



December 2015

issue 6

# AVANTAGE

*Anarchist correspondence*



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Uruguay

**Anarquía**

*periodicoanarquia.wordpress.com*

Chile

**Contra toda autoridad**

*contratodaautoridad.wordpress.com*

**El Anárquico** (Santiago)

*periodicoanarquico.wordpress.com*

**El Sol Ácrata** (Antofagasta)

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*wreckpublication.wordpress.com*

**Montréal Contre-Information**

*mtlcounter-info.org*

USA

**Rififi** (Bloomington)

*rififibloomington.wordpress.com*

**Trebitch Times** (St Louis)

*trebitchtimes.noblogs.org*

**PugetSoundAnarchists** (Pacific Northwest)

*pugetsoundanarchists.org*

**Wildfire**

*wildfire.noblogs.org*

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**Contrainfo**

*contrainfo.espiv.net*

**Tabula Rasa**

*atabularasa.org*

**Act for freedom now**

*actforfree.nostate.net*

**Voz como arma**

*vozcomoarma.noblogs.org*

**Brèves du désordre**

*cettesemaine.info/breves*

**Non Fides**

*non-fides.fr*

**Camotazo**

*camotazo.noblogs.org*

**Le Chat Noir Emeutier**

*lechatnoiremeutier.noblogs.org*

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Half the world at war, the other half awaits its turn to enter the cruel ball of massacres and bloodshed. While states trumpet the total mobilization, the Islamist gangrene devours uprisings, at the start galvanized by strong desires for freedom and rejection of the idea of conquest of power, like in Egypt or Syria. In the neighborhoods of excluded, increasingly abundant in the European cities, flourishes confusion, produced by decades of programs of stultification, of deprivation of analytical tools and of destruction of intellect and sensitivity by a world bloated with technology. A confusion that guarantees the continuity of capitalist and state domination, but at the same time favors the recruitment by a religion, an ideology, a nation. The massacre in the name of conquering power then lies just around the corner. And as for the few revolutionary tensions, they seem to have to expect an ulterior push towards the margins, close to oblivion and to disappearance from the stage of the social war.

No, the times ahead are not magnificent for those who have not yet given up on social revolution and the fight for freedom. Even if the few struggles in which we are involved are certainly not insignificant and that the insurrectionary and anarchist projectuality can always, almost unexpected, flood the grounds of social war, we must indicate the urgency, or rather, the vital necessity to reverse the tendency. The paths to get there are murky, the repressive risks are high (and will be more so in the coming times of total mobilization), but it's often when you're with your back against the wall that you find the courage and the strength to try one last time, one last jump to escape suffocation.

If the world is going to war today, anarchists know that its peace has also always been a war. The massacres are in accordance with the logic of those who want to impose a power, whether rather under state control or more religious, rather Stalinist or rather Islamist. And the bloodshed takes places daily, literally by the industries of arms, security and extermination, and more broadly by capitalism; exploiting, devastating and poisoning. If everywhere all those who fight with freedom in their hearts against this war and this peace will be further pushed to the margins as we said, it is time to acknowledge this and act accordingly. In the margins, perhaps, but not without ideas. An absolute minority, surely, but not without courage. Almost robbed of any relevance in the ongoing conflicts, possibly, but not without projects.

Let's talk about these projects. Some current struggles can provide us with some clues, such as the possibility to launch, at the initiative of anarchists, specific struggles able to enter the social fabric in decomposition. Other experiences, recent or past, teach us, in a good or a bad way, how to prepare for the inevitable repression. Still other stories give us the certainty that in the depths of this abhorrent society, there is always still way to move, to escape control,

to conceive complicity. Specific projects we develop today, each and everyone in a certain context, in a certain period of time, with specific goals and the means required, should be part of a *projectuality* more vast, larger, able to understand or create links between all these singular projects.

Given the current situation, two elements seem of paramount importance in this projectuality: seeking means of struggle and the international approach.

The first element is inane, yet not simple: to fight, we need the means to do so. These means are of any kind. Search for these means takes on yet more importance today since the ties with the past experiences have been cut by the programs of restructuring and repression: the revolutionary movement as a whole has been, at least in Europe, *disarmed*. Today we are orphans to this process. And it is high time to grab the beast by the horns and tackle it. For the battles to come, we *must* study the means of attack, we *must* locate where to find the ingredients of struggle, we *must* develop these capacities lost over time. The use of the imperative here is not a mere question of bad taste, its choice answers to the unavoidable necessity of its object if the revolutionary idea wants to survive the current and coming slaughter.

The second element is certainly not new. It's been years and years now, that anarchist comrades are repeating it and try to make something of it: the need for an international perspective based on a shared projectuality. If somehow the *international* already exists in each meeting across borders, in every collaboration that goes beyond the narrowness of the local situation, we should work towards a clarification and materialization of its projectuality. Too easy paths (if one allows us to name a few: generic international calls to do something, the recognition obtained through an acronym or the stagnant and obsolete formalization by liaison committees and committees of organizations of synthesis) do not attract us: the search should be oriented towards creating international spaces for debate and deepening, the multiplication of reference points on local level, experimentation with the informal organization on the basis of a specific project, the development of analysis that go beyond the backyard of each and everyone. The *international* we are talking about cannot have precise contours or forms, it simply materializes in each individual act based in the projectuality that is at its core, in the multiplicity of meetings striving for the revival of autonomous and combative anarchism, in every project we succeed to develop beyond borders.

These couple of thoughts probably would appear better elsewhere than in the editorial of *Avalanche*. We take up the challenge to carry them wherever anarchists and circles of anarchist struggle do not renounce the total rejection of the state and authority. May each and every one also takes up this challenge in his or her way. No retreat.





## **TO PLACE ONE'S FOOT IN FRONT OF THE DOOR OF THE RESPONSIBLES**

*November 2015 - Germany*

The period in which the physical results of the edification of the centre of justice and penalty have been invisible and have therefore not been perceived directly by one's eyes is now about to end. Obviously the whole area has been cleared and so been emptied for the construction. *"The start of the construction work is approaching... likewise the end of the illusion to prevent the planned Centre of Justice and Penalty at Leonrodplatz by democratic means is approaching. But this also means that there is no more justification to wait. To wait, hoping the government would make a step back and cancel the project worth millions. The start of the building work just confirms one more time the senselessness to put one's hopes on politics or to trust their means which are offered to us. No matter if it's about the extension of the airport, the planned second main route of the suburban train or the rising rents and the gentrification in general – as long as we are hoping for the success of election promises, petitions, the forming of formal citizens' groups or the dialogue with those governing us, our hopes will be dashed bitterly. Through turning ourselves to the specialists of politics, we are simultaneously turning to those who are responsible for keeping the business as usual running. Change and self-empowerment have to start with turning our backs to them and to take responsibility for one's own interests and ideas."* ("No to the building of the Centre of Justice and Penalty")

Since the plans for the edification of the Centre of Justice and Penalty have been announced publicly, posters and slogans on walls, stickers and leaflets are calling for its prevention, for self organisation and direct action against this further step of perfection of the repressive machinery. In front of the background of a latent conflictuality between scattered individuals and certain social groups with the justice apparatus and a more and more sharpening capitalist city development, attacks against direct profiteers and responsables of this project, against institutions and courts, cops and prison, new buildings and construction sites, against active forces in the process of gentrification and militarization of the city like real estate-companies and security services, the army or the net of public transport or that of the surveillance cameras, try to make a proposal to all who are potentially rebellious: Let's not give a damn on politics and delegation, on the permanent hoping and waiting, and let's (rather) intervene in the development of society to attack and prevent the processes and decisions that are aimed against us and our possibility to develop ourselves!

And why don't we use the edification of this colossal Centre of Justice as an opportunity to let our ideas and actions correspond with each other and to develop a common struggle with more focus and continuity, diversity and consistency?

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The current interim state of the construction site, briefly before the in the newspaper announced start of the construction works at the end of November, was taken advantage to cause a bit furore and trouble in the quarter of Neuhausen and to disrupt the image of general silence and resignation.

Meanwhile the architects of the Centre of Justice and Penalty are crying in the newspapers about not feeling secure anymore and that furthermore their faces and names as well as their disgusting profession as prison- and court-architects can be seen on thousands of stickers and posters in the whole city. The pitiful pigs now have to hide behind even more personal security. Other newspapers even stated that sprayed slogans around the centre of Justice would be "terror" and once again drew a connection between these and not clearly defined destructive attacks.

It's the media's' interest not to explain further who or what, how and where is getting attacked, since like this, attacks could stand in a context and the reasons and motivations could maybe be understandable for everybody. Although the Office for the Protection of the Constitution could not withhold anymore in its report about last year that an electricity power line of the new maximum security courtroom's construction site has been burned.

But back to the incidents of the last weeks:

Apparently in some houses appeared fake letters of the Munich Waste Collection Service that called for putting not anymore needed skip refuse on the area where the Centre of Justice is going to be built, or just to place it in front of one's own doors. This offer was answered by great demand and in the evening skip refuse could be found everywhere. Some also used this as an opportunity to erect a barricade with those things in front of the entrance of the area of the Centre of Justice as to make it impassable for future building works. A slogan which was left on the load of skip refuse was joking: "*Centre of Justice???- What a rubbish.*"

Some days later in the afternoon a scattered group of people dared to walk through the streets of the quarter to pay a visit to some self chosen "stops" like the "GBW-Office" (\*1), the bavarian chamber of architects (\*2) and the prisoners-on-day-release-jail (\*3) to draw the attention with thrown leaflets, flyers, stickers, pasted posters, a banner and a sprayed slogan on the prevailing responsibility concerning the city-restructuring and quarter-gentrification and the link between Justice, Penalty, social control and the edification of the new Justice-Centre.

On the there distributed leaflet was written: "*Someone, who is walking through the streets with open eyes and who is not throwing his memories overboard can not overlook the fiasco: To do justice to the requests of an attractive location for investors, profit-vultures, tourists and moving in Yuppies the whole city is submitted*

*to a massive process of restructuring. Countless gentrification- and new building- projects and rents that rise without measure are causing the displacement of whole neighbourhoods and so the suppression of an alive and critical memory for the changes taking place. We shall (...) not recognize how the rising rents are going hand in hand with more and more cameras and police patrols, controls in buses and trains, the disappearance of social life on the streets and squares and the extension of the state's colossal prison- and justice-apparatus. The building of the Centre of Justice in Neuhausen is the spearhead of this repressive restructuring."*

*"It's clear against whom this measure is aiming: Against the oppressed and poor, against people without papers and against people without money, against people without a home or job and especially against all potential rebellious and unruly minds. We are told that we anyway wouldn't have influence on the question if this building is going to be constructed or not, that we anyhow couldn't doubt it. It is drummed into our heads that we couldn't achieve anything against being demeaned and beaten up, being monitored and locked up by those who have more power than us."* (–Out of the short speech which was made on an intermediate stop on a central square through a megaphone)

*"It would be fatal to accept this impudence with the habitual calmness and powerlessness without even moving one finger. It is about us to put the foot in front of the door, to show, that we are for sure perceiving the ongoing changes attentively and to take care that those who transform the city into an open-air prison don't get away undamaged..."*

On the leaflets and posters it was made clear to not just passively-powerlessly observe the restructuring as well as concerning the extension of statist-judicial and police-control-measurements through the glasses of the silent spectator, but instead to recognize the own possibilities, to intervene and to mess up the plans of the profiteers and the ones responsible.

The reactions on all that were – owed to the in many parts of the city distributed culture of snitching and telling on – partly mistrustful, partly marked by sympathy and euphoria, but always interested.

In the end it showed that uncontrolled agitation and movement is always and everywhere possible, if one is preparing together with others and just taking the streets without asking for permission.

Above this it becomes clear that the continuously bringing up of the topic of this construction project leads to discussions and polemics, to polarising opinions and reactions to the plans of the state in the neighbourhoods. In the moment when people are deciding for disobedience and resistance instead of apathy and fatalism we, as anarchists, must be present with concrete proposals, precise information and clear ideas.

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It's about every single individual to recognize his or her individual responsibility, if one is accepting the state as single agent and legitimate authority in the modelling of the city and society, or if one is disapproving and sabotaging every delegation to the state and politics and every alien control through them.

*“Due to that, this project of struggle, like every other one, is living through the participation, the own initiative and dealing of persons with each other, who are clear about wanting to act, without making themselves dependent. Dependent on the illusion to first become many to be able to act or to feel morally justified to be allowed to act, or on having to organize with others to achieve “significance”, dependent on the thought to need others, who say what should be done. Because taking the initiative in an environment where the ruling lack of initiative and will of the people is the basic condition for their oppression and for authority, it is not such an easy seeming way to run one's life and go upright in dignity.”* (–Ideas and methodology in the struggle against the Centre of Justice)

The development of repressive projects of power, like the Centre of Justice, is therefore not chiselled in into stone, as the responsables are wishing, as long as not all people are only hoping on the initiative of others and are relying on it.

#### **Notes**

(\*1): House building-cooperative that profitably privatised thousands of flats. For the affected tenants this strategical step of investment had drastic consequences: rising rents, cancelling renting treaties, moving away and driving out, indebtedness and eviction.

(\*2): Part of the state administration and high decision taking committee concerning the architects' contracts and construction projects. All architects have to be member in it, also “Frick, Krüger, Nusser Plan 2 GmbH”, who have designed the Centre of Justice and are constructing prisons all over Europe.

(\*3): Open imprisonment, where one is having a regular work outside and only has to be locked up through the night.





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## WITH MIDNIGHT ALWAYS IN ONE'S HEART

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November 2015 - Germany

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Our friend and comrade has been in prison for over 4 months now and is currently being held in “Untersuchungshaft” in Germany. Our comrade is being charged with bank robbery, the investigation is closed and the case will now be brought in front of a court that will decide on further prosecution. Here are a few words that reached us from the dungeons.

*With midnight always in one's heart,  
And twilight in one's cell,  
We turn the crank, or tear the rope,  
Each in his separate Hell,  
And the silence is more awful far  
Than the sound of a brazen bell.*

After having been arrested and taken to prison in a small border town somewhere in South-Eastern Europe, and having had the “pleasure” of spending three weeks in its state-hotels, I now find myself in the claws of the German state. At the moment of writing I still do not know when I will be free again; no “official” accusation has been sent, no court date has been set. In theory, “U-haft” can take up to six months – depending on the wishes and whims of prosecutors and judges however this period can be extended. So far i have not been wrecking my head over it too much. The insecurity of not knowing what will happen next, or when, is one of the more difficult things in this situation, but i refuse to

torture myself with questions that for now remain unanswerable. Whatever is to come, I will face it with my head held high.

