



ANTI-AUTHORITY      DAILY REVOLT

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# RETURN      FIRE

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INDIVIDUAL WILL      DE-CIVILISATION

**'A Question of... Balance'**  
(meditations on identification,  
clandestinity & freedom)

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**'Gravediggers of Society'**  
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**'Starting From Zero'**  
(declaration from the fires to come)

...and more!

**VOLUME 2, CHAPTER III**

**SPRING 2014**



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





# 'A QUESTION OF... BALANCE'

*They have black flags of hope  
and melancholy is their dancing partner.*

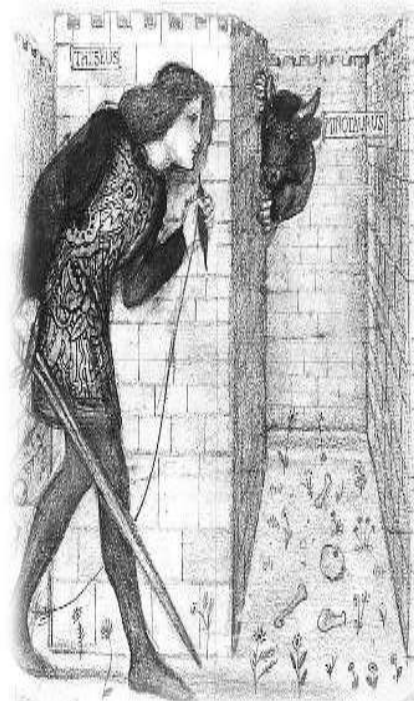
*They have knives to cut the bread of friendship  
and blood to clean the dirt away.*

Leo Ferre, *The anarchists*

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

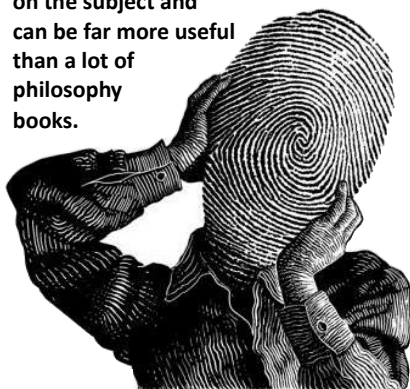
It might seem strange, but my experience as someone in clandestinity is all there, in the experience I've just told you about. The rest is a series of details. We only really remember what shocks us.

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

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

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

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



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

*What is identity?*

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

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

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



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



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

– letter from then-fugitive Gabriela Curilem, wanted in the 'Caso Bombas'<sup>[1]</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



## 'ON THE OPEN ROAD'

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

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

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

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

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



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

# WILD PLANTS - Ramsons & Dandelion (leaves)

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

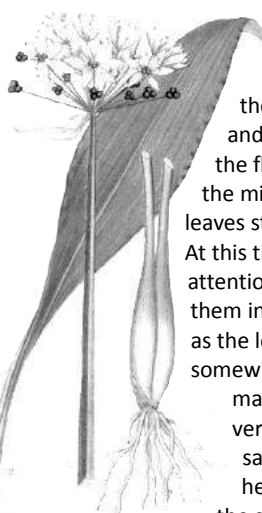
## Ramsons

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

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

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

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



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

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

## Dandelion (leaves)

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

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



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

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

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

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

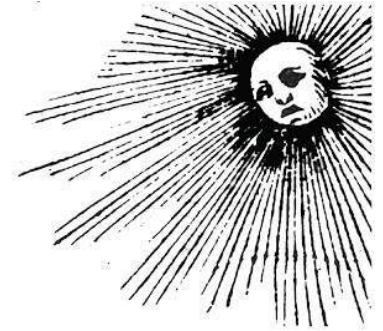


"One of our greatest fears is to eat the wildness of the world. Our Mothers intuitively understood something essential: the green is poisonous to civilization. If we eat the wild, it begins to work inside us, altering us, changing us. Soon, if we eat too much, we will no longer fit the suit that has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

- *The Secret Teachings of Plants*



# POEMS FOR LOVE, LOSS & WAR



## Ephemera

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

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



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

## Obituary For Riyano

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

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

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

One more reason to welcome the fire of Prometheus!

*Au revoir, mon ami!*

- Eat

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



## Hepatomancy



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

my burning palms  
my Shirtwaist fire

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

in shop windows bodies hang  
exhumed of the red, bunched fruit of organs  
like the halved carapaces of spent missile shells  
like grottoes to some bloody saint, left empty  
with nothing in them.

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

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

iridescence  
on the wings of flies.

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

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

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

my body a mess of scars  
too ugly to fake.

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

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

## Four

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Because rage is to have soul

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





## winged resistance

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

- Ron Sakolsky



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

# GLOBAL FLASH-POINTS



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



## AUGUST

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

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

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

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

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



### 26.08.13, Portishead & Bristol, U.K.:

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

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

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

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

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

*The action is signed 'Angry Foxes Cell in collaboration with ACAB', in solidarity also with Kostas Sakkas<sup>[1]</sup>.*

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

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

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

## SEPTEMBER

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

## **OCTOBER**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

*'International Solidarity Fraction' smash windows of a Banardos 'charity' group store because of their complicity with immigrant detention machinery. "Solidarity to all held prisoner by the state and its tools of racist oppression."*

**28.10.13, Valparaíso, Chile:**

*An arson targets the Museum of Natural History due to the featured exhibition by the Agriculture and Livestock Service, "a tribute to how science views the world dismembered..." Although the attempt is unsuccessful the A.L.F./E.L.F. release a statement: "The display cases that they have filled with dead animals are disgusting, and not because of the animal's bodies, but because of their morbid form of displaying them. The idiot who founded taxidermy like other scientists was motivated by an obsessive type of knowing.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## NOVEMBER

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

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

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

## DECEMBER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

– Fourth Generation Warfare and Standing Orders for Open Source Insurgencies

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



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



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

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

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

#### JANUARY

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

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

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

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

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

[1. See *Return Fire* vol.1 pg67

2. See *Rebels Behind Bars; Further Details about the Police Operation & Snitches in Bolivia*



**09.01.14, Vancouver, Canada:**

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

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

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

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



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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

## FEBRUARY

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

**03.02.14, Padre Las Casas, Chile:** *Incendiary device set against bank ATMs despite the police patrol and nearby police station, “with the goal of blowing up isolation and greeting the prisoners (mapuche and non-mapuche) incarcerated in the territory dominated by the Chilean state. [...] We wander lurking around the prison society, nothing is more important to us than to destroy its regimen of life and the institutions it fosters. BIRTH-OBEDIENCE-DEATH; While those most attached to this so successful linearity will be your misery, and if you leave... prison (the material reflection of society and its relations) awaits you. [...] Freedom for the celestial machi<sup>[1]</sup> who defend their territory from extermination by rich land owners and capital. Taiñ newen<sup>[2]</sup>.”*

[1. ed – Mapuche healers and spiritual figures.

2. ed. – In Mapudungun (Mapuche language), “newen” is strength, associated with ‘nature’.]

**07.02.14, Paris, France:** *An Orange truck full of fibre-optic installation equipment is burnt out. “Against the digital grid, from surveillance cameras to the domestic use of internet, increasingly depleting our lives and relationships. Regarding the company Orange, we also chose this truck because Orange exploits prisoners for shit wages*

**28.02.14, Koridallios prison, Greece:** *During the 36th trial session of the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire / Informal Anarchist Federation ‘Imprisoned Members Cell’, Vassilis Foukas is called as a witness. He had previously served as deputy chairman of the Court of Appeal during cases against various urban guerrilla groups, and so the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire had attempted to burn down his house in 2009. After Foukas broke off his testimony and made to leave in a huff (after it was revealed that he had illegally accessed witness statements), he is attacked by the anarchists on trial. One jumps over the court benches towards him and cuts off his exit and another gives him a strong slap. Before the other comrades jump in, the cops manage to help him escape.*

with which to buy shit products in a shit environment. Fire to the virtual world! Fire to those that enclose us!”

**07.02.14, Upper Hutt, Aotearoa-New Zealand:** *A KFC fast-food outlet is badly fire-damaged. “The first of many actions by a brave new ALF member.”*

**10.02.14, Barcelona, Spain:** *During a week of autonomous actions called against the new abortion ban, the Vidal i Barraquer Foundation has all its windows broken “to indicate their active complicity with the Spanish Episcopal Conference in preventing abortions.” (During the week a bank ATM, the offices of Radio Estel, broadcaster of Barcelona’s Archdiocese, and headquarters of the magazine ‘Catalunya Cristiana’ were also smashed and spray-painted) “Their role is part of the oppression gear that condemns many women to be mothers even when they do not want or cannot afford to give birth. Their idea of family perpetuates the patriarchal system, the very same system that causes abuse involving both male and female children as well as subjection to the macho type, with devastating consequences[...] Social peace is over! [...] For the death of patriarchy...”*

**11.02.14, Bristol, U.K.:** *“This morning smoke rose above Clifton from the two vans and one large white personnel transporter we’d torched with low-tech firestarters after breaching the compound of the Royal Marine Reserve’s Bristol detachment, who’ve been deployed in Iraq and Afghanistan. [...] Our target’s security force counterparts in Russia are presently gathered for the Winter Olympics. Remembering the huge spectacle of troops and guards for the London Games and bearing in mind that the event always means militarised repression among the other atrocities, our arson demonstrates that the anti-Olympic flame lives on.” Carried out by F.A.I. ‘Mutiny Group’ in memory of Darko Mathers<sup>[1]</sup>.*

[1. Darko Mathers was an anarchist active in Dark Matter Publications and the website Prison Island UK, and died in early 2014.]

**Porto, Portugal:** *The Spanish consulate is paint-bombed and ‘FREE ABORTION’ sprayed on the façade, against the rising anti-abortion legislation in Spain.*

**14.02.14, Moscow, Russia:** *International Revolutionary Front - F.A.I./E.L.F. visit the deforestation site of a sand quarry construction and burn two excavators.*



**14.02.14, Sydney, Australia:** *Rowdy demonstration in memory of indigenous man TJ Hickey, chased to his death by Sydney police ten years ago. In the early morning before the march, anti-police graffiti goes up in many areas. “Throughout the rally, police made attempts to confiscate banners they considered “offensive” but were repelled by the crowd. Near Central station one pig was knocked off his bicycle after shoving a protester for stepping outside “the allocated area”. Police responded by detaining one young man but were forced to release him after being surrounded by the demonstrators. At the end of the rally pigs made another attempted to make arrests, snatching three people they accused of “carrying an offensive sign” but again had to free them when the crowd cornered the pigs. In response to the police attacks on the protest and their media statements afterwards, (where they threatened to ban next years march and track down and charge “4 – 5 troublemakers”) 10 CCTV cameras mounted on businesses were immobilised [by] spray paint and hammers.”*



**14.02.14, Nijmegen, Holland:** A group calling themselves 'Mutineers' placed a table laden with stolen goods in a shopping street, each item with a tag explaining it was stolen and inciting people to take the goods and begin to steal themselves. The table was empty in 15 minutes.

**20.02.14, İstanbul, Turkey:** An excavator is left unusable after being attacked with a time-set incendiary device; several spray-painted tags around the site claim the action as 'ELF-FAI/IRF'. The group announce their resistance to the ecocidal projects in the area, such as a third bridge over the Bosphorus river, and 'Canal İstanbul'. "The industrial capitalist civilization is spreading with bridges and double highways on Earth, is securing itself inside concrete forests which it builds, considering nature as only a resource, it is spreading by narrowing the margins of wild life everyday in the name of meeting the deficit of energy and it is making itself dominant. For that reason, placing ourselves against a society, which believes that building, development and expansion is virtue, we take some kind of responsibility for eliminating everything involving this automation process and as a part of the global total liberation struggle we choose to realize this by putting into practice simple incendiary methods, sabotage and direct action..." As well as in remembrance of the dead from the Gezi Park riots (see *The Faultline of İstanbul*), this was in solidarity with anarchist prisoners across the world, and the direct action movement "against the rising church in Spain." A salute to fighters in the streets of Turkish cities, "the rebels, anarchists and black blocs who participate actively in the social explosions in Egypt, Brazil, Ukraine, Bosnia and other parts of the world..."

**22.02.14, Sydney, Australia:** During the week of action called for the Zone Autonome a Défendre occupation in France (see *Return Fire vol.1 pg81*), the local headquarters of construction corporation Vinci and their subsidiary Advitam are attacked in the evening. "Some windows were cracked, and the slogans: "AGAINST VINCI AND ITS WORLD" & "THE ZAD IS EVERYWHERE" were painted." Vinci are the ones trying to develop the land that the Z.A.D. occupies. "Around the world capital seeks to commodify and industrialise the last remnants of wild nature. From airports to highways, coal mines to high speed rail lines, any level of ecological destruction and community displacement is acceptable for a project deemed important for 'economic growth' and the increasing flow of commodities. [...] The only way to defeat these developments is through our collective and combative struggle..."

**23.02.14, Turin, Italy:** 32 ATMs of San Paolo bank blocked-up with silicone. "Because it is the bank more involved in the construction of the high-speed railway line in the Susa Valley, and is also the major financier of the new Lombard highways: Tem, Brebemi, Pedemontana, Cremona-Mantova, of the TAV Genoa-Tortona (Third Pass) and of a string of other major works in Italy."

**24.02.14, Porto Alegre, Brazil:** 10 new police 4x4 trucks burn inside the military police's main barracks. The fire was stopped before it could spread to the 200 more new vehicles in the adjacent lot, "solemnly awaiting delivery to fulfil their function: to oversee, to humiliate, to assassinate."

**27.02.14, Bolivia:** Much graffiti on the streets in solidarity with Sol Vergara (see *'Face to Face With the Enemy'*).

science and industry, the A.L.F. liberated four rabbits from a pet shop. "These living beings who get transferred by luggages get murdered when they're not sold and their cuteness is over." They also call for more direct action "from our friends from the ALF, ELF" and dedicate the act "to all the species about to be ravaged in the destructions of the Northern Forests of İstanbul."

**05.03.14, Algiers, Algeria:** Trains in the eastern suburbs were stalled for more than a day, due to "malicious acts" committed during the night against catenary poles used to power electric trains. The sabotage caused more traffic disruptions in what has become an ongoing campaign of vandalism and disturbances between Algiers and Thénia, including a blockade of the train tracks by the inhabitants of Hai El Kerrouche, who oppose the establishment of a landfill site near their city. Riot squads are now assigned to monitor the passage of trains, and clashes are erupting sporadically between residents and riot police.

**05.03.14, Oakland, U.S.A.:** 'Technophobic Women's Action Team' paint-bomb three traffic CCTV at two intersections (including those reported to be the largest revenue-generating cameras for the council) and leave them temporarily inoperable. The attack happens in the night after the Oakland City Council voted to continue with the Domain Awareness Center program. In the past the same group has targeted a private security surveillance trailer, stating that "[as] women moving through this society, we find ourselves constantly under the male gaze. Strangers evaluate our bodies everyday. Our images are taken, altered, and force-fed back to us everywhere we look. [...] As anarchists, we recognize increasing surveillance as an attempt to suppress dissent. The imminent creation of the Domain Awareness Center - a public-sponsored, privately run entity that aims to integrate all surveillance footage in Oakland [ed. - as well as collating all present numberplate recognition, gunshot detectors, highway patrol cameras in cop cars, cameras in schools and private businesses, social media feeds...] - exposes the complete and total enmeshment of

**22.02.14, Nantes, France:** Over 20,000 people fill the streets against the shipping port/trainline/airport mega-project of Notre-Dames-Des-Landes (see *Return Fire vol.1 pg81*), along with 400 tractors of local farmers who oppose the development. A bloc of around a thousand break away to fight with the police for several hours, injuring eight cops. During the riot a courthouse is vandalized, a city transport network car and construction rig of the railway are burned. Many vehicles are overturned, dozens of places are ransacked (banks, council offices and travel agencies, including a Vinci agency, the company tasked with the mega-project). A police station closed by fire-damage. The city transport network suffers extensive damage to bus-stops, ticket machines and metro-stops. According to the President of the Chamber of Commerce, "The thugs were very organized, nothing was done by chance. [...] A number of protesters came together to prevent the police from intervening, allowing the thugs to do their job." Water cannons and tear gas are deployed, but after nightfall around 200 fighters are still reported to be roaming the streets. The Interior Minister of France complains that the delinquents are waging an "urban guerrilla" campaign.

## MARCH

**02.03.14, İstanbul, Turkey:** During a demonstration against a change in the law that would allow stray animals to be used as subjects of experimentation for



state and corporate interests. With the DAC, there will no longer be any "private" cameras. All images will be aggregated, and mined for information. [...] As Oakland anarchist women, we're sick of the machismo and militant posturing combined with little concrete action to back it up. We're sick of proving our competence and radicalism enacting an agenda written by anarchist men. [...] To all those fighting the DAC, who have seen their pleas at city hall fall on deaf ears, we issue an invitation to join us in taking the next logical step."

**12.03.14, Catalunya, Spain:** Fascist bookstore 'The European Library' is attacked at 10:30am by hooded individuals, who break the windows and throw paint-bombs, with the shop open and customers inside. In the past this place had already been trashed during the September 2010 strikes, books ripped up and thrown around and the shopkeeper beaten.

**08.03.14, Berlin, Germany:** Fire set at the entrance of the Lichtenburg court, connected to the adjacent womens' prison which was also the target of the attack. "Against prison, capital, the State and patriarchy! For anarchist praxis!"

**08.03.14, Tyendinaga, Canada:** Mohawks blockade passenger, freight and oil-tanker trains for hours in anger at the ongoing social apathy over missing and murdered indigneous women. A large armed police contingent moves in to clear them out, leading to one cop being minorly injured after a police car window was smashed. The action halled back to the Mohawk railway blockades of 2007 which caused \$100-million in economic damage.

**10.03.14, Brighton, U.K.:** After a three-day rooftop protest at a squatted church resisting its eviction with a black flag and crowds outside, bottles and paint-bombs are thrown at a passing police car after provocations and the squatters abandon the building. Three were sadly arrested in the surrounding area but all others escaped, and upon entering the church a cop breaks their ribs falling into a trap left behind...



**14.03.14, Sabzevar, Iran:** The day of Persian New Year, anarchist and E.L.F. graffiti is left in anger at the site where the last of the area's trees had been recently cut down.

**15.03.14, Athens, Greece:** Action against franchises owned by a money-laundering network engaged in "a network of forced prostitution, women slavery and human trafficking..." The targets were three bakeries of To Horiatiko and another of Attika Bakeries, which are attacked using stink bombs "in order to sabotage the food production, whereas at the same time we distributed flyers inside the venue to inform customers and people passing by about the background of the owners of the bakeries and what lies behind these companies."

**17.03.14, Steyning, U.K.:** Anti-militarists blockaded NATO's Post 2014 Strategic Narrative Conference at a stately home in the Sussex countryside. Meanwhile, banners were hung off road bridges close to the venue to 'greet' delegates as they arrived. They succeeded in blocking the front entrance for more than an hour, leading to chaos on the main road. The conference aims to set the agenda and content for NATO's 2014 summit, in Newport, Wales.

**20.03.13, Bury Saint Edmunds, U.K.:** Four cars (including a Mercedes-Benz) have tyres punctured, corrosive substance applied to the bodywork, anarchist symbols and anti-wealth slogans scratched in the paint.

**21.03.13, Volos, Greece:** "We chose to torch the tax archives, and poured records with gasoline and lit them on fire. Our goal was to expand the flames throughout the whole of the building, but due to lack of oxygen the fire didn't spread. Next time we'll be more cautious. The reasons why we chose to target the tax office are self-evident. Our only debt to the main predatory mechanism of the State is its destruction."

**28.03.13, London, U.K.:** Anarchists joined a demonstration outside the Spanish consulate "to show our anger at the killing of migrants trying to enter the Spanish colonial enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla on the North Coast of Morocco. The Spanish Guardia Civil were responsible for these murders, according to eye witnesses. We also attended the protest to show our solidarity to the 5 anarchist comrades who were arrested in a raid by police in Barcelona November 13th 2013." Cops were already blocking access to the building when they arrived.

"The decision was made to march to the Spanish embassy itself, we took it upon ourselves to add more militancy to the protest, by getting off the pavement and marching with banners in the street, causing disruption to

traffic in a busy high street. Chants of 'the passion for freedom is stronger than any prison' and 'no borders, no nations, fuck deportation' echoed off the walls of the embassies in the area. Once at the Spanish embassy we stormed into the building again screaming anti-prison & solidarity with migrant chants setting off metal detectors[...] We were then confronted by an armed police unit who forcibly removed us from the building..."

**Argentina:** "In the context of agitation and solidarity days with the comrades Marcelo Villarroel, Freddy Fuentevilla and Juan Aliste Vega [ed. - March 14th-25th], imprisoned in Chile after being extradited by the Argentinean State<sup>[1]</sup> [...] we made a bomb threat on the 4648 flight of LAN Airlines with destination to Santiago, Chile. By this simple act we managed to paralyze the airports of Ezeiza and Mendoza (with the corresponding economical loss that this implies) and forced the plane to make an emergency landing. We also stand in solidarity with Carlos Quiduled<sup>[1]</sup>, Hans Niemeyer<sup>[2]</sup>, Sol Vergara, Hermes González, Alfonso Alvial<sup>[3]</sup> and all the kidnapped comrades on the other side of the cordillera [ed. - the mountain border with Chile]. The psychological harassment against the enemy has been a historical weapon of revolutionaries, and we will not stop..."

[1. See **Return Fire vol.1 pg.72**.

2. Hans was arrested after four months on the run with his partner and child, because he was accused of four bombings during 2010-2011 in Santiago (against an electrical transformer, the capitalist memorial of Jaime Guzmán and a luxury car showroom (both claimed by the 'Autonomous Cell of Revolutionary Crime') and a bank. The cell released a statement denying his involvement in their two of the actions; "They have never gotten close to us and so they have felt obliged to accuse an innocent of these actions. The stupidity of domination and the State reach such a level that they relate these attacks to Hans Neymer by the components used in the devices, even when these materials are within the reach of the whole exploited class, able to be found at any hardware store (10% sulfur, 15% carbon, 75% potassium nitrate or saltpeter) just like the detonation mechanisms and fuse can be bought at any corner store since they are a simple (kitchen) timer or a cheap alarm clock, so it is stupid to link anyone for using items that are everywhere and within everyone's reach." In the end he could only be convicted for the bank attack, sentenced to nearly six years, and is active in the internal anti-prison struggle.

3. See **'Face to Face With the Enemy']**





# REBELS BEHIND BARS

- text by prisoners & repression news



## Spanish, Italian & French Investigators Collaborate to Capture Fugitive Anarchist, Francesco 'Jimmy' Puglisi

After nearly a year on the run, on June 5th 2013 a house was raided in Barcelona and Jimmy was captured. He had been located in an operation coordinated by the Italian prosecutors but facilitated by other European police forces; **bank and telephone activity of Jimmy's partner was detected in Paris**, where the police claim they could have been sheltered by groups dating back to the '70s. The two then left France and headed to Spain, with false documents.

Jimmy had been convicted the year before along with several other comrades for 'devastation and plunder' during the Genoa G8 Summit of world leaders back in 2001. He was sentenced to 14 years before managing to leave the country, having been identified on CCTV attacking high-street stores and banks with molotovs during the disorder that accompanied the summit and then arrested in December 2002. The well-known anarchist (of the Catania area) had previously been sentenced to a year's imprisonment in 2000 after police found 30 sticks of dynamite, four detonators and 60 metres of fuse wire in his house.



