A SEA OF POSSIBILITIES
IN THE CONCRETE DESERT

A compilation of reflexions on territory, city and insurrection.

Contents

TERRITORY, CITY AND INSURRECTION
*Proyectuality and struggle proposals*

Territory and conflict

Militarily and legally, we understand a territory as occupied when the enemy assumes control of it. This usually means power over the economy, properties and population distribution and the development of laws. Thus, the idea of territory occupation, at first, comes together with authority.

When we study territory occupation in wars throughout history, we find that many times this means the transfer of power from one set of hands to another. Taking castles, palaces, fortresses... And settling new armies and rulers. Nevertheless there are also cases, for example in the history of native populations from Araucanía, when colonization became much harder, because it was attempted over territories not used to this kind of authority, without structures and social groups that could normalise the control of a new ruler. In these cases uprisings were stronger and more common.

Military conquest and domination have been redefined with the process of history: the industrial war formulas and later domination deployment formulas have been perfected through the development of militarism. Militarism constitutes a main key in Capitalism and States' plans for space and territory management and domination. The old medieval war and even, symmetrical war of the first half of the XXth century, have produced related changes in the domination and management of space.

Modernity, science and understandings that started to emerge through the XVIIIth century redefined the space: before then a place was determined by its nature, as something holy or not, outside or inside; now, the space is something modeled by power, that is managed, mapped, known, transformed, maimed and in general is endowed with the ability of being adapted and restructured through the interference of different institutions supported by science; in the case of cities, urban planning.

The world is known. The golden age of exploration, maps and conquests started a process that arrived here, with globalization. Values are universalized in an attempt to make economies and markets extensible to the whole world. Everything becomes homogenous and legislated, the nation-states make the law to be deployed in every corner of the planet and the world, of course, over the autochthonous lives and communities, that can only adapt to the new roles they are offered inside a hierarchy. Money becomes a universal language. Epicenters and peripheries are generated in different scales with different tasks but serving the same wheel, the global economy. Everything becomes the system and the space and political management of it. Space is hierarchised and individuals and inhabitants are inserted into this hierarchisation process.
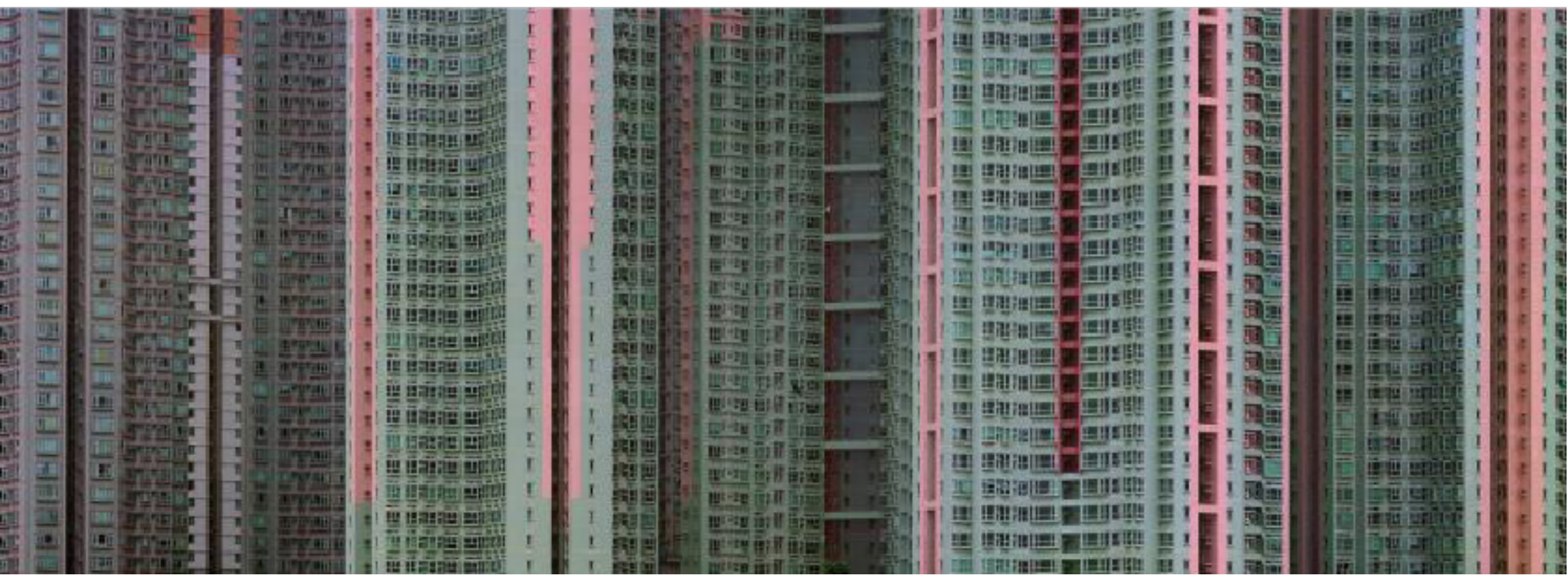
All the politics of enclosures and countryside privatization produced the displacement of millions of people to the emerging metropolises of industrial capitalism that needed a viable workforce. This process is still taking place in the regions of the planet - known as the Third World - where people are living through an urban revolution without precedent. In addition, the inside-outside nature of spaces aren't completely closed, with the result that every wall, fence and checkpoint, every institution like FRONTEX that attempts to control them and all the civil and military technologies put at the service of border protection does not block the traffic, but only filters it. This produces categories of more exploitable people; migrant, refugee, barbarian, uncivilized. Trade at a global level implies that the workforce has to move, especially in the context of an economic and political system based on continuous displacement and change, thus, the management of the limits seeks to keep mobile individuals regulated by the law and the State and its space management.

As we said before, the role of military state structures is very important to surveillance and configuration of space. Emergency states, the militarization of daily life and military management of refugee camps highlight the importance of military forces in the political management of space. There, hierarchisation is reinforced and deployed under the hard military boot and those of its minions, the NGOs.

Space is therefore constantly redefined, in a globalized world that constantly changes according to the needs of economy and control and the consequent collapse and redevelopment of social hierarchies.

