

**anarchist
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anarchist
international

anarchist international

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The general thrust is accomplished by a sort of oscillation, by a series of waves in the flood-tide; there are always temporary reversals.

-Elisee Reclus, 1895



July 20, 2011

I. Foundational Statement of the Anarchist International

Preliminary Clarifications

Geist, *noun*: the spirit of an individual or group

We are the Anarchist International. Our existence has been kept a secret from you for over a century, although it is almost certain that you have been able to discern our actions when they have taken place. Some would like to argue that the Anarchist International came into being in 1872 when the anarchists were expelled from the First International, but this is certainly incorrect. The Anarchist International came into being when the first wandering nomads from across the various kingdoms and empires met in smoke-filled rooms or desert oases and began to conspire on how to live freely.

In the 1860s, we attempted to give our shadowy network a visible, above-ground platform that has since come to be known as the First International. During this period, we worked with communists, socialists, and people of various other political persuasions in an attempt to create an international organization that would coordinate the destruction of the capitalist world system. As is now well known, the First International fell apart due to a split between us and those who wanted to further enslave humanity. Unable to accept our former comrades' insistence on centralization and hierarchical authority, we left the First International to continue our work.

From that point on, we have been fighting alone and have watched in horror as our former comrades effectively sapped and destroyed the world revolutionary Geist throughout the

course of the 20th century. All of the potential contained in the struggles of Russia, Germany, China, the former Yugoslavia, Vietnam, Cuba, and Venezuela was taken by our former comrades and used to create systems that have continued to keep the people of those countries in bondage. Our former comrades realized the dream of the International and waged a global war against capitalism only to now end up just as miserable, tyrannical, and deformed as their former enemies. The crushed skulls, surveillance cameras, and ecological devastation of contemporary China serve as the perfect proof that our decision to leave the First International was not in error. After the passing of the USSR, the global blitzkrieg of neoliberalism, and the complete destruction of the dreams of the First International, we found ourselves living in a time that had lost the world revolutionary Geist.

In response to this absence, we started an offensive against the now triumphant world capitalist system. With this offensive we established the first networks of the new International and with these networks we met with moderate successes in our endeavors. The ground-to-air missile launchers guarding the G8 in Genoa from a terrorist attack, the murderous brutality of the Carabinieri, and the paranoia of everyone involved were the first signs of what was to come in the fall of 2001.

With the attack on Manhattan in September came the routing of our first offensive. Our enemy then quickly displayed to us its power, its capabilities, and its brazen brutality. It would not be until 2007 that our current offensive would begin. Now, after four years, we have experienced the initial breakdown of the world capitalist system and felt our own strength multiply in response to our weakened enemy. And so it is that, with the eyes of the world population facing our enemy, we announce the existence of the Anarchist International.

Remarks on Time and Geist

Waveform, *noun*: The mathematical representation of a wave, especially a graph obtained by plotting a characteristic of the wave against time

A comrade described the Anarchist International as a re-occurring waveform pattern that occurs throughout linear time. This is because the entire membership of the Anarchist International is composed of what could be called reincarnated anarchists. We use the word reincarnation despite its metaphysical and occult associations because it adequately suits our purposes.

To illustrate what we mean, we refer you to a small tavern on Friedrichstrasse in Berlin in the year 1841. Several young revolutionists are sitting inside, drinking wine and beer, talking amongst themselves, when suddenly one of their friends enters the bar. He is wearing glasses and a long dark coat. When he sits down, he joins the argument and discussion. The young man in glasses is the only member of the Anarchist International who is present, and so the conversation turns against him. The young man with glasses is named Max Stirner. Another young man in the tavern is Friedrich Engels, the man who would later help Karl Marx destroy the First International. These two, Stirner and Engels, have theoretical disagreements as the discussion and argument progresses.

Three years later, in 1844, Stirner publishes *The Ego And Its Own*, a book that will influence anarchists across the world for the next 160 years. Four years later, in 1848, the first European-wide offensive begins, blossoms, and is crushed. Engels and Marx publish the *Communist Manifesto* the same year, paving the way for the horror of State Communism. At the same time, Max Stirner is wandering penniless through

the streets, trying to avoid the bankers to whom he owes money. Clearly, the 1840s proved to be a crucial moment in time for Engels and Stirner, both of whom created texts and formulated ideas that were to persist long into the future.