**More than a decade on, the Italian State still feels the need to stamp down hard on the legacy of the major uprising it experienced in Genoa during those July days, especially in the turbulent present.** Rioting was extensive during the summit, and well remembered by many, with damages running into the millions of euros. People burned vehicles on the main route to the summit, attacked and damaged the

Marassi prison, rioted both beforehand at Italian borders as police attempted to stop suspected radicals entering (even suspending the European freedom of movement treaty) and during the summit itself – 100 security force personnel were injured, although so were many protestors, and young comrade Carlo Giuliani was shot dead by a cop during the clashes.

It's painful to see this comrade back in the hands of the jailers, not to mention the others also subject to the lasting retribution of the judiciary, and it's a sharp reminder in Jimmy's case about both the dangers of the electronic networks that we are often forced to inhabit and the willingness of the democratic regimes to hunt down rebels.

We remember at least that **one of the other sentenced fighters, Vincenzo, is still 'at large'**, so we wish them speed and luck!

REMEMBER THE PRISONERS,  
REMEMBER THE DIGITAL SURVEILLANCE,  
REMEMBER THE STRUGGLE!

Francesco Puglisi, Casa Circondariale di Roma Rebibbia,  
Via Raffaele Majetti 70, IT-00156 Roma  
...and search the web for the other G8 prisoners' details

## Further Details About the Police Operation & Snitches in Bolivia

[continued from Return Fire vol.1 pg76]

Since our last issue, **dignified anarchist Henry Zegarrundo was let out of prison into house arrest pending trial** at the start of May 2013, almost exactly a year after the multiple arrests and consequent snitching frenzy. Over a dozen of his court hearings had been suspended already. In November, yet another hearing (to judge whether to grant time extensions to the investigators) was suspended. The situation remains bureaucratic stagnation, with a planned change in which court would handle the case having been reversed to the original, and a March 2014 hearing delayed; though now Henry can leave home in the daytime.

Meanwhile, we want to address more details that have come out about the level of voluntary help given to the cops by so-called 'radicals' in Bolivia as we mentioned before. **Some were trying to legally clear themselves; many more participated solely out of ideological opposition to illegal actions and the international insurrectional tendency, and syndicalist and 'libertarian' feminist organisations have backed up their snitching members and defended their actions.** Three of the ones who still face charges for the actions in question have given police detailed opinions of who they blame the attacks on, such as their other three co-defendants, and why, often even after their official interviews had finished.

For example, Nina Cortez (at that time still in prison) had already supplied solid alibis for the nights of both attacks she is accused of (due to the partially-covered face of a woman being in surveillance shots nearby).

"I know there are thousands of prisoners in the world, many more than I can imagine. I know that I share sorrows and joys with many of them, as well as the strong political bond of affinity, of complicity and above all of conviction in this social war. I know I desire the destruction of the visible and invisible prisons, but above all and with a priority on the visible ones, the ones that distance us from our bodies' embracing, seeing each other, colliding. Because if in our dreams (my dreams and the dreams of those who read these words) and in each letter and each action we give thousands of embraces across the distance, I know that we also want these to be here and now, and above all physically and for all time!! Therefore, I also know to stop with them, with my own, with those who show their teeth, those who refuse to be domesticated. With the wild ones who look on power with disdain. Those who remain dignified and who call upon silence when it is an ally, but who shout when it is necessary. Those who do not give in. With them, with the wild and indomitable warriors. Our love makes it across bars, walls, spreading through the cracks in the cement, and our hatred lights fires, sharpens knives and loads bullets.

We launch our howls into the galaxy in hope of being heard by our *compañerxs*." – *Action for May 29th and Reflection on the Affects Imposed by Civilisation*

Some of the syndicalist arrestees speculated in their interviews that it was either her or another of the accused (who is now free without charges), while also displaying a dismissive attitude towards women even in their own organisations (usually not knowing their names but instead using “the girlfriend of...”). **But Nina returned to the police to identify who she thinks the person is.** She reported that on the day of the arrests, the woman in question was nervous and tearful – and that she disappeared ever since someone remarked that the image (circulated by the press) looked like her. Nina named both this woman (and told the cops where on her Facebook page they could get the woman's photo to compare it biometrically with the surveillance footage), her address and her partner, **and identified another comrade (also apparently now on the run) as the probable author of the communiqués for the actions.** She gave the police his phone number and the location of other things he'd written to compare the styles. On top of this she connected both now-fugitives with Krudo (another accused) and Henry.

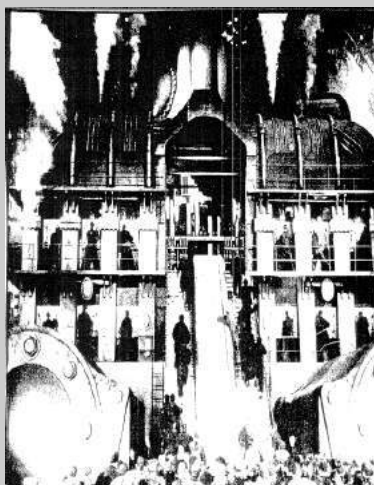
Neither does it stop there... Subsequently Nina submitted a petition to the government asking them to subpoena information out of the web server for the counter-information site that hosted the claims, Liberación Total, supplying the address for the company owning the server, and giving step-by-step instructions on how to request the IP addresses the articles were uploaded from! The day after she then requested release, and got house arrest.

**As for Krudo, the other anarchist largely blamed by the snitches for involvement apart from Henry, the situation is complicated.** He is still locked up in youth detention, and although as we previously reported did supply intelligence to the police about Henry's relationship to 'foreign' anarchists and solidarity initiatives (as well as the Animal Liberation / Total Liberation gathering), which they will hold against him, Krudo did not give information about the action groups or any illegal activity. He has reiterated that the cops have altered some of his statement. However after some months where he did not take steps to retract his statement or take enough responsibility for his mistakes, Henry has withdrawn his solidarity for Krudo (though he remains supported by other comrades).

In sum, the wider movement in Bolivia has caused much greater damage than anything the police initially could have wielded against the struggles in that country. Comrades have reported that there has been many cases (from all sides) of people uncritically believing or spreading rumours concerning who was and wasn't snitching,

and these dynamics became one of the more effective results of the repression. On top of this the plans for the highway mega-project that some incendiary actions initially opposed (to cross Bolivia from Brazil to Peru and Chile, connecting markets and ports from the Atlantic to the Pacific) continue unabated. Let's hope there's serious lessons to be learned on the ground from damages caused to the struggles by these events.

“Bonnie's heart sank when she considered the horror of the lives that most men *[sic]* led, trapped for nine/ten hours a day in the slave gangs of traffic, the uniformed peonage – suit and tie and digital wrist-watch – of the office galleys, the nerve-wracking drudgery of the on-going never-ceasing destruction and reconstruction, backhoes, front-end loaders, jackhammers, wrecking balls, freight trucks, nailguns, concrete culverts, asbestos insulation, I-beams, hardware, software, application forms, medical claim forms, auto insurance forms, income tax forms, garbage, mud, dust, sludge, whole monoclines of paper and anticlines of carbon (press hard) and synclines of silent despair. The world of 'jobs.'” - Edward Abbey



“Life unbridled, a venture into the absolute other, requires the total destruction not only of 'my' work, but of the very concept of work and economy as the basis of human relationships.”

- Jean Weir

## **“Mayday is Not a Celebration – The Colonisation of Everyday Life”**

**- words of Augusto Silva Sosa &**

**Marco Camenisch (Mexico & Switzerland)**

*[from a 28.04.13 letter by Augusto, known as 'Mayin', involved in the Casa Naranja occupied space in Mexico City and locked up on charges of theft since November 2012:]*

On 1st May one hundred and twenty-seven years ago thousands of workers deserted their factory jobs in the United States, and rebelled against exploitation and the tyranny of the ruling class, and to demand better working conditions such as an 8-hour workday. The authority's response was thousands of dismissals, prison and murders against the revolutionary workers movement. The workers were also accused of being manipulated by eight anarchists, who were sent to the gallows following their alleged involvement in the death of several cops who had been killed in the surroundings of Haymarket square in Chicago. Those anarchists are today known as ‘martyrs of Chicago’.

However, meetings and violent struggles going on for over a century didn't succeed in overcoming the limits imposed by capitalism, let alone eliminating the colonisation of everyday life. In modern techno-industrial society work is useless as it only serves trade and social control. Consumerism and trade have a fundamental role in mass society. **The mechanisation of life has been fundamental for mass production and mass society is the result of the deterioration of the working class, which failed to stop the dominance of technology in the production system.** Capitalism is the ongoing colonisation of the planet and its systems of self-regulation, while faith in progress and science is becoming the highest form of knowledge, which increases the artificiality of life and therefore dominion.

**Mayday is coming but the old dream of the working class is now buried in the graveyard of the colonisation of everyday life perpetrated by production in order to benefit the realm of the wealthy.**

It is an oppressing reality and it is imperative to attack production and develop the discussion on what we need and what we're missing, so we can understand what we really need and where and how to get it.

*- Mario Augusto Sosa*

D-8-5bis unit, Reclusorio Preventivo, Varonil Sur Xochimilco DF, Mexico

[from a letter by Marco last year:]

## Angry greetings on Mayday 2013 –

Celebrating? I really don't feel like celebrating! After all we are celebrating enough, in a sense. For whatever we want to do or not to do following our nature, our life should be just a celebration.

But Mayday is not a celebration, it's not meant to be celebrated. And even less so if Mayday is the celebration of work, a day in praise of work. On the contrary it must be a day of meditation and analysis on and in favour of solidarious organization of the **struggle against work**. And obviously also against the system and all its roots, which force us to work, make work necessary, a question of life or death, and in fact we are killing ourselves and our future with work! For work is slavery. And I don't mean wage slavery, as this concept is huge minimization, especially in the face of so called unemployment in times of crisis when wages are not sufficient to live, or are no longer so, or never were so.

**Moreover let's bear it in mind that work and exploitation were born and can exist only under dominion and patriarchal oppression along with the massacres and destructions perpetrated against humanity and nature!** [...] In fact since the beginning of dominion, exploitation and patriarchal slavery, i.e. since the beginning of civilisation, this deadly spiral has been set in motion[...] And for what? For the accumulation, wanted and made lasting, of power and wealth in the hands of a few people! Their overproduction of people and goods is be used in the imperialist war, internal and external, the endless war waged from above, a war of everyone against everyone and everyone against nature. This unabated war is intensified for the maintenance and development of this social system, murderous and suicidal.

Divide and rule. Work is the best instrument to achieve this! If in Chicago a hundred work slaves were assassinated in one fell swoop, today – as Bangladesh teaches<sup>[1]</sup> – we can add another zero to the figure. **That's progress**, and its existence is made possible by a great number of professionals of violence armed with batons and guns...

The number of their victims in the universal produce-and-throw-away war of technological-industrial capital continues to rise, and is reduced to mere calculation of profitability in the indices of the society of risks. And the number is digitally marked by our zero collective conscience[...] Victims of zero value, never people, except if the victims are rich or if they are useful to the propaganda of terror or used as a pretext for a war. **All for the sake of work.**

And so: neither digital- nor verbal-radical but real solidarity to the core. Enough with the system of slavery, enough with State and capital, enough with work!

- *Marco Camenisch*

Strafanstalt Bostadel, Postfach 38, CH-6313 Menzingen, Switzerland

1. ed. - A reference to the collapse of the eight-story Rana Plaza factory complex that killed over 1,000 workers in the country with Asia's second-lowest wages, and a massive sweat-shop garment industry.

See **Return Fire vol.1 pg75** for the background of Marco's case. He remains active in the struggle with his numerous translations, letters, and hunger strikes in solidarity with many imprisoned insurgents. According to the law, Marco should have long been eligible for parole under restricted conditions, but is constantly denied. This is because he's known to have many contacts throughout the world that could help him disappear, and he has not backed down in the slightest regarding his commitment to the struggle for total liberation, is "disposed to violence" and "promotes delinquency". It's likely that when he reaches the end of his sentence in 2018, he'll then be under a high surveillance regime as long as he lives due to his "social dangerousness" which they have tried to label as a pathology. Before these incredible threats and the full weight of repression, we have enormous respect for the way Marco continues to conduct himself, and he remains present in every action anywhere that reaches for the liberation he relishes. Most recently, he again underwent hunger strike against the World Economic Forum summit in January 2014, accompanied by refusing prison work, also in solidarity with a Turkish anti-repression gathering and in response to the confiscation of some of his possessions by the prison regime.

NOT A STEP BACK...

## The Temuco Bombs Case (Chile)

The city of Temuco is within Wallmapu, the traditional territory of the Mapuche people (who prevented its colonisation for over 300 years) which was only invaded by Chile and Argentina in the early 1880s. The area has long been host to fierce resistance by Mapuche warriors to the military/corporate occupation, and more recently also by anarchist subversives and action groups.

**The events we'll discuss relate to attacks carried out in the first part of 2013, by a group calling itself 'Incendiary Nomad Cell'.** Their first act was an arson of the loading area of the Sodimac Homecentre

(notorious for the animal abuse that takes place there) which destroyed a delivery truck. The cell wrote that "[t]he flame of *insurrection will continue to burn and we will remain indomitable before those who try to domesticate us, and we will not allow businesses like Homecenter to do that to our animal brothers and sisters.*"

The group simultaneously announced later having placed an explosive/incendiary at the regional offices of the *Gendarmería de Chile* – a national organisation of prison guards which evolved from army units that were historically given police and prison duties in Chile (though no longer a formal military organisation, they are organised in a para-military fashion and maintain ties with the military, still wearing the grey-green uniforms were adopted under the dictatorship of General Pinochet and inspired by German troop uniform in the Second World War). Cops found the device, and set it off in a controlled explosion.

Next, on March 16th they placed another device in the annexes of the Temuco Special Forces headquarters, under one of their patrol cars, issuing a second communiqué.

On March 26th, the radical space Pandemia in Temuco released a statement denouncing the police harrasment of the space and those who lived in or visited it (like identity checks and being followed), visits from the investigatory officers talking about closing the space down and questioning the neighbours, and collaboration of security guards working for Unimarc merchants around the corner with agents of power in the monitoring of their daily activities. **On March 28th at 5:30am, Pandemia and also the Amanecer space were both raided by the special forces and civil cops**, forcefully evicting Pandemia and leaving 12 cats inside the building. 12 comrades were arrested, under the arms and explosives control law and for infraction of the drug law.

The five comrades who made up the Pandemia space released a statement, announcing that they "*reject victimization as a tool of propaganda, making it clear that here there are no innocent or guilty parties, there is only the result of years of persecution against those who struggle.*"



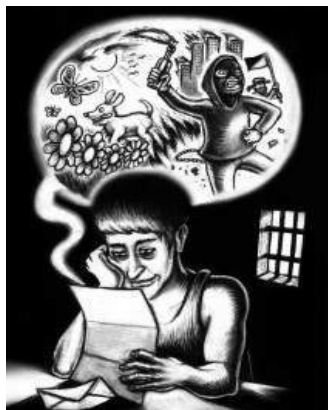
The poster reads: "Immediate freedom for the five comrades imprisoned by the state in Temuco!!! Roxana, Yaritza and Ariadna accused of making explosive devices and Silvana and Juan Pablo accused of petty drug trafficking. The same old story, the same old frame-up. WE WANT THEM FREE AND WILD"



They refused to reveal their identities to the police, and were held overnight without access to water or a toilet – including the comrade Roxana Marín who was at that point five months pregnant. When she displayed a displacement in her placenta (confirmed by the jailhouse doctor), the cops only attended to it after some delay.

**Seven of the arrested were soon informed that they would be prosecuted solely for refusing to identify themselves. The next morning they were granted bail, while the other five of the arrested were sent to preventative prison.** The operation was headed by a known anti-Mapuche prosecutor; it seems that it also aimed to disrupt the annual commemoration of the Day of the Youth Combatant the following day by taking fighters off the streets<sup>[1]</sup>.

Of the five still detained, **Silvana Lumilla soon released a letter:** *“Today, March 30th, I was with the 2 compañeras accused for an “explosive device” sharing the module with 48 prisoners of the capitalist system. In the hearing where the charges were formalized we were charged as “marijuana traffickers” (100 grams that can drug 400 people) and for this given 3 months investigation period in prison. These practices are old, neutralizing, discrediting and of course exposing one in image to the morbid curiosity of the formal communication media, to thus unlink the political persecution and replace it with the common crime. I am calm, we have had with the other prisoners an affectionate welcome from women in solidarity, from a cup of tea, toiletries, clothes, conversations, much joy and in spite of the circumstances we keep dreaming and they in spite of months, years, an eternity of confinement, all beautiful, free and crazy! [...] We will see each other soon; love and close embraces to my son, mother, siblings, grandmother, family in general, wenui<sup>[2]</sup>, lagmien<sup>[3]</sup>, compas and friends. PEWKAYAL!<sup>[4]</sup>”* **Also accused of the drug charge was Juan Pablo, while Roxana, Yaritza Grandon and Adriana Torres were the bomb suspects.** Similarly to the Santiago ‘Bombs Case’ (see **Return Fire vol.1 pg73**) the prosecutor delayed handing files to the defence so as to postpone any appeal against the preventative detention. From a letter by Roxana: *“Our strength, courage, and conviction are intact to resist everything that comes to me, my son Leon and my compañero. This being that is inside of me is growing stronger than ever, receiving the energy of all the people who have come to visit me, without concern for the affinity we may have or for whether they might be followed when they leave the*



*prison or linked with me. I have nothing to hide, I have felt inside here that these places are made for those of us who do not accept anything that they want to impose on us, on our children, that they are the ones who we have to protect from the threatening clutches of the State-Prison. For the moment there are not words sufficient to express what we are feeling in this disgusting place, but don’t worry, they will never cause us to falter in any fucking way.”*

The comrades were held in Temuco prison, where tension had been building for months over guards beating young inmates, humiliating them internally and in front of visitors, and throwing food that families had brought to their beloved on the floor. One prisoner, Eliana Becerra, had been on hunger and thirst strike for 36 days. **Due to all this, and on the appointment of a much-hated guard to leadership position, on April 4th the prisoners rose up and rioted.** Chairs, mattresses, blankets, and anything else that would burn was set alight. Visitors hours were taking place at that time (one woman reporting that the guards began beating her daughter right there while she herself was being evacuated from the prison), and from outside the families of some of the arrested from Pandemia could hear the commotion as special forces and riot police entered the jail.

April 5th, Silvana and Juan were both given nightly house arrest while the investigation continued over the drugs charges. April 25th, a communiqué from Adriana and Yaritza was seized by the prison warden due to its “anti-prison contents”. The judge ruled the next day to confirm pre-trial detention for Yaritza despite the argument that her disability (in her upper extremities, affecting fine motor control) would impede her carrying out the actions as alleged. The prosecutor disputed the affects of her condition on her daily life, and claimed that police have the notebook in which she had written the communiqué for the attack on the Special Forces and the Gendarmería (perhaps imprints were left on the pages beneath those written on, it’s unclear). Shortly after, Adriana was punished for insulting the magistrate and upholding her anti-authoritarian position, and denied visitors and access to the prison shop for 7 days. May 2nd, the court allowed Roxana house arrest with police checks due to her advanced pregnancy (while the prosecutor asserted that her freedom posed a danger to the security of society), and it’s in this atmosphere that her son was born.



*“[P]rison is no more than an architectural construct designed to discipline and control the movements/existences of those taken captive by prison society... The only pleasant smell in prison comes from the few brothers and sisters who come to see us, or when everything burns in the fire of a riot. How beautiful, comrade! The smell of the burning mattresses, the smoke filling the cell blocks, the “perfumed ones” [ed. - prison staff] terrified and “imprisoned” (what a paradox...), and the freed prisoners writing banners, securing positions, turning each tool into a weapon and each burning object into a “Molotov”... Insurrection is beautiful when it breaks out. It is uncontrollable (like freedom) and subversive. In those moments, the prisoner is not a prisoner, and the consequences mean shit. No matter how long it lasts, insurrection is something that remains etched in fire on the soul. The beatings, the torture, the isolation, the vindictive destruction of your things (photos, letters, books, clothing, etc.) will always be the bitter consequences of defeat, but the images, moments, sounds, and smells of insurrection will accompany you for life...”*

*– Gabriel Pombo da Silva  
(see ‘I Didn’t Want to Be an Honest Worker’)*

In September, **Yaritza and Adriana claimed responsibility for placement of the two explosives**, and accepted a fast-tracked process which ended in a suspended sentence of 541 days. **Roxana refused the process, and was finally acquitted of all charges.** The prosecutor appealed the sentence for the two ‘guilty’, which was finally extended to three years’ probation.

1. ed. - A tradition since the dictatorship, marking the death of young anti-regime fighters, this day still features clashes and incendiary actions year after year between the forces of the law and different revolutionaries and anarchists. English report of hard 2013 clashes: [waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=7683](http://waronsociety.noblogs.org/?p=7683)
2. ed. - “Companions/siblings” in Mapudungun (Mapuche language)
3. ed. - “Sisters/brothers” in Mapudungun
4. ed. - “So long!” in Mapudungun

## Jeremy Hammond Sentenced (U.S.A.)

[continued from *Return Fire* vol.1 pg76]

On November 8th 2013, Jeremy was given a ten-year prison sentence after pleading guilty to hacking into the computer servers of a string of corporations, government agencies and law enforcement advocacy groups. The sentence was exactly that requested by the prosecutor, with which the judge concurred due to his "unrepentant recidivism." Jeremy had been convicted and jailed in 2006 for previously hacking a racist organisation that harassed anti-war groups. Jeremy described his actions as disrupting a "deserving target" in his statement before the judge, and left court with a fist raised and with the words "hurrah for anarchy!"

Write to the comrade:

Jeremy Hammond #18729-424, FCI Manchester, Federal Correctional Institution, P.O. Box 4000, Manchester, KY 40962, U.S.A.

## Elisa Di Bernardo's contribution to the IXth Meeting for Animal Liberation & Operation Ardire updates (Italy)



Hi everybody! To be honest (excuse me for the unpleasant word) I've never participated in any of the previous meetings for animal liberation. This is the first time I'm expressing my opinion on an occasion of this kind, although I'm locked up in jail.

What I'm about to write is not necessarily linked to a precise and univocal topic related to an agenda, but it is meant as a series of considerations and questions, with a holistic perspective and an anti-authoritarian way to perceive the existent.

It may seem an inconclusive series of thoughts... do what you want with it, but I want to let you know that the main goal of my short contribution is to demolish some stereotypes and demystify some 'absolute truths'. And now I'm going freewheel...

Even if I've been vegan for 14 years I've never claimed that veganism is an excellent 'sign' of absolute coherence... and in what respect? To the fact of being animalist, antispeciest, environmentalist? By now these are overused words, which have been appropriated by an increasingly important and not at all anti-authoritarian fringe. You finish the sentence...

**I'm convinced that veganism is not always harmless in terms of environmental impact (let's think, for example, of the multinationals of soya production), unless it is practiced in an anti-industrial way.** For this reason I'm sure that some forms of vegetarianism and omnivorism are more eco-friendly (just to use an expression we all understand), again if they are not accomplices of industrial production. 'Omnivorism! Heresy!' will yell some of the people at the meeting. Yes, omnivorism. In my opinion, in fact, we have to pay attention to what we want to realise.