We can understand then a territory occupation based on domination and authority, that would be, for example, the

one prevailing in the Spanish state's territory and others dominated by democratic systems, in which political, economic, juridical and military power are held by people whose interests go against our survival. This occupation means an effective way to order life, impose social rules and laws and design the space... Facing occupations like this, conflicts always grow, either from other powers that fight for authority over the same territory, or from the people that live in this territory struggling for the power to decide on and carry out their own forms of social and territorial organization. This is the motor of a huge number of the conflicts in our history.

The postmodern idea that claims "the end of history" as a lack of conflict, struggles and a new stage in "social order," is more evidently a farce with every day that passes. An example of this is the continuity between the indigenous uprisings of the 17th century and the Mapuche resistance that is still

going on in some territories of Latin America. We don't need to cross the ocean to see how these kinds of conflicts have developed. A neighborhood uprising against an urban plan as in Gamonal, is doing nothing else than fighting against the territorial occupation of the state, camouflaged by deployment under the form of urban planning and economic power. Similar conflicts can also happen on a smaller scale when people come together to resist an eviction, or sabotage through different strategies building plans that are going to destroy their houses.

The occupation determines the way of life that is developed under it, and in the frame of territories dominated by democracy and global capitalism, there are different levels of resistance to domination and its advances. Therefore, localising the mechanisms through which this occupation is deployed is the key to facing them, generating conflict by trying to pose self determined ways of life that challenge the laws, social rules and spatial and life structures that the occupying enemy imposes upon us. Here is where we experiment with our own capacities, set goals to build alongside the stresses of work and make the clash between the way of life that we want and the one they impose on us something more than a theory in the pages of our zines.

Systemic occupation and antagonistic occupation

What does it mean to live under the authority of the Spanish state? Or Madrid town hall? Or global capitalism? It means to live under its laws and codes, either because normality and the development of life are judged by its standards, for example, when your communications and relationships are

measured by technology and social networks; or because legality forces you to act inside determined margins under the threat of a wide range of punishments and dictates the legal and material conditions you must stick to in order to get a house to live in.

Normality is controlled by the configuration of the manners and spaces in which we live. Similarly to how social networks normalize a relationship dynamic, urban projects give rise to certain living standards, a way of leisure, degrees of mobility, etc. inside a determined territory. These strategies don't imply the direct criminalization of other ways of life, but a marginalization and exclusion that can ultimately end in a clash with legality.

This is concretized, in our closer reality, in mobility plans that connect some places and isolate others; urban outlines that determine some concrete functions for every neighborhood, or order the territory based on a division of population into social classes, a capitalist occupation of territory that determines the forms of consumption and leisure, habits and profiles in the population... Speaking clearly; the limitations of mobility imposed by Manuela Carmena in the central area of Madrid, together with the boom of models that are more ecological, yes, but in the same time more privative, technologized, and controlled; Chamartín Operation, also approved by Manuela Carmena under the new look of "Madrid New North" that is going to reconfigure totally the northern area of Madrid, opening doors to one kind of population and economy, increasing mobility in some points and the amount of high speed trains for the executives of companies that will settle there, while some peripheric neighborhoods will be-

come completely isolated, surrounded by neighborhoods setting economic standards completely unattainable to some of the inhabitants of the area; the boom in shops seeking a middle-high class customer in Lavapiés neighborhood, with the expansion of tourism, the B&B model and the opening of the Ibis hotel in the square; the growing normalization of smartphones as the means of management of life, the new 5G nets; the bridgeheads of gentrification in Madrid Río and the expansion of betting and game rooms…

In the same way, laws also do their part, delimiting reality to the level that the system wants to assume. Legality uses a wide range of social control mechanisms to ensure compliance, as well the extension of a citizen and police mentality that reproduces the role of surveillance, denunciation, and even confrontation with certain dissident praxis.In practice what we have in the neighborhoods are patrols frequenting streets and police vans parked in determined points; surveillance plans such as the one that covers most of the center, or the ones projected to areas like Alvarado and Monte Igueldo in Tetuán and Vallekas; the control inherent in the technologization of our lives through smartphones, public and private transport systems, domotic systems every time more usual in homes and other buildings, parking control systems, traffic surveillance… Or simply, maybe the more common of the mechanisms is the neighbour spying from behind the curtain or from the corner while walking the dog.

Facing this state and Capitalist occupation of the territory we inhabit, we oppose an antagonistic occupation, that supposes a way of inhabiting that seeks to take territory by setting its own codes and ways of life, avoiding or confronting

the imposed ones. For this, we make our slogan the campaign that the Greek comrades started; "squat the world" to make a parallel with the paradigm that poses squating as a political strategy in the contestant movements and, specifically, anarchism.

Living places, property, territory distribution, where you live and who you live with and in what way... All these questions are constrained by bureaucracy, laws, housing supply and demand, circumstances and level of life in different neighborhoods, an idea of family unit or a way to group socially that conditionates the structure and design of living spaces... Many of these factors are altered when not directly confronted when we decide to squat a building. That can generate from a life that is not subjected to paying a rent or a mortgage, a census in a certain place, or a non chosen convidance; till the conflict that generates with the property of the building, the police or different authorities who care about the activities that around this building we generate. Squating derivates from a decision of avoid certain laws and codes, to look for a way of life that grows from our own needs and ideas at the

time of our development.

Further than the simply usurpation of properties that we can mean with the term "squating", when we talk about squating the world, besides usurpating many properties, we think in a determined way to occupy the territory. Continuing with the parallelism, this antagonistic occupation means for us, necessarily to question or confront the norms and codes that the system imposes under its dominion. To expand our way of life and take, somehow, space. Look for answers to our needs from self-management, horizontality and direct action making a reality now from our ideas. And at the same time, necessarily, we pose a direct confrontation to face the mechanisms that Capitalism and State use to take ground, some of which we have mentioned before.

The conflict as proposal

In this point we arrive to the question: What is our proposal of life and struggle in the cities? The antagonistic occupation that we have been talking about give us a bit the answer. But nevertheless, this supposes the extension of a way of life and a confrontation that right now are not normalized at all in our context. It's through the conflict as we propose to arrive there. As a base over which outline our alliances and with them, a way to relate, live, struggle... The first step is, then, to point the conflict points that our environment sets, that can be materialized in different actions, initiatives, attacks... Which also suggests the normalization of determined praxis from the autonomy apart from the State. On the other hand this conflicts, if we try to face them, can generate nets from which make an offensive, what creates an also collective potential and gives place to a relational model. This nets use

to be configured around the territory, in which this presence can modify the normality extending ideas and practices.

