which the anti-queer establishment imagines the threat of queerness.** A thread persists through history into the present which imagines queers as the destroyers of social cohesion, the 'gravediggers of society,' the repudiation

of the values of hard work and family, the persistent wave which erodes the bedrock of the monetary and libidinal economies, thieves, tricksters, hustlers, sinners, murderers, deviants, and perverts. Queers are not just damned, they are the proof of society's fundamental damnation as well. Sodomites, after all, are named for their symbolic position as the sexual symbol of civilization's decadence and imminent annihilation.

Analyzing an example of this fantasy, Edelman writes: "We might do well to consider this less as an instance of hyperbolic rant and more as a reminder of the disorientation that queer sexualities should entail: "acceptance or indifference to the homosexual movement will result in society's destruction by allowing civil order to be redefined and by plummeting ourselves, our children and grandchildren into an age of godlessness. Indeed, the very foundation of Western Civilization is at stake." Before the self-righteous bromides [of liberal pluralism] spill from our lips, before we supply once more the assurance that ours is another kind of love but a love like his nonetheless, before we piously invoke the litany of our glorious contributions to the civilizations of east and west alike, dare we pause for a moment to acknowledge that he might be right – or, more important, that he ought to be right: that queerness should and must destroy such notions of "civil order" through a rupturing of our foundational faith in the reproduction of futurity?" [...] This position of ownership of the negative means a liberatory conspiracy between the enemies of society. It allows us to escape the traps that lie in any attempt at affirming a positive counter-narrative. One cannot deny the destructive and anti-social potential of queerness without also affirming the social order. One cannot argue against the anti-queer paranoia which imagines us to be enemies of God and state and family without implicitly conceding the legitimacy of each. [...] Even 'radical' or 'anti-assimilationist' queer positions attempt to deny this negativity and to create space for



queer representation in the State or queer belonging within capitalism.

We'll follow Edelman as he elaborates on this idea: "Rather than rejecting, with liberal discourse, the ascription of negativity to the queer, we might... do better to consider accepting and even embracing it. Not in the hope of forging thereby some more perfect social order – such a hope, after all, would only reproduce the constraining mandate of futurism, **just as any such order would equally occasion the negativity of the queer** – but rather to refuse the insistence of hope itself as affirmation, which is always affirmation of an order whose refusal will register as unthinkable, irresponsible, inhuman. And the trump card of affirmation? Always the question: If not this, what? Always the demand to translate the insistence, the pulsive force, or negativity into some determinate stance or "position" whose determination would thus negate it: always the imperative to immure it in some stable and positive form... I do not intend to propose some "good" that will thereby be assured. To the contrary, I mean to insist that nothing, and certainly not what we call "good", can ever have any assurance at all in the order of the Symbolic... [W]e might rather, figuratively cast our vote for "none of the above," for the primacy of a constant "no" in response to the law of the symbolic, which would echo that law's foundational act, its self-constituting negation."

[...] The symbolic deployment of queerness by the social order is always an attempt [to] lock this chaotic potential up in the confines of this or that subjectivity. [Michel] Foucault's work is foundational to queer theory in part because of his argument that power must create and then classify antagonistic subjectivities so as to then annihilate any subversive potential within a social body. **Homosexuals, gangsters, criminals, immigrants, welfare mothers, transsexuals, women, youth, terrorists, the black bloc, communists, extremists: power is always constructing and defining these**

antagonistic subjects which must be managed. When the smoke clears after a riot, the state and media apparatuses universally begin to locate such events within *the logic of identity*, freezing the fluidity of revolt into a handful of subject positions to be imprisoned, or, more sinisterly, *organized*. Progressivism, with its drive toward inclusion and assimilation, stakes its hope on the social viability of these subjects, on their ability to participate

“Some will read “queer” as synonymous with “gay and lesbian” or “LGBT”. This reading falls short. While those who would fit within the constructions of “L”, “G”, “B” or “T” could fall within the discursive limits of queer, queer is not a stable area to inhabit. Queer is not merely another identity that can be tacked onto a list of neat social categories, nor the quantitative sum of our identities. Rather, it is the qualitative position of opposition to presentations of stability – an identity that problematizes the manageable limits of identity. Queer is a territory of tension, defined against the dominant narrative of white-hetero-monogamous-patriarchy, but also by an affinity with all who are marginalized, otherized and oppressed. Queer is the abnormal, the strange, the dangerous. Queer involves our sexuality and our gender, but so much more. It is our desire and fantasies and more still.

Queer is the cohesion of everything in conflict with the heterosexual capitalist world. Queer is a total rejection of the regime of the Normal. [...] The perspective of queers within the heteronormative world is a lens through which we can critique and attack the apparatus of capitalism. We can analyze the ways in which Medicine, the Prison System, the Church, the State, Marriage, the Media, Borders, the Military and Police are used to control and destroy us. More importantly, we can use these cases to articulate a cohesive criticism of every way that we are alienated and dominated. Queer is a position from which to attack the normative – more, a position from which to understand and attack the ways in which normal is reproduced and reiterated.”

- Towards the Queerest Insurrection

in the daily reproduction of society. **In doing so, the ideology of progress functions to trap subversive potential within a particular subject, and then to solicit that subject's self-repudiation of the danger which they've been constructed to represent.** This move for social peace fails[...] because despite a whole range of determinisms, there is no subject which can solely and perfectly contain the potential for revolt. The simultaneous attempt at justice must also fail, because the integration of each successive subject position into normative relations necessitates the construction of the next Other to be disciplined or destroyed.