Radical environmentalism? The ideal would be to destroy all techno-industrial mechanisms, not to eat food products that have little connection to the soil; and at this point it doesn't matter if these are vegetable or animal products. The inviolability of life? To protect all living beings from death and suffering is only possible up to a point; and nature, which we claim to love so much is not so merciful as our mythic imagination leads us to believe. In this respect, for example, I know of vegans, animalists, antispeciests (and all the *ists* you like) who like to interfere with the predatory instincts of the animals they live with, and to prevent possible prey from ending up in the jaws and paws of their predators, which are vegans like their 'owners'... isn't this a reflex of the anthropocentrism we want to overcome?

In my opinion an anarchist who claims to be against all forms of anthropocentrism shouldn't become the saviour of other animal species involved in instinctive predatory dynamics. Do we belong to the nature we claim to respect, defend and free? In what way does the human being interfere with nature and the natural world? **What do these words actually mean and in what way do they encounter or clash with our culture? How can we realise a 'wild' life? (Ah, from how many voices, including**

mine, have I heard this very beautiful word!) How many of us would be ready to get rid of the so-called comforts offered by a city (a very little natural place, I'd say)? In what way can we reconcile animal liberation and human liberation ideally and practically?

Certainly intensive farming and locked up animals are not tolerable, without compromise! **I really think it is useful to stress the importance and urgency of animal liberation with all means necessary. However talking of animal liberation from an anarchist perspective should remind us that the human being is the animal that has been living in captivity for the longest time ever.** Of how many cages we must get rid yet? Many, far too many! Sexism, to reconnect to one of the themes of this meeting, is one of them. I don't know any truth but I've got convictions: as an anarchist, and especially during this hyper-liberticidal time, I refuse to use the concept of 'rights' in relation to humans so I don't use it in relation to other animals either. It is a lie that helps the institutions in their work of representation through delegation.

**Radical environmentalism and animal liberation can perfectly reconcile, or rather they should be inseparable. But obviously animal liberation is 'only' a part of a radical environmental approach. I really think that in a trajectory of animal liberation we should reject all forms of specialisation and separate issues, and understand that there can be no freedom without liberation from all cultural traps.**

It is good to continue to free animals not only from the narrow cages of breeding farms and laboratories but, if I have to say it all, also from the larger and lovely ones of animal shelters... but would this be more acceptable if there were no roads and cars to interfere with the free running of these animals outside the shelters? **Therefore it is necessary to also destroy the cages represented by roads and cars (for ourselves too)... therefore it is urgent to struggle against the cage of urbanisation... therefore we cannot help destroying the cage of anthropocentrism... therefore we are facing a huge work of cultural subversion so as to free ourselves from all forms of dominion!**

*A rebel hug!*

*- Elisa Di Bernardo*

**Elisa was held under 'Operation Ardire'.** This operation ostensibly aims at the authors of multiple Informal Anarchist Federation (F.A.I.) attacks in Italy over the last decade and related matters, and was launched June 13th 2012 with 40 raids, 24 people under investigation, Elisa and seven others immediately sent to jail on pre-trial detention.

The detainees sent into male prison were held in a newly-inaugurated wing for anarchist prisoners at the Arginone jail, complete with its own prison guard 'Anti-Terrorism Squad' (part of a national pilot project) so as to better investigate their correspondence and relationships to people on the outside. There are six cells in total, with no real recreation space, fridge, gym or gym equipment. Two or three times a day the comrades reported that guards beat the bars and search the cells very often, and make it impossible to communicate with other prisoners. The four others ended up in Rome women's prison.

The prosecutor specified when (sucessfully) applying for extention of the pre-trial incarceration period that it would be justified by the fact that Elisa and others continued to communicate with anarchists on the outside, promote solidarity campaigns and exalt "acts marked by violence". "Danger of escape" was also cited to prevent Elisa and her companion and co-editor of the counter-information website and printed publication Culmine, Stefano Fosco, from their pre-trial release, and both were described as expressing "a non-occasional dedication to committing serious offences against the State, on both a national and an international level".

**After a year and two months inside, Elisa and Stefano were both finally released with the court cases pending.** They are both still banned from travelling abroad or moving towns and have to report to the police station twice daily. All of the 'Ardire' prisoners are now on the outside, yet to be tried – except Sergio Stefani who on 22nd October 2013 was found guilty of car theft in a separete 'terror' case against anarchists (2009's 'Operation Shadow', after F.A.I. attacks on the manager of Gradisa migrant detention centre, Bocconi University – "the symbol of the free market in Italy", and alleged attempted rail sabotage), and sentenced to 3 years 3 months; he'll also be sued by the prosecutor for contempt of court that day.

"There are moments when all empty words finally disappear and all masks fall off. There are moments when all other people's words fall off without them knowing. There are moments when you realise that this place has changed you and other moments when you think you are still the same person, and you discover yourself again and again. There are moments when you recognise the time of the day by the noise you hear from the corridors and you realise it is becoming normal. There are moments when you wake up in the night with a start because a light is spying over your sleep. There are moments when you see a mother crying because she can't do the most natural thing: to be with her children. There are moments when you cry because of that mother, of all the hugs she's being denied, of her broken relations, and because you think that no one is going to pay for so much pain. There are moments when you think you could look at the imprisoned comrades' faces for hours because you know from their eyes that they have never been scared of this hell. There are moments when you think of the pain of those visiting you, their faces that eventually go away, shocked, as they say "we are leaving her here." There are moments when your blood freezes in your veins when you think of freedom because you also think you won't be able to take the comrades imprisoned here away with you the moment you are free. There are moments, so many moments, when laughter burst like thunder, like a waterfall, and spread freshly on your skin, on your face, in your head. There are moments when you see a comrade smiling again and you think this has made your day. There are moments when you get news of someone who got out or escaped, and the bars crack, and your smile is mocking. There are moments, so many moments, constant moments, when you think of rubble, broken keys, uniforms in flames, and you feel the freshness of bare feet on the grass and your breath is deep."

– letter from Giulia Marziale, seven months into her detention as part of Operation Ardire; she is now out on bail awaiting trial

The anarchists await trial on terrorism-enhanced charges. **A significant part of Operation Ardire is that it targets not only the comrades in Italy, but also wants to extradite imprisoned members of the anarchist guerrilla group Conspiracy of Cells of Fire from Greece (see Return Fire vol.1 pg40) and until April 2014 also (unsuccessfully) sought to extradite Gabriel Pombo da Silva (see Return Fire vol.1 pg75),**

first from Germany where he was then held and again from Spain when he was transferred there. **Originally other long-term anarchist prisoner Marco Camenisch, held in Switzerland (see above), appeared in the order of remand in custody, but since has heard nothing and no moves have since been made to extradite him.**

Throughout the investigation and Elisa's detention, both her and Stefano's long-running correspondence with and support for the "well-known criminal individuals" Marco and Gabriel have been held against them – for example this was the justification for months-long censorship of Elisa's mail. Among other reasons Marco and Gabriel were included in the 'Ardire' investigation due to the international hunger strike of anarchist prisoners carried out in December 2009 – January 2010 (see 'I Didn't Want To Be a Proud Worker'), because of which they were named by Italian investigators as "symbols and points of reference of a new subversive project" of which they would be "ideologists and supporters".

**The latest news for now concerning Gabriel is that as of April 18th 2014, the Italian-European arrest warrant was lifted following the two failed attempts to extradite him.** He will continue to be confined in the Spanish prison system, probably until 2023. After he had been delivered back to the jails he had escaped so many years ago, the German press ran a story titled 'A Hole in the Cell...' where they alleged that in Gabriel's old cell was discovered a well-concealed chamber of saws, letters and other hidden objects...

FREEDOM FOR ALL THE ACCUSED  
FREEDOM FOR ALL

### **Former E.L.F./A.L.F. Militant Rebecca Rubin Gets 5 Years (U.S.A.)**

[continued from Return Fire vol.1 pg74]

In late January, after changing her plea to guilty, Rebecca was sentenced to 5 years in federal prison (down from the 7.5 requested by the government), followed by probation, and begin a restitution bill over \$13 million.

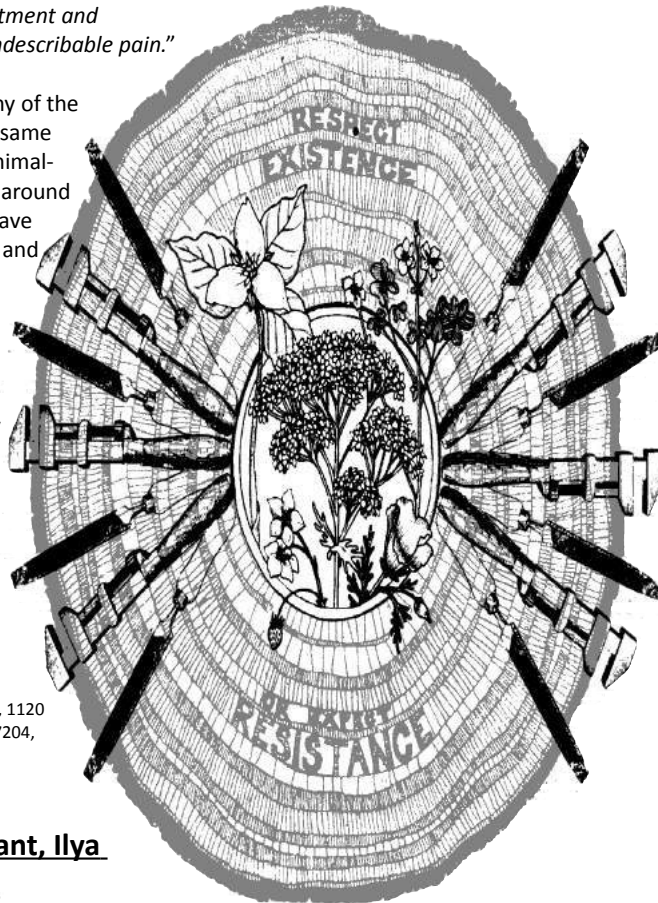
While when addressing the judge she attributed her part in the four major incendiary attacks to "a point in my early twenties when I could longer contain or appropriately channel the grief, despair, and powerlessness I felt in response to the mistreatment of animals and the natural world" and didn't defend her actions (at least in public), she asserted that "[a]nimals and the natural world have always been for me a source of profound joy, wonder and



*solace, and their mistreatment and destruction a source of indescribable pain."*

Let's remember that many of the others charged from the same era of North American animal- and eco-defence activity around the turn of the century have snatched and rolled over, and at least Rebecca has apparently still not aided the State in any way to find the remaining two on the run. She was set to turn herself in as early as 2009, but prosecutors previously wouldn't accept any plea agreement that didn't implicate her co-defendants so she refused.

*Let's not leave Rebecca alone:*  
**Rebecca Rubin** #770288, MCDC, 1120  
SW 3rd Avenue, Portland, OR 97204,  
U.S.A.



### **Anarchist Combatant, Ilya Romanov, Injured by Explosive Charge (Russia)**

Late on October 26th 2013, Ilya Romanov was involved in a premature detonation outside the regional Russian Army draft office in the city of Nižnij Novgorod. **Heavily bleeding, Ilya made it alone to the nearest hospital and was arrested soon afterwards. Doctors amputated his hand. He also sustained burns to the face.** During interrogation he gave a statement that a pyrotechnic device activated in his hand.

The mainstream media soon reported that the police raid on his home confiscated so-called 'extremist' literature and chemicals for making explosives. However, another report stated that the police only took away an empty soda box, some elements of a microscope belonging to Ilya's 16-year-old daughter, and a tin can with unknown white substance inside – in addition to various radical media items and personal correspondence including letters from his 2002-2012 prison spell. Initially he was charged with 'supply, trafficking and illegal possession of explosive weapons': later changed to 'manufacturing of explosive devices'. In December 2013, Romanov was accused of possessing explosives and, additionally, attempt of a terrorist act.

**Since the late '80s Ilya has been active in the anarchist struggle, for example participating in protests against nuclear power, solidarity initiatives with two anarchists arrested for attacking secret**

**service police and since then also with other prisoners, spreading propaganda and being a member of an independent union for unemployed youth.** After being incarcerated for two and a half years from December 1998 on drug charges and on the recommendation of a psychiatric clinic, Ilya went to Moscow only to discover another warrant for his arrest. **He escaped to the Ukraine where he was finally arrested in December 2002 for possession of a firearm, dynamite, an electronic detonator and ammunition.** He was then charged with the bombing of the secret service's premises in Kiev as well as expropriations from currency exchanges and jewellery stores, and entered a long and proud prison struggle while subject to physical and psychological torture until his release ten years later.

**Now in still pre-trial custody, Ilya is in a stable condition and doing well although still in pain from his amputation.** His family can send him medicine but are having trouble paying legal costs. Russian federal cops raided his family home a second time (confiscating his father's and his daughter's laptops), and around the same time agents visited him without legal notice in prison to "have a word" - only to be met resolutely with silence.

We await more info; meanwhile all of our affection with Ilya and all our anger for those keeping him behind bars.

*If you have letters in English to be translated for Ilya:*  
abc-minsk@riseup.net

### **Trials Against Eight Fighters Over Armed Robbery, a Shoot-Out & Alleged C.C.F. Membership & on the surveillance operation (Greece)** *[continued from Return Fire vol.1 pg75]*

Shortly after our last report, sadly a second wave of arrests followed the busted double-robbery in Velvendo, Kozani. **On April 30th 2013 anarchists Argiris Dalios, Fivos Harisis, Giannis Naxakis and Grigoris Sarafoudis were all captured in and around a cafe in Athens.** Argiris and Fivos had been wanted since the robberies as participants, while Giannis N. and Grigoris have since been charged with another bank robbery in Larisa (central Greece). Another unnamed comrade escaped the police cordon though!

All the arrested were immediately imprisoned, joining the throng of anarchists inside the Greek jails. On June 13th, Dimitris Politis (caught in the chase from the hold-up in Kozani), Argiris, Fivos and Kostas Sakkas (see **Global Flash-Points**) were all appearing for routine hearings in separate cases. During their escort from the prison by the notorious E.O.M. (Special Transfer Unit) thugs, upon passing the solidarity gathering held by comrades one of the prisoners was attacked by the guards and thrown to the floor of the hallway, dragged ten metres to the transfer van while being beaten and put in the specially-shaped cage inside while handcuffed. Here is the statement by the four involved about what happened on their arrival back at Koridallios prisons: *"When we got to Koridallios and after more provocations we attacked the 13 cops of the EOM with whatever we had in front of us (chairs, drawers, ashtrays, telephones, fire extinguishers etc.) destroying at the same time the prisoner receiving room while fending off the cops. It all ended with the intervention of the sergeant together with some prison employees in the role of "balancers".* These prisoners and others have set about forming a resilient and resistant community behind the bars and against all odds, defending their dignity in the ways they find possible on the inside.

**The trial started on February 3rd 2014 for the four held from the operation in Athens (which was in the Nea Filadelfia area) together with those caught after the Kozani robberies.** It contains many cases: Nikos Romanos, Giannis Mihailidis, Fivos and Argiris are accused of C.C.F membership (which they all deny); Giannis M. for a gunfight with cops in Athens (the incident where Theofilos Mavropoulos was arrested – see **Return Fire vol.1 pg41**) which he has taken responsibility for; Grigoris, Giannis M., Dimitris, Argiris and Fivos for the robbery in Kozani, and Grigoris and Giannis N. also for the robbery in Larisa. Additionally, the C.C.F.

member and prisoner Gerasimos Tsakalos has been delivered a pre-trial detention order as the investigators allege that he instigated the Kozani bank hold-up from within prison; something he and they deny.

If the judges and prosecutors expected an obedient and cowed performance from the accused, then they were mistaken. **Here is an example of the statements which many of the anarchists made in the opening session, this one from the declaration of Giannis:** *"I refuse to speak the language of the enemy in order to negotiate my sentence and this is why I do not recognize any legal representation[...] no code of laws can fit the wealth of human relations in such a complex reality which every group of rules fails to mould. Such a procedure stems from state imposition and this serves (keeping connected the authoritarian social web which as an anarchist I want to destroy) in order for raw human anti-authoritarian relations, whose only connecting web will be emotion and conscience, to shine. If the above seem abstract generalities, my refusal is specific when it comes to accepting the ethics of capital, the sacretization of individual property which the whole legal code is orientated towards protecting. I have been a thief and robber disputing the sacred chalice of capitalism. Because property means exclusion, it means accumulation, it is the womb of the dominant form of exploitation and oppression: the economic.*

*[...] More substantive I'll speak of my refusal to accept the objective value of human life as it's defined by the law of the state, which provocatively discredits the workers murdered by the impunity of the bosses. Which provocatively discredits the suicides in the prisons where it buries people alive. Which discredits the hecatombs of dead from military operations. Which provocatively discredits the immigrants it drowns in the seas, blows up or shoots at the borders which divide zones of graded economic exploitation. Which provocatively discredits the lives of people, transforming all of us into products, a procedure which goes through the constant torture of the disobedient or the weak. From the child-slaves of multinationals in the third world, to the brutality of the meat industry, it is a very short distance. And in the end it provocatively and disrespectfully discredits earth itself, leading it to mass illness and death by the technological-industrial civilisation of pollution.*

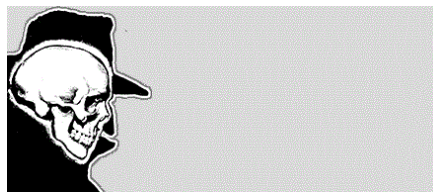
*This is why I as an anarchist discredit the lives of the economic, political and scientific executives of the system, as well as those who follow their orders, servants of the police-judicial complex which defends murderous order of this world. This is why*

*when I was up against the cops who tried to steal my freedom, I sought besides my escape also their physical extermination. Do not be shocked little people of the panel of judges, because if there is value in human life it is in connection with freedom and your life, that of the robbers of freedom, has a negative value. And if in my value system maybe a cop could, under specific conditions, be dealt with leniency, every judge however has a place in a grave for those people they have buried alive."*

**The 8th session of the trial will continue on April 1st 2014.**

*Current addresses for the imprisoned fighters:*  
Argiris Dalios, Fivos Harisis, Giannis Naxakis, Grigoris Sarafoudis, Nikos Romanos, Andreas-Dimitris Bourzoukas, Dimitris Politis and Giannis Mihailidis, Dikastiki Filaki A' Pteriga, Koridallios, T.K. 18110, Athens, Greece

#### TEXT BY THE DETAINED ANARCHIST COMRADES OF NEA FILADELPHIA CASE



We think it's appropriate to publicize some information surrounding our surveillance and our subsequent arrest by the anti-terrorist cops on 30.04.2013 in Nea Filadelfia. Most information is "official", taken from the indictment against us. Through this we were led to some conclusions concerning mostly the knowledge of the cops on the way we were "moving" rather than the methods surrounding our direct surveillance. We also add a few words on some more knowledge of the cops we "discovered", but also a few words on their tactics. The delay is because of hesitation based on the evaluation that publicizing this information could further help the future job of the cops. We weighed it however and concluded that it is more important, even if delayed a few months, to share this information/knowledge because it is more consciously "correct" for us that the interested comrades know the police's minimal level of knowledge, instead of there being suspicion of ignorance.

To many this information may sound obvious, but we are convinced that it will not sound the same to everyone. We obviously cannot make counter-proposals here, only warnings. In no way are we trying to scare anyone with the wideness of knowledge and the dynamic of the enemy, but to say to those who are "researching" what to be aware of in the streets in order to fulfill their raging desires. The "shadow" which many times covers the methods and movements of the anti-terrorist force leads people to over-

evaluate them, when it's true that beyond some things that are made known to us every now and then, many other parts remain in the dark.

The cops themselves almost never reveal their methods. On the other hand, although we have to take our measures against them, a risk for an individual or group level will always remain in a subjective field. No matter what, mistakes are made and will continue to be made in the battle against such strong oppressive mechanisms. Mistakes that will always "cost" more compared to the cops' mistakes which are "absorbed". The situations must be weighed again and the mistakes which happened once, simply, should not happen again. The accumulated experience of so many years must be studied and appreciated and because there is the tendency to prepare for the battles which already took place and not for those that will come, let's be prepared and may luck be on our sides...

Beginning, let us say that our surveillance began at 11.20am with the locating of Grigoris (Sarafoudis) and ended at 16.00pm with our arrest in Nea Filadelfia. **We have reasons to believe that our surveillance began at that specific time.** Because just before that the comrade went into internet-cafe Palladium on 48 Solomou Street at the border of the Exarchia area with the centre of Athens. We basically believe that this specific cafe was/is under surveillance, since we were informed other comrades in the past have been followed by plain-clothed cops when leaving this internet-cafe<sup>[1]</sup>. Another main reason which more or less defines the time is the fact that earlier that morning the comrade made a counter-surveillance "check" and made sure his movements weren't being followed.

A usual check we made very often and always before any meeting with wanted or unknown – to the police – comrades, in order to make sure we are "clean". In other words, we think it's possible that the "bad moment" came when a "clean" person entered a "dirty" place and since he was already known to the anti-terrorist force from older surveillance, he was recognized and set under discreet surveillance. The meeting however a few hours later with two wanted comrades Argiris (Dalios) and Fivos (Harisis) sounded an alarm at the anti-terrorist force and an order for arrests was made immediately. The cops as usual, in order to justify the surveillance, also mention in the indictment an "anonymous phone call" to their service which said that Grigoris and other comrades in the same case had weapons, participated in the robbery in Velvedo and often visited the area of Exarchia. In this way, they even tried to disengage the cooperating

internet-cafe in order for it not to be targeted, and thus they wrote in the indictment that they located Grigoris by accident on the crossroad of Patision and Solomou Street, which is 30 metres down the road! Although we know that this ridiculous story with the anonymous phone call is not true, we do not exclude the possibility that Grigoris, for some reason, might have already been a suspect and that he became a target of the anti-terrorist force like that. The story, more or less, after Grigoris' visit to the "dirty" internet-cafe, continues when a while later at another part of town he met the (also "checked out") comrade Giannis (Naxakis).

**The two comrades then moved around different areas, to end up some time later in Nea Filadelfia at the meeting spot with the other comrades, where the story ends a while later with the raiding of the anti-terrorist force. During those few hours however, the comrades under surveillance made some moves that from a legal point of view might be indifferent, however, they were able to "betray" some conspiratorial characteristics about how we moved around.**

*So, here goes:*

1. After about four hours of surveillance they saw us going into four different internet-cafes. The first was the 'Paladium' where Grigoris went. The next was on Patision 382 near the Ano Patissia train station, across from the "everest" shop where Grigoris and Giannis met up. The two of them later went to 'Gnet' in Marousi (Tsaldari and Aristidou Street), while the last one was 'Bits&Bites' in Nea Filadelfia (Dekelias 138) where they met Argiris and Fivos. **With these facts the cops have reason to believe that we used the internet to communicate with each other.** They definitely knew we "downloaded" and used the Tor Browser Bundle software (an extensive text will follow about the functioning and security of Tor software) a program for safe surfing which mixes up the I.P. Numbers of the world wide web of users, this way making surfing more "free", since the I.P. number (which is the element that betrays the geographical position of the user) appears to be another one from a different, random place on the planet. Even with this fact however, the Greek police hackers do not have the ability to "decrypt" our course on Tor because it is not a matter of coding but a matter of untangling a large bundle of IP numbers.