But let us return to the tavern in Berlin in 1841. This is same tavern you were in last night, and the theoretical discussions you were having possess the same gravity, potential, and power as the discussions that took place in the 19th century. Each member of the Anarchist International has been in that same tavern and has been having those same discussions, forever. We are the reincarnations of every anarchist who has ever been, and we reappear endlessly throughout time. It is vital that this is understood without reservations or restraint. To understand this basic point is to become a member of the Anarchist International. This understanding will allow you to become aware of the importance of everything you say, everything you do, and every action you undertake.

So that the point is not lost, let us take another example. By 1868, the world revolutionary Geist had spread throughout Europe and into Russia. The First International had been built and different groups had sprung up in dozens of cities. In this time period, a young man named Sergey Nechayev began to organize with students at a university in St. Petersburg. Nechayev was soon exposed to the ideas of Bakunin and from this moment onwards became a member of the Anarchist International.

He pushed the student group to become more militant, organized, and ruthless. When some students talked of reform, he talked of assassinating the Tzar. Nechayev would often find himself embroiled in arguments with his fellow students, and during these arguments, Nechayev succeeded, without realizing it, in puncturing through time. In 1868, Nechayev found himself in the Université de Sorbonne, Paris,

in 1968, arguing with Stalinist students about the need to push the revolution further. This time travel did not leave an impression on young Nechayev. He continued to think that he had never left St. Petersburg or the year 1868. As happens to many new members of the Anarchist International, Nechayev thought he was the first to be put in this situation, pushing for revolution amongst those who are afraid to go further.

And so, unable to comprehend that there were many others who had come before him and many others who would soon follow, Nechayev decided to force his contemporaries into action. He had nearly one hundred of his fellow students sign a petition for freedom of assembly and then quickly handed the list of names over to the police. Feeling alone, possessed by the world revolutionary Geist, and believing he was the only one who could force the revolution, Nechayev hoped that imprisonment and repression was the only way to push his contemporaries out of their middle-class comfort and into action. Soon after this betrayal of his comrades, Nechayev fled to Europe and made contact with members of the First International. Not long after, he and Bakunin made plans to increase the level of agitation and propaganda in Russia. But Nechayev had still not let go of his belief that his contemporaries in Russia would never act unless they were pushed. And so, when packages of propaganda were sent to Russia, Nechayev insured that the recipients of these packages would be apprehended. And indeed some of them were, including a young woman named Vera Zasluch, who was sentenced to five years imprisonment.

While she sat in a prison cell, Nechayev wrote *Catechism Of A Revolutionary*, his manual on amoral agitation and attack. In this text, he stresses the need for pushing people to their breaking point so that they may revolt. He also advocated for manipulating and betraying one's comrades in pursuit of the ultimate goal of revolution. As he sat at his desk writing

this, he once again slipped out of time, finding himself living underground, typing a communique explaining why the Red Brigades kidnapped Italian Prime Minister Aldo Moro. Once again, he did not notice this slipping out of time and continued to pen his text, never stopping to wonder how his words would reverberate through time, forever.

With the completion of this text, Nechayev returned to Russia in order to set up more groups for the First International. But once a member of one of these groups disagreed with his plans, Nechayev quickly killed him, threw his body into a lake, and then fled back to Europe. This murder also happened in Japan in the 1970s, when the Japanese Red Army liquidated over a dozen of its members. This murder also happened in the Ukraine in 1921 when the Red Army hunted down and destroyed its former anarchist comrades.

Nechayev's deed took place across time and did not stop. As an unconscious member of the Anarchist International, Nechayev mistook the world revolutionary Geist for something he was creating, something he was forcing onto the world. And in doing this, Nechayev unwittingly caused the collapse of the First International. Upon his return to Europe, he became increasingly volatile and erratic. Seeing in Nechayev the untamed Geist, Bakunin continued to defend his young comrade against the attacks of Marx and Engels. But it was all to no avail. The anarchists of the International were seen as irresponsible, dangerous elements that would destroy the organization.