[...] We choose not to establish a place for queers, thereby shifting the structural position of queerness to some other population. We identify with the negativity of the drive, and thereby perform a disidentification away from any identity to be represented or which can beg for rights.

Following Edelman further: “[T]he queer must insist on disturbing, **on queering, social organization as such – on disturbing, and therefore on queering ourselves and our investment in such organization. For queerness can never define an identity; it can only every disturb one.** And so, when I argue, as I aim to do here, that the burden of queerness is to be located **less in the assertion of an oppositional political identity than in opposition to politics as the governing fantasy of realizing identities,** I am proposing no platform or position from which queer sexuality or any queer subject might truly become itself, as if it could somehow manage thereby to achieve an essential queerness. I am suggesting instead that the efficacy of queerness, its real strategic value, lies in its resistance to a symbolic reality that only ever invests us as subjects insofar as we invest ourselves in it, clinging to its governing fictions, its persistent sublimations, as reality itself.”

[...] Edelman's critique of politics begins with the figure of the Child. All political positions, he argues, represent themselves as doing what is best for the children. Politicians, whatever their parties or leanings, universally frame their debates around the question of what policies are best for the children, who keeps the Child safest, or what type of world we want to be building for our children. The centrality of the Child in the field of the political is not limited to electoral politics or political

parties. Nationalist groups organize themselves around a necessity to preserve a future for *their children*, while anarchist and communist revolutionaries concern themselves with revolutionary organizing meant to create a better world for future generations. [...] The Child, of course, has very little to do with real children. Like all people, children are enslaved under the political order of the state and capital, expected to bear the burden of being the innocent beneficiaries of political initiatives. **No, rather the Child is the fantastic symbol for the eternal proliferation of class society.** The Child represents the succession of generations and the continuation of this society beyond the lifespans of its living members. All politics, being concerned primarily with the Child, then reveal themselves to be only ever a process by which to manage and secure the continued existence of society. [...] If the varying discourses of politics are only ever about the Child (as society's future), queerness must be *anti-political* because it marks a fundamental interruption of the societal norms and apparatuses that exist to mandate the reproduction of the Child. Yes, queer sex can be non-reproductive sex, but we cannot define queerness through such overly-simple and naturalistic logics. Queerness, beyond being the negation of the heteronormative family matrix, must also be practiced as a willful refusal of the political imperative to reproduce class society.

[...] The social order must concern itself with the future so as to create the forward-moving infrastructure and discourse to proliferate itself. Edelman's name for this insistence on the Child as the future is *reproductive futurism*. **Reproductive futurism is the ideology which demands that all social relationships and communal life be structured in order to allow for the possibility of the future through the reproduction of the Child, and thus the reproduction of society. The ideology of reproductive futurism ensures the sacrifice of all vital energy for the pure abstraction of the idealized continuation of society.** Edelman argues that “*futurity amounts to a struggle for Life at the expense of life; for the Children at the expense of the lived experiences of actual children.* [...] *The Child, that is, marks the fetishistic fixation of heteronormativity: an erotically charged investment in the rigid sameness of identity that is central to the compulsory narrative of reproductive futurism.* And so, as the radical right maintains, the battle against queers is a life-and-death struggle for the future of a Child whose ruin is pursued by queers. Indeed, as the Army of God made clear in the bomb-making guide it produces for the assistance of its militantly “pro-life” members, its purpose was wholly congruent

with the logic of reproductive futurism: to “disrupt and ultimately destroy Satan’s power to kill our children, God’s children.””

Edelman goes on to cite the ways in which reproductive futurism is intrinsic to white supremacist ideology and white nationalism; bound as the Child is to notions of race and nation[...]

To bolster his argument about the repressive nature of reproductive futurism, Edelman cites Walter Benjamin in describing the way in which the fantasy of the future was intrinsic to the spread of fascism in Europe. Edelman, via Benjamin, describes “the fascism of the baby’s face,” a phrase meant to illustrate the absolute power afforded to the ideology of reproductive futurism. [...] No atrocity is out of the question if it is for the Child; no horrible project of industry should be precluded if it will serve to hasten the future of industrial civilization. Armies of men, imperial and revolutionary alike, have always lined up to the slaughter in the name of the Child. [...] It is this truth which young people everywhere are awakening to. They are swarming the streets *en masse*, hoods up, to outrun the police and snare the flows of the cities. They are walking out of school – that banal prison of futurity – in order to loot stores and be with their friends. They are preparing and coordinating, so that they next time one of them is burned at the stake for the sake of the Future, they’ll make the city burn in kind. The fires of Greece, London and Bahrain hint towards the consequences of such an awakening.



To further ground Edelman’s theory of the Child and contemporary debates around reproduction in the specific historical context which gave rise to Capitalism, we’ll turn briefly to the work of Silvia Federici in her book *Caliban and the Witch*. In *Caliban*, Federici studies the rise of Capitalism in Europe through the process of primitive accumulation^[1]. For Federici, the shift from feudalism to capitalism was only possible through the accumulation of the bodies of women and consequently through the development of their bodily capacity into a site specifically for the reproduction of a



“To all those who are insolent, exploited, badly behaved, in revolt, insurgent, rebels, crazy, un-adapted, non-believers, savage, barbarians, unruly, ungovernable, anti-social, without homeland and thirsting for freedom. Prisons, detention centres, police stations, schools, psychiatric centres, courthouses, universities, apartment blocks, supermarkets, family planning, temples, social workers, unions, parties, families, marriage only serves to confine us, domesticate us, ‘educate’ us, enclose us, ‘correct’ us, normalise us, exterminate us. May fire take them all. The inquisitors and their world to the pyre!” - *Witches in Freedom!*

proletarianized workforce. Her history illustrates that rather than a seamless transition, the period was marked by a constant oscillation between insurrection and counter-insurgency. She characterizes the peasants and proletarianized workers who rebelled against the State and in the wake of the black plague as having “no care for the future,” severed as they were from any comfortable teleological fantasy. She argues that the autonomy and power which peasant women (and queers) held over their own bodies had to be destroyed in order for the nascent bourgeois class to turn them into machines of reproductive labor.