And finding the end of the line is an extremely time-consuming and complicated procedure which in our case must be done backwards. Generally, with Tor we felt safe until we found out that recently (August 6th) hackers of the FBI "cracked" many Tor pages for the first time, managing to trap and arrest a large global network of pedophiles, something which created some small concerns concerning its seals. **A mistake we made is definitely that we "downloaded" Tor on the PC of the internet-cafe where we were, instead of having it stored in a flash drive on us, something which besides the fact that it can be shown on the central PC of the shop, theoretically it is possible to immediately warn the cops, through a program, if they have an agreement with the shop.**

Concerning internet-cafes, bad news has been transferred to us that since then, people were followed by plain-clothed cops while leaving various internet-cafes in Athens (Exarchia, Monastiraki, Neos Kosmos, Kallithea) something that tells us that most shops in Athens will be under surveillance. Let's not forget that the abilities of the cops are enough if we consider that only the DAEEB (anti-terrorist force) has 600 employees, as stated inside a court room by they themselves when they were asked.

2. They saw us on Sygrou grove in Kifissia. The two of us (Grigoris-Giannis) before heading towards Nea Filadelfia made a stop in the grove, walked up to the football pitches, sat on a bench right next to the pitches and talked for a long time.

Note that all these hours they followed us, although we checked and theoretically believed that we were clean, in the few reflex looks we took behind us, out of habit, we did not observe anything especially worrying, while we moved with many different means of transport (train, bus, taxi).

*Additional things we learned and figured out since the day of our arrest concerning how cops work.*

They really surprised us when 80 metres down the road from the cafe in Nea Filadelfia while two of us (Grigoris-Giannis) were walking away, DIAS cops [ed. - *motorbike patrol*] signalled us to stop for a search. If we were expecting something planned, it for sure was not the DIAS on a central crossroad of the area, but another kind of "rushing". After the signal, and after they approached us on foot, we saw, seconds later, the appearance of more forces surrounding us until we were trapped, something that told us that even if we were armed we would had have very few possibilities of getting away. On the other hand, as it's already known, in the cafe where the

operation was carried out a few minutes later, their tactic with the DIAS as bait did not have the results they wanted since one person got away.

Also, something we were not all sure of, which now we are, is the ability of the cops in any police station in the country to immediately identify the info of a fake ID card with the real holder through a photograph. Giannis, who was initially taken to Nea Filadelfia police station, was in a position to see the cops type the info from his fake ID card into their computer and see the photo of the face of the real holder appear on the screen.

It is important to point out one basic difference of tactics of the anti-terrorist force in the case of our arrests, in relation to past operations of the same force against armed groups (CCF, RS [ed. - *Revolutionary Struggle*, see *Return Fire vol.1 pg62*], arrests in Pireus and Nea Smirni [ed. - *both at C.C.F. arms caches*], arrests in Vironas-Tavros [ed.- see *Return Fire vol.1 pg53*]). In all these older cases the tactic of the cops was this: **having analysed beforehand the profile and interactions of the wanted comrades with other "legal" ones, they placed the latter under surveillance which then led them to the illegals.** Obviously, the anti-terrorist force does not carry out "one dimensional" investigations, neither would they remain at that, schematically however and through the accumulated experience of the last three years we observe that despite the occasional differences, the core of the investigation and its' successes are within the above "simple" model.

**In the previous cases therefore, when the DAEEB "discovered" the wanted comrades it never attempted to arrest them on the spot, to the contrary it put them under surveillance for many days firstly aiming at finding the "safe houses" and the weapons of the comrades and secondly their contact circles.** The examples are characteristic: in the case of the comrades arrested in N.Smirni - Pireus the surveillance, according to the official documents of the indictment, lasted 17 days. Accordingly, the anti-terrorist force followed the houses of the Thessaloniki comrades in Vironas-Tavros as well as the house in Volos where the members of the CCF lived... **on the contrary in our case the anti-terrorist force chose to arrest us immediately and not follow us, for two reasons.** The first reason and most important, was that in the past many comrades (among them some of us) have gotten away from anti-terrorist operations because of counter-surveillance methods they applied. The cops either lost them or, in order to not expose the whole operation, let them go.

The second reason is that because of the modern methods of oppression (see DNA) the cops are more sure than in the past that we will be imprisoned and sentenced even without "safe houses", "weapons" etc.

**Concluding, the conclusion we gather is that the enemy quickly adjusts to the conditions and evolves constantly, but many times the enemy itself basically creates the conditions in which it will have the initiative of actions. From our side it is not enough to remain in the tested and successful recipes of the past but to always look ahead, be what they call one step ahead of them.** By waiting for the worst we cannot but always become better. Through this text, we seek the evolution of action through the sharing of this experience. We believe that such communication is necessary, even if it's in this way (the immediate contact between those interested is impossible as well as dangerous) and generally that it is essential that those persecuted and imprisoned should put out such information. Things that the enemy knows should not remain a secret within our circles, since they "orientate" to what they know and can be useful to us. There is of course the case that some information remains secret based on strategy, a plan, a new surprise attack in the face of the enemy.

*Detained from the case of Nea Filadelfia*  
*– Argiris Dalios, Fivos Harisis,*  
*Giannis Naxakis, Grigoris*  
*Sarafoudis*

1. ed. - A while following this letter, anarchists raided the Palladium internet cafe of an evening, smashing the screens and the storefront windows, and torched the server. "It was one of the cops' favorite spots in downtown Athens, something that even the owner himself admitted during the attack." In solidarity with the Nea Filadelfia and Velvendo detainees.

"We have to show that attacks by the state won't crush our ideas and break us. It just gives us more rage and strength! But solidarity is not just mutual aid! Solidarity is a way to be a partner in struggle and crime, a way of showing your happiness about an action and deep affinity with a hostage of the state. It's not just about giving a comrade infrastructural help. It's about showing the incarcerated that she/he is not alone and that her/his struggle was just the beginning and will be continued on the outside."

*– Under Night-Time's Lovely Coat: solidarity with Jonatan!<sup>[1]</sup>*

1. ed. - October 2008, anti-civilisation anarchist Jonatan Strandberg was arrested for three Earth Liberation Front (E.L.F.) actions over a single night in the area of Älmhult, Sweden – fire-bombing a communications mast linked to the Department of Defence, electrical sabotage of a crane on an urban sprawl development, and cutting the hydraulic cables on a logging truck. He was sentenced to 15 months (though another case against him, for a two-million-SEK luxury villa under construction in the forest also burned to the ground by the E.L.F., was dropped) and is now out.

## **Andre Dahl Jensen Put In Psychiatric Detention (Norway)**

In October 2013 news came through from Andre, an anarchist who organised the website A-REVOLT. He described the situation (imprisonment against his will and forced medication) as being "socially and politically executed". **Here is an extract from his first open letter, dated 19.09.13:**

*"I was temporarily released under forced psychiatry in February 2013, after detention for 5 months. However last month (16th August) I was committed to forced hospitalisation again without any voluntary help/treatment being offered or tried out.*

*I am being denied practically any freedom, and this has become a politically issue for me as well, as I am an anti-authoritarian. As I see Norwegian authorities and psychiatry refuse to accept or tolerate my political/ philosophical views, and my views regarding forced treatment and permanent drugging.*

*[...] Also I have in this situation also become homeless and almost financially destitute as my former landlord now has seized the deposit. I contacted the social services and was committed on the promise I would receive support and help to solve the situation, they did not follow up on this, in fact it took over 2 weeks before any social worker even contacted me. Now the social worker here has denied me any form of assistance. I am now left to sort out the social situation and paper work alone, through internet and phone.*

*[...] The situation has become so unbearable and I am becoming increasingly hostile and aggressive, as my patience is wearing thinner and thinner, and they are actively provoking a situation where as I will have a breakdown and so force an outburst of violence. In order to justify more drugging and more abuse and illegitimate authority.*

*[...] I have no support, no family, no network socially or politically anymore. I have no one*

*here to communicate with on as an equal, leaving me isolated, alone. Surrounded by people I more or less despise or get on my nerves.*

*This hospital and the staff ignores all human dignity and rights, they refuse to give patients even prescription-free stomach medicine, when in so much [pain] that they can barely stand on their feet.*

***Instead one patient had an outburst after 3 days of asking for stomach medicine. And as a result was belted down to a bed and forcefully medicated with Cisordinol. She was screaming for hours because the acid came up in her windpipe because of stomach reflux. I could hear her screaming "what I have to go through to get stomach medicine"***

*Music/radio is banned, except in your room. TV is off until in the evening. There are rarely any newspapers. Phones are banned except in your room. Patients can stay locked in for up to 6 hours in their room at one occasion, or not allowed to go outside in the park for weeks in some cases. Patients have no place to retreat and relax to except their rooms.*

*Private belongings as per belts, shoes and all is locked in metal closets at security lockdown around 2100. You have one option: co-operate or stay in your room, and even so follow orders. There is no real dialog, the threat of being belted and medicated is constant for most patients.*

*[...] I have spent 28 months since I returned to Europe in 2009 in detention, and they still insist that medicine will "cure" me. Cure me of what, a decent life as an equal human being?"*

Let's remember, the State and the dominant society has developed psychiatry as another tool in their arsenal for standardising and annihilating the individuals who don't conform. **Whether to mute subversives by declaring them 'insane' (such as happened widely in the Soviet Union), catch potential rebels early by turning the most nascent anti-authoritarian sentiments into 'pathologies' or 'disorders' (commonplace in the United States and across the Western world), or quarantine some of the most damaged along with some of the most brilliant from the gray productive mass, mental health institutions have long been about isolating those they consider deviant or 'broken' to prevent disruption of the status quo more than about safeguarding the affected and those close to them.**



Within anarchists of action we could mention the recent cases where the State attempted to impose a regime more invasive even than 'normal' prison against our comrades. For instance, before she was released radical ecologist combatant Silvia Guerin (see **Return Fire vol.1 pg14**) was in February 2012 briefly transferred to Switzerland's "high security with psychological support" section of Hindelbank prison – a psychiatric ward in all but name. After significantly first being designed in the '70s specially to hold a captive from the Marxist-Leninist guerrilla group Red Army Faction, the unit now holds "dangerous" women with "serious psychiatric problems". The justification for her transfer was "risk of escape", but the threat from her spell on the ward seemed clear – the unquestionable subjection that State psychiatry can wield over who it chooses. Or as another example, three animal liberationists on trial in January 2014 for a number of assaults on fur farms, freeing mink and attacking the farmers and industry, were alleged by the Swedish State to be suffering from mental disorders; resulting in a six-week-long psychiatric evaluation before sentencing. Again, although the verdict came back that they were all "healthy enough to be sentenced to prison", the threat seems latent in a case where there were some defendants maintaining complete silence before the cops and judges.

**With this in mind our hearts are with Andre in this most difficult time, that he (and we) might find the connections and spaces to recuperate and heal away from the scarring machinery of civilised madness.** From a second letter of his: "An older (pensioner) patient in a wheel chair uttered today that she feared for her life in here, because of the bad treatment. She said "if I die here they will write it off as a suicide, and no one will ever know what happened or what I go through". Staff/guards keep repeating that we must behave, follow orders and try to be happy, and everything will sort itself out. I hit the radiator so hard today that it fell off the wall, took a photo of it. will post. My right hand is already busted from yesterday, as I hit it repeatedly at the window hard. Actively protesting by slamming doors, leaving garbage around, messing up their bunker..."

Having had his appeals and complaints repeatedly rebuffed by his jailers, **Andre reported that he will probably remain committed until August 2014.**

"The Medieval European allegory of the Ship of Fools was more than a metaphor or a literary ruse to critique the Church and the state. In *Madness and Civilization*, Michel Foucault argues that this trope was also a real socio-political tactic used to cleanse the civilised space by isolating the "mad" or the "unreasonable" from "society". For civilisation, "reason" has two constituents: *raison d'être* and sanity.

The sane are here defined as those existing for the purpose of domestication in a "natural" food chain hierarchy. In this sense, "society" consists of those working for the "reason" of domestication and socio-economic hierarchy, exploitation, and consumption and those who cannot or refuse to abide by the domesticator's definition of their reason for existence are either sent to sanatoriums, hospitals, or other correctional facilities to be cured or killed." – *The Ship of Fools as a Place of Spectacle, Healing, and Education Where the Wild are Sent to Die [abstract]*

"The despotic biomedical, pharmacological and psychotherapeutic models of mental health will try to persuade us that the problems lie with us, as individuals, as malfunctioning and maladjusted organisms. I would agree with this in as much as the conditions of our daily existence have an enormously detrimental effect on our physical and mental health: poor nutrition, stressful environments, unstable relationships, pollution (air, light, material and noise), generalised aggression, loneliness, work and technological fallout do, I believe, make our capacity to create and maintain good health, good brains, good social relationships and good moods extraordinarily difficult. But this aside, I think our mental health, or lack of it, is mostly a normal response to abnormal circumstances and is in some sense the frontline, the trenches, in the war against humanity by the nation state and economic onslaught. [...] We have drugs to make us happy – legal and illegal – to make us forget that we are stressed and anxious, to make us feel close to other people or simply to make us feel nothing at all, to keep the economy functioning, getting us up in the morning and sending us to sleep at night. We have talking therapies to help us adjust to the system that our minds and bodies are rejecting. If the drugs and the talking don't help, we have stronger drugs, mental hospitals and other prisons. We have an ever-growing dictionary of 'mental illnesses' most of which can be described very simply, civilization and the refusal of civilization." – *Beyond Amnesty*



### **The Media-Judicial Lynching - aftermath of the arrests for the Zaragoza cathedral attack [& communiqué] (Spain)**

Spanish National Police made five arrests in Barcelona in the early hours of November 13th 2013, little over a month after the anarchist group 'Insurreccional Commando Mateo Morral' claimed an explosive attack that damaged the interior of the cathedral Basilica del Pilar in Zaragoza. (The same group previously attacked the royal cathedral La Almudena in Madrid; see **Return Fire vol.1 pg70** for info.) Four of the comrades were taken in an apartment raid (Mònica Caballero, Francisco Solar, Gerardo Damián Formoso and Rocío Yune Mira Pérez), while the fifth (Valeria Giacomoni) was seized in the vicinity of her home.

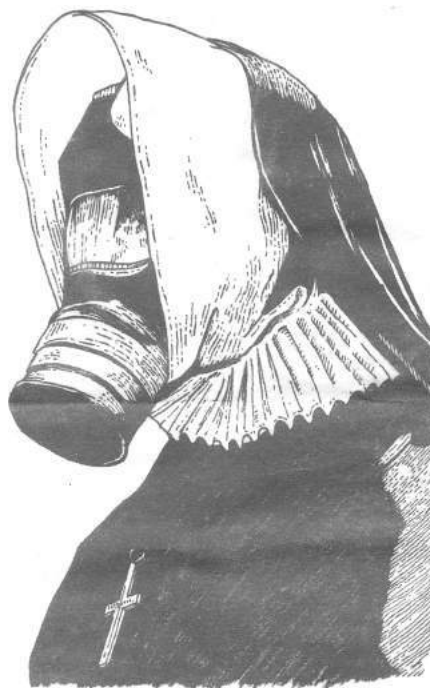
The press immediately began a huge frenzy around the case. All the identities and photos of the accused were released, along with pictures from their arrests and from searches of their homes. **The international element has been one of the points most seized on in the publicity: Mònica and Francisco were both charged under the 'Bombs Case' in Chile (see Return Fire vol.1 pg73), Gerardo is from Argentina and Rocío is also from Chile, while Valeria (an Italian) is, according to the investigators, the one who brought them all to Spain.** As for Valeria, her partner's home in Trento was raided by the Italian political police just after, but they didn't find anything 'relevant'. The Spanish Ministry of Interior claimed in all the mass media that those arrested are part of "a very well organised

*commando, extremely dangerous with strong international connections”, while commenting that Mònica and Francisco had already been investigated in Chile for numerous attacks on church property. The Chilean government also made a hurricane of statements gloating over the feast; in fact some suggest that the swoop was timed to occur just before the Chilean general election on November 17th...*

Mònica and Francisco are the two accused of placing the bomb at the cathedral, based on footage of two people arriving with backpacks “moving carefully so as not to be noticed”, and leaving shortly before the explosion. Both previously confronted State repression with dignity and rebellion, spending nine months in prison during the Bombs Case investigation while never surrendering to the prosecutor’s blackmail, and carried out a 65-day hunger strike before all charges were finally dropped for lack of evidence. According to police statements, before either of the attacks on the churches the Spanish cops contacted Chilean law agencies to confirm the identities of Mònica and Francisco. As well as personally travelling to Europe after the arrests, the chief of Chile’s secret services convened together with relevant authorities of Mexico, Greece, Italy, Belgium and other countries to discuss and analyse “insurrectional anarchism” and to coordinate responses.

**The word from anarchists in Barcelona is that this repression has been built up to during some months of hype by the judiciary and mass media, in response to unrest within and without social movements and struggles.** To frame this in the social situation, at a time when Leftist armed groups, Basque separatists and Al Qaeda are fading from prominence in the Spanish media, while at the same time new outbreaks of discontent and disorder occur across the peninsula wrought by austerity measures (and not only), the “anarchist phantom” is being raised once again to serve as the main “internal enemy” to whose nefarious agitation the worst of the wide-spread rage can be attributed. Talk of the insurrectionist “Mediterranean triangle” (Spain, Greece and Italy), as well as bomb placement in Italian bank headquarters of Barcelona and Valencia, was rife.

The following is from a statement by people in solidarity in the city: **“Clearly the press was making public what the police officers told them they had to publish. Fulfilling its role, trying to create a climate of fear and alarm among a population whose main concerns are not those of a church’s bad luck or being killed in an anarchist bombing, but whose main concerns are the daily consequences of capitalist plunder**



**and State aggression. If a terrorist is one who strikes terror, the media isn’t much different than Al-Qaeda. [...]** What about the Catholic Church? The architect of thousands of deaths, terrorizing millions of minds since childhood, dictating their repugnant views on millions of bodies, capitalizing on poverty and suffering. A hierarchical organisation of terror and repression such as the Church (of any kind) does not deserve any pity when it is attacked.

What about the monarchy? A parasitic institution that lives, like the Church, at our expense and represent the state and the army, apparatus of repression and authority. The misfortunes of the royal house won’t cause us to shed a tear.

What about the banks, companies, politicians...? Their destruction can **only be received with a smile.**”

After five days incarceration, Valeria, Gerardo and Rocío were released on bail (their passports however were retained and they must report regularly to the police station). Mònica and Francisco were put in pre-trial prison, both reported to be in good spirits and staying strong. **The charges against the five are: illicit terrorist association, placement of explosive artefacts (in Zaragoza), and conspiracy to commit terrorist acts. The last charge is based on plans police claim to have found of the monastery of Montserrat in Barcelona, leading them to charge them with preparing to attack this temple too.** However so far they have not been charged with the bomb in Madrid – although investigators say that due to the common claim and similarities in the devices, it will only be “a matter of time”.

Here's some words from Mònica and Francisco: **“Here we are again, surrounded by these concrete walls and bars, among cameras and jailers. Here we are again, without bowing our heads, and proud of what we are.** Proud to be part of the unpredictable gale that seeks to do away with any hint of Power, whose mask is once again removed and can be seen as what it really is, in its brutality and, why not, in its debility, too. **In this particular case the collaboration between the Chilean State and the Spanish one in order to achieve our incarceration, shows how they can be coordinated to deal with what they perceive as a threat, but the importance that these gentlemen [sic] of Power have attached to us does not reflect anything other than their fragility.** Their inconsistent discourses of security are just the mantle which hides their fear of knowing that a happenstance could trigger widespread disorder. Their blows and gags do nothing but give us strength to sharpen our ideas and our lives and qualify ourselves to be in permanent confrontation.”

We'll leave it there so far, with the prisoners' addresses and the following claim for the action, but first a poem previously recounted by Mònica while she was writing from within the Chilean prison system:

*Fences and metal doors  
surround this underworld  
trying imprison our joy of living  
and loving  
the letters of my comrades  
are fluttering  
in this improvised writing desk  
cries and voices from afar  
mingle with their words  
confused, dark memories  
of murderous volleys  
and all the same I  
fill up again with struggles  
and victories.*

**I am not alone.**

(written in 1984 by Sandra Trafilaf, radical prisoner of Chile during the Pinochet dictatorship)



Mònica Andrea Caballero Sepúlveda, Ávila-Prisión Provincial, Ctra. de Vicolozano s/n, Apdo. 206, 05194 Brieva (Ávila), Spain  
Francisco Javier Solar Domínguez, C.P. de Villabona, Finca Tabladiello, 33480 Villabona-Llanera (Asturias), Spain

## COMMUNIQUE:

*"Besides, I have the right to leave the theatre when the comedy becomes odious to me and even to slam the door while leaving, at the risk of disturbing the tranquility of those who are satisfied with it." - Émile Henry*

Authority, a basic principle of the society, exercises its dominion through various different institutions; **the Church is one of the most important because of its historical complicity with the State-Capital, taking charge of laying the foundations of and perpetuating the current state of patriarchal and heteronormative oppression.** The Basilica of the Pillar, in Zaragoza, is one of the most significant temples for the holders of Power. Visited by Franco *[ed. - then Spanish military dictator]* on several occasions and by Pope John Paul II in 1982 and 1984, this cathedral stands as one of the main symbols and a meeting point of fascism. The Virgin Mary of the Pillar is considered the patroness and queen of Hispanicness; flags of all the States that dominate the Latin-American territory are hung inside the temple as real trophies. **The Pillar Square is situated on side of the basilica and features the Hispanicness fountain, which draws the map of Central and South-American continent, taking a great deal of pride in the extermination caused by civilisation.**

Coupled with all of the above, the Virgin Mary of the Pillar was declared patroness of the college of young guards (the Guardia Civil *[ed. - para-military cops]* cadet academy) in September of 1864, and she was proclaimed a patron saint of the gendarmerie assassins on Guardia Civil payroll in 1913. The order was signed by Alfonso XIII, the same one who was targeted by the anarchist that gave name to our group - whose memory we revived in another attack on a symbol of Power in February this year. The comrades killed in action live only through action.

After the triumph of fascism in 1939, the Basilica of the Pillar was declared national temple and sanctuary of the race. It became a prime location for Franco and his entourage, who gave central importance to it in the takeover of Zaragoza and their victory against the Aragón front *[ed. - during the Spanish Civil War]*. **This is the temple where the corpse of Juan Soldevila lays, entrepreneur and cardinal killed by the anarchist group Los Solidarios in 1923 for being one of the financiers of the pistoleros hired by bosses *[ed. - anti-union assassins; anarchists responded with their own killings at the time, including most famously the Spanish Prime Minister]*.**

This noxious personage pertains to the history of this location, and he is remembered in every celebration which is emblematic of Power, such as the annual Hispanic Day, on October 12th, when our enemies arrogantly celebrate their colonialist expansion making prayers and pilgrimages in this space of intimacy, passing through its area in total tranquillity.