We don't think about the 36 revolution as a proposal long time ago. We don't walk the way of masses agglutination and awareness, we pretend to let words for politicians. We discuss, share and reflect; but everything that we have to say to the world are actions. Because reality is composed by actions, events. And it can be transformed through them. To look for conflicts in which to influence or front facing is only a way to speak, to expand ourselves. This is all our propaganda. Our proposal is to create from conflict and through it, the way to give sense to our ideas.

Nowadays, pillage times, many things were stolen from us, even the conflict itself. We must be conscious about the recovery mechanisms that democratic models generate to integrate into the channels of dialogue, pact and assimilation. State and Democracy aren't only institutions, they are a mentality that we have to break with if we want to contribute to a real sharpening of social tensions apart from integrator mechanisms from the system.

In the ground of urban conflict we find a motley frame where the most of the left forces propose us a different model to manage the city. Nothing else than different options of face washing of the city, as a core of capitalism and domination, as unsustainable and unhealthy places, as centers of exploitation and domination. Ultimately, technoscience warlords talk to us about a ecological management of cities, about smart city; trying to depoliticize the management of the city, as if the fact of companies and State having every time more data, control and commodification and deploying

their truth would be something that overcame politics. It's an insult own from the postmodernity. We neither seek to generate connections with other based on their assistance and being the solvers of their lifes, as an appendix of the useless social services and their task of managing poorness and misery into acceptable parameters. We don't look for new revolutionary subjects, "neighbors" of a quarter, neither the small commerce, or other formulas of small scale economy that pretend to show commerce, commercial exchange, and the relation worker-boss as something apart from domination processes and wash it, bypassing a simple division in the world between exploited and exploiters.

There's no way further from the conflict, from coming together with other individuals at the warm of it. There's no alternative management of the cities possible, because for anarchists there can be no possibility of „alternative" management, not even an intermediary. The capitalist development puts us in front of the objective impossibility of the reform and the impossibility of a project of self-management of the cities.

The only possible administration is that directed by the state, which increasingly concentrates on large urban complexes: information about the brain, offices, police stations, symbols, institutions, logistics and administrative heart. The cities, and therefore also the metropolises, are by their „nature" the applied theory of constituted power. They are the very phenomenology of capitalism. Suffice it is to say that in France, for example, the Gendarmerie participates in the development of urban plans, indicating how cities should be built, in terms of control requirements.

We choose the path, certainly not the simples one, of the total de-

struction of any existing form and structure of domination, in a revolutionary and anti-authoritarian perspective and practice. We will not make alternative real state plans, for the planned dismantling of this building instead of that, as a demolition company, but an anarchist. We should create another spectacle, opposed to that of many alternatives that fight against gentrification. We do not believe in deconstruction, we believe in destruction.

We must understand that forced transformations from the State and capitalism over the space; 'gentrification, touristification, urban rearrangement, macro events, technologization applicated to the management of city order, infrastructures y transports, new communication nets... all of them are processes that generate conflicts. As anarchists, we must be able to understand, analyze and attack,and based on that, understand vulnerabilities and possibilities that offer us the given contexts, don't accommodate us, don't ritualize us and run away from the leftist proposal of generating other formulas of management of misery. We must sharp the ideas and practices and take this situations of conflict as a subversion laboratory.

CONCLUSIONS OF THE CONFERENCES:
A sea of possibilities in the concrete desert

The discussions that we launched in the event came from, among others, the question of facing the leftist and democrat model citizen proposals that got vissible against the different problematics, increasingly obvious, that the life in the urban environment generates. These range from municipalism and citizen participation suggested by the new social democrat parties, to the green city model that goes through a serie of urban changes related to the technologyzation and social control.

In this discussion, we may wonder what do we do in the urban environment and in what direction do we walk with our struggle proposals.

Trying to shape our inclinations and analyzing the suggestions that exist on the table, we can find the border between an antagonistic way of life to the system, and that recuperable, neutralizable alternative. In this way, it's for us easier to take position and try to avoid strategies that could end up desactivating our own struggles, choosing our alliances and pointing our enemies without half-measures or adapting our view.

One of the ideas that we came from is that probably everyone wants to life according to their interests and expectations. Some of them, clash direcly with the systemic approaches and interests; others have some margin of recovery, acceptance and adaptation. Powers strategy, and specially from the leftist political forces, consists in drawing a line delimiting

those interests, using that acceptables inside their parameters as concessions, as a victory, to offer them into a frame that neutralize, deny, hide or make impossible that possibilities that are for them inacceptable. That's why one of our approaches consists in not focusing any particular problematic or interest, anything accepting it as a concession, but address it within a whole that allows us go on without going back in other terrains. Our start point is the total negation of the existing and our goal is total liberation. That's why, maybe the main characteristic of the border that we mentioned before resides in conflict.

Having said that; an urban garden, popular festivals, living struggles, the defense of a territory against the threat of constructions... They are initiatives that fit in both approaches, but substantially change according to the background in which we address it. What is really interesting is to insert this practices in a offensive praxis , understanding the offense as a wide and complete actioning that seeks to go further in the conflict with the established and also, to avoid falling into the self-complacency and the fake idea that there are space for total autonomy into the system brackets.

We find the conflict in the base of our proposal, and for that, we believe necessary to develop a bit what idea do we have about it, to trascend cliches and preconceived ideas and to place ourselves looking for a theoretical depth and a sharper practice. Many of us, when we talk about conflict, soon comes to us the picture of a hoodie facing the order forces or attacking the private property. Actually, this picture isn't a mistake, since system resorts to violence and coercion ultimately to face conflict situations. This is a situation that must be in our imaginary and for which we must be ready, attending to our needs and abilities. But nevertheless, it's important to

overcome this association as cliche to be able to deepen in a wide struggle proposal.

We suggest to look for a way to habitate and occupy the territory attending to our interests and willings, but looking to confront the system impositions, without leting space for conciliation or asimilation. Not accepting their legal or parliamentary channels, it's a conflict, for example, from the base. That means; that self determination should never carry us to the acknowledgment of the authority, that the tools that we develop to gain this autonomy should never be dependent on its structures, that we should look for the normalization of our practices regardless the legitimation or not from the State, the mass media, etc. All this supposes a constant unrest that doesn't necessarily mean a phisical confrontation. It implies a qualitative view of the struggle, over the number or quantity.