We’ll quote her in elaborating the specific way in which the

construction of the atomized unit of social reproduction – the family – was crucial in the process of putting down early medieval revolt against capitalism: “*In the middle ages, migration, vagabondage, and the rise of crimes against property were part of the resistance to impoverishment and dispossession; these phenomena now took on massive proportions. Everywhere – if we gave credit to the complaints of contemporary authorities – vagabonds were swarming, changing cities, crossing borders, sleeping in the haystacks or crowding at the gates of towns – a vast humanity involved in a diaspora of its own, that for decades*

escaped the authorities control.... A massive reclamation and reappropriation of the stolen communal wealth was underway... In pursuit of social discipline, an attack was launched against all forms of collective sociality and sexuality including sports, games, dances, ale-wakes, festivals, and other group-rituals that had been a source of bonding and solidarity among workers.... What was at stake was the desocialization or decollectivization of the reproduction of the work-force, as well as the attempt to impose a more productive use of leisure time.... The physical enclosure operated by land privatization and the hedging of the commons was amplified by a process of social enclosure, the reproduction of workers shifting from the open field to the home, from the community to the family, from the public space, to the private.”

Through her argument, Federici consistently turns to the historical atrocity which was the witch hunts as the primary figure of the destruction of women’s power and the subsequent accumulation of their bodies as womb-machines. She specifically argues that in the 16th and 17th centuries, a collective narrative circulated in an attempt to foment anti-witch paranoia and fervor which charged witches as being child murderers. Common conceptions held that witches would, under the guise of being healers, enter the homes of their employers and sacrifice their children to the Devil. At a time when states and families were becoming largely concerned with population decline, this fear led to a tremendous hatred against those accused of witchcraft. *Here, we see the emergence of the primacy of the Child as the governing symbol of the ideological and material*

reproduction of class society. Witches, and medieval women more broadly, can then be situated within the structural category of queerness laid out by Edelman: the category of those who refuse enslavement to the future in the form of the Child.

[W]e now turn to the work of Guy Hocquenghem. Beyond being a writer and queer theorist Hocquenghem was a queer revolutionary who participated in the revolt of May '68^[2] and was seduced by [Gilles] Deleuze and [Felix] Guattari's radical ideas on desire [ed. – authors either loved or hated for their influence on the development of post-modernism]. After being purged from the Communist Party for his homosexuality, he joined the FHAR (*Front Homosexuel d'Action Révolutionnaire*) becoming the first fag to be a member of the group of lesbian separatist militants. **Ultimately he forged a critique of the militant left and developed a queer theory that called for nothing less than the destruction of capitalism, the family, the state and ultimately civilization.** The vast majority of his work remains untranslated into English, and Anglophone queer theory is all the more impoverished for this absence. The wonder of his work, however, did not elude Edelman, who cites Hocquenghem sparsely throughout *No Future*. Although Edelman only attributes a handful of pretty phrases to Guy, we'll argue that Lee's project of queer negativity is deeply indebted to the former's work. **Queerness as negative, the refusal of reified queer identity, insistence against the succession of generations, the critique of the family as the foundational structure of the social order, the critique of politics, conceptions of a destructive *jouissance*: all are to be found in Hocquenghem's theory, and without being diluted by layers of academic bullshit and bad puns.** We experience it as a horrible tragedy that Guy died of AIDS before he could shape a more prolific canon of queer theory, and yet it is in his memory that we carry this flame.

Capitalism, the Family and the Anus
"Capitalism, the Family, and the Anus" is the first chapter of the largest volume of Hocquenghem's work to be translated to English, *Homosexual Desire*. In it, he lays out a theory of the foundational structures of capitalism as a preface to his theory of a queerness that might annihilate those structures. Hocquenghem's theory of capitalism largely engaged the work of his contemporaries, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, in their tome *Anti-Oedipus*. Elaborating on their work, he argues that all of capitalist society is reproduced through the specific relationship of the family – namely, the Oedipal relationship. This concept is used to describe the way in which capital must respond to the fundamental

disintegration intrinsic to its reign. While the process of accumulation rips bodies and lives away from the contexts which give them meaning and provide for their ability to sustain themselves, the Oedipal relationship of the family functions to capture the chaos of this unravelling and to reorient human lives into the scheme of reproduction: *"The family is therefore constructed as an artificially reterritorialized unit where social control has been relocated and in which forms of social organization can be reproduced. The father becomes a familial despot, and the mother, for example, an image for earth and country. Thus the privatized individual that psychoanalysis studies within the Oedipal family unit is an artificial construct, whose social function is to trap and control the disorder that haunts social life under capitalism."* [I]t is worth elaborating that the family is a capitalist form that is made to function as the basic building block of the social order. Discipline, work ethic, duty, law, morality, the gender distinction, sexuality, and of course *futurity* are all inscribed into children's bodies through the machinations of the familial matrix. In the following from Hocquenghem we see the germinal seed of Edelman's entire argument concerning the intrinsic link between the family and reproductive futurism: *"By becoming a father in turn, the former child hands the Oedipus complex down to his own descendants like a torch of civilization, and takes his place in the great lineage of Humanity. The absolute need for the Oedipus complex to be reproduced – and not produced – explains why childhood conflicts with the father image are finally resolved by the son stepping into his father's shoes and founding a new family: indeed the whole progress of society rests on the opposition between successive generations."*