**However the habitual calmness was lost on October 2nd, 2013. At approximately 1.15pm, we installed an explosive device consisting of one butane gas bottle filled with two kilos of black powder, including a clockwork mechanism for its activation. This action did not intend to harm any parishioners or tourists, that is why we gave advance warning - ten minutes prior to detonation - to the newspapers *El Periódico* (Zaragoza) and *El Herald* as well as to the Basilica of the Pillar, so that they could evacuate the temple.**

This action is intended to warn their attendees that fascist standards like this one are not and will never be secure locations.

Insurrectional Commando  
Mateo Morral



The poster reads:  
"Solidarity and action with the arrested comrades in Barcelona  
No State, no border will ever be able to halt social war  
May distance get smaller with gestures of solidarity  
May attacks against Power multiply day by day  
Immediate release of Monica and Francisco  
Prisoners of war out onto the streets"

## Verdict Read Against F.A.I./F.R.I.

### 'Olga Cell' (Italy)

*[continued from Return Fire vol.1 pg78]*



As we reported last time, Alfredo Cospito and Nicola Gai have been held in the AS2 'special' wing of Ferrara prison since September 2012. Some months before their trial was due to take place for the non-fatal shooting of the nuclear entrepreneur CEO Roberto Adinolfi, Nicola was placed under investigation while inside for 'attempted incitement to commit crime' - due to the content of a letter that never made it past the prison censors. Mention was made by the jailers of the bomb attack on the Koridallios prison directors' vehicle in Athens (see *Explosion at the Justice Academy, Buenos Aires, & Industrial Logging Operation Arsoned, Bryansk*) which had recently been dedicated to Nicola and Alfredo. Meanwhile their companions then on the wing, the anarchists Sergio Stefani and Stefano Fosco (targeted by 'Operation Ardire', see above), had been under six months of letters censorship on judges orders. This was justified as a measure to combat the risk that Sergio and Stefano's letters could compromise the censorship already imposed on Alfredo and Nicola for months, as "the same correspondence could contain references to imminent criminal actions". To back this up the law-slaves used the example of texts by Sergio, Nicola and Alfredo which were circulated in memory of Mauricio Morales (see *Return Fire vol.1 pg92*), by which they "renewed their adhesion" to "subversive purposes"...

**On October 30th 2013 the trial was held;** the court added the aggravating circumstance of the purposes of terrorism. In the days beforehand an ENI store (state-owned energy firm, nuclear and more) was smashed up in Turin in solidarity with the imprisoned rebels, while in Roverto two cars of Telecom were burned and also fire seriously damaged a telephone mast of the same company. Just before the trial a bomb was thrown over the wall of the Ferrara prison into the screws' parking lot in the vicinity of the wing where Alfredo and Nicola are held as well as Sergio and anarchist Adriano Antonacci (arrested in a separate police operation). This was despite heightened security around prisons and escorts for their directors following the seizure of Nicola's aforementioned letter

and blowing-up of Koridallós prison director's personal car.

More than two hundred anarchists gathered in front of the courthouse to show solidarity with Alfredo and Nicola, while various security measures were put in place outside as well as inside the courtroom. **The court and adjacent areas were heavily militarised (roads closed to traffic access), with large deployment of police, many in riot gear. The police in fact didn't waste time before talking about "serious risk to public order".** Access to court was quickly blocked and only 24 people were allowed to attend the hearing (in a small chamber, clearly to limit the presence of the public, and after searches, metal detectors, having their documents photocopied) where several comrades were also present in a room already full of hacks and plain-clothes cops.

The arrival of Alfredo and Nicola was greeted by the shouts and applause of their companions inside the courtroom. Alfredo and Nicola were not locked up in the usual defendants' cage but instead seated in front of the judge's bench further away from the public seating, where they showed not an ounce of respect for that authority.

**Both refused to rise when the judge entered. Regardless of the will of the court, Alfredo announced his refusal to recognise the trial as soon as the judge started talking and began to read a communiqué in which he assumed responsibility for the shooting of the CEO of Ansaldo Nucleare,** but he was repeatedly interrupted by the judge. The comrades attending the trial in solidarity began to hurl insults at her.

Police pounced on Alfredo and Nicola at the judge's signal after just a few lines to eject them from the courtroom. Alfredo threw down his text, and Nicola indicated with gestures that he would leave his communiqué on the desk. Both were removed by a strong police contingent in the midst of applause and cries of solidarity from their comrades, such as *"the passion for freedom is stronger than your authority!"*, before they were also thrown out. Cops identified around 80 people in total (inside and outside), and most likely will send information to the prosecutor for the disturbance in the courtroom.

The courts have therefore put on record, and then read, the contributions of the two, **who claimed the action, detailed the process (deciding to attack, observing the target, procuring the weapon, stealing the scooter) to show it is not necessary to be some expert, highlighted their mistakes, clarified that they acted alone, and spoke about the ongoing atrocity of the nuclear industry in Europe and beyond.**

After the removal of Alfredo and Nicola, many comrades left the court in a spontaneous march and occupied the assembly hall of the university located in Via delle Fontane to continue with the meetings of solidarity that have already taken place in Rome and Florence.

Prosecutors requested a 12-year prison sentence for Alfredo and 10 years for Nicola. Additionally, the state advocate requested a million euros in compensation for damage sustained by the government and the interior ministry. **On November 12th 2013 the verdict was issued for the two comrades (both had made it clear they didn't intend to be present): 10 years and 8 months in prison for Alfredo Cospito and 9 years and 4 months for Nicola Gai.**

Here are excerpts from the proud pair's declarations. 1) Alfredo: ***"On a wonderful morning in May I acted, and in the space of a few hours I fully enjoyed my life. For once I left fear and self-justification behind and defied the unknown. In a Europe dotted with nuclear power stations, one of those mainly responsible for the nuclear disaster to come fell at my feet. I want to be absolutely clear: the FAI/FRI Olga Cell is only Nicola and I. No one else took part in this action or helped or planned it. Nobody knew about our project.***

*[...] I live my anarchy with ease, joy, pleasure, without any spirit of martyrdom, by opposing this civilised existent with all my strength, an existent I cannot bear. I am anti-social because I am convinced that society can only exist in the differentiation between the dominant and the dominated. I do not strive for any blissful future socialist alchemy, I do not trust any social class; my revolt without revolution is individual, existential, overpowering, absolute, armed.*

***There's no feeling of a 'superman' in me, no disdain for the oppressed, for the 'people'. As an eastern saying goes: "don't scorn the snake because it doesn't have horns; one day it might turn into a dragon!". Similarly a slave can turn into a rebel, one man or one woman can become devastating fire. I scorn the powerful of the earth with all my strength, be they politicians, scientists, technocrats, leaders of all sorts, bureaucrats, army and religious chiefs.***

*The order I want to knock down is that of civilisation, which destroys everything that makes life worth living day by day. State, democracy, social classes, ideologies, religions, police, armies, your very court, are shadows, ghosts, replaceable cogs of an all-embracing mega-machine. One day technology will do without us and will transform us all into automatons lost in a landscape of death and desolation.*

*On that May 7th 2012 I threw sand in the cogs of this mega-machine in the space of a second, and during that second I fully lived and made a difference. On that day my weapon was not an old Tokarev but the deep and ferocious hatred I feel towards techno-industrial society. [...] If anarchy doesn't turn into action it rejects life and becomes ideology, little more than shit, in the best of cases a powerless outburst of frustrated men and women.*

*I decided to go for action after the nuclear disaster in Fukushima. Far too often we feel impotent in the face of such big events. Primitive peoples faced danger, they knew how to defend themselves. Civilised and modern peoples are helpless in the face of the constructions-constraints of technology. Just as sheep look at the shepherd for protection, the very shepherd that will slaughter them, so we civilised people confide in the secular priests of science, the very priests that're slowly digging our grave.*

*We saw Adinolfi smiling slyly and playing the victim from television screens. We saw him lecturing against 'terrorism' in schools. But I wonder: what is terrorism? A gunshot, a searing pain, an open wound or the incessant, continuous threat of a slow death devouring you from inside? The continuous incessant terror that one of their nuclear plants can vomit death and desolation upon us all of a sudden?*

*Ansaldo Nucleare and Finmeccanica [ed. - their parent company] bear huge responsibilities. Their projects continue to sow death everywhere. Recently the rumour has spread of probable investments in the enlargement of the nuclear plant of Krško, Slovenia, a high seismic risk area very close to Italy. In Cernadova, Romania, several incidents have occurred since 2000, caused by*



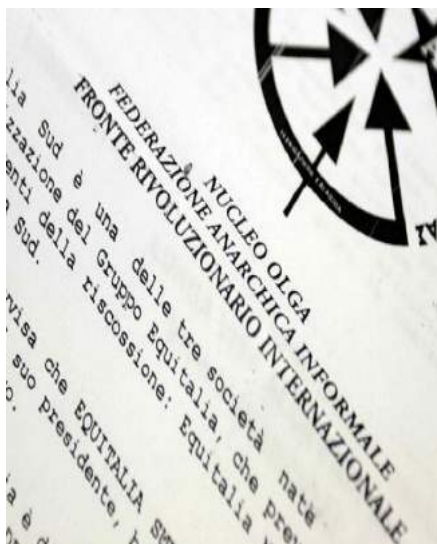


**Ansaldo's stupidity during the construction of one of their plants.** How many lives have been lost? How much blood shed? Technocrats of Ansaldo and Finmeccanica, all facile smiles and a 'clean' conscience: **your 'progress' stinks of death, and the death you sow all over the world is shouting for revenge.**

There are many ways to effectively oppose nuclear power: blocking trains carrying nuclear waste, sabotage of the pylons carrying electricity produced by nuclear power. I had the idea of striking the one most responsible for this mess in Italy: Roberto Adinolfi, managing director of Ansaldo Nucleare. It didn't take much to find out where he lived, five sessions of laying in wait were sufficient. There's no need for a military structure, a 'subversive association' [ed. - common legal charge against anarchists in Italy] or an armed gang in order to strike. Anyone armed with a strong will can think the unthinkable and act consequently.

[...] I'm happy to be what I am, a free man even if I'm 'temporarily' in chains. I can't complain much, given that the vast majority of people have chains well placed in their brains. **I've always tried to do what I thought right and never what was convenient. Half measures never convinced me. I've loved a lot. Hated a lot. And for that reason I won't surrender to your bars, uniforms, weapons. You'll always find me an irreducible, proud enemy. Not only me. Anarchists are never alone; sometimes they are solitary, but never alone.**

A thousand projects in our minds, a hope in our hearts that stays alive, stronger and stronger, determined and more and more shared. A concrete perspective that 'risks' changing the face of anarchy in the world. Small, great earthquakes that will stir a cataclysm one day. It will take time, never mind, for the time being I am enjoying the earthquake that broke out inside me from all this desire for joy and struggle."



2) Nicola: "I understand that those who have dedicated all their lives to serving authority won't find it easy to accept the idea that two individuals, armed only with their determination, could decide to try to jam the gears of the techno-industrial system instead of contributing to running it in a disciplined way; but that's just how it is. After years spent witnessing the systematic destruction of nature and all the aspects that make life worth living, carried out by the never-too-highly-praised technological development. Years spent following with interest, but always as a spectator, the experiences of the rebels who, even in this seemingly pacified world, continue to raise their heads and affirm the possibility of a free and wild life. Following the Fukushima disaster, when Alfredo proposed that I help him carry out an action against Roberto Adinolfi, I accepted without thinking twice.

[W]ith another 190 nuclear power stations in Europe alone, the problem is not wondering **if** another Chernobyl might occur but **when** it will. And moreover, we mustn't forget that these monstrosities don't just kill when they are functioning but also do so with their nuclear waste. This is transported back and forward all over Europe with nobody knowing what to do with it. **The nuclear waste from the Italian power stations, closed down decades ago, is now being transported to France in order to be made 'safe': they get fuel from it to supply more nuclear reactors, and also a few kilos of plutonium that can only be used to make bombs (just to remind us that there's no difference between military and civil use as far as nuclear power is concerned), then the waste is sent back as dangerous as it was before.**

[...] I could talk about the damage and destruction caused by nuclear power for hours, give countless examples, go over what's going on in Fukushima (where some are saying that no deaths were caused by the nuclear power station... [ed. - pompous words of Adinolfi before his wounding]) but I'm not here to seek justification. **Perhaps nuclear power is the one element of this civilised world where the senseless monstrosity of the techno-industrial system can be understood by anybody,** but we have to realise that we are sacrificing all protection of our individual freedom and the chance to live a worthwhile life on the altar of technological development. Now it is up to each one of us to decide whether we want to be obedient subjects or whether we want to try to live, here and now, the refusal of the existent. I have made up my mind, with joy and with no remorse.

We'll get out of here branded as terrorists; the amusing thing is that you can say that without seeming ridiculous: it is what the

law states. One sure thing is that words have lost all their meaning; if we are terrorists, what would you call those who produce weapons, tracking systems for missiles, drones, fighter-bombers, equipment to hunt people trying to cross borders, nuclear power stations, those who do deals with assassins in uniform and famous dictators, in other words, how would you define Finmeccanica? [...] I know for sure that you will use our case to make an example, that your revenge will be draconian, that you will do anything to keep us isolated (suffice it to say that our letters have been subjected to censorship for more than a year), but I want to give you some bad news: your efforts will be in vain. **For at least 150 years, judges, even more ferocious than yourselves, have been trying to erase the idea of the possibility of a life free from authority, but with poor results.** I can calmly assure you that your repressive actions, no matter how wide and indiscriminate, won't be able to disarticulate or eradicate anything.

If you think that, thanks to us, you will be able to trace other anarchists who have decided to put the chaotic, spontaneous and informal possibilities of the FAI to the test, you are absolutely mistaken and you will draw a blank, like always; neither Alfredo or myself know anyone who has made this choice. You are chasing a ghost that you can't lock up in the petty procedures of your legal codes. **That is because it manifests itself in the instant in which the destructive tensions of those who animate it come together in order to act, in the instant when free women and men decide to put anarchy concretely to the test.** Now that the experience of the Olga Cell is concluded I can only assure you that I have found new reasons to feed my hatred and motives to desire the destruction of the existent composed of authority, exploitation and the devastation of nature.

**Love and complicity to the sisters and brothers who make the mad dream of the FAI/FRI real with their actions all over the world.**

**Love and complicity to the comrades who, anonymously or not, continue to attack in the name of the possibility of a life free from authority.**

**Love and freedom to all anarchist prisoners.**

**Long live the black international of the rebels against the deadly order of civilisation.**

**Long live anarchy!"**

Alfredo Cospito and Nicola Gai, C.C Via Argione 327, 44122 Ferrara, Italy

# SOME NOTES ON THE TAP

## A brief summary

The pipeline or methane pipeline TAP (Trans Adriatic Pipeline) should be about 900 km long, starting from the Caspian Sea and reaching mainland in Salento [*southern end of Puglia, Italy*], on the shore of San Foca (Lecce province) to transport natural gas. In late June [2013], the Shah Deniz consortium in Azerbaijan - members include British Petroleum, Total and Statoil - has made its choice preferring the TAP over the Nabucco project which would have had to go through Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Austria. The TAP Project, composed of Axpo Holding (Switzerland), E.ON (Germany) and Statoil (Norway), was considered of strategic interest by the Italian government and the European Union and will supply the European gas market.

## Some questions

Opposition to the TAP, as to any bane, as well as a struggle against a prison, is a classical "partial struggle"; partial, to be clear, not in a negative connotation, but in the sense of *defining a particular aspect*. But having a wider horizon in all that we do and in the struggles that we make, trying to identify power and authority of any kind and in all their configurations, and trying to oppose them, is the goal that we have. **Our perspective should be at the basis of our action, a thought which accompanies us continuously as well as a way of approaching struggles. When we oppose war, a technological disaster, a prison, repression, exploitation, authority, morality, we should always keep in mind all these aspects and try to have an overall view.** An example: when we oppose a nuclear plant, we oppose the nuisance it represents, the irreversible destruction of the environment, but what we have in mind is also the use that will be made of the nuclear energy: to continue to reproduce an economic and industrial system of exploitation, or to perpetuate the super-technological and super-controlled city life shaped for commodities rather than humans. This example, which may be valid in many other cases, poses a problem. Can we participate in a struggle while separating, differentiating?

The TAP emerged with several issues: from the environmental devastation to war, to the plundering of resources, capitalist neo-colonialism, etc.; all these discourses are closely related. But what has not been done, perhaps, is attempting to connect all these aspects in terms of perspective. Opposition to the TAP is part of a broader opposition to the state and the economy: in a word, what is called *Domination*, which is also what governs our lives like those of billions of people and because of which we are precarious, exploited, controlled, repressed, etc. Now, we do not pretend that all those with whom we are related in a struggle are comrades or whatever kind of people (just to be clear), having the same approach, but our attempt is to go in that direction. Because when we speak or act out against exploitation, whether of nature or people, it is not intended as a rhetorical exercise. What we want is the existence of horizontal relationships between individuals and, of course, the end of exploitation.

## Some notes on method

After this introduction that may be evident but is useful to try to be clear, we come to the mode of action. One that doesn't make it impossible to get in touch with anyone provided it is in a horizontal and self-organized manner. The logic of institutions, parties and delegation are part of the problem, and are therefore part of what we oppose. Also here in Salento, committees against the TAP pipeline were immediately created, with the main reason that this construction would damage the tourist vocation of the territory. They immediately applied the usual standardized and institutional patterns: parliamentary delegation,

petitions, participating in round-table discussions with the TAP project - that is to say with the multinational that will make the pipeline, self-referential demonstrations - in the sense that they are often only composed of banners with their initials, interviews on television and in newspapers - contributing more to the spectacularization of the opposition and not to the opposition itself; especially also as television and newspapers are part of the problem. But it is like that, everyone chooses his [*sic*] path and acts accordingly. The most important thing is that this is not our way to struggle and that since the opposition to the TAP also interests us and concerns us, not only because it is located in the area where we live, we want to search for another mode of intervention. **The error, in our opinion, is to think that if committees are created, you can always find accomplices there to struggle together. It could happen, but considering it in a systematic way, as if it were a fact, is an error that wastes time and energy, among other things.** The struggle against the TAP in Val Susa [*ed. - see Return Fire vol.1 pg70*], to which everyone refers, probably contributed to this ambiguity. As if the important struggle going there for several decades would be reproducible anywhere or would be the only feasible model. Often, committees have a structure and a way of doing that is very political and that differs little from the institutional way of doing things, that we fail to see because we are blinded by an appearance of action at the base.

Immediately putting forth our mode of intervention, without delegations, without politics and with our critique of commodities and the existent; searching for accomplices or partners starting from ourselves: that is what we intend to do to try now to aim high and to fight against a bane, in this case a pipeline, to act against





this deadly existent. **But here arises another question: if we cannot find anyone with whom to wage a struggle, what to do?** The answer depends on the discussion, the will and the rage that you want to exert. If we start from the idea expressed by a comrade, that each of us can potentially change things, then there are only still a few ingredients to add: the identification, study, imagination, which can sometimes be much stronger and more potent “weapons” than we think. Even with small numbers, if one is determined, we can carry a struggle, or at least attempt to disrupt the mechanism which we oppose. The logic of quantity rather leads one to think that if we are not many we can do nothing, and this constitutes a renouncement and a missed opportunity to put forth our critique of the existent. It is clear that it can sometimes be important to be a lot, because you can do things that are not feasible alone. But we who do not seek consensus, and do not necessarily think in terms of organization, have more freedom in that sense.

### Against delegation

As always happens, someone in the committees is driven by a genuine intention to oppose the nuisances, but his *[sic]* modes of action, petitions or media use, are antithetical to ours. Especially since their leaders never lose the habit of intervening in any given occasion, considering themselves as the sole representatives of the struggle, speaking for others or dissociating from other methods. All it needed to trigger denunciation and dissociation was a “No TAP” scribbled by someone on the wall of a golf club (which is already itself a nuisance, given that to irrigate its huge lawns it takes the water of neighbouring farmers, lowering the groundwater to alarming levels) which hosted a meeting between members of the TAP and local administrators behind closed doors and protected by the police. We wonder if, when bulldozers arrive to begin the works, the *sympathetic* activists from the committees will demand special laws and deportation against those that will have enough will and rage to really oppose it. Expecting that the various members of the committees will at one point realise that petitions or parliamentary delegations do not amount to anything, is an illusion. Especially as to delegate means to reproduce, not hinder, the representative and authoritarian system.



**Discussion, criticism and action may instead be immediately valid instruments of opposition, very simple and accessible to all, taking into account the perspective that we talked about earlier. The TAP is only one aspect of Domination, although very large, but we are also interested to intervene in the relationship between individuals, what we are interested to put forth as a mode of action is a truly horizontal, self-organized and from the bottom.** And if the struggle can be conducted in this mode, perhaps even involving some or many other people very different from us, extending the critique of authority and questioning at least part of this existent then we would have acted in a right direction, even apart from the final result of the struggle against a specific nuisance.

### A spark that can propagate

From the moment the TAP Project was selected to put the pipeline into existence, the various local and national institutions have expressed their position. Some environmental groups such as *Legambiente* felt compelled to express their positive advice. The Italian government immediately declared itself in favor of the project, considering it strategic to the national economy and beginning to mystify the reality about the impact on the territory, new jobs and smaller bills. Local and regional politicians, starting with the governor Vendola and his deputies, have on the contrary begun to speak of consultation, negotiation, confrontation and necessary dialogue with the local populations and the involvement of citizens and

committees in carrying out the work. It is not difficult to understand that their idea of dialogue means to pacify, to avoid the suspicion of a large part of the inhabitants of Salento towards the project, some out of personal interest as tourism professionals, some seriously concerned about the impact on the environment, turning into hostility. *The work must be done, they say, but it is necessary that the opposition is kept under control, that it remains in the democratic cage of petitions and legal methods, pretending to participate while we undergo the work.* Concealing the enforcement of an unnecessary and harmful project that only serves the profits of some multinationals, in dialogue with local administrators, perhaps by offering a serious economic and monetary benefit, seeking to convince people of the goodness of this work, **but also its inevitability. The people are a child, like someone said, and this is the moment for candy.** If that's not enough, the fact that this construction is considered as strategic, can at any moment lead to its militarization. **But this discourse hides a fear, a weak point of those who hold power. Opposition to a nuisance can become a spark, a beginning, a fire that spreads and brings more into question.** An opportunity to oppose in the first-person and to stop a monster and then stop many others, *among them also the mentality of delegation.* From work to school, home, leisure, the places we inhabit, pieces of life are stolen from us and we want to reappropriate them by sending to hell the defenders of progress and this world.

# MEMORY AS A WEAPON

## SIEGE ON SIDNEY STREET

At the dawn of the 20th century, serfdom within the Russian empire was being abolished, and masses of rural inhabitants were being transformed into industrial labourers. It was a time of great discontent with the existing social order, with very pronounced class divides, and in 1905 revolt broke out against the Tsarist regime. What followed was a major crackdown against radicals, with many interrogations, torture, execution and terror. Many went into exile to escape.

**Because of this, by the end of the decade, the British capital of London was described by Latvian historian Pauls Bankovskis as being “swarming with armed-to-the-teeth anarchists who had come from all across Eastern Europe and who didn’t hold anything as holy”.**

The siege of Sidney Street is closely tied up with the folklore concerning “Peter the Painter”; one of many aliases of Latvian anarchist Janis Zhaklis. It’s actually debatable whether Janis was involved in either the siege or the events that directly provoked it. However, there’s only scant information about the individuals confirmed to be involved, and so a look at the background of Janis will help us gain a picture of the times.