Thus, conflict means to break with certain codes, norms and laws, while we try to normalize our own practices and ideas. But also, the rejection to the agreement, negociation or to seek that the authorities are those, who impose the changes that we want, often implies a level of direct action that easily brings us to face the repressive forces. We choose approaching conflicts directly without addressing the authorities: direct action. According to this, for example, about the living problematic, we make sure that we have the tools to squat; if we want to stop a construction or urban remodelation, we will make it impossible with our own means, often turning to sabotage; we will seek to develop tools and get more able to defend ourselves from the different attacks that we could recieve, and respond to the presence of fascist groups, police, security companies...

However, one more time, though conflict brings us at some point to this confrontation or to situations in which we would have to put our bodies, this shouldn't subordinate the rest of initiatives, situations or infrastructures that could articulate a wider struggle. There must be place for different implications and contributions, as long as the people that build this struggles we have different abilites, needs and experiences. There must be also place for talking abour fears and lacks, aiming to get stronger through solidarity, cares and mutual aid. Trying that every action takes behind an analysis that boosts it and an exercise of individual and collective self knowledge that helps us to move along.

All of this bring us also to respond to other of the questions that we set during the discussions; How can we take territory against the territory domination of State and Capitalism? Precisely in this force correlation we find the territory struggle. We find here a conflict in which there is not posibble coexistence. Our rules or theirs, our lifes or theirs.

We take territory every time that we can stop some plan from the State or a company, that police can't act against us because we are strong enough, that we stop an eviction, that we can occupy the streets without asking for permission, what we get that they don't implant regulated parking or that they don't close a land where we have free parking, that they don't make the neighborhood full of videosurveillance cameras, that we can kick out the companies that are gentrificating the neighborhood... But also, behind all of this there is an extension and normalization of practices and ideas that configurates a reality. The pulse is, our reality against their. Their reality gets adapted so that our actions don't threaten their hegemony. Everyone of our actions should grow from confrontation, that's the way that we have to break their hegemony.

Our proposal, finally, doesn't consist in setting a different way of working on cities to make them more habitable. We look for a different way to habit that teaches us to confront the status quo, that helps us to make nets and get tools, at the same time looking for collective answers to our own needs. It's a way of living and occupying the territory that seeks to, ultimately, the break, and never to the convidance with this system. Because every welfare level here that steps over the global consequences of States, democratic or not; and Capitalism, that doesn't seek to rejection and break, comes from privilege and the perpetuation of opression.

Our proposal is permanent conflict,
Against their misery and oppression world.

For anarchy

CONCLUSIONS OF THE CONFERENCES

The following text is one point of view from some parts of Rigaer 94, were it was discussed, but its not a statement from the house:

We agreed in Madrid with the other comrades, that we do not need a legitimation from the neighborhood for our practice. If *„Our start point is the total negation of the existing"* , (quoted from „Conclusions of the conferences: A sea of possibilities in the concrete desert") we will start very alone the conflict, because most turbolent parts of society only have problems with a few effects of normality. This is the situation in the cities we talk about, with 4 or 6 million inhabitants and some hundred antagonistic persons, from which not everybody seeks the permanent conflict.

The spreading of our contents and positions in the neighborhood is nescessary for the creation of social tensions. About

our relation to the neighbors, do we need them to kick out the state from a specific area? And if so, how to avoid become a democratic institution if we try to serve their desires, which are: security, economic stability, housing. Is their a class conflict in our neighborhood, social tensions, progressive mood? If not, does it make sense to take this ground?

The lack of contra culture makes it more difficult to develop social conflicts.

We did not come to the point, to discuss if we are really ready to take a territory. Before we should agree, that we need a territory to difuse conflicts into the city and its society. There were not many texts in the last period, which proclaimed the taking of a territory as a strategic goal. - In contrary to analysis from groups in the ZAD, Bure or in Hambacher Forest, who explicit claim the occupation of their ground a most important step.

If we only want to destroy a city, we act in a different way if we want to take a ground in the city. To take a ground means to take responsibility at least for some streets. Are we organized for this?

In strongly individualized societies, such as in the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany, no layers or classes are organized in such a way that their needs are violently enforced against the state.

At first, however, preconditions could be created that would allow social opposites to grow enmities with the need for space.

Does it make sense to discus about taking a territory if our collective or political body is not strong enough for this, for

example because we are not enough people? Or is it necessary to develop the first practical step to this utopia to grow in numbers and skills?

May be the discussion should continue with this: if we agree to take a territory we have to organize in a more committed way and find some criterias, if we are ready – can we cut the light in the area? Can we steel electricity, solve water problems or other needs of neighbors? Do we stay in contact with them? Do we have information about investor plans and information from local authorities? What do we do in the case of other antisocial behavior, as it happens in Exarchia?

Some years ago the radical left in Europe was looking to the neighborhood of Okmeydanı in Istanbul because it was defended with guns by organized groups against the state force. And this communist struggle had a quite strong support from the population. Even if we do not agree with the DHKP-C we have to recognize, that they took the ground of this area with success for a time. But now the situation seems to be under the control of the turkish state again. Is it possible, that the anarchist movement, with less binding nature and lower organisation can impose measures against a modern dictatorship or a modern democracy?

We do not like to convince other people to take over our way of life and our values, its not possible to find affinity with the neighbors or other users of a specific area by taking the power. People who are not linked to the anarchist movement will have problems to find access to our structure – and it is not possible to take a territory with our limited forces. Should we establish more open structures to increase the moments in which we come together with more people, even if they are "residents"?

And if we find an urban ground which has some criterias for our occupation of it, could it be implemanted by a call to the radical movement to gather in this city and take a part of it?

THEY CALL IT "DANGERZONE"*
but it is just an ungovernable neighbourhood

The following text was published in november 2017 as a contribution to the Insurrection Festival in Athens.

We, individuals and groups from the Rigaer Street, welcome the initiative to start a discussion about an insurrection and fill it with experiences from the past, current theories and practical possibilities.

This is how we understood the call for the insurrection festival (https://insurrectionfestival.noblogs.org/) in Athens.