[...] It is also here that we can locate the uncited source of Edelman's arguments concerning the figure of homosexuality which must terrorize this familial fantasy:[...] that complex of dread and desire so intrinsically tied to queer sexuality, that bodies might find ways of intercourse which do not produce the child and are not concerned with the reproduction of the social order through its tiny body. For Hocquenghem, homosexuality is not a coherent identity or community, but instead a social category created to capture all the polymorphous and queer desire which cannot fit neatly into the social form of the Family. Queerness comes to figure the catch-all fantasy for all the unnameable nightmares which haunt the capitalist social order.

Hocquenghem describes a growing imperialism of society which functions to attribute a social status and definition to everything, even that which cannot be classified. And so the destructive and polymorphic desires which lurk at the core of social relations are captured into a specific identity rather than being a capacity which could seduce or enchant any body: *"Capitalism, in its necessary employment of Oedipalization, manufactures homosexuals just as it produces proletarians, and what is manufactured is a psychologically repressive category.... They amount to a perverse re-territorialization, a massive effort to regain social control in a world tending towards disorder and decoding."*

This disorder that homosexuality is called upon to symbolize runs deeper than that which plagues Oedipal reproduction. Beyond the Family as capitalist unit, Hocquenghem also describes the specific way in which the individual is constructed as the subject of capitalism and the family. For Hocquenghem, the individual is inherently caught up in what he describes as the privatization of the anus. He describes the anus as the secret, the shameful, the abject part of every body around which individuated subjectivity must form. It marks the real bodily threshold which separates human individuals from one another.

"[...] The anus does not exist in a social relation, since it forms precisely the individual and therefore enables the division between society and the individual to be made. To reinvest the anus collectively and libidinally would involve a proportional weakening of the great phallic signifier, which dominates us constantly both in the small-scale hierarchies of the family and in the great social hierarchies. The least acceptable [to capitalism] desiring operation (precisely because it is the most desublimating one) is that which is directed at the anus."

For Guy, the psychic significance of the anus in self-construction is precisely why homosexual desire links the destruction of futurity in the family to the self-shattering embodied in *jouissance*. To be fucked in the ass is to sabotage the bodily integrity through which the individual and his [sic] realm of the private is constructed. Hocquenghem argues for the deprivatization of the anus and the formation of what he terms 'anal groupings' – forms of sexual collectivity which destroy the Family and serve no purpose in the social order's future. In grouping anal desire, queer formations are able to sabotage all the psychic fantasies which lie at the heart of the civilized order.

From Jeffrey Week's preface to *Homosexual Desire*: "He argues that since the anus has been privatized by capitalist/phallic domination, we need to group it, which means, in effect, to reject the individualized notion of homosexuality as a problem. Practising homosexuals are those who have failed their sublimation, who therefore can and must conceive their relationships in different ways. **So when homosexuals as a group publicly reject their labels, they are in fact rejecting Oedipus, rejecting the artificial entrapment of desire, rejecting sexuality focused on the Phallus...**

He argues that when the anus recovers its desiring functions, when laws and rules disappear, group pleasures will appear without the sacred difference between public and private, social and individual. And Hocquenghem sees signs of this sexual communism in institutions of the gay subculture, where scattering or promiscuity, representing polymorphous sexuality in action reigns...

[...] We can find traces of this state of primary sexual communism in some of the institutions of the homosexual ghetto, despite all the repression and guilty reconstructions which these undergo: in Turkish baths, for example, where homosexual desires are plugged in anonymously, in spite of the ever-present fears that the police may be present."

The Parasites of Society

We'll turn briefly to another of Hocquenghem's texts: *The Screwball Asses*. In it, he levels a critique of the (communist and homosexual) Left that is quite applicable to the various leftist and revolutionary political formations we still encounter.

His simple yet crucial pronouncement is that "to demand the recognition of homosexuality as it is is simple reformism." This single line foregrounds our entire refusal of identity politics and the quest for intelligibility with which it is solely concerned.

He continues: "Like the women's liberation movement that inspired it, the revolutionary homosexual platform emerged with Leftism and traumatized it to the point of contributing to its debacle. By while they fissured Leftism by revealing its phallogocentric morphology and its censure of marginal sexualities (and of sexuality in general), these autonomous movements, despite their refusal of hierarchy, continued and continue to replicated the conditioned reflexes of the political sector that produced them: **logomacy**, the replacement of desire by the mythology of struggle."

Politics, even a queer politics, must always be based on the sacrifice of desire in the service and representation of this or that struggle. For Hocquenghem, activist structures and militant organizations are as much a part of the self-constituted prisons he argues against. He goes on to write: "We might have hoped that homosexuality could tear classic activism away from non-desire and create a true celebration of our colluding desires, but that was without taking into account the bad conscience of homosexuals. We must admit that the wildfire was short-lived."