“Peter the Painter”, so named in later life because of his work as a decorator as well as being an artist, was born in Latvia during 1883. During the events of 1905, he was a

“Memory calls us, incites us to contribute from our abilities to the clash with this reality.

We speak every night on nocturnal walks, or cycling by day. It asks us not to forget those faces behind the drapes, those ideas behind the fire, that love behind the destruction. It would not be dignified if we left all those beings in the mud of oblivion. To those who gave their life and their death to change everything.”

- Lxs Niñxs Salvajes

combatant of the Riga Fighting Organisation (of the Latvian Social Democracy party). In this group, he participated in the storming of Riga Central Prison (October 1905), the most modern prison of Tsarist Russia at the time, where hundreds of revolutionaries were executed inside those grim walls. Two of their imprisoned comrades were rescued from certain death in the raid. Months later in January 1906, he went on another expedition to attack the Secret Police Department of Riga inside the Main Police Directorate, again to liberate captured fighters. Six were freed; one of whom was Fritz Svaars, later supposed to be inside the besieged terrace on Sidney Street.

Janis then went to Finland, where he was part of an expropriation of the Helsinki Bank – most of the money going to revolutionary socialist organisation – and then headed to Germany to procure further arms. However, Janis was becoming disenchanted with Social Democrats, and attracted to anarchist ideas. When the Latvian Social Democracy party wanted to abandon armed struggle in favour of parliamentary discourse, he co-founded the anarchist-communist group ‘The Same – In Word and Deed!’ to continue the battle. After the group lost two members (Anna Caune and Karlis Krievin’s), killed by the police during a siege, Janis escaped abroad with Fritz and another fighter of the organisation known as Hartmanis or “Puika”, who was also part of the events to come in London.

It’s known that Janis at least was involved in more travels (and expropriations) in the U.S.A., Switzerland and France, before arriving in England. **In the heady underworld of London, he founded an anarchist group ‘Liesma’ (or ‘Flame’ in English). A large part of the focus of the immigrants (anarchists, social democrats and others) was to raise funds; to send money to family or friends who had been left without a ‘breadwinner’ after the events of 1905, to buy arms, publish illegal literature, and transport them back to Latvia. A great many successful robberies were carried out to this end.** For example, one of the fighters who was later thought to be in the siege, Jazeps Sokolovs, worked in various jewellery shops. Every time he would leave his job for the next one, the previous shop would be expropriated – however the police were unable to prove a connection!

The trail of what became known as the gang which ended up in the Sidney Street confrontation can be picked up in two robberies which failed. The first, in January 1909 and of a factory pay-store in North



London, was dubbed by the press as “the Tottenham Outrage”; culminating in a six-mile armed police chase across the Lea Valley. **The second and more deadly incident was December 16th 1910. The group had rented a house next-door to a jeweller’s in the Houndsditch area of the City of London, and began breaking through the wall to access the store during the night.** However police were alerted due to the noise and turned up to investigate. The radicals opened fire to secure their escape, killing three officers and badly wounding two more. **To date this remains the heaviest casualties sustained by the Metropolitan Police in any single incident.** However, while trying to break out of the cul-de-sac, “Puika” was gripped by one of the policemen – the comrade wounded his assailant several times in the struggle and the others shot the cop down, but in the crossfire Puika was hit in the back by a friend’s bullet. The gang then managed to carry Puika three-quarters of a mile to an East End flat, but he sadly died there the next day.

Police discovered the flat and the body that day. On Puika’s person was found a fake passport, ‘Flame’ documents, and instructions for electric detonation of explosives. Both Janis and Fritz had lived in the flat too. **There was a backlash against Eastern European refugees in the East End, and the police quickly rounded up several other Latvian anarchists or other revolutionaries, offering a seizable reward for the capture of named suspects described by the Daily Mirror as “fiends in human shape”.** A fortnight later an informant familiar with the social scene told



police that they knew where the last two or three wanted robbers were holed up – No.100 Sidney Street, in Stepney.

**An armed police contingent surrounded the house on the night of January 2nd, 1911, and waited in the snow.** At 3:30am on January 3rd, the police Detective Inspector (D.I.) got a neighbour to enter No.100 under the pretence of visiting the landlady about an ill partner, and all were secretly evacuated from the house except the unknown suspects who were asleep in the front room. Around dawn, the D.I. tried throwing pebbles against the window to wake them, but got no response. Then, as he was collecting more, gunfire broke out from the upper floor, and a sergeant was hit. The D.I. sheltered in the frozen gutter for a full half-hour before the shooting ceased, then ran for reinforcements.

It was clear very quickly that the anarchists in the house, with automatic pistols and plentiful ammunition, were much better armed than the Metropolitan Police force at that time, with their antiquated rifles.

**The cops appealed to Scotland Yard for assistance, who in turn requested help from the Home Secretary; who at that time was Winston Churchill<sup>[1]</sup>. Churchill dispatched a score of soldiers from the Tower of London to reinforce the two-hundred-strong police cordon, and himself arrived on the scene around midday to direct the operation.** At this point the battle had been raging for over four hours, and thousands of shots had been fired. The media were in attendance; in fact it was apparently one of the first cases of live news coverage, filmed by Pathé News. Eventually the police force swelled to at least 1,500,

with a crowd of maybe twice that gathering to watch from the street and rooftops.

The assembled State forces were firing from windows on opposite house-blocks. A news report at the time about the 'desperadoes' of the gang alleged that *"it was curious proof of the deadly aim of the assassins that not one pane of glass was broken in the opposite windows; the bullets had all gone through the opening over the heads of the soldiers and policemen as they lay."* At Churchill's suggestion an artillery piece was brought to the scene to shell the anarchists out, as well as a military party of Royal Engineers to gain access to the house by digging an underground tunnel.

However in the end before either were deployed, **somehow a fire began inside the house under siege at around 1pm.** A journalist on a nearby rooftop claimed to see a gas jet burning on the first floor, leading them to allege that the fire may have been a plan intended as a diversion, so that the two anarchists could escape via the back of the house. Another speculation has been that a bullet may have hit a gas pipe, but to this day it seems unclear.

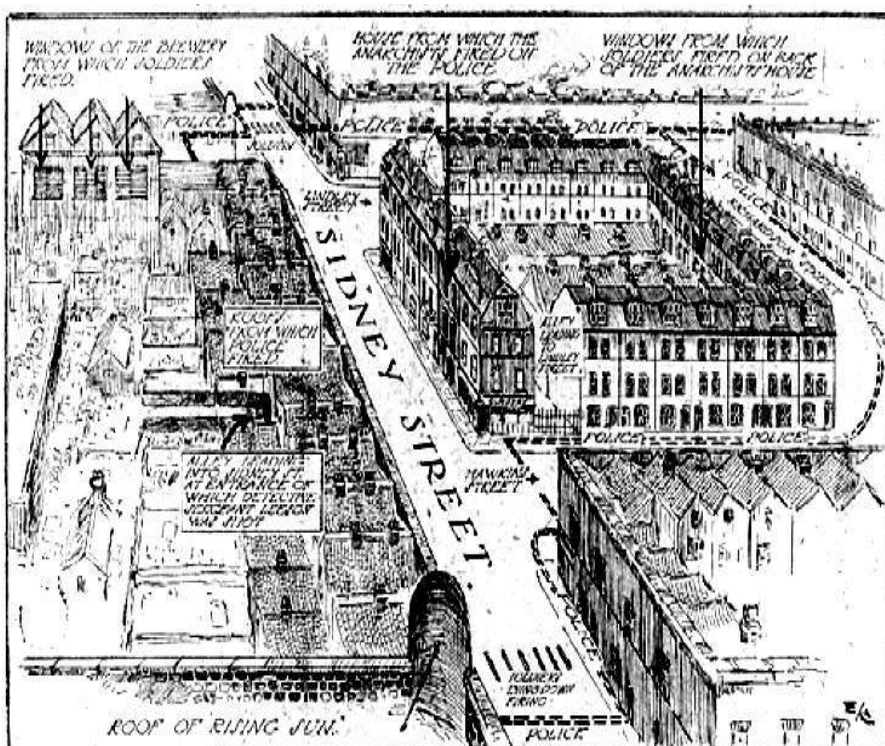
The smoke grew stronger, and, while gunfire continued from both sides, the flames began to envelop the house. By now the volleys from the alleged robbers was coming from the bottom floor alone. **Although the fire brigade were on the scene, Churchill (who claimed to have had a bullet pass through his top-hat on that day although leaving him unharmed, but this has been disputed) prevented them tackling the blaze.** *"No, let the buggers burn!"* he is reported to have said.

There are differing accounts of what happened next. In one story, around 2pm as the fire was gaining strength, there could be heard one or two final shots from the ground-floor of No.100 Sidney Street, and this was thought to be the anarchists taking their own lives. (At the time however the media reported that the two bodies were later found in the kitchen behind the house.) We quote from the second story: *"One gunman leaned out of the window, possibly to take breath, and he was shot in the head, then the other – a burning figure – climbed onto the window ledge, to a gasp of horror from the crowd of thousands. Within seconds, after a burst of shots, he fell backwards into the room, and quickly the fire consumed the house, as the roof and floors came crashing down amongst a roar of flames."*

**The bodies in the house when the fire brigade and police finally entered (actually one fire-fighter died after a side-wall collapsed in on five of them) were unidentifiable. It is on the landlady's testimony alone that they were said to be the comrades Jazeps Sokolovs and Fritz Svaars.**

Of the arrested immediately following the Houndsditch robbery, seven were put on trial in May 1911 (two women and five men). In the end only five went further than the initial process. However, to the embarrassment of the establishment, as it was claimed that there was four men and one woman involved in the robbery, if all the defendants were found guilty, therefore one of the dead men of Sidney Street would not have been involved. This was deemed to be potentially damaging to Churchill's reputation and further career, and in the end due to lack of evidence all the defendants were set loose with little publicity. One of the two women initially accused, L'uba Milstein, gave birth to her and Fritz Svaars' child afterwards.

**There was no sign of the so-called 'leader' Janis, "Peter the Painter", despite him becoming the most wanted person in Britain from 1911.** Some still believe that he was inside the house on Sidney Street, and escaped somehow. It was rumoured since that he escaped to Australia; or alternatively that a prisoner in a Siberian Gulag in the early 1950's claimed to be "Peter" and knew a great deal of details about the events in London... Whichever way, Peter the Painter began quite a folk-hero around the East End of London and beyond – and the Mauser pistols wielded by the besieged anarchists on Sidney Street were allegedly nick-named "Peter the Painters" during the Irish insurrection and subsequent war for independence from British rule.



In other repercussions, the Metropolitan Police re-kitted themselves with more modern arms after having been essentially out-gunned by two or three opponents. **This was a lead into the spectacularisation of police operations as well, in collaboration with the mass media,** preceding the current era of dramatic journalism. Churchill also played on his front-line image to boost his popularity as a celebrity states-person.

In 2006, a social housing development was built on the corner of Sidney Street and Commercial Road, and was named Peter House and Painter House – to the severe annoyance of the local councillor and the Metropolitan Police Federation.

A thought in our minds for the fighters who burned themselves out while courageously reaching for the stars.

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1. Beyond our obvious reasons for contempt for any politician, there's a few choice facts to recall about this imperialist character who is lauded in British culture for his personality as war-time Prime Minister during the Second World Slaughter.

During the same time period as the events in London, during what is known as 'The Great Unrest' he had the pits of striking miners in Yorkshire surrounded by machine-gun nests, ordered gunships up the Mersey, and two rioters were shot dead in Llanelli while blocking train lines. (Tellingly though, he was meant to be in favour of trade unions, declaring that there "wasn't enough of them", presumably because they often offer a more easily-managed form of dispute than 'wildcat' strikes.)

In 1919, shortly after the horrors of trench warfare in the First World Slaughter, he declared his preference to use poison gas in Iraq (where Britain was fighting against a national independence movement) on Kurdish areas in order to test explosive and biological weapons under development; which was in fact carried out. Quote: "I am strongly in favour of using poisoned gas against uncivilised tribes [to] spread a lively terror".

He was also a fan of the early fascism of Italy under Mussolini, and an appeaser to the Spanish dictator Franco following his massacre of anarchist and communist revolutionaries. As far as the British Empire went, in 1937 he said of the Palestine Commission, "I do not agree that the dog in a manger has the final right to the manger even though he [sic] may have lain there for a very long time. I do not admit that right. I do not admit for instance, that a great wrong has been done to the Red Indians of America or the black people of Australia. I do not admit that a wrong has been done to these people by the fact that a stronger race, a higher-grade race, a more worldly wise race to put it that way, has come in and taken their place."

Concerning his 'stoic' conduct during the Second World Slaughter, "[w]hen in 1942 the popular Quit India Movement threatened to disrupt the war effort, it was brutally put down with public shootings and mass whippings, torturing of protesters and burning of villages, leading even bourgeois observers to make comparisons with 'Nazi dreadfulness'. When in 1943 food shortages began as a direct result of British scorched earth policies, the War Cabinet ignored the problem, refusing to stop ordering Indian food abroad in the interests of the war effort. The resulting man-made famine in Bengal may have accounted for as many as four million deaths." Churchill's response was that "They'll reproduce themselves soon enough", and he shed not a tear for the population that was "breeding like rabbits and being paid a million a day by us for doing nothing by us about the war".

If he indeed took a bullet through his hat during the Sidney Street siege, we only wish it had been lower.

## THE TRACES OF THE "ARAB SPRING"

[ed. - Transcribed from the English version of the multilingual Dandelion free-sheet's first issue, slightly edited for spelling and grammar etc.]



General note: The term "Arab Spring" is a creation of the media. By the participants in the insurrections it is actually not used and they consider it to be imposed. It is a term that wants to present the social conflict which has been going on down there since a long time and which will continue to do so, as an event with a beginning and an end, limiting it to the Arab region. Therefore we use this term only with quotation marks.

**We want to describe with it the totality of revolts that accumulated like a chain reaction in spring 2011 in diverse countries south of the Mediterranean sea. None of the terms like "Maghreb", "Arab region" or "North Africa" embrace all the places where the insurrections developed. Nevertheless we didn't list a complete description at each point in the text.**

The insurrections in the North African area caused a large wave of migration. Many of those fed up with their miserable living conditions caught the opportunity, plucked up the courage and set out to search for their luck elsewhere. **The destabilisation of the dictatorial regimes which previously helped to keep the fluxes of migration in check also unblocked the "fence around Europe", at least for a moment.** A "fence" constituted figuratively of police and military controls at land and sea, of prisons for migrants, of "repatriation agreements" and deportations. But concretely it is also constituted of real fences, dozens of kilometres long, 3 metres high, equipped with barbedwire and cameras (like those between Morocco and the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla or soon along the land border between Turkey and Greece)<sup>[1]</sup>.

Although the news from the Maghreb countries and the Middle East has gotten sporadic [ed. - this was before Egypt re-exploded], we can assume that the situation there is far from being stabilised. **The dictatorial regimes might have changed their faces, the oppression and the poverty however stayed the same. As they will**

**always do, as long as we live in societies based on hierarchies and privileges – may they be named "dictatorial" or "democratic".** This is also the reason why the revolts continue. And just this is also the reason why many will continue to flee from their situation, hoping to find something better elsewhere. A hope that, inevitably, will fade away...

Once having survived the arduous seaway chosen by many emigrants, most of those having the luck not to have drowned on the way together with the entire choc-full boat, end up in Lampedusa. Lampedusa is a little island in the Mediterranean sea, situated to the south of Sicily. An island that, through its location, has always been the first mooring for refugee boats from Northern Africa. Therefore also there already is a huge prisonlike "reception camp" meant to imprison the arriving people until the bureaucratic procedures decide upon their destiny. To administer the tens of thousands of people arriving week after week after the "Arab Spring", provisional and fenced tent camps were built additionally. Many wait here, after having risked their lives on the journey, to be deported again or to get transferred to other deportation camps.

But it soon becomes clear that those newly arrived people do not only bring along the courage to defy all obstacles of the borders, **but often also the spirit of revolt and the desire for freedom they recently saw revive in their country of origin.** Soon revolts and mass escapes follow one another on the island – particularly in that noted "reception prison" imprisoning at times more than two thousand Tunisians (i.e. about three times overfilled). Hundreds of escapees assemble several times for demonstrations in the centre of the island to protest about their imprisonment and deportation. After Tunisians in revolt had destroyed a part of their internment camp with an arson in April [2011], it is burned down entirely in September after a big prisoner revolt to screams of "freedom, freedom!"...

Not knowing anymore where to put all these people arriving on Lampedusa, the Italian state is forced to give out provisional papers [ed. - documents for temporary permission to stay]. This allows many people to continue their voyage. **Others instead, among them many of those participating in the revolts on Lampedusa, are spread to different detention camps in Italy. The unintended consequence of this was the rebellious spirit to be spread to the other prisons.** From Bari to Gradisca, Turin, Bologna, Milano, Brindisi, Modena, Trapani, Pozzallo, Pantelleria, Cagliari and Rome nearly every week we hear of revolts, mass breakouts, attacked guards and, here and there, even burning prisons. And who, whose heart still beats for the freedom of



every individual, could not recognise himself [sic] in those gestures?

**While the controls in the north of Italy, at the border with France, with Switzerland and with Austria, but basically at the borders of every European state, get massively increased, the trace of the North African insurrections draws itself further, among others, to Paris.** There, in May, a group calling themselves *"the Tunisians from Lampedusa in Paris"* together with anarchists and other individuals in solidarity begin to occupy buildings. As one can read on a big banner, they want *"neither police nor charity"* but *"a place to selforganise"*. Keeping to these words they refuse the offering of the city council of about 100 temporary accomodations, which in the end would simply result in a split up of the group consisting of more than 150 people. Instead of arguing about who could receive this privilege and who would not, they preferred to stay together and to keep up their fighting attitude. On the walls of the building is written in big sprayed letters: *"Papers for all (or no papers for anybody)"* and *"Freedom!"*.

After some days the building gets evicted by the police. Some occupants manage to break through the police lines and in the street small fights with the police erupt. Many of the *sans-papier* [ed. - *"without papers"*] get arrested and temporarily locked up in a deportation camp, some are deported. The following weeks in Paris are marked by unauthorised demonstrations, rallies in solidarity in front of the deportation camp, disturbances of an event of the city council to boost Tunisian tourism and of an estate agency for rich Tunisians. In

"It starts with a spark, one of many, and suddenly the powder is set ablaze. It ignites in Tunisia, in Egypt, Morocco, in Algeria, in Libya and in Syria... and an immense joyous fire embraces the entire region, and imprints on the hearts of everyone in revolt, everywhere in the world, the affirmation: nothing is impossible. [...] In areas where the power of police repression kept watch on every street corner, and sometimes all the way to the heart of each family (based on the Eastern model of state capitalism), a part of the population has taken the streets, the ground is littered with the effigies of leaders, police stations are burned, the prisons and rich people's villas have been attacked, warehouses have been plundered... [...] It's true that the European leaders have not been very reassured. Until now they made the most of this arc of authoritarian states that made up the southern border of the Union. They had established strategic agreements including economic, political and military ties for the majority of them. Agreements where democracy with a splash of 'Human Rights' was pure rhetoric. And yet it's this banner that European and North American leaders wave all the time to justify going to war, or their military and civil interventions in situations of 'crisis'. [...] When Europe talks about democracy it also involves injecting money into Morocco so they can fortify their colonies of Ceuta and Melilla on the African continent, with barbed wire, watchtowers and bullets. *Democracy*, that is drones that fly over the borders of Europe to hunt clandestine people; it is the devices that can detect heart beats to find migrants who are hiding in lorries or trains to penetrate this model of morality and the civilisation which claims to be Europe. [...] Democracy in Europe is, from one day to the next, sending refugees to a country that was considered to be one of the worst dictatorships the day before, but which has since become an ally, but the real conditions haven't changed one bit for the poor. It judges immigrants based on their profitability, and send back those who cannot demonstrate a skill valued by capitalism in this country to be worthy of mercy. [...] It wouldn't seem that barbarity is unique to dictatorial regimes, when, here as everywhere, the state imprisons rebels by the tens of thousands, mutilates and kills as required those who are too recalcitrant or useless (by suicides in prison, wage slavery and 'accidents', or the management of social pacification through drugs in poor neighbourhoods). [...] So, it's this democratic model that the rulers brag about – the one they would like to export elsewhere to preserve their power? Yes! And since that's the case, let's get rid of them as soon as possible." – *some sparks, Paris, April 20th 2011*

the following months building occupations and evictions follow one another; some stay autonomous and selforganised, others, unfortunately, accept the racket of politicians and associations.

In Switzerland meanwhile one can observe, as already said, that the surveillance around the borders has been increased. In the weeks following the insurrections in North Africa every day drones are flying over the border forests around Chiasso, which, by the way, are filled with cameras and police patrols. In the city, the controls [ed. - *police stops*] of people with dark skin increase and the local "reception centre" fills up, one by one, with new people that committed the crime of not having papers. Due to a lack of regular accommodations, the Swiss state decided to cram a part of these migrants in bunkers of the civil protection [ed. - *Swiss municipal, emergency and nuclear agency*], mostly situated out of the city and

underground. Despite the little information we have we can assume the atmosphere in the often overcrowded accommodations and prisons for migrants being probably rather tense. We know of at least two cases in the canon of Neuenburg where about 30 migrants built up the courage and the dignity to refuse being put in a bunker without windows. Although the deportation camps, unfortunately, haven't started going up in flames like in Italy, we could say, wherever there is resentment stirring, it also contains **the potential to transform itself into open rage and revolt.**

Considering this trace (although only fragmentarily drawn) that followed the "Arab Spring" – can anybody still assume that these insurrections are something far away from us, something not really concerning us? Its social impacts spread like a chain reaction before the fronts of our houses. Saying this I talk about the situation

of the migrants and their struggles against this situation, but also about something else, something socially contagious and strong which is about to spread also here, amongst those otherwise accustomed to swallow and to bow their head: it is the imagination that the rage and the desire for freedom that the poor, the oppressed, the marginals, the exploited and imprisoned are capable – within a burning insurrection – of turning entire countries upside down. Because many of those migrants wandering Europe now experienced this possibility themselves. The possibility to stop respecting the arrogant governments, politicians and authorities and to take decisions that concern our very own lives also in our own hands. And they felt this possibility to a degree we haven't felt here in Europe since a long time. **One part of the social impacts of the "Arab Spring" therefore is most notably also the revival of the imagination of an insurrection, of the dream of a social revolution.**

In the case that we were born here we can keep telling ourselves that the problems of the migrants are the problems of the migrants. We can consider the infamous situation in the deportation camps and asylum accommodations, the permanent fear of controls in the streets, the unconditional exploitation at work and everything else accompanying the fact of not having regular papers as something not concerning us. Or, we consider all this as an expression of the same misery into which this world, in one way or another, is forcing us all. Because we all get blackmailed with the threatening possibility of ending up in prison, we all get cut back or harassed by the police in the streets, we all have to struggle with the absurd bureaucracy of the authorities, we all are valuable for the bosses only as workers to exploit. In the migrants, as in every-body else who feels the oppression on his or her own skin, we simply see brothers and sisters of misery, but in those who decide to fight against the cause of this oppression we see potential accomplices in the struggle for freedom. In the struggle for a world finally rid of all borders, identification papers, prisons and authorities, in which solidarity and mutual aid enable everyone an unlimited development of his *[sic]* life.