In the program, we discovered several aspects, that we in the Nordkiez of Friedrichshain are engaged in. There is no anarchist, anti authoritarian or left radical movement in Berlin, there is just a scene.

The dullness of the majority of a fascist society makes it complicated to get moving. In order to destroy overall power structures, we need to search for the confrontation in our local communities. A concentration of people, ideas and structures working against the state, are necessary to be able to protect oneself from outside aggression and be able to actually develop.

Over the last couple of years, because of the intensity of our actions and the repression of the cops, this process has been started in the Rigaer street. Our actions do not simply concentrate on material violence, they are trying to destroy the social norm and values. In that sense, to change the meaning of property, safety and fear, as well as work and competition.

In Berlin it is forbidden to organize a flee market, where everything can be given away for free, it is forbidden to play music in public spaces or just gather in the street with many people. It might be allowed if one requests a permission with the police. We did all of these things without having a permission and every time we did, the police came and attacked us. As a response, many stones were thrown towards the cops and their cars.

Maybe the Police occupation in Exarchia is more violent, but in Friedrichshain they are more close – the occupation force is waiting in front of your door.

Another way of preventive counterinsurgency in Berlin is, next to repression, the integration. By using various politicians and "good" cops, the administrations are always coming up with round tables. The idea is to bring inhabitants from the Friedrichshainer Nordkiez together with representatives from the administration offices, An image should be created in which the politicians listen to the concerns of the public and all parties involved come up with a solution together. This way there is no need for real resistance anymore, and "social peace" can be restored. We must fight the integration like the repression.

Due to gentrification, the population in our part of the city, is being slowly replaced. If you don't have the money, you can't pay the rent anymore an you have to move. This is why several luxury cars and new investors are being attacked in our neighbourhoods. Controversial questions within our circles are for example the relationship to the neighbours. Some people are sympathetic with us and hate the cops. But how do we interact with those who do not want to have any

position in this conflict or who just want to keep on living their capitalist life without any disturbances?

We are only a few in this city, very few. When the state attacks us, like last year, when the cops raided the Rigaer 94 twice and once occupied the house for over three weeks, while destroying large parts of it, it becomes possible for us to mobilize many people from outside our circles. For weeks over the summer 2016, cars all over the city were burning and during a bigger demonstration many people attacked the cops.

But an insurrection can not be planned, it arises from social tensions, where radical tendencies are integrated in a larger social resistance.

Another question would be if we should look for people in this individualised and estranged society or if it would be better just to put an utopia out there, that speaks for itself?

On the 16th of June this year, an utopia was a hip hop concert in the streets. As expected the cops soon attacked and it lead to riots, which would only be worth a little note in Athens, but became a headline story in Berlin. Press and politicians compared the Rigaer street with the war in Syria. Should we escalate the situation even more, even though we are few people?

The autonomous mouvement was fueled in the 80s by the difficult housing situation and the many squats, that existed all over the city. The experiences since then, show us that as soon as we take one step backwards the enemy moves up right behind us. In the cases, where squaters negotiated with the state, they always lost. In the cases, where we did not negotiate, we may have also lost, but by fighting the struggle we won new activists for our structures.

As a realistic stop over, we are trying to make one part of the city impossible to control, a process which should be expanded chronologically and spatially. Maybe the cops will attack our spaces in Friedrichshain again in the near future. Then we will ask you for help, by attacking authority, no matter where you are. Just like we in Berlin are trying to react to the state organised operations against the resistance in Athens and elsewhere.

Comrades and friends of Rigaer 94 and the resistance in Friedrichshain

* the Police uses the label Dangerzone for a kind of martial law which allows them stop-and-search from people without reason, breaking in homes without search warrant or confiscating everything."

THE FIGHT FOR TERRITORY IN EXARCHIA

Some introductory notes about the repressive situation and its precedents

The discussion about taking or defending a territory was already going on in Exarchia/Athens when the area came under more intensive attack by the new government in August 2019. But there was no common conclusion in the anarchist movement, how to reply to this. Too many texts from some groups have called riots in Exarchia in the last years as „antisocial and useless", as „hooliganism and canibalism". Some specific groups were worried about the damage of traffic lights and saw the government of Syriza as a chance. For them Exarchia was a ground to make money with bars and gain power in the movement. So the police forces of Nea Dimokratia found us in a weak position without beeing prepared for their attack on this field. And the people who prefered to defend the territory by attacking every day, were only a minority.

„For all these reasons the state aims to take the ground away from revolutionary visions, so as to extinguish the flame of general insurrection and so that when the oppressed social dynamic inevitably explodes, it should have nowhere to stand, nowhere to storm from, no paradigm of perspective, no collective experience nor historical memory."

- Squat GARE, To The Barricades, December 2016

BREAKING THE SWORD OF CAPITAL HANGING OVER EXARCHEIA

Extracted from Indymedia Athens

The current situation of inundation, exhaustion & fear

The beginning of any counter insurgency from state and capital includes prolonged low intensity attacks. Exarcheia knows full well what this looks like and has with much success resisted it in the past. At the current moment, with capital in a worldwide state of hyper crisis, this mania throws everything it can towards areas that cannot be managed for profit generation. Our neighborhood is not only one of these areas but also the lighthouse that inspires others to fight for them and seek its refuge.

It only takes a pair of functioning eyes to see less women on the streets of Exarcheia. No theory or explanation necessary, these (disastrous) changes are right in front of us. As foreign people who came to Exarcheia prior to this current crisis many first remark how amazing it is to see so many women out. Where we come from this is never the case. It does not take some mythical "new" man with a clean past unaffected by patriarchal society to see it. It's here and for those that notice it, we are filled with intense anger.

The patriarchal attack comes along with other elemental attacks from emergent conservatism. Whether it includes racism, mafia control or rejection of self organization it is all due to the general inundation and embedded counter insurgency. Exarcheia is not alone, but it may have the best chance

to fight and within that fight a victory may be seen by many across the earth as a slice of hope.

Making way for efficiency, the logic of the state

Who can solve the crises of racism, sexism and mafia? We know the creeping answer from the liberal intelligentsia. If you haven't heard that rebellion creates "problems for the oppressed from the privileged,"it's coming. As it always does, the middle class seeking their own comfort use the identity of others to shield themselves. Out of fear or self interest they attack self organization in favor of efficiency. Speaking out in support of the oppressed while whispering to the states henchman that the time for security is now.