We'd be wrong to apply this formation solely to the activity of mainstream LGBT activist groups. This fundamental limit of political activism is applicable to the most radically queer or militantly anarchist individuals. Militancy and activism can only ever guarantee a short-lived wildfire, which cannot ever sustain the flames of an unintelligible drive of queerness and anarchy. Guy writes of militants that "they freeze the event into a role," and "the militants of the gay movement have just as much of a natural tendency to become specialists on homosexuality as psychiatrists and social workers."

[...] If we are constantly resisting the feelings of emptiness, lifelessness and uselessness, we should pay close attention to the fields of activity in which we've engaged, and attempt to locate what vampiric forms are depleting our energy. **We'll undoubtedly find that always this depressive ennui is situated in a dynamic where joyous experiments in desire are subjugated to the sacrificial call of "the struggle."**

In his characteristic style of innuendo, Guy the anxiety that characterizes activism: "The leftist is neither a player nor a jouisseur; he [sic] just drills people, regardless of whether he wants to liberate homosexuality or the proletariat. Never overwhelmed, the Leftist just saves himself for next time. The Leftist does not have time

on his side. He's always in a rush. He produces speed everywhere so as to force you into hysterics or into a daze. But its not the kind of speed that propels you far away so that you find yourself stunned at having covered so much ground, stunned by the change of perspective and of thinking. Instead, its the haste of the monkey scratching at the same spot till a sore develops."

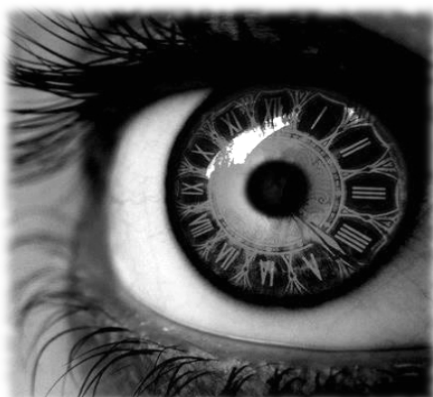
[What] Guy describes is located in the terrorizing hold that the Future has upon activists. Because a better tomorrow requires tremendous 'good work' today, Leftists of all stripes are caught in a never-ending anxiety of activity, yet never get any nearer to their fleeing utopias. That the revolution is so close on the horizon and yet flees from us means we can't afford the immature and irresponsible practices of *jouissance* which could distract from the sombre struggle at hand. **The ideology of Leftism is truly a living death for all who it entrances.** Leftists argue that we must destroy power relationships, and yet they leave unchallenged the power relationship for reproductive futurism which necessitates an endless project of self-discipline and self-control.

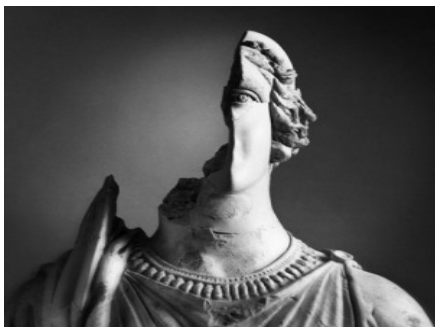
Hocquenghem argues that opposed to this sombre struggle must be an insurgent project based in joy. "Strangely enough," he writes, "whenever we speak of joy, professional revolutionaries only hear what churches or ideologies have put there." **We are not professional revolutionaries, nor joyless prophets interested in spreading ideology. [...] We must live, fight and enjoy at the expense of our enemies.** Such a project is queer in that it must depart from the paths laid out for us and refuse the specialization and captivity to time inherent in activism.

To Destroy Sexuality; To Destroy Domestication

In the previous section that deals more closely with Edelman's work, we cited Jacques Cammatt in claiming that *jouissance* takes place as the destruction of the domestication intrinsic to civilization. In order to further elaborate Hocquenghem's queer project against civilization, we'll explore the concept of domestication and what it could mean to undo it.

Domestication, Oedipal to the core, is the process of the victory of our fathers over our lives; the ways in which the social order laid down by the dead continues to haunt the living. It is the residue of accumulated memories, culture and relationships which have been transmitted to us through the linear progression of time through the fantasy of the Child. It is this investment of





the horrors of the past into the materiality of our present lives which ensures the perpetuation of civilization. To quote Camatte again from "Against Domestication": *"What is to stop people from transforming all these crises and disasters, which are themselves the result of the latest mutation of capital, into a catastrophe for capital itself? The explanation for this is to be found in the domestication of humanity, which comes about when capital constitutes itself as a human community. The process starts out with the fragmentation and destruction of human beings, and the final outcome is that capital is anthropomorphized."*

And so, within the ideological constraint of reproductive futurism, revolt against civilization is unthinkable because capital has so thoroughly colonized our very being, so that to imagine our own survival is always already to be thinking about the perpetuation of civilization through the self-reproduction of capital. **We have no community to fight for, and no humanity to save, because both are already thoroughly disintegrated and have been replaced with the community of capital and its anthropomorphized subject: the civilized ego.** To move on to Camatte's later essay "The Wandering of Humanity": *"Today the human being has been engulfed, not only in the determination of class where he [sic] was trapped for centuries, but as a biological being. It is a totality that has to be destroyed. Demystification is no longer enough. The revolt of human beings threatened in the immediacy of their daily lives goes beyond demystification. To problem is to create other lives. This problem lies simultaneously outside the ancient discourse of the workers movement and its old practice, and outside the critique that imagines this movement a simple ideology (and considers human beings an ideological precipitate)."*