1. The enterprise taking care of this "fence around Europe" is called Frontex.

## REVOLT STRIKES THE BORDER REGIME

**17.01.14, Vienna, Austria:** *Police van torched outside the police detention centre, where migrants are also held and deported from continuously.* "With this small gesture we wanted to attack Austria's racist construct and give a small response to the behaviour (and the existence) of cops and other authorities."

**08.12.13, Steenokkerzeel, Belgium:** *A "gang of joyful troublemakers" rocks up at the detention centre with firecrackers, smoke bombs and fireworks, a week after the death of an inmate in Bruges.* "After some words were exchanged with the prisoners who were on the yard, the guards forced the prisoners to return to their cells."



**30.10.13, Gradisca, Italy:** *Five-hour riot in the detention centre after police stationed inside prevented some migrants escaping. Many fires are lit, and by the time the uprising has been quelled with a water cannon the centre is destroyed, all sections unusable. This is at least the third major destruction of facilities on the site, along with many smaller uprisings; in February 2011 the arrival of young people fresh from the insurrections in the Maghreb was attributed as the catalyst for the steady trashing of the prison, brick by brick, cell by cell. The police union complained that the rebels "knew exactly what the flaws in the detention centre were". Many migrants had to be released at that time.*

**25.10.13, Hamburg, Germany:** *During a wave of demonstrations and clashes against the racial profiling approved by the Hamburg Senate (trying to round up Libyan refugees who managed to get to Germany from Lampedusa), in the area of the Schanzenviertel many small groups repeatedly fight with the police, also smashing several windows of their patrol vehicles.*

**22.09.13, Paris, France:** *Two vehicles of the Red Cross torched.* "Everyone knows that the Red Cross is collaborating toward the incarceration and deportation of the *sans-papiers*. Our intention was to send a small sign of complicity to the escapees from the Palaiseau and the Vincennes administrative detention centres (CRAs), to the mutineers of the Mesnil-Amelot detention camp, and to all those who are fighting in jail. Outside, just as inside, let's attack the deportation machine and every confinement!"

**30.09.13, Melbourne, Australia:** *Three politicians' offices are vandalised.* "The politicians and bosses have driven wedges between us,

trying to convince us there is an enemy in people from across the sea. [...] We stand by the rioters, the 'boat people', the border-hoppers and 'illegals' in this land and throughout the world. We stand by them til all the prisons are ash and the borders finally broken."

**23.07.13, Melilla:** *Around 500 migrants assault the border between Morocco and the Spanish enclave of Melilla in North Africa, at two different points, aiming to reach European soil. Three law enforcement officials are wounded.*

**19.07.13, Nauru:** *Rebellion in the detention centre: 95% of the facility is burned, to the tune of \$600 million. Fifteen guards are injured. Nearly half of the 500 detainees escape.*

**21.06.13, Portishead, U.K.:** *Arson attack by 'Borderless Solidarity Cell' of the Informal Anarchist Federation (F.A.I.), the heat from which busts out around twenty windows at a UK Border Agency office "from where an immigration crime team work with police, including launching raids in the south-west", and destroys six vehicles stationed there; "3 cars, 2 blacked-out people carrier vans (known to be used for dawn snatchings of immigrant family groups) and 1 large van. [...] We don't want a world where the tyranny of immigration bureaucrats can mean the difference between life and death, and unique beings are categorized and labelled to wring the maximum profit and subordination from us all. We don't want the indignity of every movement being scrutinized for the purposes of social control and enclosure, whether at borders, on the housing estates, in school or at work."*

**10.05.13, Nijmegen, Holland:** *Ten windows smashed and graffiti left at Royal Haskoning Architects for their part in designing the Rotterdam detention centre, where a hunger strike is then taking place.*

**09.04.13, London, U.K.:** *Glass store-front of Barnardo's is smashed by F.A.I. 'Circle Slab Cell'. "Barnardo's was targeted because they fund and administrate Cedars detention centre in Croydon. They detain children, families and individuals who merely seek freedom from poverty, persecution, murder, rape and other oppression..."*

**17.06.12, Rostock, Germany:** *The immigration office is heavily fire-damaged by a masked group who light up an amount of tires on the scene. Around this time, refugees are being deported to Afghanistan by the German government...*

**20.09.11, Lampedusa:** *Tunisian migrants forced to reside in the detention centre take to the streets in a demonstration, seizing gas cylinders which they threaten to detonate. At the same time migrants clashed with the police inside the centre and then burned down two-thirds of the structure. The island's local airport had to close because of the smoke.*

**24.06.11, Nottingham, U.K.:** *In memory of Jimmy Mubenga, an Angolan migrant suffocated to death by G4S security guards during forced deportation, a G4S security guard is followed home and beaten, and the same night two G4S vehicles get smashed windows and their exhaust pipes destroyed with expanding foam.*

**12.10.10, Lisbon, Portugal:** *Cathedral attacked with paint-bombs and slogans. "The S.E.F [Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras] and the church go hand in hand. Let both go up in flames!"*



# 'GRAVEDIGGERS OF SOCIETY'

[ed. - Reproduced from the first issue of the journal *Bædan*. Explores ways that capitalism attempts to co-opt queerness and integrate it, as a stabilised identity, into the structures of otherwise heteronormative (i.e. hetero-sexuality being held as the 'norm') society, using 'No Future' by Lee Edelman and works by Guy Hocquenghem as starting points. Puts forward a vision of anti-social engagement which encompasses Guy's emphasis on a self-shattering "jouissance" to overcome reified identity. From the journal: "This intensity of enjoyment (the literal translation of *jouissance* from the French) must be the same *jouissance* which shatters our subjective enslavement to capitalist civilization. It is that exact current which permeates all of society and delivers to the necessity of insurrection against all that exists and for a joy we cannot name." While we are less convinced that a 'pure' negativity exists in the way that the authors allude to, we also strongly feel the urgency of a queerness that is neither stable nor controllable...]

Edelman's project, insofar as we can imagine it as a starting point, is intriguing because for him queerness is fundamentally negative. **Whether in the form of gay assimilation, identity politics, or 'radical queer' subculture, any contemporary engagement with queerness must reckon with decades of capitalist integration into society and its state.** These varying forms are joined together through positive queer identity as a shared content. If we read Edelman with a great sense of catharsis, it is because his conception of negative queerness allows us to discard all the identitarian baggage which accompanies queerness. **This move against positive queer projects is a crucial one; it illustrates one truth about capital. Capital is predicated on accumulating value – any value – for its own self-reproduction.** Capital is in a constant process of revolt against itself. Subjects which were once marginalized or annihilated by the civilized order are absorbed into its circuitry, positions that could mark an outside are moved inward. There is no positive queerness that isn't already a site of society's reproduction[...] its dance parties, community projects, activist groups, social networks, fashion, literature, art, festivals[...] Put another way, we are not interested in a social project of queerness, in queer contributions to society, in carving out our own ghettos within the material and symbolic structures of capitalist life. Rather, our engagement with queer theory must be attuned to locating the moments which reveal the potential undoing of society, its structures and its relations. **For Edelman, a theory of queer negativity begins from an exploration of the fantastic position of queers within society's collective imagination. His methodology is to navigate the discourses and nightmares of right-wing heteronormativity. Citing one fundamentalist pundit after another, he fleshes out the terror with which the anti-queer establishment imagines the threat of queerness.** A thread persists through history into the present which imagines queers as the destroyers of social cohesion, the 'gravediggers of society,' the repudiation

of the values of hard work and family, the persistent wave which erodes the bedrock of the monetary and libidinal economies, thieves, tricksters, hustlers, sinners, murderers, deviants, and perverts. Queers are not just damned, they are the proof of society's fundamental damnation as well. Sodomites, after all, are named for their symbolic position as the sexual symbol of civilization's decadence and imminent annihilation.

Analyzing an example of this fantasy, Edelman writes: "We might do well to consider this less as an instance of hyperbolic rant and more as a reminder of the disorientation that queer sexualities should entail: "acceptance or indifference to the homosexual movement will result in society's destruction by allowing civil order to be redefined and by plummeting ourselves, our children and grandchildren into an age of godlessness. Indeed, the very foundation of Western Civilization is at stake." Before the self-righteous bromides [of liberal pluralism] spill from our lips, before we supply once more the assurance that ours is another kind of love but a love like his nonetheless, before we piously invoke the litany of our glorious contributions to the civilizations of east and west alike, dare we pause for a moment to acknowledge that he might be right – or, more important, that he ought to be right: that queerness should and must destroy such notions of "civil order" through a rupturing of our foundational faith in the reproduction of futurity?" [...] This position of ownership of the negative means a liberatory conspiracy between the enemies of society. It allows us to escape the traps that lie in any attempt at affirming a positive counter-narrative. One cannot deny the destructive and anti-social potential of queerness without also affirming the social order. One cannot argue against the anti-queer paranoia which imagines us to be enemies of God and state and family without implicitly conceding the legitimacy of each. [...] Even 'radical' or 'anti-assimilationist' queer positions attempt to deny this negativity and to create space for



queer representation in the State or queer belonging within capitalism.

We'll follow Edelman as he elaborates on this idea: "Rather than rejecting, with liberal discourse, the ascription of negativity to the queer, we might... do better to consider accepting and even embracing it. Not in the hope of forging thereby some more perfect social order – such a hope, after all, would only reproduce the constraining mandate of futurism, **just as any such order would equally occasion the negativity of the queer** – but rather to refuse the insistence of hope itself as affirmation, which is always affirmation of an order whose refusal will register as unthinkable, irresponsible, inhuman. And the trump card of affirmation? Always the question: If not this, what? Always the demand to translate the insistence, the pulsive force, or negativity into some determinate stance or "position" whose determination would thus negate it: always the imperative to immure it in some stable and positive form... I do not intend to propose some "good" that will thereby be assured. To the contrary, I mean to insist that nothing, and certainly not what we call "good", can ever have any assurance at all in the order of the Symbolic... [W]e might rather, figuratively cast our vote for "none of the above," for the primacy of a constant "no" in response to the law of the symbolic, which would echo that law's foundational act, its self-constituting negation."

[...] The symbolic deployment of queerness by the social order is always an attempt [to] lock this chaotic potential up in the confines of this or that subjectivity. [Michel] Foucault's work is foundational to queer theory in part because of his argument that power must create and then classify antagonistic subjectivities so as to then annihilate any subversive potential within a social body. **Homosexuals, gangsters, criminals, immigrants, welfare mothers, transsexuals, women, youth, terrorists, the black bloc, communists, extremists: power is always constructing and defining these**

**antagonistic subjects which must be managed.** When the smoke clears after a riot, the state and media apparatuses universally begin to locate such events within *the logic of identity*, freezing the fluidity of revolt into a handful of subject positions to be imprisoned, or, more sinisterly, *organized*. Progressivism, with its drive toward inclusion and assimilation, stakes its hope on the social viability of these subjects, on their ability to participate

"Some will read "queer" as synonymous with "gay and lesbian" or "LGBT". This reading falls short. While those who would fit within the constructions of "L", "G", "B" or "T" could fall within the discursive limits of queer, queer is not a stable area to inhabit. Queer is not merely another identity that can be tacked onto a list of neat social categories, nor the quantitative sum of our identities. Rather, it is the qualitative position of opposition to presentations of stability – an identity that problematizes the manageable limits of identity. Queer is a territory of tension, defined against the dominant narrative of white-hetero-monogamous-patriarchy, but also by an affinity with all who are marginalized, otherized and oppressed. Queer is the abnormal, the strange, the dangerous. Queer involves our sexuality and our gender, but so much more. It is our desire and fantasies and more still.

Queer is the cohesion of everything in conflict with the heterosexual capitalist world. Queer is a total rejection of the regime of the Normal. [...] The perspective of queers within the heteronormative world is a lens through which we can critique and attack the apparatus of capitalism. We can analyze the ways in which Medicine, the Prison System, the Church, the State, Marriage, the Media, Borders, the Military and Police are used to control and destroy us. More importantly, we can use these cases to articulate a cohesive criticism of every way that we are alienated and dominated. Queer is a position from which to attack the normative – more, a position from which to understand and attack the ways in which normal is reproduced and reiterated."

- Towards the Queerest Insurrection

in the daily reproduction of society. **In doing so, the ideology of progress functions to trap subversive potential within a particular subject, and then to solicit that subject's self-repudiation of the danger which they've been constructed to represent.** This move for social peace fails[...] because despite a whole range of determinisms, there is no subject which can solely and perfectly contain the potential for revolt. The simultaneous attempt at justice must also fail, because the integration of each successive subject position into normative relations necessitates the construction of the next Other to be disciplined or destroyed.

**[...] We choose not to establish a place for queers, thereby shifting the structural position of queerness to some other population. We identify with the negativity of the drive, and thereby perform a disidentification away from any identity to be represented or which can beg for rights.**

Following Edelman further: "[T]he queer must insist on disturbing, **on queering**, social organization as such – on disturbing, and therefore on queering ourselves and our investment in such organization. **For queerness can never define an identity; it can only every disturb one.** And so, when I argue, as I aim to do here, that the burden of queerness is to be located **less in the assertion of an oppositional political identity than in opposition to politics as the governing fantasy of realizing identities**, I am proposing no platform or position from which queer sexuality or any queer subject might truly become itself, as if it could somehow manage thereby to achieve an essential queerness. I am suggesting instead that the efficacy of queerness, its real strategic value, lies in its resistance to a symbolic reality that only ever invests us as subjects insofar as we invest ourselves in it, clinging to its governing fictions, its persistent sublimations, as reality itself."

**[...] Edelman's critique of politics begins with the figure of the Child.** All political positions, he argues, represent themselves as doing what is best for the children. Politicians, whatever their parties or leanings, universally frame their debates around the question of what policies are best for the children, who keeps the Child safest, or what type of world we want to be building for our children. The centrality of the Child in the field of the political is not limited to electoral politics or political

parties. Nationalist groups organize themselves around a necessity to preserve a future for *their children*, while anarchist and communist revolutionaries concern themselves with revolutionary organizing meant to create a better world for future generations. [...] The Child, of course, has very little to do with real children. Like all people, children are enslaved under the political order of the state and capital, expected to bear the burden of being the innocent beneficiaries of political initiatives. **No, rather the Child is the fantastic symbol for the eternal proliferation of class society.** The Child represents the succession of generations and the continuation of this society beyond the lifespans of its living members. All politics, being concerned primarily with the Child, then reveal themselves to be only ever a process by which to manage and secure the continued existence of society. [...] If the varying discourses of politics are only ever about the Child (as society's future), queerness must be *anti-political* because it marks a fundamental interruption of the societal norms and apparatuses that exist to mandate the reproduction of the Child. Yes, queer sex can be non-reproductive sex, but we cannot define queerness through such overly-simple and naturalistic logics. Queerness, beyond being the negation of the heteronormative family matrix, must also be practiced as a willful refusal of the political imperative to reproduce class society.

[...] The social order must concern itself with the future so as to create the forward-moving infrastructure and discourse to proliferate itself. Edelman's name for this insistence on the Child as the future is *reproductive futurism*. **Reproductive futurism is the ideology which demands that all social relationships and communal life be structured in order to allow for the possibility of the future through the reproduction of the Child, and thus the reproduction of society. The ideology of reproductive futurism ensures the sacrifice of all vital energy for the pure abstraction of the idealized continuation of society.** Edelman argues that "*futurity amounts to a struggle for Life at the expense of life; for the Children at the expense of the lived experiences of actual children.* [...] The Child, that is, marks the fetishistic fixation of heteronormativity: an erotically charged investment in the rigid sameness of identity that is central to the compulsory narrative of reproductive futurism. And so, as the radical right maintains, the battle against queers is a life-and-death struggle for the future of a Child whose ruin is pursued by queers. Indeed, as the Army of God made clear in the bomb-making guide it produces for the assistance of its militantly "pro-life" members, its purpose was wholly congruent

with the logic of reproductive futurism: to “disrupt and ultimately destroy Satan’s power to kill our children, God’s children.””

Edelman goes on to cite the ways in which reproductive futurism is intrinsic to white supremacist ideology and white nationalism; bound as the Child is to notions of race and nation[...]

To bolster his argument about the repressive nature of reproductive futurism, Edelman cites Walter Benjamin in describing the way in which the fantasy of the future was intrinsic to the spread of fascism in Europe. Edelman, via Benjamin, describes “the fascism of the baby’s face,” a phrase meant to illustrate the absolute power afforded to the ideology of reproductive futurism. [...] No atrocity is out of the question if it is for the Child; no horrible project of industry should be precluded if it will serve to hasten the future of industrial civilization. Armies of men, imperial and revolutionary alike, have always lined up to the slaughter in the name of the Child. [...] It is this truth which young people everywhere are awakening to. They are swarming the streets *en masse*, hoods up, to outrun the police and snare the flows of the cities. They are walking out of school – that banal prison of futurity – in order to loot stores and be with their friends. They are preparing and coordinating, so that they next time one of them is burned at the stake for the sake of the Future, they’ll make the city burn in kind. The fires of Greece, London and Bahrain hint towards the consequences of such an awakening.



To further ground Edelman’s theory of the Child and contemporary debates around reproduction in the specific historical context which gave rise to Capitalism, we’ll turn briefly to the work of Silvia Federici in her book *Caliban and the Witch*. In *Caliban*, Federici studies the rise of Capitalism in Europe through the process of primitive accumulation<sup>[1]</sup>. For Federici, the shift from feudalism to capitalism was only possible through the accumulation of the bodies of women and consequently through the development of their bodily capacity into a site specifically for the reproduction of a



“To all those who are insolent, exploited, badly behaved, in revolt, insurgent, rebels, crazy, un-adapted, non-believers, savage, barbarians, unruly, ungovernable, anti-social, without homeland and thirsting for freedom. Prisons, detention centres, police stations, schools, psychiatric centres, courthouses, universities, apartment blocks, supermarkets, family planning, temples, social workers, unions, parties, families, marriage only serves to confine us, domesticate us, ‘educate’ us, enclose us, ‘correct’ us, normalise us, exterminate us. May fire take them all. The inquisitors and their world to the pyre!” - *Witches in Freedom!*

proletarianized workforce. Her history illustrates that rather than a seamless transition, the period was marked by a constant oscillation between insurrection and counter-insurgency. She characterizes the peasants and proletarianized workers who rebelled against the State and in the wake of the black plague as having “no care for the future,” severed as they were from any comfortable teleological fantasy. She argues that the autonomy and power which peasant women (and queers) held over their own bodies had to be destroyed in order for the nascent bourgeois class to turn them into machines of reproductive labor.

**We’ll quote her in elaborating the specific way in which the**

**construction of the atomized unit of social reproduction – the family – was crucial in the process of putting down early medieval revolt against capitalism:** “In the middle ages, migration, vagabondage, and the rise of crimes against property were part of the resistance to impoverishment and dispossession; these phenomena now took on massive proportions. Everywhere – if we gave credit to the complaints of contemporary authorities – vagabonds were swarming, changing cities, crossing borders, sleeping in the haystacks or crowding at the gates of towns – a vast humanity involved in a diaspora of its own, that for decades

escaped the authorities control.... A massive reclamation and reappropriation of the stolen communal wealth was underway... In pursuit of social discipline, an attack was launched against all forms of collective sociality and sexuality including sports, games, dances, ale-wakes, festivals, and other group-rituals that had been a source of bonding and solidarity among workers.... What was at stake was the desocialization or decollectivization of the reproduction of the work-force, as well as the attempt to impose a more productive use of leisure time.... The physical enclosure operated by land privatization and the hedging of the commons was amplified by a process of social enclosure, the reproduction of workers shifting from the open field to the home, from the community to the family, from the public space, to the private.”

Through her argument, Federici consistently turns to the historical atrocity which was the witch hunts as the primary figure of the destruction of women’s power and the subsequent accumulation of their bodies as womb-machines. She specifically argues that in the 16th and 17th centuries, a collective narrative circulated in an attempt to foment anti-witch paranoia and fervor which charged witches as being child murderers. Common conceptions held that witches would, under the guise of being healers, enter the homes of their employers and sacrifice their children to the Devil. At a time when states and families were becoming largely concerned with population decline, this fear led to a tremendous hatred against those accused of witchcraft. Here, we see the emergence of the primacy of the Child as the governing symbol of the ideological and material

*reproduction of class society*. Witches, and medieval women more broadly, can then be situated within the structural category of queerness laid out by Edelman: the category of those who refuse enslavement to the future in the form of the Child.

**[W]e now turn to the work of Guy Hocquenghem.** Beyond being a writer and queer theorist Hocquenghem was a queer revolutionary who participated in the revolt of May '68<sup>[2]</sup> and was seduced by [Gilles] Deleuze and [Felix] Guattari's radical ideas on desire [ed. – authors either loved or hated for their influence on the development of post-modernism]. After being purged from the Communist Party for his homosexuality, he joined the FHAR (*Front Homosexuel d'Action Révolutionnaire*) becoming the first fag to be a member of the group of lesbian separatist militants. **Ultimately he forged a critique of the militant left and developed a queer theory that called for nothing less than the destruction of capitalism, the family, the state and ultimately civilization.** The vast majority of his work remains untranslated into English, and Anglophone queer theory is all the more impoverished for this absence. The wonder of his work, however, did not elude Edelman, who cites Hocquenghem sparsely throughout *No Future*. Although Edelman only attributes a handful of pretty phrases to Guy, we'll argue that Lee's project of queer negativity is deeply indebted to the former's work. **Queerness as negative, the refusal of reified queer identity, insistence against the succession of generations, the critique of the family as the foundational structure of the social order, the critique of politics, conceptions of a destructive *jouissance*: all are to be found in Hocquenghem's theory, and without being diluted by layers of academic bullshit and bad puns.** We experience it as a horrible tragedy that Guy died of AIDS before he could shape a more prolific canon of queer theory, and yet it is in his memory that we carry this flame.