The circumstances under which i am held here I suppose could be pronounced “harsh” (no phone calls, all communication with the outside world subjected to voyeuristic interference- the prosecutor reading all letters to and fro, visits always in the presence of a screw and overzealous criminal police) but then again, i would not expect any different from those i consider my enemies. For that they are, and among them the friendlier faces of oppression: the priests, the therapists, the social workers, ... (someone once rightly remarked how only two kinds of people enter prison: those who can leave again voluntarily, and those who cannot.) And when the incessant imposed control, discipline, and “re-socialisation” fail to succeed, self-flagellation is never far. No need for pacification or control when all possible critique is transformed into a mea culpa, when the prevailing idea among those locked up is that one is in prison because one did something “wrong”, is “guilty” of something and now has to pay the price for it.

I do not want to enter a discourse that speaks in terms of innocence and guilt, for the juxtaposition at stake is not between these two “categories” formulated in the language of domination, the language of law; a language absolutely antagonistic to my own. It is, simplistic put,

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between those who desire freedom and those who steal it from them. And this has little to do with the double row of bars blocking my window, with the triple layer of walls and gates surrounding this place. As one of the philosophical cadavers of the university has written in a not too distant history, “prison continues, on those who are entrusted to it, a work begun elsewhere, which the whole of society pursues on each individual through innumerable mechanisms of discipline”. This work however simultaneously continues inside *and* outside of prison; prison is not “external” to society, it is simply another one of the many expressions of domination.

And in this pan-optical world every act of rebellion, whether it is robbing a bank or stealing a loaf of bread, is a negation of the omnipresent control imposed upon

us, a deafening or barely audible No in the face of domination. Expropriation is merely one of the means in the vast array of those available to take back what is stolen from us on a daily basis – our self-determination, the freedom and possibility to construct our lives according to our own wishes and desires. With every act of rebellion we reappropriate our lives and dignity, with every act of rebellion we simultaneously negate the existing relations of power and oppression and affirm the ability to decide over our own existence. And although my existence is temporarily on hold – for this is not life – my heart beats far beyond these walls.

Love and solidarity to those in struggle everywhere, be it a deafening or a barely audible one.





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## **WE LIVE IN A CAPITALIST REGIME**

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*Persecuciones - July 2015 - Bolivia*

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[Excerpt from *Persecuciones II* published by Flores del Kaos]

### **Some words from Flores del Kaos**

[...]

The system of domination, that we are confronting and which represses us, is gigantic and its tentacles mutate every day. Saying this we do not want to be pessimistic, but rather realistic. The constant reformist changes disguised as revolutionary, contribute in nourishing each tentacle of the system that is extending its hold over us.

The advance is so frightening that sometimes it tends to confuse us to the point of not being able to visualize and focus on the enemy, to confound practices and strategies or simply to not see that devastating, suffocating big brother eye. The advances typically have two faces, one marking a strong and menacing presence, demonstrating power and authority, engendering fear at the same time as the total rejection, anger, rage etc. And on the other hand, more subtle, creepy, from beneath, slowly, blending in, quietly crawling as a camouflaged snake sugarcoating lips with beautiful flavours, charming the eyes with pretty colours and mellow melodies that confuse our hatred.

For example, the strong increase and acceptance of optical fibre by the vast majority of people in the regions of the highlands, obviously without disturbing the beautiful landscape of the Andes which is the tourist-economic sustenance. Many of these communities completely lost their autonomy, putting aside the practices and teachings of ancient knowledge, to simply resell handicrafts. The system here is advancing silently, below the ground, installing large axes of wires so that there is internet and communication, but above all to establish surveillance and control. Obviously all this without losing its charm in the eyes of citizens and the tourism industry.

Elsewhere entire communities are devastated by deforesting their lands, by evicting, displaying the strong hand. That is causing the rejection of many who “are in solidarity” with them, but always respecting the rules of the same domination that they pretend to question, and whom are the first to believe in democratic “improvements” that are thrown around like crumbs.

To partialize struggles and even support “processes of change” typical of the authoritarian left also when they come in the guise of autonomy, freedom, revolution and leftist concepts like popular power etc., just wears us down, and feeds subtle forms of domination that will be accepted by the blind and submissive majority.

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We saw that even in some opposition movements and supposedly anti-system collectives, there were people who were persuaded by speeches and methods as those presented in Venezuela, Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia. Many others that, not considering or projecting themselves in an anti-authoritarian perspective, make errors like this from a lack of knowledge of the conjunctural reality and based only on talk, publications or media of an other type.

This is where the domination shows its boldest face, the good cop versus bad cop: but the end is the same and we should not be guided by these camouflaged matters trying to put a nice colour to domination. Knowing our enemies is a big step. To differentiate, focus and combat them are things we learn from practice and experience, often running the risks of being repressed and incarcerated, but in which we also always count on the strength of anarchic solidarity.

[...]

### **We live in a capitalist regime**

The capitalist model in which we live is developing projects of a developmental and progressive kind, to the benefit of the bourgeoisie and multinationals. Through mega-projects, including IIRSA that creates in South America the infrastructure for fast and cheap transport of products from Capital, by building land, river and rail roads. Within this is the road that mutilates, the TIPNIS, as part of a project that wants to connect Brazil with the Pacific ports of Peru and Chile going through Bolivia to export soy beans and bio-fuels and giving these other countries an outlet to the Atlantic Ocean to export their products. There are several multinational interests to exploit timber, oil, etc. and local interests to expand coca crops, farm animals such as alligators, birds, etc.

There are several other projects involving the construction of bi-oceanic corridors in South America, the struggle against the offensive of capital is not exclusive, it is a shared fight with other people who do not want to live

like us enslaved in cities. The creation of hydroelectric complexes, petroleum platforms, the exploitation of iron in the Mutún Mountain in Santa Cruz, the satellite “Tupac Katari” to control us and watch us, the proposed nuclear power plant, the Dakar Rally, the production of lithium in the salt flat of Salar de Uyuni, GM production in the Oriente region, etc. are projects of Capital that sentence to death millions of non-human and human animals, that condemn dozens of ancestral people to migrate to towns and cities and thus to disappear.

Exploitation is synonymous with capitalism, “Green Capitalism”, “durability or sustainability”, “Communitarian Social Productive Model” or “Buen Vivir”, these last two clichés are widely used by local Power. But even as Evo Morales is the president of this territory, repression has not stopped, but on the contrary, has increased in recent years. He is an other proponent of Capital and the bourgeoisie. There is no change as far as power is in the hands of the left or of an “indigenous”, they are still spending fortunes running into millions in implementing security systems for the arrival of Pope. While poverty and misery continues to ravage the lower strata of society, while the exploitation of the land is increasing every day.

We live in a state where financial capitalism is an ally of the state, with landowners and farmers taking over territories with environmental approvals and legal security provided by the state. Thousands of thousands of hectares of forest are destroyed every year, augmented with the erosion caused by coca crops, soy beans and transgenic corn in the lowlands, valleys and the east. As well in the west pollution of rivers by mining, air pollution by slash-and-burn, cement and other factories, adding the contamination of Lake Titicaca. The struggle for the Total Liberation includes various aspects such as the Liberation of Earth, Human and Animal. It is not an exclusive struggle for the human species or the cities, the great wealth of this struggle is in the multiformal, horizontality, self-organization and the passage of resistance to the offensive.

[...]



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## 29<sup>TH</sup> MAY, THREE YEARS AGO

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*May 2015 - Bolivia*

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[This anonymous text discusses the consequences of the repressive blow of 29th May 2012 against the anarchist and libertarian movement in Bolivia, with numerous arrests, a lot of snitching and several detentions, including that of companion Henry Zegarrundo today outside under judicial control.]

*This anonymity is not a refuge.  
It is total detachment.*

Today, as I write these words, I read in a newspaper that in Llallagua they have torched the offices of the Ombudsman of Children, the prosecutors, police offices and the home of a confessed rapist. I smile. I celebrate, they will not expect the police to take charge, they destroy state institutions, they attack. But the smile disappears... Okay, collective revolt is different. Less risky (some say) but possible at all times (the smile returns).

### **An essay of irreverence**

I hate texts explaining with literary details and exquisite philosophies the anarchic reasons to make them sympathetic to readers. As I write this text I do not pretend to please anyone or polish up anything, not even to explain, on the contrary I want to insist antipathetically (starting from explosive and arson attacks in La Paz, Sucre and Cochabamba, between 2011 and 2012) that anarchic confrontation can not remain an isolated case. It depends on

everyone to make the revolt a potential of joy and hatred chaotically flowing through our lives, and feel in every step of insubordination the boundless joy of freedom.

It is uncomfortable to talk about the existence of action groups and attacks on physical symbols of domination in the territory controlled by the Bolivian state because the judicial process remains open and because as a movement we have not yet been able to overcome the counterattack of the system. But it is precisely why it is more important to have a reflection, an honest and firm stance on what happened, and so I'm going to.

### **The 29<sup>th</sup> lacked fire...**

On 29 May, following the arrests, what was missing was the fire. The statements clarifying that the arrested had nothing to do with the attacks did not, and it was obvious that they would not, have the necessary strength. The strength could only come from the fire, of more attacks, and that was a determinedly fatal error, not only for the arrested, but for the anarchic offensive itself, because from then, repression managed to reduce a growing movement to a series of terrified trenches. What happened? There was simply much confusion and a desire to avoid arrest, so there was little agility, little strategy and little security when meeting among affinities in order to react as we should have done: burning and attacking everything that we could. And I say that



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clear, that those who face repression, know that on that day there will have to be attacks, and the next day too, and the next and the next, to make clear that the arrested are not responsible, because we know that the police is shamelessly mistaken. And so that the flame lit by some is not smothered with the arrest of others.

If this sounds like a fundamental reflection, it is because there were errors of this kind, and it is good to know, to talk about things that are not always positive, without a need to torture yourself for making mistakes or without trying to deny the mistakes.

### **After the 29th only conspiracy theories remain...**

Various explanations have been sought, and local conspiracy theories have been constructed about the repressive process of 29 May 2012. For me, the answer is simple: it was an obvious consequence. The particulars may be different, including the presence of a person working with the state and the police. But yes, the state defense against attacks once they stopped speculating and they realized they were anarchic, was sooner or later to happen. And this is also necessary to repeat because we need to create the conditions necessary to confront the repressive waves.

The quest for various conspiracy theories to explain why the arrests happened, reveal, in turn, that the attacks did not have a sense for libertarians, that the prison was not a likelihood for them (and should be for anyone who confronts domination) and that even today they still avoid confrontation with the police and the state because of the arrests. That is, the violence of the arrests, the raids, deprivation of liberty without any basis, the disturbing continuity of a process that by doing nothing keeps the concerned in suspense has not provoked more anger, more anarchy. The violence of the imprisonment of persons, with the aim of defending ATM machines, does not alarm, or inflame hatred and even less machines. The social lobotomy was so deep that it seems legitimate (not just legal) and also for most of the punished who prefer to keep looking for always more complex explanations.

### **Phantoms inhabit them**

*"I have often heard of the person who commits a crime as if he were not one of us, but a stranger and an intruder in our world."*

The succeeding waves of repression since the Caso Bombas, the arrests in Greece, the arrest of the companions of Culmine with operation Ardire, the Barcelona 5, the Pandora and Piñata operation, the arrest of the companions in Mexico, the No Tav prisoners, the Caso Bombas 2, makes us deeply related with different places and moments of solidarity and camaraderie. The 29th was not an isolated event. This is not a unique story. The prisoners are our companions, they are among us.

The unflagging position of Henry and his fierce challenge to collaboration, snitching and betrayal was the only point that sustained the bonds of solidarity with the rest of the anarchic landscape. The prison, beyond the companion, provoked a vicious withdrawal from the anarchist and libertarian fauna and flora. The whole process of repression in Bolivia appeared to be "incomprehensible" for whom repression is logical, legitimate and legal.

The 29th was not an isolated event. What isolated these lands from the map of the revolt were phantoms. The prison, in the territory dominated by Bolivia, has become a phantasmal presence that acts as an effective control. A scary ghost that inhabits the bodies and feeds of the rage leaving only the void of repentance, which expands and disguises, as civility, as anarcho-pacifism, as citizen rebellions, as negotiations with "justice". Good kids eating soup and doing homework, poorly done, but doing them, they know the rules and limits of their rebellion, and take advantage of the alternative possibilities that the market, also alternative, offers them. How difficult it is to fight the phantoms!

### **Our lives went to hell!**

*"From a certain point, there is no return. That's the point we have to reach."*

After the 29<sup>th</sup> May our lives went to hell. Incarcerated. Isolated. Exposed. No one to open a door for you. Unable to come "home", to escape your "friends". Our lives as we have known them, are over. What we could have done from then on is what marked profound differences until today, three years later, with irreconcilable paths for some and more or less strong tensions for others.

On the 29th May, our lives went to hell, three years later, what do we do about them? How much of our contempt for the system prevails in our hearts and in our actions? How many and in what ways have surrendered, turning into citizens each day a little more? How much force was able to leave us in face of the total collapse of our lives? How many would still be capable to surrender and betray? Do they still defend prison?

This tremor caused a reconsideration of what are comfort zones, collective life, solitude, strength, relations and affections, and most did rethink political positions. In my case and in some I have affinity with, repression far from mitigating the anti-authoritarian determination to please the power and society (against which most arrested fought) reinforced the decision to confront them. Thus this clarification seems to be something positive. 29th May marked the radical separation of the ways of understanding freedom, anarchy and rebellion among those that we considered anarchists, drew the lines between those who accept the system in an alternative way and who do not accept it and fight every day to expel it from our daily practices by attacking it, at least trying to

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disrupt it, breaking with the normality of this highbrow, informed and passive conformity, deeply complicit in various chains of exploitation.

The 29th entails to step up, or to withdraw from combat. That was the point of no return to normality. One point that can not be reduced to a remembrance date, if not for the expansion of the revolt.

### **We need more fire, rebellion, vandalism**

*Revolt needs everything: papers and books, arms and explosives, reflection and swearing, poison, daggers and arson.*

*The only interesting question is how to combine them.*

Tension against the domination can not be devoid of a reciprocal flow between ideas, actions, forms of individual and collective life, a life as autonomous as possible and a permanent attack against the authority of the capitalist-extractive-state[1]. Move fast, change everything. Love and hate to the fullest at each place, with each companion. Plan carefully, be prepared for everything, at all times. Breaking with everything, especially with our ways of understanding the world.

Beyond the errors, I'm proud to have been part of those events. Our lives have changed, the separation has occurred and nothing has stopped. It is still possible to transform the revolt and violence in effective weapons against the monopolization of power. It is up to everyone of us to write the final chapters of this story, those

who faced in different manners this repression, those that showed solidarity, those that observed, those who want but do not dare... We have experienced repression, we're more prepared now. We have already gone through hell and we've recovered. We have strong bonds and pronounced the necessary differences. The land is fertile. Power is whetting its tools, monopolizing each space, taking up the battles that we risked our lives for and that seemed to be paralyzed, like the TIPNIS. The anger eventually will boil over again.