It is a harsh reality to acknowledge that the restructuring which we have undergone through the process of domestication is more horrifying than to merely shape us as a subject. Capital reaches to our very biology, the objective fact of our being in the world. Starting from there, we must further acknowledge that a struggle against

civilization must also be a struggle against ourselves as we are, to destroy the structuring of our bodies as vessels of the social order. Here we must seek out, following Camatte's previous insistence on *jouissance*, that series of self-shattering measures which could constitute a project against domestication. As Camatte puts in, *"the human being is dead. The only possibility for another human being to emerge is our struggle against our domestication, our emergence from it."*

[...] In Hocquenghem's work we find words that put so beautifully everything we would want to, so we will quote at length from "To Destroy Sexuality": *"Although the Capitalist order appears to be tolerant, it in fact has always controlled life through its affective aspects, constraining it to the dictates of its totalitarian organization based on exploitation, private property, male dominance, profit, and profitability. It exercises this control under all of its various guises: the family, schools, the work place, the army, rules, discourse. It unfailingly pursues its abject mission of castrating, oppressing, torturing, and mangling the body, all the better to inscribe its laws upon our flesh, to rivet into our unconscious its mechanisms for propagating slavery."*

The capitalist state uses retention, stasis, scarification and neurosis to impose its norms and models, imprint its character, assign its roles promulgate its programs... It permeates our bodies, forcing its roots of death deep into our smallest crevices. It takes over our organs, robs us of our vital functions, mutilates our pleasures, harnesses all of our 'life' productivity under its own paralyzing administration. It turns each of us into... a stranger to his [sic] own desires.

The forces of capitalist occupation continually refine their system of aggression, provocation, extortion so as to use it along with a massive reinforcement of social terror (individual guilt) to repress, exclude and neutralize all those practices of our will that don't reproduce those forms of domination. And so this thousand-year-old reign of unhappy gratification, sacrifice, resignation, codified masochism and death perpetuates itself. Here reigns castration, reducing the 'subject' to a guilt-ridden, neurotic industrious being, little more than a manual laborer.

This older order, reeking of rotting bodies, is indeed horrifying, but it has forces us to direct the revolutionary struggle against capitalist oppression there where it is most deeply rooted – in the living flesh of our own body...



We can no longer stand by idly while we are robbed of our mouths, our anuses, our sexual members, our guts, our veins... just so they can turn them into parts for their ignominious machine which produces capital, exploitation and the family.

We can no longer stand by idly while they control, regulate, and occupy our mucous membranes, the pores of our skin, the entire sentient surface of our body.

We can no longer stand by idly while they use our nervous system as a relay in the system of capitalist, federal, patriarchal exploitation. Nor while they use our brain as a means of punishment programmed by ambient power.

We can no longer not 'come' or hold back our shit, our saliva, our energy according to their laws with their minor, tolerated infractions. We want to explode the frigid, inhibited, mortified body that capitalism wants so desperately to make out of our living body...

Wanting the fundamental freedom to enter into these revolutionary practices entails our escaping from the limits of our own 'self.' We must turn the 'subject' within ourselves upside-down; escape from the sedentary, from the civilized state and cross the spaces of a limitless body; live in the willful mobility beyond sexuality, beyond the territory and repertory of normality...

We're not concerned with simply breaking down [the] official sexuality as one would break down the condition of one's imprisonment within any structure; we want to destroy it, to get rid of it because in the final analysis it functions as an infinitely repeating castration machine designed to reproduce everywhere and in everyone the unquestioning obedience of a slave...

What we want, what we desire, is to kick in the representations so that we might discover just what our living body is.

We want to free, release, unfetter and relieve this living body so as to free all of its energies, desires, passions crushed by our conscriptive and programmed social system.

We want to be able to exercise each of our vital functions experiencing their full complement of pleasure.

We want to rediscover sensations as basic as the pleasure in breathing that has been smothered by the forces of oppression and pollution; or the pleasure in eating and digesting that has been interrupted by the rhythm of profitability of the ersatz food it produces; or the pleasure in shitting and sodomy that has been systematically assaulted by the capitalist establishment's opinion of the sphincter. It inscribes directly upon this flesh its fundamental principles: the power lines of exploitation, the neurosis of accumulation, the mystique of property and propriety, etc. We want to rediscover the pleasure in shaking ourselves joyously, without shame, not because of the need or compensation, but just for the sheer pleasure of shaking ourselves. We want to rediscover the pleasures of vibration, humming, speaking, walking, moving, expressing ourselves, raving, singing – finding pleasure in our body in all ways possible...

We seek to open our bodies to other bodies, to another body; to transmit vibrations, to circulate energies, to arrange desires so that each is free to play out its fantasies and ecstasies so that we might live without guilt and without inhibiting all the sensual intra- and interpersonal practices we need so our day-to-day reality won't turn into the slow agony that capitalism and bureaucracy project as a model existence. We seek to rip out of ourselves the festering tumor of guilt that for thousands of years has been at the root of all oppression...



“Who does not risk certainty for uncertainty, to thus follow a dream, those who do not forego sound advice at least once in their lives, die slowly [...] Let's try and avoid death in small doses, reminding oneself that being alive requires an effort far greater than the simple fact of breathing.”

- Pablo Neruda

We want to be rid of all roles and identities based on the phallus.

We want to be rid of sexual segregation. We want to be rid of the categories of man and woman, gay and straight, possessor and possessed, greater and lesser, master and slave. We want instead to be transsexual, autonomous, mobile and multiple human beings with varying differences who can interchange desires, gratifications, ecstasies, and tender emotions without referring back to tables of surplus value or power structures that aren't already in the rules of the game.”