In 1871, the Geist exploded in Paris and took over the entire city. The work of the First International had helped produce and foster a moment in time where it would have been possible to create a new world. This moment was lost, however, due in large part to the same divisions that existed within the First International.

In 1872, the anarchists were expelled from the International and Nechayev was arrested. In 1873, Vera Zasulich (you'll recall she was one of the people Nechayev had forced into prison), was finally released. She quickly formed a small cell of anarchists in Kiev and continued on with the work of the Anarchist International. Meanwhile, Nechayev was busy corresponding with clandestine nihilist groups throughout Russia. When they offered to break him out of prison, something completely possible, Nechayev refused, encouraging them to concentrate all of their energy on killing the Tsar.

In 1878, Vera Zasulich, still committed to her mission, killed the governor of St. Petersburg. Due to the political climate, she was eventually found not guilty and released. In 1881, the nihilists succeeded in killing the Tsar and a heavy wave of repression descended on Russia that would not end until the twentieth century.

In 1882, Nechayev died in his prison cell. Vera Zasulich, his unwitting protege, traveled to Europe where she soon became a Marxist. Nechayev had taught her, just as he had taught thousands of young Russian revolutionaries, that everything is permitted in pursuit of the revolution and that if people cannot understand or accept the means, they must be forced to. Thus Nechayev, the renegade member of the Anarchist International, paved the way for the Bolsheviks to seize the world revolutionary Geist and leech off it for nearly a century. He was unaware of how long his imprint would linger.

If the Anarchist International is a waveform pattern, then so are Nechayev and Stirner. They both re-appear endlessly and the problems they faced always arise. Just like Stirner, we are fully aware of the importance of our own ideas and yet we do nothing to put an end to the ideas of all the Engels we meet at the bar or in our circles. Instead, we wander poor and broken through hostile streets. And like Nechayev,

we are often are pushed to forsake all attachment, to crush everyone who doesn't agree with us, and to manipulate those who do. Between these two polar opposites, egoist inaction and psychopathic fever, lies the domain of the Anarchist International. We have required countless generations in order to learn how to balance our conflicting proclivities. After each disaster, we have adjusted. With that adjustment, we have always grown stronger and more resilient. Although our enemy has adjusted along with us, every intrusion of the world revolutionary Geist into linear time increases the chances of our dreams being realized.

Whenever a note is strummed on a guitar, the sound of that note can be visualized as a waveform oscillation, constantly moving up and down along a straight line. The straight line will represent time and the waveform will represent the Geist. Whenever the lines of the waveform collide with the straight line, the Geist intrudes upon reality and causes the Paris Commune, May 1968, and the December Insurrection. If more notes are, with increasing speed, strummed on this guitar, the visualization of the waveform pattern stops looking like a smooth oscillation and the frequency with which the waveform intrudes upon the straight line of time increases. Eventually, the hyperactive waveform blots out the straight line. The task of the Anarchist International is to help the Geist intrude upon time more frequently than it ever has, to the point where every single day is as full of intrusions as the three months of the Paris Commune and linear time no longer exists.

When we appear in linear time, we are always drawn to and infected by the world revolutionary Geist. Unlike many others, we let the Geist articulate itself through us. Others have felt the Geist before, but they have given it names such as "the dictatorship of the proletariat," the "worker's state," or the "sustainable community." The Geist can only be felt, it cannot

be given a concrete form that will last throughout the ages. If it is given a concrete form, it will degenerate, wither, and eventually die. Just as we travel through time in a waveform, so does the world revolutionary Geist. It appears whenever people desire to be free and those desires have a similarity that defies borders or geography. We are currently living in a period of time when the world revolutionary Geist has returned, and thus, so have we. It is time we remember Stirner, Nechayev, and every other who has come before so that we might recognize them when we meet tomorrow, on the street or in a bar.

Concluding Remarks

Offensive, *noun*: An attitude or position of attack

With these concluding remarks, we would like to make clear, and remind the world of, our current offensive against the world capitalist system. The methods, means, and tools we wish to introduce shall be revealed slowly and at later dates. With this statement we make clear our history, provide glimpses of the scope of our project, and announce our intention.