### **For freedom, chaos and anarchy. Destroy all prisons.**

From a hole somewhere, in the irrevocable anonymity: to Henry for his unyielding rebellion, to the pack (companions howling wild and enraged around the world who are trying to live anarchy), to Xosé Tarrío and Mauricio Morales (our dead are with us and they will not rest in peace, but remain at war), with steadiness forever.

#### **Note**

1. Extractivism in Latin America means the exploitation of natural resources on an industrial scale. In Bolivia we call to mind the conflicts around the privatization of water. But we can also think of the intensive exploitation of all kinds of minerals, which in recent years has led to violent conflicts in Peru, and the gigantic agricultural industries that thrive in South America. These various intensive operations are not unrelated to the project to build a road through the Bolivian Amazon rainforest, the notorious Tipnis project. (- Note from Camotazo)

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## THREE YEARS AFTER THE WAVE OF REPRESSION

### LAST NOTE OF SOLIDARIDAD NEGRA

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*May 2015 - Bolivia*

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We believe it important to finish stories and processes that seem never ending, according to our own rhythms and objectives but also in accordance with the contexts and moments.

Solidaridad Negra emerged as a space for dissemination and also solidarity with companion Henry during the most difficult times of repression in these lands. We believed then and we believe now that it was a necessary contribution and resulted in outstanding responses and solidarity bonds that strengthened the companion in a crucial moment. We learned a lot from each hug and all complicit winks. We strengthened, our pursuit of anarchy was nurtured and we continue unabated thanks to all the companions. We also believe we have accomplished our objective to support the companion Henry, through an active and combative solidarity.

But times are different and although the case is not closed, we do not think it is relevant to keep pace with counter-information based on suspended hearings that now are not even requested. In that sense, we believe that although the court keeps the case pending to have the repressed within reach when needed, it is necessary to continue to where our intentions take us and to encourage our companions to keep flying, to

proceed searching each day to feel more complete, free and joyful, fighting against the various forms of oppression that steal our lives and against the apathy that domesticates us.

This is probably the last time we post something til the process is finished, the mail will still be used to communicate and conspire together. It is precisely the 29<sup>th</sup> of May, three years after the repressive crack-down on the territory controlled by the State of Bolivia. At the same time we affirm our solidarity once more with our companion Henry, we want to send our strength, companionship and complicity to the website Irakunditxs, an initiative that has been active for a while and maintains a political position important in terms of local and international counter-information. It is a project which will support somehow because it is time to broaden the horizons of solidarity and counter-information. Fuerza Compas!

To Henry, our firm solidarity, our outstretched hand, our shared anger. Fuerza Guerrero! These are three years of a strong determination without doubt and that inspires us, that have passed.

We take this opportunity to send a warm embrace, always in solidarity, with the companions:



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Gabriel Pombo da Silva, Claudio Lavazza, Marco Camenisch, Marcelo, Fredy, Carlos and Juan, Tripa, Chivo, Fallon, Amelie, Abraham, Mario and Braulio, Juan Nataly, Guillermo and Enrique, Monica, Francisco and the three from karcelona, to compas repressed by Pandora and Piñata operations in Spain, to the companions of Culmine, Nicolla Gai and Alfredo Cospitto and to the repressed by operation Ardire in Italy, to the prisoners of No Tav, to Tamara, Tato and Javi. To the untamed beasts of the CCF, their revolt in the prisons was an instruction of force, irreducibility and firmness. To Nikos Maziotis and Kostas Gournas, members of Revolutionary Struggle. To Ilya Romanov, to the prisoners in Turkey, to Eat and Billie,

to those incarcerated for keeping silent. To those on the run and to the prisoners whose hearts they could never capture.

We want to thank for all the support of counter-information sites which continue, which closed and constantly emerge to make of counter-information a weapon of struggle and solidarity.

Until the Total liberation  
Destroy all prisons!

***Solidaridad Negra***



## ABOUT THE RECENT ARRESTS FOR STREET CLASHES

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*August 2015 - Chile*

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In recent months there have been a series of arrests of youths, accused of participating in riots and clashes with the repressive forces, actions carried out by hooded persons on university grounds. Some of them now remain in various conditions of detention, from house arrest to preventive prison.

Some comrades have already reflected (in “Viraje de la Violencia del Estado hacia la Critica Practica”) on the role of selective state repression and how the powerful try to drive back the various forms of conflictuality against the established order.

We, individuals who cover their face and use insurgent violence against the oppressors, as part of the multiform struggle for the total liberation, we believe it primarily depends on ourselves if our practices of struggle eventually die out permanently. Therefore, we want to spread some of our analyses and reflections.

### **1. The repressive situation**

It becomes evident when analysing the repressive situation, that power has been expanding its range of repressive actions to sectors beyond the known internal enemies (unrepentant former militants of the Marxist guerrillas, anarchist insurrectionists and Mapuche in

resistance), to disseminate fear and punishment among radicalised and mobilized students and others who undertake various struggles within society.

We expected this and it was announced, in a context of “social mobilization and agitation” where power tries to impose the reforms of the system as the only way to transform reality, through institutions and peaceful ways and established by the democratic order.

To achieve this end, the powerful, parallel to the deployment of its communication and journalistic army, sharpen their legal mechanisms, tightening the Firearms Control Act in parallel with the Antiterrorism Act, to repress the rebels and sow fear, trying to prevent acts of rebellion and revolutionary violence.

### **2. Not everything is guarded: against victimhood and the idea that everything is a set-up**

There was a very serious error made when power deployed its repression, and that was to let it proceed without any resistance or offensive on our part, as well as to think that the enemy is watching all of us and that it is impossible to carry out conspiracies, attacks and acts of violence against power.

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A recurring notion to combat is the idea of set-ups, which for some is usually the first defensive discourse (almost as a wildcard) when facing repression. This idea is often accompanied by the idea of the innocent victim and the “right to demonstrate”.

Contrary to the above, the anarchist insurrectionary position and years of experience in this and other areas, suggests that it is possible to maintain revolutionary coherence and to reject the charges and accusations imposed by the power, without assuming or validating the logic of guilty and innocent, specific to the judicial language and mechanisms created by the powerful.

Also, it is important to combat the idea of set-ups inspired by the stupid belief that every attack always comes from the police. Of course, repression often planted evidence against those who it wants to harm. But it is something else to discard the idea that individuals freely, consciously and autonomously decide to organize, plan and carry out attacks against authority and its normality.

Our position is not one of young students or “social activists” struggling with clean hands and demonstrating peacefully. We position ourselves as declared enemies of all forms of authority, willing to organize to make Molotov cocktails, erect barricades and attack police while covering our faces to avoid being detected by the eyes of repression.

### **3. To not stop the actions**

This is a moment to take advantage to strengthen us as individuals and as groups of anarchist action.

The time is propitious to deepen our critique of the social order as a whole, to develop in practice the rejection of norms and of comfort, repentance and victimization offered by society.

It is important today to defend street fighting in spaces of struggle gained by decades of insurrectionary practices as well as to connect them with other practices of revolt in other areas, as understood and implemented by companions who, a few days ago, erected barricades in different parts of the city.

Without lowering our guard, lets minimize risks and oppose neglect. Let us keep in mind that the continuation and proliferation of autonomous action, in our ability to project it in time and to enable creativity, lies in the potential of diffuse and informal attack, to be a threat to the power and to not be predictable to the enemy.

Subvert the fear, silence and immobility that power tries to impose in order to curb the breakthrough of insurrection.

Lets sharpen words and actions.

Solidarity with the prisoners arrested for street clashes and with all companions taken hostage by the power.

***Some hooded anti-authoritarians***





## ON THE INSURRECTIONARY ANARCHIST PROJECTION

*Sin Banderas Ni Fronteras - November 2015 - Chile*

*“To escape the miseries there are but three paths: two imaginary and one real. The first two are the bar and the Church; the third is the Revolution.”* (Freely adapted from the original phrase of M. Bakunin).

*“People are not determined by the conditions in which they live (for example imprisonment) but what really characterized them, are the choices they make.”* (Conspiracy of Cells of Fire – Cell of members in prison, Greece)

When we speak of insurrectionary projection, we – anarchists/anti-authoritarians of praxis – do not refer to a future in which things are radicalised or where the panorama is more favourable to “give everything in the fight” and to sharpen the conflict against domination. This way of understanding the insurrection and its projections is abstract, fictional and can only contribute to the defence of comfort and the postponement to take up a protagonist position in the conflict against power here and now.

For us, anti-authoritarians adverse to all forms of power and society, the insurrectionary projection, without dogmas or magic formulas, is constructed in the now of the permanent revolt against the established, giving our actions an offensive content against the social order, to

capture in every word and act the need for the destruction and multiform attack against all forms of authority as continuous and inescapable element of any real process of individual and collective liberation.

This entails knowing how to identify and know our enemy, to make it visible and spread its destruction, relying on the various tools offered by the history of anti-authoritarian struggle. Throughout this process, the comfortable and safe criticism, arrogance, smugness and victimhood are completely estranged elements to the insurrectional projection.

Similarly, every life practice or proposal of intervention that does not propagate the need for the destruction of power and the attack against domination as part of the struggle for freedom, is doomed to become a mere vent for everyday hardship that domination produces. This is how, for example, proposals on “ecological practices” that do not call to destroy and attack those, who for their profit, produce and manage the environmental slaughter on the planet, are easily lost in the variety of ideological offers of “sustainability” displayed in the windows of green capitalism, appearing as an attempt, naive and harmless, to save the planet from the destruction, while keeping intact the pillars on which domination is based.

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Another key issue of the insurrection and its projections is that it is constructed on the rebellious desires and interests based in the first person singular and then be made collectively. However, taking an active part in the insurrection entails, as we said, knowing your enemy, its system of relationships, repression and the consequences for those who seek to hinder the plans of domination.

That process of understanding also involves the fundamental factor of knowing oneself, by reflecting on and deconstructing ourselves, asking what we really want and how far we want to get in the insurrectional struggle, taking into consideration if we're in this just to feel adrenaline, for a transitional rebellion or for a commitment that embraces the totality of life with the choices and consequences that this entails (imprisonment, beatings, death, persecution, etc.)

All this is of vital importance to engage in a kind of confrontation in which the state, the power and their repression does not care how deep our commitment is, beating the insurgents without any consideration.

But none of this has a real importance if we forget that the insurrection and its projections warrants coherence between ideas and actions, that leads us to sharpen our positions and to not retreat in the face of repression or of the offers of a comfortable and stress-free life under the mask of rebellion.

Thus, the intensity, duration and extent of the revolt against the existing order will depend on how we see the insurrection, constantly looking at ourselves, because getting involved in the confrontation against the dominations motivated simply by adrenaline, for the sake of recognition, by hobby, by youth fashion, to fit within a group or without solid foundations entrenched in ourselves, hinders the insurrectional projection or prevents it from sustaining itself over time and space as a body dynamic and dangerous for the power.

The real weight of the positions maintained on weak foundations, is often put in evidence at the time things get difficult for the insurgents, when repression worsens or becomes more insistent for example. In the lives of some people the proclaimed radical positions are suddenly forgotten, turn to silence or are relativized because of fear and/or "perplexity" at the responses of an enemy that seeks to stop the insurrection at all costs.

Therefore, we echo what other companions have said at other times starting from the idea that there is little possibility of insurrectionary projection if we only fight against external factors of domination (the police, the state, institutions, etc. ...) without continually strengthening in ourselves the foundations, values and principles that sustain the insurgency against the establishment.

So, we take distance from the deplorable practices such as to justify the setbacks in the realm of ideas and acts by the weak ideological display "to respect personal choices", or to evade criticism by branding as "judges" or "anarcho-leaders" those who propagate the permanent tension in the conflict with authority. Such practices and discourses only give more space to the development of our enemy and the values and practices that discredit the insurrection and reinforce the authority.

Anarchy is not something separate from ourselves. We ourselves are anarchy and the insurrectional projection is something that only we can create.

With all the questions raised, we do not seek to impose anything on anyone, but to help start debates and tensions against inaction and excuses to postpone the action against power.

**Feel the urgency of the present.  
Propaganda and action against all forms of domination.**



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## CONFRONTING REPRESSION... NOT EVERYTHING GOES

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*June 2015 - Spain*

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The state employs different strategies to eliminate its enemies, also those who raise their voices to put the established order into question. It tries to cut at the roots any rebel initiative and counts for this on an efficient juridical apparatus that disposes of a large punitive range: from light accusations which in general end up with fines or suspended prison sentences to the use of hard instruments among which the joker of the *anti-terrorist law* is loosing its novelty as this card is frequently put on the table. Having assumed that prison is an eventuality in the struggle against domination, we consider that the actual context is favouring the fact that this eventuality might come closer to more and more persons. Many are those who do not know if tomorrow they won't sleep in a cell and those who, like us, ignore for how much longer they will stay inside. Once you find yourself confronted with an enslaving machinery put in motion by their paranoias and hallucinations, which in the end is one of the many ways to exert domination, the situations sometimes becomes confused. The fast pace with which the repressive blows came one after another have fed this confusion, even more when the accusations are extremely "imaginative" and everything is accompanied by the spectacular approach of the media of Power. Those who exert and support domination will never understand our anti-authoritarian forms and will therefore try to put us in the mould of their logics.

As we have seen, the collectives, spaces and individualities struck by repression are heterogeneous. They have proximities and differences as how to understand the state and its function, as well as in how to confront the blows of Power, the prison and with who to string "alliances". Confronting this, one often hears that is preferable to step over what separates us and to give priority to the points in common as to fight with efficiency the blows of Power. This position privileges obviously the quantitative aspect rather than determination and will, aspects that for us are fundamental. We are conscious of the important to string alliances, but the question is with who. History has proven clearly what have been the dreadful consequences for the anarchists of alliances with authoritarian groups and/or in favour of institutional politics, with those who always lean to the side of Power ending up with crushing all libertarian initiative. Should we bow our heads and abandon these aspects that are essential for us? Not in any case.

Renouncing important ethical aspects had as a result to always be more towed by leftist, citizenist and democratic movements with who we have nothing to do; they support Power while we are trying to eliminate it from our lives. Confrontation is unavoidable, even necessary



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to politically grow. In what would we differ from those who defend and reinforce the current system? In our acts and their coherence.