**Capitalism, the Family and the Anus** "Capitalism, the Family, and the Anus" is the first chapter of the largest volume of Hocquenghem's work to be translated to English, *Homosexual Desire*. In it, he lays out a theory of the foundational structures of capitalism as a preface to his theory of a queerness that might annihilate those structures. Hocquenghem's theory of capitalism largely engaged the work of his contemporaries, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, in their tome *Anti-Oedipus*. Elaborating on their work, he argues that all of capitalist society is reproduced through the specific relationship of the family – namely, the Oedipal relationship. This concept is used to describe the way in which capital must respond to the fundamental

disintegration intrinsic to its reign. While the process of accumulation rips bodies and lives away from the contexts which give them meaning and provide for their ability to sustain themselves, the Oedipal relationship of the family functions to capture the chaos of this unravelling and to reorient human lives into the scheme of reproduction: *"The family is therefore constructed as an artificially reterritorialized unit where social control has been relocated and in which forms of social organization can be reproduced. The father becomes a familial despot, and the mother, for example, an image for earth and country. Thus the privatized individual that psychoanalysis studies within the Oedipal family unit is an artificial construct, whose social function is to trap and control the disorder that haunts social life under capitalism."* [1] It is worth elaborating that the family is a capitalist form that is made to function as the basic building block of the social order. Discipline, work ethic, duty, law, morality, the gender distinction, sexuality, and of course *futurity* are all inscribed into children's bodies through the machinations of the familial matrix. In the following from Hocquenghem we see the germinal seed of Edelman's entire argument concerning the intrinsic link between the family and reproductive futurism: *"By becoming a father in turn, the former child hands the Oedipus complex down to his own descendants like a torch of civilization, and takes his place in the great lineage of Humanity. The absolute need for the Oedipus complex to be reproduced – and not produced – explains why childhood conflicts with the father image are finally resolved by the son stepping into his father's shoes and founding a new family: indeed the whole progress of society rests on the opposition between successive generations."*

**[...] It is also here that we can locate the uncited source of Edelman's arguments concerning the figure of homosexuality which must terrorize this familial fantasy:[...] that complex of dread and desire so intrinsically tied to queer sexuality, that bodies might find ways of intercourse which do not produce the child and are not concerned with the reproduction of the social order through its tiny body. For Hocquenghem, homosexuality is not a coherent identity or community, but instead a social category created to capture all the polymorphous and queer desire which cannot fit neatly into the social form of the Family. Queerness comes to figure the catch-all fantasy for all the unnameable nightmares which haunt the capitalist social order.**

Hocquenghem describes a growing imperialism of society which functions to attribute a social status and definition to everything, even that which cannot be classified. And so the destructive and polymorphic desires which lurk at the core of social relations are captured into a specific identity rather than being a capacity which could seduce or enchant any body: *"Capitalism, in its necessary employment of Oedipalization, manufactures homosexuals just as it produces proletarians, and what is manufactured is a psychologically repressive category.... They amount to a perverse re-territorialization, a massive effort to regain social control in a world tending towards disorder and decoding."*

This disorder that homosexuality is called upon to symbolize runs deeper than that which plagues Oedipal reproduction. Beyond the Family as capitalist unit, Hocquenghem also describes the specific way in which the individual is constructed as the subject of capitalism and the family. For Hocquenghem, the individual is inherently caught up in what he describes as the privatization of the anus. He describes the anus as the secret, the shameful, the abject part of every body around which individuated subjectivity must form. It marks the real bodily threshold which separates human individuals from one another.

*"[...] The anus does not exist in a social relation, since it forms precisely the individual and therefore enables the division between society and the individual to be made. To reinvest the anus collectively and libidinally would involve a proportional weakening of the great phallic signifier, which dominates us constantly both in the small-scale hierarchies of the family and in the great social hierarchies. The least acceptable [to capitalism] desiring operation (precisely because it is the most desublimating one) is that which is directed at the anus."*

For Guy, the psychic significance of the anus in self-construction is precisely why homosexual desire links the destruction of futurity in the family to the self-shattering embodied in *jouissance*. To be fucked in the ass is to sabotage the bodily integrity through which the individual and his [sic] realm of the private is constructed. Hocquenghem argues for the deprivatization of the anus and the formation of what he terms 'anal groupings' – forms of sexual collectivity which destroy the Family and serve no purpose in the social order's future. In grouping anal desire, queer formations are able to sabotage all the psychic fantasies which lie at the heart of the civilized order.



From Jeffrey Week's preface to *Homosexual Desire*: "He argues that since the anus has been privatized by capitalist/phallic domination, we need to group it, which means, in effect, to reject the individualized notion of homosexuality as a problem. Practising homosexuals are those who have failed their sublimation, who therefore can and must conceive their relationships in different ways. **So when homosexuals as a group publicly reject their labels, they are in fact rejecting Oedipus, rejecting the artificial entrapment of desire, rejecting sexuality focused on the Phallus...**

He argues that when the anus recovers its desiring functions, when laws and rules disappear, group pleasures will appear without the sacred difference between public and private, social and individual. And Hocquenghem sees signs of this sexual communism in institutions of the gay subculture, where scattering or promiscuity, representing polymorphous sexuality in action reigns...

[...] We can find traces of this state of primary sexual communism in some of the institutions of the homosexual ghetto, despite all the repression and guilty reconstructions which these undergo: in Turkish baths, for example, where homosexual desires are plugged in anonymously, in spite of the ever-present fears that the police may be present."

### The Parasites of Society

We'll turn briefly to another of Hocquenghem's texts: *The Screwball Asses*. In it, he levels a critique of the (communist and homosexual) Left that is quite applicable to the various leftist and revolutionary political formations we still encounter.

His simple yet crucial pronouncement is that "to demand the recognition of homosexuality as it is is simple reformism." This single line foregrounds our entire refusal of identity politics and the quest for intelligibility with which it is solely concerned.

He continues: "Like the women's liberation movement that inspired it, the revolutionary homosexual platform emerged with Leftism and traumatized it to the point of contributing to its debacle. By while they fissured Leftism by revealing its phallocentric morphology and its censure of marginal sexualities (and of sexuality in general), these autonomous movements, despite their refusal of hierarchy, continued and continue to replicated the conditioned reflexes of the political sector that produced them: **logomacy**, the replacement of desire by the mythology of struggle."

**Politics, even a queer politics, must always be based on the sacrifice of desire in the service and representation of this or that struggle.**

**For Hocquenghem, activist structures and militant organizations are as much a part of the self-constituted prisons he argues against. He goes on to write: "We might have hoped that homosexuality could tear classic activism away from non-desire and create a true celebration of our colluding desires, but that was without taking into account the bad conscience of homosexuals. We must admit that the wildfire was short-lived."**

We'd be wrong to apply this formation solely to the activity of mainstream LGBT activist groups. This fundamental limit of political activism is applicable to the most radically queer or militantly anarchist individuals. Militancy and activism can only ever guarantee a short-lived wildfire, which cannot ever sustain the flames of an unintelligible drive of queerness and anarchy. Guy writes of militants that "they freeze the event into a role," and "the militants of the gay movement have just as much of a natural tendency to become specialists on homosexuality as psychiatrists and social workers."

[...] If we are constantly resisting the feelings of emptiness, lifelessness and uselessness, we should pay close attention to the fields of activity in which we've engaged, and attempt to locate what vampiric forms are depleting our energy. **We'll undoubtedly find that always this depressive ennui is situated in a dynamic where joyous experiments in desire are subjugated to the sacrificial call of "the struggle."**

In his characteristic style of innuendo, Guy the anxiety that characterizes activism: "The leftist is neither a player not a jouisseur; he [sic] just drills people, regardless of whether he wants to liberate homosexuality or the proletariat. Never overwhelmed, the Leftist just saves himself for next time. The Leftist does not have time

on his side. He's always in a rush. He produces speed everywhere so as to force you into hysterics or into a daze. But it's not the kind of speed that propels you far away so that you find yourself stunned at having covered so much ground, stunned by the change of perspective and of thinking. Instead, it's the haste of the monkey scratching at the same spot till a sore develops."

[What] Guy describes is located in the terrorizing hold that the Future has upon activists. Because a better tomorrow requires tremendous 'good work' today, Leftists of all stripes are caught in a never-ending anxiety of activity, yet never get any nearer to their fleeing utopias. That the revolution is so close on the horizon and yet flees from us means we can't afford the immature and irresponsible practices of *jouissance* which could distract from the sombre struggle at hand. **The ideology of Leftism is truly a living death for all who it entrances.** Leftists argue that we must destroy power relationships, and yet they leave unchallenged the power relationship for reproductive futurism which necessitates an endless project of self-discipline and self-control.

Hocquenghem argues that opposed to this sombre struggle must be an insurgent project based in joy. "Strangely enough," he writes, "whenever we speak of joy, professional revolutionaries only hear what churches or ideologies have put there." **We are not professional revolutionaries, nor joyless prophets interested in spreading ideology. [...] We must live, fight and enjoy at the expense of our enemies.** Such a project is queer in that it must depart from the paths laid out for us and refuse the specialization and captivity to time inherent in activism.

### To Destroy Sexuality; To Destroy Domestication

In the previous section that deals more closely with Edelman's work, we cited Jacques Cammatt in claiming that *jouissance* takes place as the destruction of the domestication intrinsic to civilization. In order to further elaborate Hocquenghem's queer project against civilization, we'll explore the concept of domestication and what it could mean to undo it.

Domestication, Oedipal to the core, is the process of the victory of our fathers over our lives; the ways in which the social order laid down by the dead continues to haunt the living. It is the residue of accumulated memories, culture and relationships which have been transmitted to us through the linear progression of time through the fantasy of the Child. It is this investment of





the horrors of the past into the materiality of our present lives which ensures the perpetuation of civilization. To quote Camatte again from "Against Domestication": *"What is to stop people from transforming all these crises and disasters, which are themselves the result of the latest mutation of capital, into a catastrophe for capital itself? The explanation for this is to be found in the domestication of humanity, which comes about when capital constitutes itself as a human community. The process starts out with the fragmentation and destruction of human beings, and the final outcome is that capital is anthropomorphized."*

And so, within the ideological constraint of reproductive futurism, revolt against civilization is unthinkable because capital has so thoroughly colonized our very being, so that to imagine our own survival is always already to be thinking about the perpetuation of civilization through the self-reproduction of capital. **We have no community to fight for, and no humanity to save, because both are already thoroughly disintegrated and have been replaced with the community of capital and its anthropomorphized subject: the civilized ego.** To move on to Camatte's later essay "The Wandering of Humanity": *"Today the human being has been engulfed, not only in the determination of class where he [sic] was trapped for centuries, but as a biological being. It is a totality that has to be destroyed. Demystification is no longer enough. The revolt of human beings threatened in the immediacy of their daily lives goes beyond demystification. To problem is to create other lives. This problem lies simultaneously outside the ancient discourse of the workers movement and its old practice, and outside the critique that imagines this movement a simple ideology (and considers human beings an ideological precipitate)."*

It is a harsh reality to acknowledge that the restructuring which we have undergone through the process of domestication is more horrifying than to merely shape us as a subject. Capital reaches to our very biology, the objective fact of our being in the world. Starting from there, we must further acknowledge that a struggle against

civilization must also be a struggle against ourselves as we are, to destroy the structuring of our bodies as vessels of the social order. Here we must seek out, following Camatte's previous insistence on *jouissance*, that series of self-shattering measures which could constitute a project against domestication. As Camatte puts in, *"the human being is dead. The only possibility for another human being to emerge is our struggle against our domestication, our emergence from it."*

[...] In Hocquenghem's work we find words that put so beautifully everything we would want to, so we will quote at length from "To Destroy Sexuality": *"Although the Capitalist order appears to be tolerant, it in fact has always controlled life through its affective aspects, constraining it to the dictates of its totalitarian organization based on exploitation, private property, male dominance, profit, and profitability. It exercises this control under all of its various guises: the family, schools, the work place, the army, rules, discourse. It unfailingly pursues its abject mission of castrating, oppressing, torturing, and mangling the body, all the better to inscribe its laws upon our flesh, to rivet into our unconscious its mechanisms for propagating slavery."*

*The capitalist state uses retention, stasis, scarification and neurosis to impose its norms and models, imprint its character, assign its roles promulgate its programs... It permeates our bodies, forcing its roots of death deep into our smallest crevices. It takes over our organs, robs us of our vital functions, mutilates our pleasures, harnesses all of our 'life' productivity under its own paralyzing administration. It turns each of us into... a stranger to his [sic] own desires.*

**The forces of capitalist occupation continually refine their system of aggression, provocation, extortion so as to use it along with a massive reinforcement of social terror (individual guilt) to repress, exclude and neutralize all those practices of our will that don't reproduce those forms of domination. And so this thousand-year-old reign of unhappy gratification, sacrifice, resignation, codified masochism and death perpetuates itself. Here reigns castration, reducing the 'subject' to a guilt-ridden, neurotic industrious being, little more than a manual laborer.**

*This older order, reeking of rotting bodies, is indeed horrifying, but it has forces us to direct the revolutionary struggle against capitalist oppression there where it is most deeply rooted – in the living flesh of our own body...*



**We can no longer stand by idly while we are robbed of our mouths, our anuses, our sexual members, our guts, our veins... just so they can turn them into parts for their ignominious machine which produces capital, exploitation and the family.**

**We can no longer stand by idly while they control, regulate, and occupy our mucous membranes, the pores of our skin, the entire sentient surface of our body.**

**We can no longer stand by idly while they use our nervous system as a relay in the system of capitalist, federal, patriarchal exploitation. Nor while they use our brain as a means of punishment programmed by ambient power.**

**We can no longer not 'come' or hold back our shit, our saliva, our energy according to their laws with their minor, tolerated infractions. We want to explode the frigid, inhibited, mortified body that capitalism wants so desperately to make out of our living body...**

*Wanting the fundamental freedom to enter into these revolutionary practices entails our escaping from the limits of our own 'self.' We must turn the 'subject' within ourselves upside-down; escape from the sedentary, from the civilized state and cross the spaces of a limitless body; live in the willful mobility beyond sexuality, beyond the territory and repertory of normality...*

*We're not concerned with simply breaking down [the] official sexuality as one would break down the condition of one's imprisonment within any structure; we want to destroy it, to get rid of it because in the final analysis it functions as an infinitely repeating castration machine designed to reproduce everywhere and in everyone the unquestioning obedience of a slave...*

*What we want, what we desire, is to kick in the representations so that we might discover just what our living body is.*

*We want to free, release, unfetter and relieve this living body so as to free all of its energies, desires, passions crushed by our conscriptive and programed social system.*

*We want to be able to exercise each of our vital functions experiencing their full complement of pleasure.*

***We want to rediscover sensations as basic as the pleasure in breathing that has been smothered by the forces of oppression and pollution; or the pleasure in eating and digesting that has been interrupted by the rhythm of profitability of the ersatz food it produces; or the pleasure in shitting and sodomy that has been systematically assaulted by the capitalist establishment's opinion of the sphincter.*** It inscribes directly upon this flesh its fundamental principles: the power lines of exploitation, the neurosis of accumulation, the mystique of property and propriety, etc. ***We want to rediscover the pleasure in shaking ourselves joyously, without shame, not because of the need or compensation, but just for the sheer pleasure of shaking ourselves.*** We want to rediscover the pleasures of vibration, humming, speaking, walking, moving, expressing ourselves, raving, singing – finding pleasure in our body in all ways possible...

*We seek to open our bodies to other bodies, to another body; to transmit vibrations, to circulate energies, to arrange desires so that each is free to play out its fantasies and ecstasies so that we might live without guilt and without inhibiting all the sensual intra- and interpersonal practices we need so our day-to-day reality won't turn into the slow agony that capitalism and bureaucracy project as a model existence. We seek to rip out of ourselves the festering tumor of guilt that for thousands of years has been at the root of all oppression...*



*"Who does not risk certainty for uncertainty, to thus follow a dream, those who do not forego sound advice at least once in their lives, die slowly [...] Let's try and avoid death in small doses, reminding oneself that being alive requires an effort far greater than the simple fact of breathing."*

*- Pablo Neruda*

*We want to be rid of all roles and identities based on the phallus.*

*We want to be rid of sexual segregation. We want to be rid of the categories of man and woman, gay and straight, possessor and possessed, greater and lesser, master and slave. We want instead to be transsexual, autonomous, mobile and multiple human beings with varying differences who can interchange desires, gratifications, ecstasies, and tender emotions without referring back to tables of surplus value or power structures that aren't already in the rules of the game."*

## AGAINST THE LANGUAGE OF MILITANCY



Sadly, in recent years, too much of the writing coming out of social conflict is wrought with stiff, wooden language, a tired, dead language that seems to contradict the energy of the rebellions of which they speak.

It is the language of militancy, not of freedom, not of individuality creating itself against all odds. Perhaps this is, in part, because many of the present-day conflicts spring from the harshness of the times; they are responses to the hardness of current social, political and economic realities. But how can a response in kind counter these realities? Shouldn't the very method of our response reflect our rejection of these imposed realities?

Militancy is mistaken for passion and intensity, when in fact it is just an armored straightjacket closing in on one's nakedness, stiffening and limiting one's movements.

1. ed. - The term used for the phase of capitalist development away from feudalism. By primitive accumulation, new forms of wealth were built up in the hands of the new dominant classes, and the dominated classes reshaped and repressed, by removing access of the latter to previous forms of self-subsistence in Europe, accelerated colonisation of the Americas, conquest of the East Indies, slave-taking in Africa etc.

2. ed. - In 1968, the riotous 'French May' was the largest wildcat general strike in history. The entire French economy was practically brought to a halt. Over 22% of the French population was supposedly involved, over two weeks, at times in direct conflict with the recuperative unions and political parties as well as cops, bosses and university managers.

Seriousness is mistaken for resoluteness, when in fact it is enslavement to the abstract, to the future, to the cause, to the past, another sort of self-imprisonment. And isn't this precisely what we resolutely need to refuse as we fight to make our lives our own in each moment?

Perhaps the problem is that so many of those involved in social conflict do not see themselves as free individuals creating their lives, encountering obstacles to this self-creative process and fighting to destroy these obstacles, but rather as oppressed people resisting their oppression.

**It is not necessary to ignore the reality of oppression to recognize that when our project becomes resistance to oppression, we become centered on our oppressors. We lose our own lives, and with them the capacity to destroy what stands in our way. Since resistance focuses on the enemy's projects, it keeps us on the defensive and guarantees our defeat (even in victory) by stealing our projects from us.**

If, on the other hand, we start from our own project of self-creation, insisting upon moving through the world as free and aimless beings, we will encounter rulers, exploiters, cops, priests, judges, etc., not essentially as oppressors, but as obstacles in our paths, to be destroyed rather than resisted.

# 'STARTING FROM ZERO'

[ed. - Taken from the founding statement by 'December 6th' group, formed after the Greek insurrection which broke out when the anarchist youth Alexis Grigoropoulos was shot down by the police on that date in 2008 – see *Return Fire* vol.1 pg17.]

We don't know if we can speak in terms of victory or loss about the revolutionary movement of the past decades. We can however say that we live today the times of its global recession. Class and social consciousness are entirely forgotten in history's time-closet, surrendered to the precepts of the modern behavioural industry; to lifestyle and individualization; to loneliness, fear and passivity. **We live the most evolved form of social consent, to the imposition of a scientifically rationalized acceptance of oppression. We live in the times of rebuttal of speech and alternation of the meanings: 'FREEDOM' of the markets, 'REVOLUTION' of technology. Our attacks are now interjections in the normal flow of the TV schedule: TV show, interval, breaking news, images of destruction, commercials, TV show again.** And the enemy nowadays is not clear and visible because democracy creates crimes with no guilt; wars in the name of peace, violence and repression in the name of citizens' protection. **We come from another time.** We come from the strangest version of history. We come from a devastated society where the war of everyone against everyone reigns. We come from suffocation, [from the] city sewers and the rat-cage apartments. We come from the ideology of non-violence, of vanity and surrender; of dope and video games. We come from the times of fetish, pose, the fake and the image. We come from the times of public relations where the proletariat is having extreme fun on Mykonos Island. We come from the times of isolation, neurosis and mental breakdown. We come from a fucked-up life.

[...] The issue that has the highest strategic importance for us is how we will manage to break these social relations that conserve this world, through our actions. How we will take back the words, so that they become ours again, so that they become sharp again. FREEDOM, STRUGGLE, REVOLUTION... In order to analyse and de-organise the modern social relations, we won't search in books of a sociological approach but we will dive deep into ourselves. This is why we won't seek any *truths*. **For us, no fixed view, no ideology is capable of interpreting what we live today.** Our own speech is articulated through daily life; through our own fears, conformities and contradictions. Because only if we discover what is found within us

we will be able to destroy what is around us. "... It is impossible to

*understand daily life, without denying it. It is impossible to know it in the end, without fighting to change it..."*

[...] We propagate the third pole and the politics in first person by promoting the bet for the creation of a new point of reference; of a new point of gathering between comrades that aim at a de-ideologised approach of the struggle starting from zero; **from their own selves.** Since the very moment we placed this bet, we chose to stay away from the encirclement of the modern 'revolutionary' lifestyle; away from the ideologised pseudo-dilemmas that it places. Anarchist or nihilist, social or antisocial. Terms already loose that tend to become a code of entrance and acceptance into groups, or spectacular jargons of separation from them. Codes, roles, prototypes of behaviour are what form an alternative 'revolutionary' identity. **They are the elements that contribute to our political defeat.** The 'hardcore ones' and their fans, the orators and their audience, the petty leaders of any kind and their followers, the 'neutrals' and their good intentions. In this way, not only life but also the struggle itself is not experienced as a struggle, but as a representation. **This is why if we really want to speak today about the case of revolution, we have to speak about ourselves first.** For the way that we overpass ourselves since the moment we enter the struggle and we de-attach ourselves from the symptoms of our life until that time. From the cowardliness, the safe hideouts, the selfishness, the silent consent, the self-interest, the competitions. Because, comrades, if we really want to change this world, we first have to vomit it out of us. Because the revolution is not a future overthrow, but the way we live and fight today. **All the rest stinks of ideology and repetition.**



They say you have to learn to leave your traces back on the snow; so that you don't get lost, so that the rest will find you. In relation to the issue of the social addressing, we don't conserve false hopes. We know well that the armed struggle today cannot 'rise the masses up,' but we know as well that not everything is lost out there, and December's revolt happened to remind us of this. **We will not divide society in two sides. There aren't just these who fight and those who consent, nor do we consider all these that are not directly by our side right now as enemies.** However, we don't want to 'caress' anyone as well. A big part of the social body is full of the dominant ideologies, in such a way that we automatically consider them our enemies. The snitches, the pimps, the jail guards, the junk dealers, the fascists, the big and small bosses that manage our lives, all of them are our targets from now on. But apart from those that go along with the dominance there is also other people. And they're quite a few. **It's the people of December's revolt.** It's also those that didn't participate in it but defended it like something of their own. It's the lonely people, the 'outsiders,' those who differ inside the vast dump of social stupidity; those which as clockwork bombs in 'off-mode' we now want to put back into function. We address all these people and with our actions we encourage them to fight and discover together the ways to win over our daily freak-outs. **For this reason, you, friend, you that now read these lines, don't believe anything you may hear about us. Don't believe those who'll speak about 'fanatic criminals' or others who will say we're dark revolutionaries coming out from novels.** We don't differ in anyway. We may be your neighbours, your colleagues at work, the company that hangs out in the same cafeteria with you.

**The traces on the snow remain.** In this way, we're able to find the paths that the comrades left in the middle, and walk them until where they go. So that afterwards the others will come and continue them. **[T]hose that dream of insurrections will always find the ways to live them. Even if the times are against them. Even if they are a few.** Because the more there will be uniformed killers around us, the more we will load our weapons and light the fuse of our rage.



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**Antidéveloppement** (Canada, bi-lingual)  
[www.antidev.wordpress.com](http://www.antidev.wordpress.com)

**Bite Back** (global earth/animal liberation)  
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**Contra Info** (global, multi-lingual)  
<http://en.contrainfo.espiv.net>

**Disaccords** (South Pacific)  
[www.disaccords.wordpress.com](http://www.disaccords.wordpress.com)

**Free Radical Radio** (regular interviews  
and weekly show by U.S. green anarchists)  
[www.freeradicalradio.tumblr.com](http://www.freeradicalradio.tumblr.com)

**In The Belly of the Beast** (U.K. & global)  
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**'A Question of... Balance'**  
– from 'Incognito'

**'Some Notes on the TAP'**  
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