The Anarchist International has always existed to intervene whenever the world revolutionary Geist manifests itself in reality. Occasionally, we have liberated isolated areas from the control of the world capitalist system. Most of the populated world has remained under control for centuries, but that time is now coming to an end. Our International will bring down the world capitalist system and allow the Geist to spread unhindered and uncontrolled. As anarchists, we are committed to nothing more than total freedom, and this will not be achieved as long as anything remains of what enslaves us. All theory about the world to be built after this one is meaningless until we get there. Our task in these writings

is not to provide any more straws to cling to for those still investing their time and energy in preserving pieces of this world system like industry, work, and obedience. Our task in these writings is to dynamite the imagination and allow new forms to blossom in silent minds.

Others have started the offensive of the Anarchist International. Their texts will speak for themselves. We recognize the need for practical information regarding attacks to spread internationally. In this recognition, we acknowledge the validity of the new internationalist anarchist offensive taking place in such diverse places as Peru, Indonesia, Russia, Greece, and the United Kingdom (to name only a few locations). But if there is to be an international of attack, there must also be an international of thought. This is the function we will serve in the world revolutionary struggle. We will be a reflecting pool that mirrors the sordid, violent, and joyous undertakings of the International.

The following communications, recommendations, and histories will come in no apparent order and will alter in style dramatically. We hope, amidst the multiplicity of ideas we intend to illuminate, that there will be something that can be used internationally in the new offensive.

Towards the end of linear time
and the defeat of the enemy,

Anarchist International



July 22, 2011

II: Three Unifying Tactics of the Anarchist International

As an international think-tank, we offer the following basic principles and tools to all anarchists. These principles are currently being put into practice across the world. These tools are meant to be experimented with, transformed, and enhanced.

1: Build and maintain antagonistic infrastructure

The first priority for anarchists is to build and maintain antagonistic infrastructure. We use this term to mean infrastructure that is inherently conflictual by right of existing. **Infrastructure cannot be antagonistic unless its very existence challenges the laws, morals, and equilibrium of the world capitalist system.**

A community garden on land that is purchased by the gardeners merely provides a few lucky people with the chance to grow their own food. But if the garden is planted on land that is stolen from a real estate company, that garden becomes antagonistic to capitalism. While the chances of the garden's complete destruction increase dramatically, the antagonism also increases the chances of the struggle for the garden to resonate with and attract new people into the struggle against global capitalism. In this way, a garden can stop feeding the belly of green capitalism and contribute to the revolutionary anti-capitalist struggle.

Antagonistic infrastructure must also provide everything that it offers for free. All plans for creating infrastructure must factor in the cost of providing free resources to everyone before being created. If infrastructure becomes reliant on capi-

talist laws and methods to sustain itself, it loses its ability to be hostile to those same laws and methods. Fearing the loss of a bar license or the violation of some petty city council ordinance are completely disabling to a revolutionary project.

By providing free resources, infrastructure can break the dominant way-of-being in capitalist culture. When people no longer need to pay to be somewhere, the fundamental principle of capitalism collapses in the building or neighborhood that houses the antagonistic infrastructure. If there is a concentration of infrastructure in one area that allows free access to buildings, encourages people to loiter outside, and provides food, clothing, or housing for free, that area will no longer replicate capitalist relations.

Paying rent is a choice the organizers and creators of infrastructure will make as they see fit. As long as everything provided by the infrastructure is free, paying rent is not an issue. However, the same principle that applies to gardens applies to squats. A squat that maintains its illegality in the face of law and the police is far more antagonistic than is possible for a building that is rented. To break, push back, and eradicate all law is our ultimate goal. While maintaining a meeting space, social center, or people's kitchen may not allow for the law to be broken, providing everything for free still defies capitalist logic. Regardless, an illegal social center is preferable to a rented one.

Breaking the law while creating infrastructure increases the chance of that infrastructure no longer existing, but the act of breaking the law also attracts support that would not exist otherwise. Struggle is an important variable that can snap people out of passivity by giving them something to fight for. It is completely possible to make rent payments, get a building up to code, legalize a squat, or buy land. These are achievable goals.