Having said this, if, as anarchists, we consider impracticable any alliance or common project with groups or persons linked to the institutions, we think in the same way that it is impossible to create links with those who, confronting repression, chose for strategies that we absolutely do not share, and that not in any way we would wish to back up. In a period marked by repression, arrests and prison, our convictions and their coherence are at stake and are unavoidably under tension, but not everything goes to avoid getting into prison, not even to get out of it. We believe that certain options destroy our dignity and definitively bury what we are and the ideas we defend. Asking for pardon is one of these options we reject. [1]

As anarchist prisoners, we affirm that we do not participate and will not participate in anti-repression mobilisations or manifestations together with those who decide to follow the strategy of pardon (partial or not). We do not want to be on their sides because of the insurmountable divergence we mentioned, we do not want to be accomplices by omission of a strategy that represents for us a determining point of inflexion. And if in the end the consequences of our convictions lead to our bodies being imprisoned for more years, we will go forward with our heads high and with dignity.

**We do not want the pardon of the state, we only desire its destruction.**

***Mónica Caballero and Francisco Solar***  
(Prison of Villabona)

#### **Note**

[1] Eight of the nineteen persons accused for “*illicit association against the institutions*” following the blockade of Catalan Parliament in Juni 2011 by the movement of the *Indignados*, have been convicted to 3 years of imprisonment. While the *Audiencia Nacional* acquitted them in July 2014, the Supreme Court cancelled this verdict in March 2015 after an appeal from the prosecutor, pronouncing a punishment of three years imprisonment against eight amongst the accused. This punishment would go in effect starting from May. The convicted persons have immediately asked for partial pardon to the Ministry of Justice. On the 18<sup>th</sup> of June 2015, the *Audiencia Nacional* suspended their entry in prison awaiting the examination of this demand for pardon.

But one must not believe that such a dangerous precedent as asking for pardon to the state [*indulto*] as to avoid prison or to get a lower sentence has only been done by the *Indignados*. Last year, the anarchist Tamara Hernández Heras, convicted to eight years of imprisonment in September 2011 for “*attempted homicide*” against a former responsible of the prison administration of Catalonia, after a the sending of an explosive parcel (deactivated before explosion) to his professional address in October 2009, has asked for (suspensive) pardon after her conviction. Four months after her entry into prison, her demand for pardon was accepted. The Council of Ministers justified this decision by stating that between the moment of the attack (2009) and today (2014), she proved “*her good integration in society*” and that she nowadays lives a “*totally normal personal, family and work life*”, that she’s “*no longer part of the Cruz Negra Anarquista*” and that she hasn’t had any prior convictions. And another necessary condition to obtain the pardon of the King was that the “*victim*”, Albert Batlle Bastardas, the torturer former responsible of the prison administration, didn’t oppose to it... (-Note from Brèves du Désordre)



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## INDULTO AND INDULGENCE

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*October 2015 - Spain*

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These last years, several repressive blows on Spanish territory struck the antagonist, antifascist, libertarian, anarchist scenes... Police operations were launched, sometimes with great efforts of media propaganda, there were arrests, comrades have been put in jail or are still incarcerated, trails took place, sentences were pronounced...

All of this is nothing really surprising. Police, media and court repression are part of the arsenal of the state that it uses regularly against those who question it, in its totality or in some of its aspects. For some time now, several governments have clearly stated their will to finish off any protest that doesn't fit in the legal limits which they are continuously tightening. The solidarity that was expressed and developed confronting this difference blows of power was for sure heartwarming, but is not surprising neither: solidarity is, together with direct action, one of the weapons of those who wager on self-organization to engage in conflict.

No, the surprise was rather provoked by the steps, heavy in consequences and totally aberrant, made from out the ranks of the so-called "radicals", and therefore supposedly wanting to attack the problems *at the root*: demands for pardon after convictions.

To speak very concretely: to ask pardon means to solicit the pardon of the victor; it means therefore to call

upon the indulgence of power (in its juridical, governmental, royal... form), so upon the same ones who are fighting us and to who we are, in way or another, opposing ourselves.

We are not interested here in speaking about all the administrative details of the procedure in question. To bury what is above all a matter of political choices under mountains of bureaucratic terms and forms fits only too well in the way the system wants to *make us function* and essentially comes down to drowning the fish.

We also gladly leave aside the fallacious argument that invokes *personal* decisions to make them escape all critique. Of course we do not deny the individual character of choice, contrary to the unconditional scenes of the "everything collective" for whom certain acts are object for suspicion and critiques just because of the fact they are carried out in an individual way. For us – and also because we take into account the individual dimension of positions and actions at any occasion and not only as an opportunity to hide behind it – we do not see why one should back up with silence the taken steps which we consider noxious for all what they suppose and mean. For the rest, the demands for pardon were followed by calls to solidarity (generally in the shape of "campaigns") launched on an antagonistic modus before, during and also after the trials, calls which were

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taken up by a good part of the so-called scenes, and therefore do not only concern the convicted persons.

These campaigns generally pretend to establish or prolong a strength position elaborated in the struggle, we therefore understand even less how they can be concluded with such kinds of steps, at least incoherent with the priorly affirmed goals.

A first element of explanation could be in the notion itself of what is called a “strength position” and its objectives. If only a result on the very short term counts and if it is only important to make sure that people don’t end up in prison, one can indeed imagine that all means are good to reach this goal and without asking too much questions – and by the way, also without any guarantee that it will “work” – go from street demonstrations against state repression to attempt to try to negotiate with the state the consequences of this repression. But when one considers the strength position in a more larger perspective, then it is for sure the continuity of a conflictual attitude towards power, as well as certain struggle proposals and methods, which are *individually and socially* at stake.

For example, calling to block a parliamentary session, not by petitions or juridical appeals, but by a direct intervention, implies a minimum of questioning of the normal game of parliamentary democracy. Through a nice effect of contagion, such an action could also have a social impact which goes beyond the initial situation. To defend and to put into practice the fact of acting directly against what is oppressing us, means amongst other things to revive the refusal – fruit of anti-authoritarian ideas and historical experience – of institutions and delegation, it means to encourage the will to take your life in your own hands, to decide for yourself *what* you are fighting, *why* and *how*.

On the other side, the state understands very well the danger that might represent such a potential for the totality of its social organization. It therefore goes to look for all possible means to finish off the punctual conflict and at the same time, all possibilities it might open up.

In its arsenal, there is, to start with, the police and juridical repression which can rain down on people in many ways: by firing in the crowd – with sticks, flash balls, live ammunition if necessary – and by knocking on the doors of some individuals, also a posteriori. All this is meant to sow fear and to make examples *in front of everyone’s eyes*. But one too often forgets that one of the other, nice democratic, weapons of the state is the political recuperation. One of the well known strategies to make the protest fall back in line consists in separating the “good opposition”, susceptible to integrate the game of the state, from the “bad ones”, determined to continue the conflict. To push the social antagonism to the field of negotiations, satisfying some demands, inciting to dissociation or even snitching against more offensive

contents and methods are quite classical ways to isolate these last ones as to better crush them.

If one wants to speak of a strength position in the case of the repression of a struggle, this goes thus far beyond the firstly concerned persons, just as the cessation or continuation of the fight on the moment when the state decides to blow the whistle of the end of the game has incidences beyond the individuals that are participating directly in it.

It is thus up to those who engage in the fight to be ready to answer to these obstacles in a way that, far from denying, it is the continuation of it. Spurning on this continuity in conflictuality, demands for pardon go simply in the opposite direction.

In this matter it is necessary to evoke also another factor which traverses the whole of society, “radicals” included: the democratic and citizenist spirit. Wanting to tackle social problems at the root implies undoubtedly to critique representation and delegation, these fundamentals of democracy, through self-organization and direct action. This also means to stop considering the state and all its representatives, institutional and para-institutional, as possible negotiating partners who in the end could take up the role of arbiter in a conflict in which they are nevertheless engaged – and not in a negligible way. To refuse dialogue with those who oppress us is not a posture, it is the affirmation in act of the continuation of the irreducible conflict between the powerful and the dispossessed. This bears as a consequence in particular to get rid of all illusions in the left, which has always been the gravedigger of the real struggles, without even speaking of their role in the attempts to social upheaval.

In this sense, demands for pardon as well as other equivocal practices, only add to confusion and participate totally to rehabilitate its adversaries. Whatever its decision might be, the state will be the winner. By giving the “deathblow” in refusing the demand the state gets the occasion to show its inflexibility confronted with surrender to its terms; by giving the pardon the state gets to polish up its image – in every good society based on religious principles, what would be more magnanimous than *giving pardon* to those who offended her, but always on her conditions? In both cases, the state will be reinforced in its role of mediating the social relations that too many people are granting it already.

It goes the same for the left. You cannot ignore that its parties, trade unions and associations are regularly in need of getting some so-called protester legitimacy back, because that legitimacy of the left gets regularly damaged by their villainies as managers of power. To call upon them to support the demands for pardon cannot but contribute to advance them again as potential allies instead of treating them as the enemies they truly are. It is the return of *politics* as a way of managing conflict.

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By doing this, one contributes to bury the proposals of self-organization and of struggle without mediations and to push back into oblivion the perspectives they might open up. They would not be any more valid proposals for today, in the life that we are living here and now, but just good for an ideal world projected in a far-away future. If on the contrary we are considering them as real, coherent and serious proposals – in the sense that they correspond the best to the transformation of the existing social relations and that they prefigure the future to which we aspire – how can their validity be put into question from the moment the wind starts turning?

Just as the way of struggling, the way of confronting repression is as well individual as collective and certainly not separated from the social context in which the struggle takes place. Locking up relentless opponents, sometimes even for decades, allows the state to punish them and to physically take them away from the fight in the streets, but it is not enough for the state. One of the goals of these exemplary punishments is undoubtedly to function as a threat to all those who would want to continue the fight. The next step is to obtain from the hostages which the state set as an example a declaration of remorse or at least the recognition that they took the wrong way in the struggle. You can see clearly all the benefits the state can generate from the depersonalisation of individuals who are fighting it and from the fact to be able to publicly present the renouncement to their convictions. The renouncement of some people to their aspirations and perspectives – in particular, revolutionary – or to methods which question the establish order, aims and contributes to drawing a final line on their reasons of existence as to make them better disappear, disappear from the memory as well from the present. To bury them as symbols of an obsolete parenthesis which will not come back to haunt the blocked horizon of state and capital.

To refuse this hateful blackmail, the “offer” of which means generally less years of prison, is not – as the upholders of the realism of the *raison d’Etat* or the ambitious pseudo-tacticians would like to make us believe – the prerogative of some furious lunatics aspiring to martyrdom. This is also a matter of the necessity of maintaining one’s individual integrity against the will of total crushing by a power that requires us to renounce until what we are, and of lucidity about the things at stake in this whole process.

The demands for pardon are not independent of these things at stake. While the state is further harshening its laws – like recently the one on civil security and the penal code –, promotes at the same time lifelong imprisonment and is jailing people even for unpaid fines, while it tries to paralyse by fear any expression of revolt, while its administration, the prison administration included, asks for more submission of a bigger number of people, it is impossible to ignore that the giving of a pardon could only be the exception confirming and

strengthening the rule. And this exception would not come for free; not only the state wants to see more or less explicit guarantees – in particular, a “normal and integrated life” –, the pardon is *de facto* part of a logic of social pacification, of the preservation of the status quo. Presenting the demands for pardon as “just a means amongst others” without great consequences is therefore a matter of a big dose of insincerity or of (voluntary) blindness concerning the reality of the ongoing social war.

This world is really built on domination and generalised repression. Every day, years and years of prison are handed out for all kinds of offences – in particular those linked to property – and one should pretend as if the struggle against the system or against some of its aspects could escape this, and at any price? At least this relation to repression reveals the gap existing between the pretensions of scenes who believe they are radical and their way of confronting reality. And if we speak about *confronting reality*, it for sure means not to accept it. One therefore has to speak out on the roads that are passable and those that aren’t, especially because they come at a much higher cost than prison itself. It is therefore indispensable to refine analyses, to share reflections, to imagine practices and *autonomous ways* capable of giving some answers by continuing the conflict.

Starting from the principle that a raging battle, individually or collectively, in the social field doesn’t quit it when the battle is repressed, you could ask yourself how to fight the repressive aspects *in and by* the struggle itself. If one considers the struggle doesn’t necessarily stop once you step inside of prison, the question could be its articulation on the inside and on the outside of the walls. The fact to continue the antagonism despite the blows of power could undoubtedly contribute, today as well as yesterday, to assume the prison consequences of it – often unavoidable, sadly – without a sentiment of renunciation, neither of sacrifice or a separated parenthesis, but rather as one of the episodes of a trajectory of struggle.

The generalised reflux of bounds of solidarity is produced by the current mechanisms of power, and they are at their turn fed by the many capitulations towards power. But to deduct from this cruel observation that the only “reasonable solution” would be to accompany this movement of reflux by accepting and reinforcing the fool’s game of the state would only dig a bit more the tomb of our acrate ideas and the practices that result from them. The fact that these principles and action methods are ever more in minority (which still has to be proven), does this take away their soundness and means that one should renounce to them? We think on the contrary that more than ever, the question is to contribute, by putting them in practice, to extend and spread them.



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Just as direct action, solidarity is a crucial stake in an anti-authoritarian perspective, for the present times and for the times to come. This solidarity cannot only focus on the particular repressive blow, but means to continue to carry forward, in words and deeds, the subversive ideas and practices in which we are for sure not the only ones to recognize us in them. This could be a *starting point* to propagate this complete set in the social conflictuality.

Seen in this way, the question of solidarity cannot be solved by stringing political alliances that are counter-nature and totally counterproductive for questioning the existing social relations; neither by trying to attract the attention of an illusionary “public opinion” that is by definition a spectator. The question is rather to find fruitful accomplices in the space opened by a continuity of struggles without mediation. Inserting the question of solidarity in our own perspectives is one of the trav-

el luggages in the fight against domination. To preserve this continuity doesn't mean to jealously wanting to preserve it for a small between us as to boast about it, but allows on the contrary to carry it as a proposal to transform reality instead of adapting to it.

If the relation to police and juridical repression is but one aspect of the struggle, it is sadly enough quite often also the aspect that reveals ambiguities and lacks of more profound perspectives. To bring clarity in our ideas, in the *why* and *how* of the battles we want to fight, of the struggles and methods we are proposing (with all its implications) is therefore more than ever necessary. In the end, it is the ordinary question of the *goals* and the *means*, a question one urgently has to confront in all moments of conflict against power.

***Some anarchists***



## STATEMENT FROM THE DETAINEES OF THE RECENT PHASE OF OPERATION PANDORA

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November 2015 - Spain

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On Wednesday October 28 nine of us were arrested in connection with a new anti-terrorist operation orchestrated by the Catalan Regional Police in collusion with court number 3 of the Spanish National Court. After the ransacking and looting of our homes and the Libertarian Ateneo de Sants (an anarchist social center in Sants) we were taken to different police stations on the outskirts of Barcelona. The next day we were delivered to the Civil Guard and transferred to Madrid. On Friday at noon we were brought before Judge Juan Pablo Gonzalez. The judge ordered two of us to be released with charges, 6 of us to be bailed upon payment of a bail surety and unconditional imprisonment for our comrade who is currently locked up in Soto del Real prison.