How does manic capital squeeze the last drop of profit out of it's own neighborhoods? Efficiency. Turning every slice of public space into potential profit. No matter how small, every thing needs to be commodified. Many anarchists believe this is more of the same, it is in fact new. The state of capitalism itself is in crisis due to an inability to create mass profit. The sword is turned inward at us.

Igniting the Potential Supernova

You cannot have any piece of uncontrollable real estate within a capital efficient city. It all has to be going as planned. Exarcheia is the ignition, in some ways the flame just needs to last till the next economic disaster. In other ways action is needed now to stop serious degradation. But never assume the monolith cannot be slayed. The new 2007 around the corner guarantees it can and if we outlast it, the potential for

anarchy is infinite. The stakes are high.

We advocate a declaration of war on their investment. The fight against efficiency is the fight against Airbnb, Mafia Control,Police Encroachment, Liberalism and the general chewing up of public space. For us, we see weakness in foreign investment and destruction of neighborhoods for the "sharing economy." There is not one place on the planet that could cause more problems for these vultures than Exarcheia and Athens. Cause enough problems and the ignition is set.

Against Predictable Revolt

When do the troubles start and end? The question no developer, yuppie, tourist, hipster or exploiter should be able to answer.To safeguard rebellion neighborhoods must become unsafe for law and order as a prerequisite. For this to be realized, not only the henchmen but the charitable representatives must be opposed. The ideals of the state and it's Orwellian repression rides in on the back of the MAT officer as much as the progressive, hip pseudo culture. The neo-hippies. Or rather, the enemy. Law and order is society and vice versa.

Many already face exile or homelessness.

And for some this is the difference between freedom and prison.

For Exarcheia it is a question of existence.

~ Et & Anonymous International Anarchists

THE CITY AS A TOOL FOR DOMINATION

Nowadays, we al live subdued to a series of laws, institutions and organizations that take care of our lives, resources, human relationships, etc. The reasons behind this submission are that we live in a hierarchic system, a system that is designed to protect the interest of the dominant class. But... Is the space were this domination thrives neutral? Can the city become a key part to excercise the submission? Is it possible to manage a city in an anarchist way?

Usually people have a slanted and neutral view about concepts as civilization or city. This is because its very dificult to define this concepts, and because people are unable to think that they are something more than living settlements.

A living settlement is a group of individuals (usually asociated with nomads tribes) that establish themselves in a certain place, usually next to important natural resources (rivers, woods, valleys, etc.). It didn't require of a complex organization to manage and handle the aspects of life in that specific place. Although it wasnt something idyllic (it had its own faults, and there were groups that gathered more power than others) it produced ways of life that were often more communal and horizontal. Nevertheless, the data and facts regarding this are very few, and are under the interpretation of archeological and historical institutions.

The word civilization has its origins in the latin word "civitas", which means citizen. A citizen is a person that belongs to a certain national state, that has political and civil rights, and is subdued to its laws. Civilization starts in year 3500 be-

fore Christ, with the sumerian civilization, which gave birth to cities with thousands of inhabitants, religious temples and centralized power. You can define civilization as a complex society that is defined by its institutional organisation, its knowledge and capacity for that organisation, its traditions and ideas.

All this combination of definitions can helps us establish what city really means: A city is a living settlement with political, economic, religious and administrative structures. In this meaning we can find a very tight relationship between the concept of city and power.

The organisation of the city as a way to dominate.

The city, as a concept, has had a lot of ways of organise itself along history. All those diferent ways of organising itself were related with diferent interests: commercial, defence, etc. This is the reason why we can find fortified cities, surrounded by a wall that helped them to protect themselves of the rest of the people, while the insiders could thrive between the walls. These types of cities had laws, market and centralized power. As the merchant relationships developed, the fortified cities gave place to more opened cities that were close to portuary zones. This way they could increase their production and exportations. This would finally give place to the development of different types of markets related to the primary sector, untill the industry developed. This industrial development brought about different city layouts that served different interests of the dominant class.

This assertion became more notorious as the industry developed itself, and produced different layouts: radiocentric, orthogonal and lineal. The radiocentric layout consisted in a compact city, with a simple design, whose blueprint is a concentric circle. At the centre of the circle you could find the industrial district, that clearly is a focus of high pollution. Surrounding the industrial district you could find the working class, and in the outskirts the medium and high class. This design made it easier for the workers to get to their places of work, and it also facilitated the movement of the merchandise. This layout is a clear example of how the city protected the high class interests, and how it favours production. This is a primitive type of cíty, because it hadnt developed itself.