AGAINST THE LANGUAGE OF MILITANCY



Sadly, in recent years, too much of the writing coming out of social conflict is wrought with stiff, wooden language, a tired, dead language that seems to contradict the energy of the rebellions of which they speak.

It is the language of militancy, not of freedom, not of individuality creating itself against all odds. Perhaps this is, in part, because many of the present-day conflicts spring from the harshness of the times; they are responses to the hardness of current social, political and economic realities. But how can a response in kind counter these realities? Shouldn't the very method of our response reflect our rejection of these imposed realities?

Militancy is mistaken for passion and intensity, when in fact it is just an armored straightjacket closing in on one's nakedness, stiffening and limiting one's movements.

1. ed. - The term used for the phase of capitalist development away from feudalism. By primitive accumulation, new forms of wealth were built up in the hands of the new dominant classes, and the dominated classes reshaped and repressed, by removing access of the latter to previous forms of self-subsistence in Europe, accelerated colonisation of the Americas, conquest of the East Indies, slave-taking in Africa etc.

2. ed. - In 1968, the riotous 'French May' was the largest wildcat general strike in history. The entire French economy was practically brought to a halt. Over 22% of the French population was supposedly involved, over two weeks, at times in direct conflict with the recuperative unions and political parties as well as cops, bosses and university managers.

Seriousness is mistaken for resoluteness, when in fact it is enslavement to the abstract, to the future, to the cause, to the past, another sort of self-imprisonment. And isn't this precisely what we resolutely need to refuse as we fight to make our lives our own in each moment?

Perhaps the problem is that so many of those involved in social conflict do not see themselves as free individuals creating their lives, encountering obstacles to this self-creative process and fighting to destroy these obstacles, but rather as oppressed people resisting their oppression.

It is not necessary to ignore the reality of oppression to recognize that when our project becomes resistance to oppression, we become centered on our oppressors. We lose our own lives, and with them the capacity to destroy what stands in our way. Since resistance focuses on the enemy's projects, it keeps us on the defensive and guarantees our defeat (even in victory) by stealing our projects from us.

If, on the other hand, we start from our own project of self-creation, insisting upon moving through the world as free and aimless beings, we will encounter rulers, exploiters, cops, priests, judges, etc., not essentially as oppressors, but as obstacles in our paths, to be destroyed rather than resisted.

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Anarchy Radio (streaming and
downloadable hour of global news and
anti-civilisation analysis, every Tuesday)
www.johnzerzan.net/radio

Antidéveloppement (Canada, bi-lingual)
www.antidev.wordpress.com

Bite Back (global earth/animal liberation)
www.directaction.info

Contra Info (global, multi-lingual)
<http://en.contrainfo.espiv.net>

Disaccords (South Pacific)
www.disaccords.wordpress.com

Free Radical Radio (regular interviews
and weekly show by U.S. green anarchists)
www.freeradicalradio.tumblr.com

In The Belly of the Beast (U.K. & global)
www.inthebellyofthebeast.noblogs.org

Inter-Arma (Greece & global, bi-lingual)
www.interarma.info

Machorka (global, multi-lingual)
www.machorka.espivblogs.net

Non-Fides (France & global,
multi-lingual)
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Sabotage Media (Canada, bi-lingual)
[http://www.sabotagemedia.anarkhia.org
/category/english/](http://www.sabotagemedia.anarkhia.org/category/english/)

Uncivilized Animals (writings on
ecology, technology and society from an
anti-industrial perspective)
www.uncivilizedanimals.wordpress.com

Untorelli Press (an archive and publisher
of radical pamphlets against capitalism,
patriarchy, the state and civilisation)
www.untorellipress.noblogs.org

War on Society (the Americas)
www.waronsociety.noblogs.org

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**'Plan for Europe's Biggest
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– from *In the Belly of
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'The Essence of Modern Schooling'
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Many thanks to all keeping the
rage flowing in whatever form



'STARTING FROM ZERO'

[ed. - Taken from the founding statement by 'December 6th' group, formed after the Greek insurrection which broke out when the anarchist youth Alexis Grigoropoulos was shot down by the police on that date in 2008 – see *Return Fire vol.1 pg17.*]

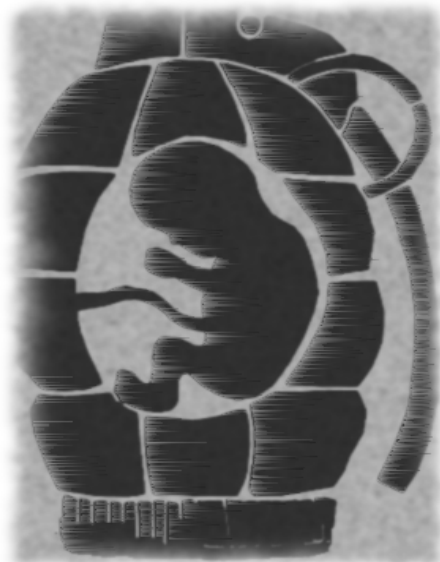
We don't know if we can speak in terms of victory or loss about the revolutionary movement of the past decades. We can however say that we live today the times of its global recession. Class and social consciousness are entirely forgotten in history's time-closet, surrendered to the precepts of the modern behavioural industry; to lifestyle and individualization; to loneliness, fear and passivity. **We live the most evolved form of social consent, to the imposition of a scientifically rationalized acceptance of oppression. We live in the times of rebuttal of speech and alternation of the meanings: 'FREEDOM' of the markets, 'REVOLUTION' of technology. Our attacks are now interjections in the normal flow of the TV schedule: TV show, interval, breaking news, images of destruction, commercials, TV show again.** And the enemy nowadays is not clear and visible because democracy creates crimes with no guilt; wars in the name of peace, violence and repression in the name of citizens' protection. **We come from another time.** We come from the strangest version of history. We come from a devastated society where the war of everyone against everyone reigns. We come from suffocation, [from the] city sewers and the rat-cage apartments. We come from the ideology of non-violence, of vanity and surrender; of dope and video games. We come from the times of fetish, pose, the fake and the image. We come from the times of public relations where the proletariat is having extreme fun on Mykonos Island. We come from the times of isolation, neurosis and mental breakdown. We come from a fucked-up life.