**We the detainees who at present are back on the street wish to make a series of reflections and political positions:**

The generic accusation against all 9 of us is “*belonging to a criminal organization with terrorist aims.*” Specifically we are charged with being part of ‘GAC-FAI-IRF’, which as we all know is a concept that has been constructed by the police. A set of acronyms which they have quite calculatedly mixed together – the coordination of anarchist collectives (GAC) along with the

‘signature’ used internationally by some groups to claim acts of sabotage (FAI-IRF).

The construction of this organizational framework gives the police all of the repressive resources that the anti-terrorism laws provide: closed courts, greater legal uncertainty, much tougher sentences for comrades convicted of carrying out certain actions, isolation, special prison regimes, the criminalization of personal friendships / partners and relatives, amplified media coverage and social stigmatization etc. It is enough to say that during the whole process of our detention – from the moment we saw our homes being invaded and looted right up until we were brought before the judge – we did not even know what we were being accused of.

With the invention of the acronym *GAC-FAI-IRF* the police forces have designed a network with which they can potentially catch everything that moves within anarchist and anti-authoritarian circles. In the context of this new organizational framework attending debates, taking part in assemblies, visiting imprisoned comrades or even simply having personal contact with a person suspected to be a member of the organization are sufficient reasons to be placed on a black list.

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It is this diffuse and extensive nature that gives real power to the anti-terrorist strategy: after each wave of repression, those who show solidarity with the detained will also be considered part of the organization and then arrested, and so on. The concept of the terrorist organization is intended to be extended indefinitely, perhaps with the perspective that eventually the environment currently considered as dangerous will become totally isolated and stifled by the repressive dynamics and the ability to act politically will be so diminished that it will no longer be necessary to attack it. The fact that this new operation contradicts the police's own statements (they claimed previously that the Barcelona section of *GAC-FAI-IRF* had already been dismantled) is not surprising as this terrorist organization was constructed, modified and extended by this police action and not the other way around. The '*fight against terrorism*' creates terrorism in the same way that the law creates the offense.

The attempt to fabricate the existence of a supposed anarchist terrorist organization is therefore a qualitative leap in the repressive strategy against the social struggles, something that should not go unnoticed by anybody and that requires deep reflection within our movements.

We point to the Interior Ministry of the Catalan Government and specifically to the *Comissaria General d'Informació* of the CME (Catalan Police – *Mossos d'Esquadra*) as being directly responsible for this latest aggressive repression. The *Gossos* (derogatory term for the Catalan Police) claims that they are limited to following orders from Madrid are a cowardly and shameless attempt to avoid their responsibility and cover up their involvement, having driven and designed the operation that was approved by the National Court to the last detail.

In this sense when we see how the Interior Ministry of Catalan delivers Catalan youth to the courts, prisons and law enforcement agencies that are still followers of the repressive Franco regime it gives a very clear picture of the real basis of the 'sovereignty process' and demonstrates the perversity of the liberation rhetoric that surrounds it. The truth is that some time ago the government has identified the Catalan anarchist and anti-authoritarian movement as an enemy to be crushed, the Pandora process has no other purpose than to achieve this goal. They attack anarchism not just as an abstract idea but because of what anarchism has been, is and can be in practice: a minority of revolutionaries who do not hesitate to challenge the system and its oppressive and corrupt foundations, a minority that encourages those around them to rebel and that refuses to be seduced by offers of political integration from liberal democratic capitalist channels.

During the last cycle of struggle fueled by the global financial crisis and the politics of austerity that placed

the burden of adjustment on the backs of the exploited, the revolutionary response that emerged in Catalonia has proven to be especially disturbing for the neo-liberal project of the government. Despite our limitations, errors and contradictions, in the last few years we have struggled to halt the attacks on the living conditions (work, housing, health etc) of all and we have spread a structural analysis of the crisis which shows that the problem is not just one or two aspects of the system, but the system itself. We have created networks and spaces for the resolution of our problems and needs via solidarity and mutual aid, autonomous structures that oppose the institutions and their paternalistic and charitable dynamics. Along with thousands of other people we have strengthened the strikes to defend the rights of workers, we have raised barricades to resist the destruction of the neighborhood social centers, we have taken to the streets to condemn femicide, to make visible the exploitation of women and to resist the anti-abortion laws that seek to control our bodies and our lives. We have denounced and broken the silence surrounding police violence and killings, about racist persecutions, the machinery of deportation, the CIE [migrant detention centres] and prisons and we have not stopped identifying and attacking the people who are responsible for our misery – states, employers and local and international financial elites.

This is who we are and this is what they want to destroy. The political aim of these repressive waves is to spread fear and despondency in order to domesticate the social movements so that they are unwilling to disobey, act autonomously or break the rules of the game that are imposed by Power. Hence the repression against anarchists, communists, separatists, the strikers of 29m etc... the system does not want to sentence our guilt but to prove their innocence: they want to absolve themselves by de-legitimizing, isolating and neutralizing anybody who accuses them or stands up to them.

The solidarity shown in response to our arrests proves that our enemies are still a long way from achieving their goals. We want to thank and greet each and every one of the gestures of solidarity that were expressed in the last few days. Demonstrations, concentrations, actions, gestures of complicity and affection, the financial contributions... the tremendous support we have received has been invaluable to us, a value that far outweighs this bad situation and ridicules it. We do not believe in their laws nor in the assurances that they offer us, our only defense and our only guarantee is the solidarity response on the streets. The massive demonstration of support that you have given us, and that we previously provided to comrades who were detained in previous operations, is clear evidence of the failure of the anti-terrorist strategy to isolate us by spreading fear.

We are now on the street but only partially. Our comrade Quique (Enrique Costoya Allegue) is still incarcerated

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ated in the Soto del Real prison. That's why solidarity must not stop and should multiply. We urge that the struggle for his release should intensify in the streets, and urge each and every comrade to write at least one letter and strongly endorse all the calls that are issued to support him and to be attentive to any request or information issued by the Acció Llibertària Sants collective or the *Sindicato de Oficios Varios* of the CNT-AIT in Barcelona. In any case we will not abandon him nor will we abandon Monica or Francisco or any of the other imprisoned comrades. No arrests, processes or pris-

ons will break our bonds of solidarity or our political commitment. For us, the dirty cells where we have been these last few days will always be more worthy places than the luxurious offices from which they manage the misery of us all.

NOT EVEN A STEP BACKWARDS!  
THE STRUGGLE IS THE ONLY WAY FORWARD!

***Detainees of the recent phase of Operation Pandora  
that are currently in the street***





## **SOME CONSIDERATIONS TO ENVISAGE A PROJECT OF STRUGGLE AGAINST BORDERS**

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*September 2015 - France*

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Every day we witness the aggravation of the massacre perpetuated by state borders. Thousands of men and women fleeing war, poverty and environmental disasters as a direct result of the exploitation of raw materials, and people reduced to the status of raw materials. We watch daily what amounts more and more to a carnage at the gates of the places where we live, and we get used to be spectators of the horror of this normality.

Faced with this mass of people, who risked their lives defying borders, and putting themselves at stake during confrontations with the guard dogs of Europe, the men at the head of states wash their mouths with democratic values and proclaim the need to regularize some of them by establishing the necessary criteria to categorize them, select the right merchandise and drive back the defective. They establish joint policies, build large sorting centres, strengthen the bureaucratic and military apparatus and border surveillance. Borders that are not only boundaries between states, but also materialize now in controls and raids in public transport and railway stations, in the workplace and in the relations of exploitation, at the desks of banks and administrations, in the administrative detention centres and in the work of the humanitarian managers.

In the streets of Paris in recent months hundreds of men and women have experienced in their being and in their own flesh the welcome of the French State. Driven away from every square, every street, every park, every spot under a bridge where they were trying to find shelter, beaten and gassed by cops because they stayed together. Support groups of different creeds were promptly created. Among them, some sincere individuals for whom their assistance is an end in itself, motivated by anger or indignation. Others, party representatives or humanitarian organizations for which migrants are a way to get more visibility on the streets and in the media, more political power and more public and private funding. Overall, they tried to provide material support and politically supported the demands voiced by the majority of these men and women: their asylum applications and housing. Claims that invoke human rights, that consider the state as a partner. That state that, more or less directly, is involved in bloodthirsty deals in the places where they come from, that kills them at the border, that stalks them because they sleep on the streets, and welcomes them with gas and batons, pre-occupied with cleaning the tourist display that Paris is off this vermin.

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Probably many of them will manage to get the papers and get heckled in the legal bias of the exploitation of the French economic system, thanks to the more or less citizen mobilizations. A lot of other continue to die at the border, or remain in the masses of undesirables in the eyes of the market or the state, condemned to misery and repression.

As long as there will be states and their borders, there will be unwanted undocumented. As long as there will be wars and the capitalist devastation continues, millions of people will have no choice but to go into exile to survive. As long as there will be papers, whose sole reason for existence is the control of human livestock, the management of included and excluded, some will have “good”, others “bad”, others nothing at all, the states will rank human lives on their own terms. That’s why instead of the “Papers for all” slogan we prefer this unreasonable slogan, “Neither papers nor borders”, which has nothing to demand from the State but wishes its destruction. Because we will never be free as long as not everyone can live as they wish, can go where their choices lead them.

Furthermore, no one escapes the clutches of capitalism, the exploited everywhere are faced with the violence of the economy and the state, and it is the same logic of survival and atomization that kill our bodies and minds slowly. That is why we want to discard the barriers (and language is the most visible part of this massive iceberg) erected between an imaginary “us” and “migrants”. Leaving finally behind us the logic of support that provides assistance to a subject created on the basis of “positive” discrimination because being the ultimate oppressed subject. It is precisely by making a multiplicity of men and women a homogeneous whole, that we forget that they have different trajectories and ideas. Only on the basis of these differences can we share moments of complicity and struggle, because as any oppressed, a “migrant” can also revolt against his condition, or serve faithfully its oppressors to get advantages. We appreciate and value the spontaneous support that we understand as an impulse of the heart, but in an emancipating perspective, this form of solidarity can not substitute the need for the confrontation against state structures and men, police and control, can not accommodate the democratic workings. In short it can not set aside, under the guise of emergency, the multiple and varied acts of rupture – or at least acts that seek to create this – with the existing order. Otherwise it amounts to helping the State in its task of management, to ensuring its services in its absence, to prevent the situation of getting really out of control, because that’s what really worries – and rightly so – the state.

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What motivates us is the idea of a world without state or domination, so concretely their destruction, the idea of a world free of capitalism, so concretely the subver-

sion of all existing relations. These ideas, a priori constituting a minority, are not a backpack that we would open from time to time to reassure or give ourselves hope in the midst of everyday malaise, they are our compass. As for the revolt, rage, rebellion, insubordination, conscious reactions that are part of the many antagonisms that traverse society, in whatever ways they express themselves, we know that they are many and diffuse. These two parts of us are inseparable: we are not ready to put aside ideas that are ours to aggregate us, for example, into a moment of collective struggle; and in the same way we will not always be reluctant to take up our part in a struggle in which we do not necessarily share all content or means. “I seek a force because the idea only does its load. And if the idea proposes, the force moves” said once a revolutionary. We believe this – misnamed – force is social conflict itself, then arises the question of our intervention within this conflictuality that is our daily lot.

We seek no legitimacy, since even through shifted angles it is power that differentiates what is legitimate and what is not. Legitimacy is a reflection of submission to authority, that of the majority (the so-called “public opinion”) being not the least formidable. Because legitimacy is to “public opinion” what legality is to the state, that is to say, the denial of the self-determination of our lives. A legitimate revolt is unable to subvert the foundations of the world, it only offers a redefinition of the world based on the myth of a state and of more “human” laws, of a more “fair” justice, of a more “egalitarian” economy, and awaits a recognition of “the opinion”.

Far from any political opportunism, our intervention in a social struggle must be on our own bases: we do not fight to “help migrants to get papers”, but against the domination of states over all. Having a presence in the street not to take the lead, not to render a service to anyone, moreover, without being unclear about our ideas by diluting or spicing them according to convenience, but to disseminate insurrectionary ideas and practices, to advance in the perspective of the social revolution.

To govern every power needs to create categories and produce divisions that suits it and assign everyone to roles that are shackles to further servitude and subjugation. As we have already said, we want to discard the barriers established by power, which is why it is not the default affiliation of a particular individual to a particular community whether national, cultural or ethnic, or a category (immigrants, clandestine immigrants, with papers, migrants, deviants, outlaws, workers, unemployed, educated...) which determine our relations with them, but how they relate to that affiliation. What counts for us is the commitment, positions, choices and refusal being adopted by real individuals in specific situations, and the reasons that drive them.

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A few years ago the “struggle against the deportation machine” had an advantage that insights make us to bitterly recognize as obsolete now: the clarity. The burning of detention centres (that of Vincennes, Mesnil-Amelot, Nantes, Plaisir, Bordeaux, Toulouse), escapes, demonstrations, the support for the accused of the arson in Vincennes, leaflets, posters and multiple attacks, all that was unequivocal, we read in a bulletin of that moment: “either you fight against the detention centres, for nothing less than their eradication as some of the undocumented have practised from their specific situation, or you wish to maintain them”. The deliberate destruction of the centre of Vincennes “removed its humanitarian varnish with it: the inmates fought concretely for “freedom” pure and simple, not for an improvement of this cage between a police academy and a racetrack”.

The question of solidarity would not only be able to go beyond the simple affirmation but also propose another itinerary than that of support. By targeting the entire deportation machine and not only the centres and expressing a clear content that did not arise from outside, the actions inserted in the diffused antagonism could open a way to a resolutely offensive solidarity.

Currently in France, at least in recent months, our ideas have not had enough echo and we have not sufficiently contributed through actions to subvert a situation that was potentially rich with possibilities. We were not able to affect so that the revolt gets the better of the logic of support. On the other hand – contrary to the years summarized above – the acts of rebellion with which we want to express a concrete offensive solidarity are not plenty.