   One of the main problems of the circular city, was that the pollution was highly concentrated. This caused diseases and death, and to prevent it, the linear city was developed. This city layout was caracterized by growing alongside a long street or central avenue, with houses at each side. This cleared the city traffic (of vehicles and people), and brought the nature closer, reducing the percentage of people who went back to love at the countryside. It also made easier the connection between different urban nucleus, so that the specialisation of the work could develop.
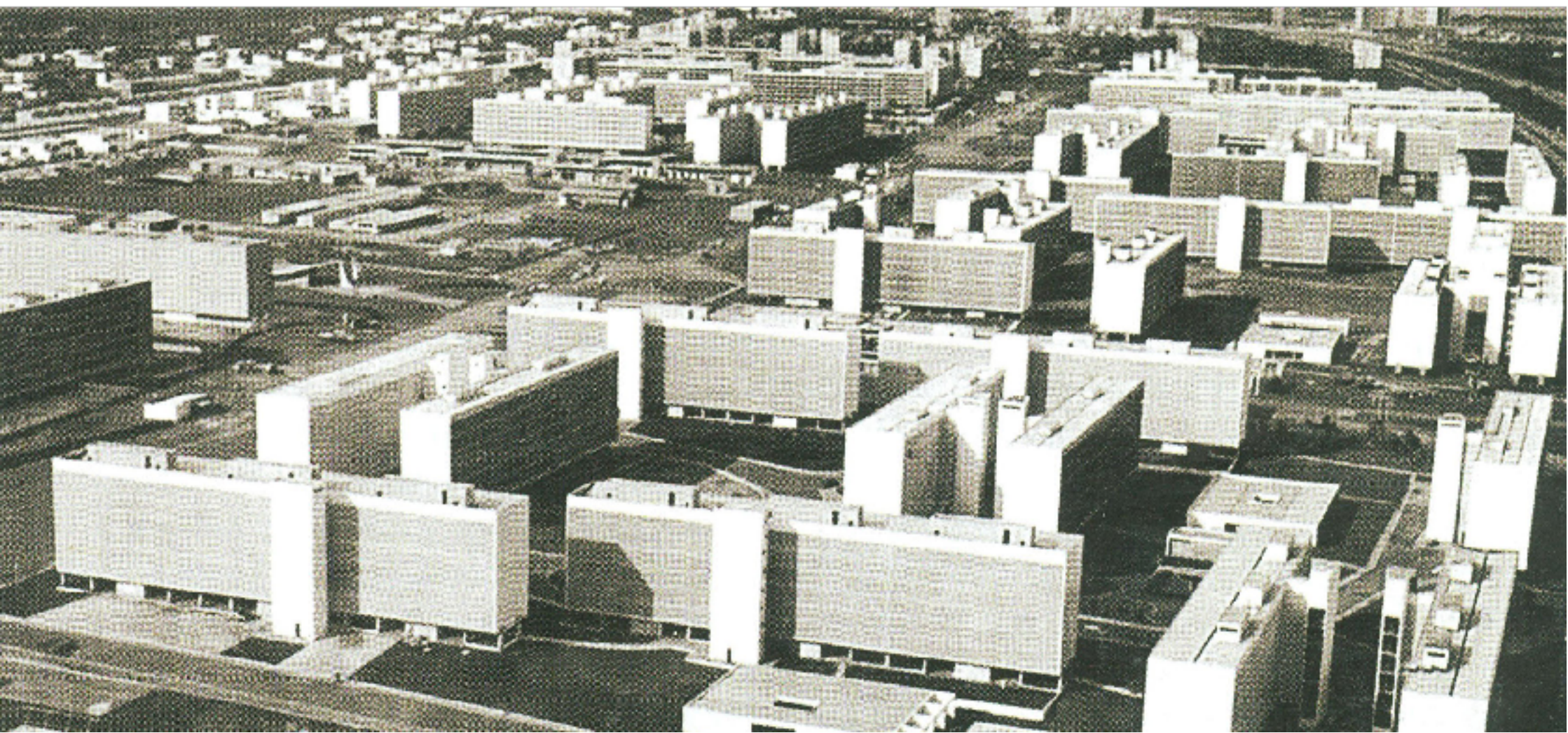
Finally, to favour the connection between urban cores and to permit develop a way of control and location of the population, orthogonal city is developed. This city model is characterized by its squared shape and its division in streight 90° angles parcels, althought it presents the problem that journeys are lengthened inside the city, nevertheless, this compact city model finally will help the developement of diffuse city, characterized by favouring the connection between different urban cores, resulting what we understand by city nowadays.

How domination is deployed through the city?

As we could see, the different city structures have responded to diverse interests of the ruling class, sometimes focusing more in the closeness of industries, and others with the goal of allow the citizen greater proximity to the nature... definitely, cities structure allows to manage the production as well the own interests of the population.

Nowadays the parcelling of the urban core has favoured mainly the isolation feeling of individual and said sensation is necessary for the ruling class as it permits that the individual needs to fill this void in diverse ways, mainly all the ways of consume. Also the journeys to the work are long but avoid to put advertisement to favour said consum and for that, people end up needing to work a wide espectrum of hours. In this way they get more isolated and controlled populations whose goal is to preduce and consume.

Also said isolation have favoured a higer technological development under the idea of security and comfort. Thereby, bit by bit, technology have been introduced in streets and work centers (videosurveillance, work performance machinery, electronic signatures...) .

Thereby, bit by bit, have been produced a submission from population to the technological world, thus affecting both our physical and cognitive abilities, and our way of relating. Since human relations have been crossed by technology in a way that a city where everyone is "connected" through social networks etc. everyone feels isolated and so is generated a homogenious population (where individual interests practically doesn't exist) where all our movements are controlled, where our likes and interests are known in a simple way, where in the job is subtly controlled what do we produce in every moment...

Everything with the objective of favouring market's development, since knowing the movements and interests of the population lets to establish population groups and focus the position of advertisement and the sell of products according to the interest of said population group and the routes where they more use to be located.

And with the objective of helping repressive interests since in this way any person or people group that gets out of the stablished margins by this society will more easily identified and their movements more easily controlled.

What is the future for the city

As time goes by, the use of tecnology in our lifes and in the city becomes more frequent. Nowadays, everything is connected to the internet, and data about our consuming habits and the places we usually go is kept. They even keep track of our biochemical data. This way our life is subdued to tecnology, and this leads us to ask ourselves... Why is everything connected to the internet? Why more and more people think of they neibourghoods as unsafe if there arent enough cameras on the street?

All of these lead to the people that control our lifes to realize that this type of city cant last forever (mainly because of the high cost in natural resources necesary to mantain it; and because of the new "ecological conscience"). This is why the "Smart City" was developed.

This type of city is caracterized by a more subtle and efficent approach to domination, that is accomplished by the increase of tecnology surrounding us. A technology capable of recording data about what we consume, our working perfomance, our biomedical state, etc.. Nowadays we can see the seeds of this type of city in the smart mobility, smart containers, etc.

Usually people think that this type of city is more efficent and respectfull with the enviroment. They usually dont take into consideration the high costs of its development and manteinance, and its impact on our individual freedom.

The conclusion is that the city is a space where the powers interests can thrive, and where the people who dont have power become passive elements of the city. It is impossible to create an anarchist city because its logic, necesities and structure are focused towards domination.

All that is left for us to do towards the city is to identify its vulnerabilities . It is necessary to destroy all that is established and no to build with the powers tools.

THE ONLY POSSIBLE ADMINISTRATION, ON THE ISSUE OF CITIES

Extracted from Vetriolo n° 1 / otoño 2017

It seems that there is a lot of debate these days about the question of cities, urban spaces, the possibilities of revolt (and even of life) within them, about the possibility of their reform. Many discussions often focusing on issues that affect the struggles of many opponents, alternatives, often reformist, sometimes even enemies of any order and authority; Among these issues is that of gentrification, a word that is no longer unknown and about which we would like to think a little. On the question of cities, we have a strong idea: cities mus be destroyed. We belive that the development of civilization and the formation of authoritarian societies are born precisely through life together in urban areas. With the concentration of human beings in urban agglomerations, the oppression of human species on nature and over other animal species is perfected and made systemic. These tendencies, actually before to the birth of cities, take a qualitive step towards the advance of urban civilization: it reinforces the exploitation of part of humans in the other part.