[...] The issue that has the highest strategic importance for us is how we will manage to break these social relations that conserve this world, through our actions. How we will take back the words, so that they become ours again, so that they become sharp again. FREEDOM, STRUGGLE, REVOLUTION... In order to analyse and de-organise the modern social relations, we won't search in books of a sociological approach but we will dive deep into ourselves. This is why we won't seek any *truths*. **For us, no fixed view, no ideology is capable of interpreting what we live today.** Our own speech is articulated through daily life; through our own fears, conformities and contradictions. Because only if we discover what is found within us

we will be able to destroy what is around us. "... It is impossible to

understand daily life, without denying it. It is impossible to know it in the end, without fighting to change it..."

[...] We propagate the third pole and the *politics in first person* by promoting the bet for the creation of a new point of reference; of a new point of gathering between comrades that aim at a de-ideologised approach of the struggle starting from zero; **from their own selves.** Since the very moment we placed this bet, we chose to stay away from the encirclement of the modern 'revolutionary' lifestyle; away from the ideologised pseudo-dilemmas that it places. Anarchist or nihilist, social or antisocial. Terms already loose that tend to become a code of entrance and acceptance into groups, or spectacular jargons of separation from them. Codes, roles, prototypes of behaviour are what form an alternative 'revolutionary' identity. **They are the elements that contribute to our political defeat.** The 'hardcore ones' and their fans, the orators and their audience, the petty leaders of any kind and their followers, the 'neutrals' and their good intentions. In this way, not only life but also the struggle itself is not experienced as a struggle, but as a representation. **This is why if we really want to speak today about the case of revolution, we have to speak about ourselves first.** For the way that we overpass ourselves since the moment we enter the struggle and we de-attach ourselves from the symptoms of our life until that time. From the cowardliness, the safe hideouts, the selfishness, the silent consent, the self-interest, the competitions. Because, comrades, if we really want to change this world, we first have to vomit it out of us. Because the revolution is not a future overthrow, but the way we live and fight today. **All the rest stinks of ideology and repetition.**



They say you have to learn to leave your traces back on the snow; so that you don't get lost, so that the rest will find you. In relation to the issue of the social addressing, we don't conserve false hopes. We know well that the armed struggle today cannot 'rise the masses up,' but we know as well that not everything is lost out there, and December's revolt happened to remind us of this. **We will not divide society in two sides. There aren't just these who fight and those who consent, nor do we consider all these that are not directly by our side right now as enemies.** However, we don't want to 'caress' anyone as well. A big part of the social body is full of the dominant ideologies, in such a way that we automatically consider them our enemies. The snitches, the pimps, the jail guards, the junk dealers, the fascists, the big and small bosses that manage our lives, all of them are our targets from now on. But apart from those that go along with the dominance there is also other people. And they're quite a few. **It's the people of December's revolt.** It's also those that didn't participate in it but defended it like something of their own. It's the lonely people, the 'outsiders,' those who differ inside the vast dump of social stupidity; those which as clockwork bombs in 'off-mode' we now want to put back into function. We address all these people and with our actions we encourage them to fight and discover together the ways to win over our daily freak-outs. **For this reason, you, friend, you that now read these lines, don't believe anything you may hear about us. Don't believe those who'll speak about 'fanatic criminals' or others who will say we're dark revolutionaries coming out from novels.** We don't differ in anyway. We may be your neighbours, your colleagues at work, the company that hangs out in the same cafeteria with you.

The traces on the snow remain. In this way, we're able to find the paths that the comrades left in the middle, and walk them until where they go. So that afterwards the others will come and continue them. **[T]hose that dream of insurrections will always find the ways to live them. Even if the times are against them. Even if they are a few.** Because the more there will be uniformed killers around us, the more we will load our weapons and light the fuse of our rage.

Her feet scarcely moved, but her body so swayed and her dress spread so gloriously around her that we were transported with joy. She danced to the song of a bird that sang passionately in Other Kingdom, and the river held back its waves to watch her (one might have supposed), and the winds lay spell-bound in their cavern, and the great clouds spell-bound in the sky. She danced away from our society and our life, back, back through the centuries till houses and fences fell and the earth lay wild to the sun. Her garment was as foliage upon her, the strength of her limbs as boughs, her throat the smooth upper branch that salutes the morning or glistens to the rain. Leaves move, leaves hide it as hers was hidden by the motion of her hair. Leaves move again and it is ours, as her throat was ours again when, parting the tangle, she faced us crying, 'Oh!', crying, 'Oh, Harcourt! I never was so happy. I have all that there is in the world.'

- Other Kingdom