But revolt is festering, sometimes it erupts, and has no borders: Saturday 22 August clashes broke out between Macedonian police and migrants coming from Greece on the border between the two countries. While two days before the state of emergency was declared, the army and the special forces of the police dispatched on site were overwhelmed. Those who passed, stormed the station of Gevgelija to travel by train to Serbia. At Calais the night of 31 August after the visit of the prime minister, 200 persons ran onto the highway access of the Eurotunnel site and began a blockade. 3 September, people blocked the entrance of the Jules-Ferry centre (managed by the association La Vie Active) where distribution of meals is taking place, protesting against the humanitarian aid and the conditions under which they are held. A few days later at the Saint-Exupéry detention centre near the airport of Lyon, the prisoners pile up mattresses and sheets which they set on fire. They push back the police while furniture and windows are broken and two people climb up on the roof to escape. A few days later in Roszke (Hungary) a thousand migrants forced a way through a police cordon to not be taken to a reception and registration centre nearby. Some of them climbed a fence to reach the highway to Budapest and continued their journey on foot. In Bicske migrants on trains they thought went to Germany, refused their

deportation when they realized that these trains were destined for centres of identification and selection. On 5 September on the island of Lesbos (Greece) for the second consecutive day, migrants clashed with the police. Hours earlier a thousand of them left a temporary reception centre and had blocked a road on the island. Again in Lesbos, a thousand migrants regrouped and tried with force to get on a boat to Athens. On 6 September, in Valencia (Spain) forty prisoners of a detention centre rebelled against the cops and stole their keys. One group tried to escape. In the meantime, inside, mattresses were set on fire, material was destroyed and five cops wounded. On the 7th in Bedford (England) women imprisoned in the Yarl’s Wood detention centre occupied the yard and declared: *“We are in the yard, we protest. [...] We demand our freedom. We sing for our freedom. We cry. [...] We do not want their food. We do not want their activities. We just want our freedom.”*

Every week brings with it its share of deaths that eats at us and leaves us with a heavy heart. In the face of this horror in which hundreds of thousands of people are immersed, of this every day war that is capitalism, it is our rage against this iniquitous world as a whole and life at discount prices that it entails, that sharpens day by day. But as has already been said in the past, we are not in solidarity with the misery, but with the vigour with which men and women reject it. To the solidarity in oppression we oppose the complicity in revolt. So if we strive to envisage concrete offensive perspectives with which to express particular solidarity, we want to believe that it is possible to envisage expressing rage – that also does not need to wait for such “perspectives” – that is diffuse, and for that reason could pave the way for moments of confrontation and rupture with the existing order. And that along the way, freed of political racketeering, of humanitarian varnish, of this putrid indignation of citizens “who complain but who want to maintain the system” – the cornerstone of democratic servitude – there will be occasions for solidarity to intensify.

*“To say that nothing can change, that we can not divert the march of destiny, is the reward granted to all our cowardice.”*

*“There are no things done, routes prepared, there is no finalized manner or work, through which you could get through to life. There are no words that can give you freedom: because life is precisely to create everything by yourself, to not adapt to any path: language does not exist but you have to create it, you must create its form, you must create everything: for your life to be yours.”*

There is no good justification to wait to fulfil what our heart and our reason suggest, neither a social movement, nor an appointment with history. If we refused to postpone the dissemination of our ideas and resulting practices, to hypothetical more favourable tomorrows, we still feel the need to create the conditions that make an overthrow of the social order possible, a social event still unknown, unpredictable but destructive.





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## A TIME OF WAR

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*Subversions - October 2015 - France*

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Pushing further on its warmongering path (the military interventions in Central Africa, Mali and Syria are continuing), the socialist government in power seized the occasion of the attacks against Charlie Hebdo and the Hypercashier in January 2015 to decree that the whole of France should consider itself “at war”. This update of the war against internal enemies, in speech and in facts, has police and juridical consequences as for example the new law on the intelligence services extending the antiterrorism law that itself was reinforced only a few months ago. On top of the *Vigie-Pirate* plan comes now operation *Sentinelle* which added a strong touch of khaki in the militarisation of the spirits and the public space. The visible and continuous presence of soldiers no longer concerns only the public transport, but also each corner of the street. Mission and propaganda are going hand in hand.

In this context of “protection of the national territory”, the question of borders takes on a particular emphasis. The state needs to take measures to prevent some of leaving the territory (to go fight in Syria for example) and on the other hand the whole of Europe is busy managing the flux of migrants pressing at its gates. The sweet dream of migrations managed by the powerful (one only has to think about the exodus of peasants towards the urban industrial camps, the import

of labour forces by recruiters in the colonies until the recent euphemism of “chosen” immigration) to keep the capitalist machine running has been surpassed by movements of hundreds of thousands of people. These exodus are certainly caused by the advance of the capitalist steamroller and the devastation it causes (environmental disasters, wars,...), but they are also much more uncontrolled and therefore problematic. More or less voluntary exiles have breached the borders, often attacking the border guards, and sowing a great deal of disorder in the European border system. Now the European states are doing everything to get things back under control by erecting new walls of barbed wire, between Hungary and Serbia, then Croatia, and recently also between two Schengen countries: Slovenia and Austria. The loans and troop reinforcements issued to the first country and the deployment of the army in the second country recall once again to which point borders are also part of the military domain.

If the migrants are modifying their trajectories depending on the new obstacles that are put in their way, the states from their sides are redeploying their border arsenal. Subcontracting the dirty jobs is a habit of the EU, so negotiations are ongoing with countries that might serve as “buffer zones” (the agreement with Turkey plans the creation of 6 registration centres and the reinforcement



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of the local coast guard); the “humanitarian corridor” that the powerful pretend to have opened in the Balkans might well be closed down again; Frontex sends its troops to the Greek-Macedonian and Greek-Albanian borders and since October, the EU operation Sofia (9 war vessels plus helicopters and jets) against smugglers in the Mediterranean went into the more offensive phase (boarding of boats detected by satellites which then get towed to Italy). The Spanish model in Ceuta and Melilla, where the Guardia Civil is already firing live ammunition, seems to have shiny days ahead, even if this doesn’t prevent all border breaches.

For now, it seems that the so-called “refugee crisis” - what can come in more handy than this denomination to present the ruthless and structural normality of the system as a simple dysfunction, and above all play the humanitarian card with it? - is somewhat outrunning the different European states. If they obviously do not want to eradicate the causes of it, which they themselves have created, they still have to manage the consequences. The deal proposed by the leaders is as clear as it is abject: welcoming the “good refugees”, the “real victims” goes together with the “removing”, in other words the forced deportation as fast as possible, of those who do not fit in the asylum criteria. As these criteria are of variable geometry, lawmakers are working hard on harshening them, for example by making the list of so-called “safe” countries to which people can be deported longer. As the numbers of rejected refugees will rise to several hundreds of thousands, the European states and Frontex are working on plans for collective deportation. The EU is by the way also threatening to revoke aid programmes, commercial agreements and visas to countries who refuse to take the economical refugees back and do not systematically deliver consular clearances for deportation.

But enormous selection operations will be necessary to determine who is “eligible” to the status of refugee (in general people coming from Syria, Eritrea and Iraq) and make sure that the others do not clog up any further the administrations. Luckily the “hotspots” that will serve for this selection in the arrival countries (5 in Italy and 3 in Greece) are not ready yet, so for the moment many migrants prefer to disappear in nature before submitting to the registration (which implies identification, finger prints, obligatory demand of asylum in the country itself and direct transfer to a detention centre in case of “non-eligibility”).

One of the questions for the French state in this moment is therefore how to “welcome” – read: identify, register, select, park – those who arrive on its territory in spite of the police blocs like in Ventimilla. The next step will be to lock up before deportation those who didn’t get a staying permit, as is happening already to so many people who do not have the right piece of paper in their pockets. Therefore the state is rationalising to a maximum the existing places in the detention centres, for

example by equipping them with “a set of instruments to allow the identification of the country of origin of the migrant, in particular when his asylum was rejected, as to simplify the expulsion procedures”... as far as the detainees do not revolt of course.

In these times of relative and undoubtedly temporal *disorganization*, contributing to hinder the good functioning of these selection operations and the application of its disgusting consequences seems a high stake. The state is playing with the permanent state of war and calls on national unity as to ensure that the crushing machinery continues to function normally, it is therefore crucial to find ways to block this machinery.

Not aiming to improve the functioning of the system, but to totally overthrow the existing social order, it seems essential to us to oppose the aspiration to freedom for all to the obnoxious parameters fixed by power in its management of the “refugee crisis”. One therefore has to imagine interventions that allow us to fight directly and concretely against a war waged on all undesirables, bringing together in an unbreakable bound the fight against borders, control and imprisonment.

## **Borders**

From the moment of arrival in France of a new wave of immigration, the state has set the tone: procedures for asylum – and their possible rejection – must be accelerated in order to avoid administrative grey zones that allow foreigners from different backgrounds to remain in the territory, moreover sometimes intermingling. Reducing the time between the different phases of these Kafkaesque journey is on the agenda and officials from OFPRA (institution responsible for processing files) are requested to compel the newcomers to go through their locks as quickly as possible. Thus we saw these particularly intrusive bureaucrats leave the tranquillity of their offices and hurry to migrant camps, files across the shoulder, to collect information data and to proceed to the first selection – the following parts of the procedure is carried out in their buildings. Personal of the OFII, another organisation in charge of the “welcoming” of asylum seekers who works closely with the *Département Lutte contre l’immigration irrégulière*, are for their part responsible for the difficult task of promoting incentives to return with some candidate detected as “ineligible”, as well as the transfer to the place of accommodation in case of compulsory residence.

The institutional framework concerning the dirty job of identification and documentation is seconded by associations that are in charge of urgent housing centres, like the association Emmaüs, Aurore or the group SOS. On the one hand, this accommodation is strictly conditioned by the administrative procedures to be conducted and secondly the OFPRA and the Prefecture have access to lists of the “hosted” with their nationality and situation – at least here they’re located. The housing of asylum seekers is a real business for the associations and/or

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companies paid by the state. The best ones placed on this flourishing market are Adoma and Aftam (which now became Coallia), then comes Forum Réfugiés and France Terre d'Asile. The French state privileged for decades the building of detention centres rather than CADA (centres for asylum seekers), but now it is calling for many contractors, especially for the CPH (temporary shelter centres).

Under humanitarian cover, the intake of the asylum seekers by institutions means in reality the control of the conditions of their existence: obligation to stay in places which you didn't choose, integration lessons in exchange for a modest sum – when will the “food stamps” limited to certain shops follow? The prison conditions (internal rules, visits are forbidden, fixed sleeping hours, surveillance by social workers) in the temporary shelter centres that are normally for homeless people already had the consequence that many migrants rebelled and/or are in search of other solutions to find shelter.

The question of “wild rallying” of migrants is an essential problem for the state in its management of public order. In this logic, the installing of rallying points – even in improvised camps – and of possible places of self-organisation which could escape control, overcoming the divisions in categories and status, are really unbearable for the state. In Paris as in Calais, camps and squats have therefore been evicted. In the good old democratic tradition, the direct and particular brutal police intervention (or the threat of it) goes together with an armada of humanitarian groups supposedly giving a presentable image to the institutional violence and offering some aid. The Red Cross is the vanguard of this humanitarian army. And let's not forget neither that the decisions to this regard in Paris are taken jointly by the Prefecture and the City Council – which do not hesitate to send its auxiliaries to the rescue – and that municipal employees of Calais participated zealously in the systematic destruction of tents.

The “relocation” of human beings, like commodities, negotiated by the governments and administered by the European technocrats, are scrupulously applied on the national territory. Asylum seekers of the “evacuated” school where ordered on the 23th of October in Paris to get into buses of which the destination was hidden... some even ended up in Auvergne (400km from Paris). In Calais, since the 21th of October, 600 people have been arrested and relocated – first with private jets, then with rented planes – to be locked up in different detention centres (Marseille, Nîmes, Rouen, Toulouse, Vincennes and Mesnil-Amelot). 400 others who accepted to voluntarily leave the “jungle” were dispatched to 7 different regions. Dispersion is an experimented strategy to avoid or destroy all possible bounds of mutual aid and solidarity. The state called for municipalities – humanitarian show and financial compensation to up the ante – to activate them in this internal relocation which obviously takes into account the economic interests of

“employment pools”. What's more normal in a world that is also based on exploitation and on mobility under the laws of the market?

The control of migrants, of where they are living and how they move inside of the territory, shows us to what point the borders are not limited to the border guards. To the militarisation of the external borders of Europe by Frontex, to the securing of the inter-European borders, is added the dissemination of borders on the whole of the territory through permanent control. A multitude of mechanisms are supposed to strengthen and extend this control, but without encroaching upon the fluidity of the circulation of commodities and human cattle, an essential factor of the capitalist economy. The struggle against the deportation machine some years ago pointed out the concrete intervention against the control of people without papers, like banks, employment agencies or the rail road company for example.

### **Control of territory and population**

Lately in France, the exaltation of the struggle against terrorism, against clandestine immigration, against criminality and against fraud has made clear that external and internal war are but one and that the control mechanisms put in place or being improved are retro-feeding each other and target all undesirables.

The key word is security, paradoxically presented as the primary and winning condition of freedom. Companies specialised in training, recruitment and equipment of guards are booming. And power managed to take great advantage of the attacks of January to create a large consensus for the measures of control that it is taking at an accelerating pace. A part from the presence of soldiers in daily life, police patrols and controls are multiplying. To better enforce the law, they got more means – arms for the municipal police, training of security guards of transport companies by the military, use of drones to observe crowds (for example during the collective attacks to pass the border in Calais) but also to defend infrastructures (the SNCF, rail road company, is using drones against sabotage of its tracks).

The transport axes are logically the places where the invisible borders materialize. The “securing” of the tunnel between France and England (a definitely deadly security as at least 17 migrants have died there while trying to pass) by the public/private partnership Eurotunnel and its freight branch Europorte is one particularly striking example, but it should also be noted that the SNCF ensures the installation of fences to secure railways upstream of the port of Calais. Internal borders are in fact not limited to a few specific points. In addition to the active and daily participation of SNCF train personnel in reporting and arresting potential clandestine immigrants – especially on the Italy/France connection – or more generally of anyone suspected, train stations constitute checkpoints that mark out the terri-

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tory. The chase down of undocumented persons jointly by controllers of public transport companies and cops are common for a long time and usually take place at times and locations considered strategic by mapping their movements. The latest measures, on the pretext of the attempted attack in a Thalys train, also give officially to transport militia (SUGE, GPSR in Paris) increased powers to stop and search people and luggage in trains, buses, subways. This step further of public transport companies in cooperation with the police shows, if it were needed, how, among other functions, they are an integral part of a large-scale repressive apparatus. They receive also partly the treatment they deserve by frequent attacks against their personnel, vehicles, shops and facilities.

But control is also done by technological means that are getting ever more and improved. This arsenal to detect and trace individuals and suspect behaviours consists obviously also of CCTV. The state is putting CCTV progressively on the totality of the territory, also in small cities. In the metropolis, the inter-connexion of always more “intelligent” private and public cameras aims to maximally reduce the shadow zones and to cover all crossing points as to identify, also a posteriori, what is disturbing order and normality. CCTV are getting sabotaged a bit everywhere and in many different ways, like for example burning its electrical transformers or sabotaging its glass fibre network.