The city, as a concentration of human beings, has two immediate and unavoidable consequences: the first is the division of labor, the birth of class oppression, the second is the need to manage an urban society Complex: the birth and formation, therefore, of the state. Therefore, exploitation (at least that of human over human) and the state would be impossible without cities. On the other hand, in the cities, any

form of common life liberated by the dominion of the State and Capital is impossible. This is all the more obvious if we observe the capitalist development of urban places. The city is the cradle of capitalism: even before industrial capitalism, it was there that the merchants, usury and banks were born. Italian memory preserves: „Borghesia" (bougeois) is literally the population of the „Borgo" (village). The analysis of language also suggests that a city, a city without bougeoisie would be inconceivable.

But this conviction is not based solely on a play on words. At the beginning, the industrial development maintained within the cities, which in the menatime became the metropolis, the manufacturing production. The agriculture productions had already been relegated to the outside, but the facturies were in the city, or vice versa, the cities grew around the factories. As in Dickens classic. This influenced the ideologies and theories of liberation that the oppressed were given in the mid-nineteenth century. Especially in the case of Marxism that anarchism, to be exact.

Today we live in a completely different phase. Capitalism has also driven industrial production out of cities. In Italy, there are cities like Cassino (30.000 inhabitants) that has more workers than Rome (3 million inhabitants). Even if we wanted to play the defenders of the industry (which we are not at all), the cities, especially the metropolises, seem more and more parasitic organisms, like tumors that eat and consume what is produced, in other places. Electric power, the steel on which public transport rolls, cars, not to mention food, are produced outside of them.

This makes an urban revolution objectively impossible: a fabulous insurgent city would die of hunger and cold after a few weeks, unable (and impossible) to handle its complexity in a different way than the state. Thus, the socialist utopia of the expropriation of cities by the working class or any urban sub-proletariat is dying. Therefore, we are surprised by the attempt, also directed by many sincerely revolutionary officers and comrades, to replace this socialist utopia with a libertarian utopia of urban life. What is theorized, constructed, applied by authority can in no way be taken as an example, to be used in a way different from that for which it was conceived.

For anarchists there can be no possibility of „alternative" management, not even an intermediary. The capitalist development puts us in front of the objective impossibility of the reform and the impossibility of a project of self-management of the cities.

The only possible administration is that directed by the state, which increasingly concentrates on large urban complexes: information about the brain, offices, police stations, symbols, institutions, logistics and administrative heart. The cities, and therefore also the metropolises, are by their „nature" the applied theory of constituted power. They are the very phenomenology of capitalism. Suffice it is to say that in France, for example, the Gendarmerie participates in the development of urban plans, indicating how cities should be built, in terms of control requirements.

In this aspect, lets say „massive" and economic, we must add another, individual. The technological invasion and the in-

creasingly virtual and robotic life to which the inhabitants of the city are obliged (most of which do not pose any opposition other than reformist) is producing increasingly alienated individuals similar to those machines whose we surround more and more and more. A current alienation qualitatively different from that of the first period of capitalism. Before, one was crazy because exploited, the fact of being exploited could, however, provide at least the awareness of wanting to break their state of exploitation, of wanting to be free of their alienation.

Today the „classics" exploited, those who „produce things" do not live in the western metropolis. The inhabitants of the big urban complexes are alienated by the uselessness, the boredom and the misery of the life of the city.

One score for the capitalist development of the cities: many opponents and alternatives (sometimes even anarchists) have begun to fight against the modification of the arrangements and forms of urban space, struggles against gentrification. A subject that leaves us immediately skeptical and that, in our opinion, does not do more than being an intellectual subject in the alternative, since it seems that it does not propose the destruction of Cities, but only study and resistance to its transformations.

To say that this topic does not interest us may seem superficial, a defeatist desire to do nothing. The study of changes in cities, such as cancer, as the living organism, is undoubtedly very important for those who think that cities should be fought. Among these things to study, undoubtedly there is also the analysis of gentrification, since cities do not they develop and do not change randomly.

This is precisely the reason why gentrification is an instrument of this transformation, an instrument of state power that can not be reformed, at most it reforms itself. With the will to oppose only the modificatios of the cities, there is a risk of wanting to preserve and maintain parts of these as they are, with some of their social and economic characteristics. Another risk that must be avoided is to speak only of gentrification, forgetting the struggle for the destruction of cities, which would lead to the anarchist movement in the positions of citizens (something that unfortunately is already partly in progress), defense facing the attacks of the domination that expels, destroys, reconstructs, controls ... and we never go to counterattack.

On the other hand, if we look at the most recent episodes of urban revolts more or less widespread, we can not be surprised if, in addition to the symbols of domination (banks, temporary agencies, etc.) and their followers (police, gendarmerie), that are regularly attacked and destroyed, are public transport, bus shelters, flower beds, advertising paddles, automobiles, traffic lights and everything that constitutes the daily frame of our lives exploited and alienated. No offense to those who are among the alternatives, lamenting some burning shops or cars.

We choose the path, certainly not the simples one, of the total destruction of any existing form and structure of domination, in a revolutionary and anti-authoritarian perspective and practice. We will not make alternative real estate plans, for the planned dismantling of this building instead of that, as a demolition company, but an anarchist. We should create another spectacle, opposed to that of many alternatives that fight against gentrification. We do not believe in deconstruction, we believe in destruction.

This publication is a compilation of texts that emerges from the discussions and the work that we started in the wake of the event "A sea of possibilities in the concrete desert. Territory, city and insurrection" that happened in Madrid during June 2019 in La Emboscada and Local Anarquista Motín. Is the product of a joint work of some comrades from Berlin and Madrid, that doesn't finish with the publication of this pages and pretends to extend the discussion that we have shared. *What does it mean to take territory against the State and Capitalism? How can we take it through our struggles? How does it work domination in the territories that we inhabit? Does it mean our way of living in a territory a conflict with the system?*

December 2019,
Madrid and Berlin.