One cannot stress enough to which point the modern communication means are functional to the gathering of intelligence. They are not only giving indications on the identity of the person, but also on its profile, contacts, activities and projects. It is not a coincidence that Gadaffi and Assad bought spy programmes from French companies like Amesys and Qosmos. It is difficult to “pass under the radar” as they say when using snitching instruments like cell phones and computers; it is probably better to neutralise them...

It would be too long and tedious to draw up an exhaustive list of electronic prostheses increasingly required in daily life; without going into the projects of interconnected cities (Smartcity type) lets mention however all microchip cards with which we feed our own database, from administrations to transport passing by bank cards (the increasingly drastic limitations on payment in cash referring as much to counter-terrorism as to the tracking down of illegal activities). The essence is probably to look for how to put a spoke in the wheels of this requirement of transparency, knowing that many actors are involved in the design, manufacture, sale, installation of these instruments of power and are therefore directly responsible.

Always under the pretext of an alleged “improvement of the quality of life”, the implantation of control technologies, as well as the establishment of checkpoints, is bound up with the development of an urban planning in-

creasingly concentration like involving the implementations of the usual concrete developers and constructors of prisons of all kinds.

By focusing on the development of urban communities such as the current project of Great Paris for example, we see that it meets huge economic and political interests, but it also takes into account the needs of the management and control of the population. It is surely no coincidence that the current urban restructuring involving for example the introduction of major repressive structures in Paris itself (the new Pentagon has just been inaugurated at Balard, the new courts complex is located in Clichy Batignolles) or in nearby towns to be integrated in the new agglomeration (like Issy-les-Moulineaux for the new national headquarters of the military police). These relocations correspond to the centralization of some law enforcement agencies for the purpose of optimizing their activities (in plain language so that they do their dirty work better, faster and in safer conditions). At the same time, they help to do away with the last remnants of popular intramural neighborhoods (the central services of the Ministry of Interior will establish itself in the Garance building in the XXth district, while those of the Ministry of Justice will be centralized in the XIXth) and completing the conquest of areas considered conflictual (like the provincial branch of the National Forensic Institute in Saint-Denis).

Indeed, if social peace is built through citizen participation, granting some crumbs and market democracy as the only possible horizon, it also imposes oneself by the confinement of the unwanted, even in seemingly open spaces, but managed according to the needs of the economy and control and that communicate only through sliding doors.

To mass incarceration in increasingly numerous structures and in increasingly blurred demarcations (the passages are multiplying between prisons for minors, adults, foreigners, crazy...), the extension of home imprisonment through “alternative” penalties, including electronic bracelet, adds the transformation of the areas into a huge open-air prison. The realizations, the responsible and collaborators of this restructuring – transport grid included – are also experiencing some setbacks. The burning of shopping centers and public buildings (police stations and courts included) during the revolts of 2005 – and not only – indicate how they are perceived as being part of the everyday oppression. Without going into detail, it is also good to call to mind that this is probably why the architectural offices are attacked and companies such as Eiffage, Bouygues, Vinci, Spie-Batignolles and such are routinely losing sales of offices, vehicles, construction site equipment...

### **Break the ranks**

If the state strives to constantly create consensus through the permanent war against a multiform enemy

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within, civilian cohesion seems to know some breaches. In many places, the police are pushed back or attacked and hostility against the military is also shown in many ways, with insults and stones for example. Propaganda and recruitment operations create not only followers, in Besançon a large exhibition of the army has been disrupted for days and for months recruitment centers were attacked in different cities.

Moreover, the State is faced with the double bind to impose maximum control without slowing down the machine to produce and consume. This obviously poses itself in the transportation system: the number of “suspected” packages reported in Parisian subways are from an average of 2-3 to 70 per day, throughout the month of January a dozen of RATP traffic stops have been provoked daily with interruptions of nearly 45min for each alert. These repeated delays affecting the stressed flux have caused the safety standards to being (temporarily) downgraded. Similarly, searches of bags by security guards at the entrances of shopping centers, which without a doubt affects the movement of goods, has somewhat relaxed.

In a perspective that, far from seeking to reform a particular aspect of the system, aspires to destroy the whole by a generalized uprising, the fragility of it and the existing hostility against it are obviously an invitation to take initiatives to attack and destroy the devices that, structurally, allow it to control, to deport, to lock up.

At a time when democratic rule is showing more and more its true colors: a permanent war of the powerful against the dispossessed, at a time when patriotic, nationalist and religious reactionaries openly express their ambitions to impose their order, one of questions is how to carry proposals of struggles with a clearly emancipatory scope. The answer can not be univocal but must nonetheless be clear about its objectives and methods. To be a real problem to the ambitions of crushing individuals and freedom, these proposals can only be aimed at all those who, known or unknown, are willing to fight on a self-organized manner, outside (and against) any institutional mediation and through direct offensive action. To break with both the atomization and the normality of domination, it is important to find ways to carry these initiatives and struggles with some continuity, looking for potential echoes and accomplices. This happens according to us by disseminating analyzes, specific information, but also resolutely antagonistic actions within the social conflict.

The points of reflection and action outlined in this text are not intended to be exhaustive, but want to contribute to fuel an informal forum for discussion and possible links between initiatives that would go in this direction. Hopefully this contribution meets, extends and receives echoes and deepening in different contexts...





## **AGAINST THIS MILITARIZED WORLD, STEP OUT OF THE HERD!**

*Séditions - November 2015 - France*

The 7th and 8th October, the municipality [of Besançon] had planned to make way for the military so it can show off its potency and seduce the public. The army, this school of submission, authority and crime takes root in every aspect of our everyday life: television and radio commercials, advertising campaigns ubiquitous in the urban space, recruitment banners on many buildings, propaganda articles in the press, regional as well as national, up to being present on paper bags for baguettes.

To ensure the promotion, the newspaper of the municipality (the 'Besançon Votre Ville' of October 2015) devoted a special dossier, in which the historical implantation of the army in Besançon is evoked (in buildings around the city, thousands of homes and employees, etc....), while detailing its colossal budget, its additional workforce to come, its material and human means to terrorize, oppress and massacre populations. That was enough to directly oppose all this shit that took place in front of the town hall.

During the week of 3 to 9 October, there was agitation against the army and all it bears. Posters were pasted, leaflets were distributed. The eve of their big party tags were sprayed in the 'Battant' district and at several

places in the city: "The army, it stinks, it pollutes and it makes stupid", "Down with the military", "Neither nations nor borders – Down with the state and its uniform", "The army loves you to death", "Rather vandal than corporal", "Rather indolent than sergeant", "Fuck leaders," "Let's be wild, not guards"... The 'Ruty' barracks located in Bersot Street were also stained with red paint, just like the signboard at the entrance of the recruitment centre (CIRFA) located next door. The authorities were of course quick to erase everything and take everything away. On Thursday, 8th October, several interventions – mostly from students – have disrupted the smooth running of this militaristic event: with slogans against the army, by speaking through a megaphone in memory of Rémi Fraisse (opposing the dam in Testet, killed there almost a year ago in clashes with the military police), or by the suspension of two banners ("Long live the horror, apply now" & "Down with the army") to the gates of the 'Arsenal' building of the faculty of languages, located close to their event. At the end of the demonstration organized against the austerity imposed by the State and the bosses (while there are areas where the state drastically bleeds budgets, the security forces instead receive huge means, the police and the army first and foremost), a small group again tried to disrupt it but came across several rows of cops

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who protected the soldiers on both ends of the square in front of the town hall. People passing by have seen what was to be a great celebration of the army required tight protection for it to take place without too much hassle...

Moreover, pamphlets were distributed where this PR operation of the army took place in the afternoon of Wednesday, 7 October. The anti-militarists who were disseminating leaflets also suffered a small pressure from the cops who held them a quarter of an hour, the time for an identity check. By order of the cops hierarchy, the leaflets were confiscated.

Each year, the states hold military parades and ceremonies to commemorate their past bloody wars while endorsing those in progress and paving the way for those to come. These regular ceremonies, serving the state to reaffirm its strength and the poison of national unity, are all opportunities open to us to demonstrate our refusal of their wars, whether conducted on the outside for the economic interests of States, against immigration or to maintain social peace within the borders...

On the side of Switzerland, there has recently been some blows to military infrastructure. Several border patrol vehicles were attacked during a demonstration against the army on 18 September 2015 in Basel. It was organized against a military exercise that was held in the city for several days, to train military forces to improve the control and surveillance of borders, but also to ward off any attempt to revolt and uprising against the state and capital. A few days later near Zurich, 9 army vehicles

were burned on a military logistical base in Hinwil. Unfortunately fire-fighters managed to extract 14 vehicles from the flames of this magnificent sabotage. Another example, in Belgium this time: a car parked inside the military camp of Amay was burned. The vehicle, which belonged to a soldier, was completely destroyed. Since it was parked near buildings, the fire caused some damage to the framework of a building. In France too, many direct actions show that the army is not untouchable. In Valence (Drôme) 8 July 2015, soldiers on 'Vigipirate' patrol in the district of "Fontbarlettes" were attacked with stones. Their vehicle loses a window and in the aftermath the police station was the target of an attempted arson. Between 20 and 21 June 2015 in Toulouse, an army recruitment centre (CIRFA), located in the city centre, has all its windows destroyed. On the night of 26 to 27 October 2014 in Saint-Denis (93), the same fate for centre in the Gabriel Peri Street, the largest of the Ile-de-France region in terms of recruitments. The statement claiming the action said: "All powers are assassins. We will not make their wars, we will not leave them in peace. Social war for freedom (signed: belligerent deserters)". On the night of 19 October in Munich (Germany), a civilian vehicle of the Bundeswehr is on fire, causing 30,000 euros of damage. In late October in Rennes, the recruitment centre of the army, located at Mabilais Street, is attacked in response to the killing by the military police of an opponent to the dam of Testet, Rémi Fraisse, one year ago: vehicles parked in the parking lot get their tires punctured and locks glued. In conclusion: if the "army is reaching out", it is all the same within reach of everyone!



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## NEITHER THEIR WAR, NOR THEIR PEACE!

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*November 2015 - France*

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*“We must annihilate the enemies of the Republic... and strip those who besmirch the French spirit of their nationality.”*

Manuels Valls, Prime Minister, 14<sup>th</sup> of November 2015

If one has to recognize a certain continuity of the French Republic, its for sure the continuity of mass murder. From the State Terror of 1793-1794 which gave birth to the word *terrorism* to the slaughter of the insurgents of 1848 and those of the Commune of 1871; from the colonisation or the deportation of Jews made possible by prior screening and filing to the massacres of Algerian demonstrators in 1961 in the heart of Paris, *all French Republics have massacred without counting so that the powerful might continue to dominate and exploit everyone*. The French Republic is a mountain of corpses of which the filth that composes the summit has only be able to stay in place by crushing its true enemies, the rebels and revolutionaries who fought for a world of justice and freedom. The “*French spirit*”, if this enormous stupidity would ever exist, would be a closet filled up until the point of bursting with voices crying for vengeance against the bourgeois, the politicians, the cops, the soldiers and the priests who have trampled them to establish their power.

Ah, but that’s all rubbish from the past, isn’t it? Do the decades of civil participation, commodity integration

and generalised dispossessing really made forget those who still preserved a slightest touch of sensibility that firing randomly into the crowd is not an exclusivity of remote terrorists? That since several years the French State is making its great return on the international scene of state terrorism by multiplying its military attacks in the four corners of the globe (Libya, Mali, Afghanistan, Ivory Coast, Somalia, Central Africa, Iraq, Syria)? The pretext changes each time, but the reasons stay the same: to maintain control of strategic resources, to win new markets and influence zones, to preserve its interests against competitors, to avoid that insurrections are transformed into experiments of freedom. And if it was still needed, warnings have been given also to avert the indolent that this war logic will not know any territorial limit: the death of a demonstrator last year in Sivens or the bodies riddled with shrapnel in Notre-Dame-des-Landes and in Montabot recall that the offensive grenades in khaki do not hesitate, *also not here*, to be launched against crowds as to sow terror.

Because what else is terrorism than randomly hitting the crowd with the aim of preserving or conquering power? A bit like the rich do by killing and mutilating daily millions of people on the job in name of the money generated by their exploitation. A bit like the industrialists and their white collar lackeys do by poisoning durably all life on earth. A bit like all the States do who lock



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up behind four walls and slowly torture those excluded from their commodity paradises and those who rebelled against their laws. A bit like the grrreat democracies who turned the Mediterranean Sea into a cemetery of thousands of undesirables who did wrong by not having the right piece of paper in their pockets. But the peace of the State and of capitalism comes at this price. The peace of the powerful is war against the dominated, on the inside as well on the outside of their borders.

The 13<sup>th</sup> of November 2015 in Paris, the rule of the game has been respected. They may call themselves Islamic or Republican, Caliphate or Democracy, a State is a State: an authoritarian power whose mass violence applies to all those who do not bow for their sovereign order. One of the principles of all States is to only recognize subjects. Subjects who have to obey the laws dictated from above, it is to say, the exact contrary of free individuals who can self-organize without being commanded and without commanders. From the bombardments of Dresden and Hiroshima to the villages of Vietnam wiped out with napalm or the cities of Syria wrecked by barrels of TNT, States never hesitated in their dirty wars to sacrifice a part of their own population, or of their competitors. By randomly killing Parisian passersby to punish their State, the small soldiers of Daech did nothing else but reproducing the implacable logic of their adversaries. A terrible logic, as terrible as any state power can be.

The *state of emergency* is declared in France since yesterday, a measure of internal war of a government who places the country in conformity with its politics of international terrorism, is just a step further in the basic practices of any government, aiming to forcibly normalize life, to its institution codification, to its technological standardization. Because what is the State seeing when looking to the future? Economical cracks, mass unemployment, exhaustion of resources, international military conflicts, civil wars, ecological disasters, exodus of populations... In short, he see an ever more unstable world where the poor are ever more numerous and concentrated, a world sweating despair which is becoming a gigantic powder keg, engulfed by tensions of all kinds (social, identitarian, religious). A world in which the lighting of the smallest spark, whatever it might be, should not be tolerated by an ever more totalitarian democracy. So, just as "civil" is another word for "cop", the "war on terrorism" means above all the war against all those who are breaking away from the ranks of power. To all the deserters of social pacification, to all the deserters of the wars between the powerful and the authoritarians, lets sabotage the National Unity...

***A bad subject,  
enemy of the Republic and of all States***





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## **ANALYSIS OF A HUNGER STRIKE**

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*September 2015 - Greece*

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[Extracts from “Analysis of a hunger strike”, published by Act for freedom now!]

The hunger strike that has just ended puts us in a position of beginning the procedure of assessment.

We were already of the opinion that any assessment attempted at this specific moment would basically be lacking.

A more complete and calmer assessment is a job that will take years, since the “leftovers” of the strike and the matters it opened will beset us for years, personally and collectively.

However, the analysis of the experience offered to us by the deposition of our frame of thought, the co-formulation with other political prisoners (to the minimal degree that it existed) and mainly our participation in the strike, is the step that we must take in order to reach more complete conclusions in the future.

What makes this specific struggle special—besides the particular characteristics while it was being conducted—is the great wealth of conclusions we take away from it, and on many levels as well.

We learned a lot about the fantasy subject of political prisoners—including ourselves—about the formation of our space in a specific experience, about the new façade of State-capitalist management with which we clashed, the strength, the limits and contradictions of all sides involved.

The fact that the conclusions we have drawn from it are so multi-sided, is due to the nature of this specific hunger strike itself. It was the first hunger strike since the junta that placed the clash with the core of repression condensed into the special exclusion regime, as a concept with which every individual or collective subject who disrupts the equilibrium of the system is dealt with.

We fought against an expression of the exclusion regime and our struggle caused some cracks. This is what made this strike so dreaded for power and made it attempt to conceal and distort it in every way.

The fact that demands cannot be personalized (except for the demand for Savvas Xiros which we will analyse further on) and that “justified” bourgeois-democratic amenities made the strike non-manageable politically, communicational, even ethically.

Exactly because it was not assimilated, it deprived our struggle of a great degree of social acceptance.

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On the other hand, however, it permitted the drawing of clear conclusions.

It was the first—and only up till now—acute procedure of clashing with the anarchist/anti-authoritarian movement after the newly elected coalition SYRIZA-ANEL.

The conception of our frame of thought as it was developed and finally communicated to the political prisoners in the C-type prisons, presupposed the electoral victory of SYRIZA with self-reliance. Or with a majority.

The development and the final achievements of the strike showed that our frame of thought was correct at its base, although there were some omissions that played their role:

-The underestimation of the reactions concerning the matter of Savvas Xiros stirred up by the conservative camp, was a parametre that we should have foreseen and analysed more. It was the demand that brought the conservative camp together and the clash around it overshadowed the remainder of our demands.

Speaking self-critically, we accepted the demand when it was proposed because we considered it ethically and politically right.

In hindsight, we realized that we should have predicted the centrality it acquired. The personal involvement of major scumbags, whether obvious (Bakogianni, Momferatos etc.), or not so obvious (Vardinogiannis etc) and the pressure from the USA were factors we did not take into account to the degree we should have.

Because of the central position the demand acquired in the public debate, we lost the opportunity to focus on other demands, such as the “hood law”, DNA or even law 187A, and transfer the weight there.

After the refusal of Xiros to accept the “bracelet” for religious reasons, the positive importance of the conquest remains for humanistic reasons, as well as for anyone who might have the misfortune to find themselves in Xiros’s position.

Something we must stress here is that repression also connects the thread of moments in the social war. The “bracelet” came to give the solution to Xiros’s matter also because before that it had already been proposed as the solution to N.Romanos’s hunger strike. It is important to realize that every battle we give leaves positive or negative effects in the depth of time.

-We also underestimated the inexperience of SYRIZA managing such situations from a government position.

Opposition crowns are different from government responsibility that must give solutions, especially when on the one hand a hunger strike is pressuring with what-

ever that entails and on the other the liberal/far-right lobby is asking for blood in the arena. Inexperience and diffidence can become murderous under conditions of pressure, and 48 days of hunger strike testify this.

[...]

Our strategic targets concerned the linking of the political prisoners but also the wider forces of the movement, so that a base for a more effective connection between the “inside” and “outside” could be set.

The strike would be the means of connecting people and perceptions for upgrading of the movement into a residual movement that together with its hostages would be able to analyse the junctures and speed up some—short term at least—targets.

Although the political targets were partially reached, strategically we are speaking of a complete failure, as this connection sounds like a joke since the strike ended.

In order to analyse the reasons of our non-coming together as a movement in order to carry out this battle in favourable conditions, we must appreciate the general social situation.

The expectancy from “hope” has still not settled, the logic of delegating dominates socially and is faulty in an area placed between the anarchist/antiauthoritarian space and alternative selfmanaged institutions.

If we perceive that the electoral victory of SYRIZA was the defeat of the Movements of disobedience and dispute, it is easy to identify a great question that we will be called to deal with in the future. The citation of viable proposals that will transcend the logic of delegating. Coming to the presence of the hunger strike therefore, we realized that besides the more nuclear part that comprises the “space”, the rest of the “progressive” social areas saw the strike as an attack on the reliability of the government.

The logic “if SYRIZA is positive, why are they striking?”, could obviously not overcome the main movement (no matter how much someone means that) value of not trusting institutional factors.

The communicational concealment of the strike extended this situation.

From the moment the spectacle society defines events according to their spectacular depiction, whatever is not projected simply does not exist.

This deprived the social grounding of the incident, preventing the engagement of more people.

The two above matters (also) involve the clumsy beginning of the hunger strike, without any substantial information to the comrades outside the walls.

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Better communication with comrades experiencing the social climate would possibly also have helped us to understand reality, which we cannot wholly perceive because we are in prison.

Therefore we would have understood the limits of our approach in advance, weighing things up better.

The hurried start is only partly an excuse for the non-coming together of the movement. After the second week we believe there was not one anarchist who did not know about the strike, having prepared at least a short term plan.

Besides, unfortunately the announcement of a hunger strike by a comrade is usually done by surprise.

Despite all this we believe that the way a project begins defines its development to a large degree.

That is why as DAK we insisted on internal information so much, that is why we sent an internal text to collectives, asking for it to be passed around, seeking to share the frame of thought of the strike with comrades in solidarity even retrospectively. However, good intentions are not enough, the blackmailing attitude of the political prisoners of the C-type prisons for an immediate start of the strike deprived our struggle of a qualitative leap.

The blackmailing about the start of the strike due to political myopia and hurrying, led us to realize that the chaotic nature of the “butterfly effect” does not only apply in physics but also in social engineering.

A hunger strike that started from a non-anarchist prisoner led to the biggest, post-dictatorship, hunger strike. Even if the abolishing of the C-type prisons had been accomplished with G. Sofianidis’ hunger strike, it would have offered us a better starting point for the claiming of the rest of the demands in a few weeks and with better terms, without there being any reason for a hurried start.

However, the two main shortcomings we have identified have to do with differences in perception, betraying political immaturity.

The perception by part of the movement that it is unnecessary to deal with issues unrelated to general social interest, co-defines us, severely limiting our field of action.

Our position as anarchists places us in the front line of battle and surely there are issues that have special weight for us, such as that of repression.

Since we promote the clash with authority we need to defend the losses of this struggle.

Armed struggle is part of our battle and the underlying (or sometimes clear) concept that because the hunger strike is carried out by members or accused of participation in armed organizations, it cannot be spread socially, simply entrenches us.

It is an issue that needs extensive analysis and our reference to it ends here.

The ideologisation of expressing solidarity based on personal relations, likes or dislikes is another issue.

The fact that although we placed as demands in the strike some “flags” of our movement for many years now, demands that link anarchists against repression, the insertion or withdrawal of comrades in solidarity according to their own personal preferences just leaves a sad impression.

We cannot but characterize as politically immature the attitude of people who perceive hunger strike as simply a clash of specific political prisoners with the State.

Every strike, and this one much more, goes beyond the strikers, their demands, even the solidarity movement, placing the more general issues of the clash, demanding that the socially active take a position. And inactivity according to preference is also a position.

Here it’s worth mentioning the specificity of the conjunctural participation of the CCF in the hunger strike, within their own context.

During the organization of the strike we as DAK had chosen not to address them because of their general problematic behaviour, towards us as well as the movement.

Behaviour reaching hostility automatically placed them outside our frame of values. However, since they announced the beginning of their hunger strike, our support was a one way route.

We have the maturity to realize that the imprisonment of relatives goes beyond our personal relationships and concerns every individual in struggle.

There could be partial critiques as to the starting time (while another strike had already begun and a separate although connected frame had been placed) or the personification of their demands while there was a more general struggle against law 187 that criminalizes relationships, but that is not essential.

We consider however, that the abandoning to the repression of whoever the regime considers an enemy is a crucial mistake in analysis, simply because the State gains the ground that we lose.

A last factor we identify concerning the inadequate linking (and demands of such a struggle) of a wider solidar-

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ity movement, is the non-linking of political prisoners. The image of miscommunication, if not dissolution, deriving from three different strikes going on with three political contexts and gradual departures of strikers, surely cannot link comrades, whereas it creates conditions to provide scope for levelling and disappointment.

And, of course the main consequence of this is the concession of “territory” to the enemy. The coalition, seeing that their retractions worked, carried out an even more intense war of deterioration after the 30 days, counting on our exhaustion as well as the dead period over Easter.

If our proposition for a gradual entry of strikers, depending on each one’s physical situation, had been followed by all the participants, the culmination for all would come more or less at the same time (also taking into consideration the unexpected complications that always exist in such situations) and the government would be in a tough position because of the immense pressure from the crucial situation of so many political prisoners on hunger strike.

But since it was not raised realistically, there was no claim by any striker to follow a joint plan.

Since three clear contexts were placed, each one had the opportunity to end the hunger strike whenever they were overcome by developments both ethically and politically.

There were comrades in our collective who did not participate in the strike because of health issues from older hunger strikes, or by choice. Also, Tasos Theofilou ended his hunger strike after 38 days, after the legislation was deposited to the committee.

We have explained that the structure and conformation of DAK is based on the initiative and minimal common agreements and this collective is not a group.

A hunger strike is a tough self-destructive means and we think that it needs flexibility against the limitations and dead-ends by each individual that decides to carry it out.

[...]

***Network of Combative Prisoners (DAK)***





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## CONCERNING AN ANTINUCLEAR SABOTAGE

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October 2015 - Italy

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[In the night of the 22nd to the 23th of September 2005, an electricity pylon is dynamited in Molina di Quosa (province of Pisa, Italy). The pylon doesn't crash down, but is heavily damaged. A few months later, police pretends to have found those responsible for this attack (and of a bomb attack against an interim work agency in Pisa). Ten comrades from the circle *Il Silvestre* of Pisa, who are also bringing out the journal *Terra Selvaggia*, are arrested. Three comrades will stay several months in pre-trial detention, while others find themselves under house arrest. The accusation of subversive association was not withheld by the first court, and so everybody was acquitted. Today, ten years later, Justice comes again knocking at the door. Here follows a letter of one of the accused in this new trial.]

From the 5<sup>th</sup> until the 19<sup>th</sup> of October, audiences for the appeal trial will be held concerning the specific facts from the investigations called "*gruppi di affinità*" and "*anticorpi*" which goes back to 2006. After a long time, after years of imprisonment, house arrest, different juridical constraints, after the fact that the accusation of subversive association was dropped and new investigations were opened, the trial starts again.

One of the accusations is the sabotage of a high tension pylon. The other, an attack against an interim agency.

In 2005, a pylon of the company Terna on the high tension line La Spezia-Acciaiolio was attacked. In the days following the sabotage, a letter was received by several newspapers and by the redaction of *Terra Selvaggia*, explaining this act as an attack against nuclear energy and its deadly consequences.

With the occasion of this trial I would like to make some reflections. In the last ten years, attacks against the structures and circuits of production and distribution of electric energy who are the skeleton and the base which supports the preservation of Power, the proliferation of capital, the commodification of the developed societies and the exploitation of the colonized regions, have become more and more rare. The production and distribution of electricity on the contrary has known an ever broader development thanks to the technological advances, the explosion of so-called renewable energies who are polishing the ecological face of capital, increasing the stock-holds of companies like Terna, intensifying the participation and dependence of people on everything which can be used thanks to the energy, without taking into account the non-economical costs this implies.

Throughout the world, there are still a great many nuclear plants. The projects of military and civilian nuclear research have never been abandoned. But it is

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evident that with the years passing, the perception of the problem of radioactive waste and the dangers linked to atomic wars or disasters caused by accidents has changed. Everybody nowadays seems to be agreeing on the dangers of the nuclear and on the necessity to limit or even avoid using it. A great many scientists are putting forward so-called ethical questions concerning research without limits; the Church, since decades, has taken position against the nuclear and against certain aberrations of scientific progress in the name of a conservatism non less harmful than the philanthropic mask of science. The majority of the politicians seem to be sharing such positions, as is shown for example by the recent agreement on the nuclear with Iran, which, a part from being an important geopolitical choice and opening up new markets to guarantee a better circulation of commodities and energetic resources, seeks to guarantee that only the traditionally more influential countries of the international community may possess nuclear weapons. The dangers linked to nuclear energy seems to scare everybody. Even the so-called public opinion: a strong sentiment of opposition and sometimes even condemnation has spread amongst the people because of the fear for the nowadays known dangers of the possible catastrophic consequences of a nuclear war. But beyond the more or less instrumentalised catastrophisms on specific aspects, we well know that the energetic development, be it fed by nuclear plants or by old or new technical resources, remains one of the fundamental pillars preserving the functioning of the domination.

Those who have always favoured the production and use of nuclear energy for military and/or civilians ends, and the contexts which have made possible their work, have,

with time passing, taken other roads. With the old profits and the new rhetoric, they finance new projects, more acceptable projects; on the field fertilised by decades of propaganda, they are sowing new deceits.

One has to pay attention to what is happening around us, study the ongoing changes and their effects of the society in which we are living, the multiple and complex directions that industrial lobbies, research centres, economic and financial choices, the mechanisms of power, control and recuperation are taking. Every aspect of the reality which is hostile to us is linked to the other aspects. The issues concerning the nuclear which are never definitively overcome, the development of convergent science, the evolution of information technology, the destruction of the environment, the economy, the prisons, the work, the inequalities, are all aspects linked between each other by the string of the continuous process of capitalist restructuring. Nothing is to be saved, all has therefore to be destroyed, without worries nor hope, without alternatives nor promised lands or partial demands.

Power is not a mythological hydra of which the head has to be cut or an intangible threat which dominates without resistance. Power realises itself in concrete elements. Those who, years ago, have identified a pylon, had found a concrete and attackable objective. And all damage done to the sacredness of science, the value of property and the justice of laws, the beauty of media or the easy solution of resignation, is welcome damage.

*Mariangela*



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- 7 - GERMANY - *With midnight always in one's heart*
- 9 - BOLIVIA - *We live in a capitalist regime*
- 11 - BOLIVIA - *29th May, three years ago*
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- 37 - FRANCE - *Against this militarized world, step out of the herd!*
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