But struggling to create something that is free from law, that is fully self-realized, and that is achieved through struggle is something that is impossible in the minds of many people. Transcending the law is an experience few people go through, but once they do, they become thirsty for more. The taste of impossible freedom is infectious: This is not a slogan. Other than death and imprisonment, comfort is the primary neutralizer of the practice of freedom.

Comfort is what appears like a plague when a struggle ends, when legality takes over, or when it is perceived that there is nothing left to fight for. Antagonism is hostile to comfort and is the only tool the Anarchist International can offer to avoid the seemingly inevitable stagnation that has occurred all over the world wherever a scene or milieu has achieved its limited means and cannot imagine itself any further into the future.

Our advice, put simply, is to break any law that prevents you from building, stealing, and transforming whatever you see fit. Never allow yourself to become neutralized by the safety of legality. Antagonistic infrastructure is not meant to be comfortable. Antagonistic infrastructure is an act of war.

2: Ignore national or state boundaries

If the first principle is put into practice in your area, the next priority is to dissolve the mental and physical borders of the nation state in which you operate.

In smaller countries, such as Belgium, where there are two primary languages and four surrounding nation states, there should be no emphasis on building a specifically Belgian anarchist movement and more of a focus on building regional ties between either French- or Dutch-speaking cities. Anarchists in Brussels or Antwerp should focus first on building up their cities and then strengthening their ties with

projects and efforts in the outlying towns. The national borders of the Belgian state should be ignored.

It is a temptation, especially in a nation state as small as Belgium, to unite anarchists according to the official borders that surround them, given that these countries are so small. But there will never be any substantial unity if people yield to this temptation. Only by looking to the nearest anarchists will there be any escalation of our offensive that is not as illusory as the borders that contain us all. Unity of purpose is molecular, rhizomatic, and spreads like thousands of separate cancers. It does not immediately take over the whole of a nation state nor seek to imitate its borders and limits. Instead, it devours it from the inside until the borders are gone.

There is also a great temptation to organize along national borders in the large nation states like Russia, the USA, and Brazil. The tendency in countries like these is to feel daunted by the size of the country and erroneously believe that the most practical solution to this problem of distance is to unify groups of people who are sometimes over two thousand kilometers away from each other. At various times, there have been efforts to create a specifically North American anarchist movement. Because of the isolation of the USA relative to Europe and South America, internationalism was abandoned in favor of a subcultural, youth-focused movement composed of anarchists who wandered the thousands of kilometers of the USA, drifting from town to town, perpetuating the same tactics, engaging in the same forms of entertainment, and focusing largely on removing themselves from capitalist culture while simultaneously leaving that culture firmly in place.

In the end, this approach created a culture that shared similar practices and tactics but remained rootless and disconnected from any specific geographical area. This approach ceased around the same time that the global economic col-

lapse began in 2008, leaving anarchists in the USA scattered in a giant nation state with little or no connection to their geographical areas. The USA proved too big to unify, with auto mechanics in Utah still having no substantial connection with suburban teenagers in Washington, DC. The same is true for the lack of connection between a baker in Saint Petersburg and a farmer outside of Angarsk. The only things that unify the land of Russia and the USA are fictions, police, and borders.

There is no legitimate reason for anarchists to replicate national borders in their organizing. Each region of the world is distinct, possessing different rhythms, dialects, languages, and climates. The process of molecular growth should not be assumed to aim for a nation. Growth should first concern city blocks, then neighborhoods, then surrounding towns. Connections should be made with anarchists in distant cities or towns, but those anarchists should be left to continue on their similar but completely separate projects of molecular growth. There should be many separate geographical areas that have an anarchist presence, not anarchist movements that aim to unify a territory that should never have been considered singular in the first place.

It takes thousands of years for physical geography to alter, for valleys to disappear, and for hills to rise. But borders appear and disappear all the time. There is nothing to be gained in considering them. Land is land. While this point may be basic and self-explanatory, we wish to make our position clear in the hopes of avoiding any further confusion on the subject.

3: Undermine all authority

At this point, authority is everywhere and we are the dark matter behind the authoritarian order of capitalist so-

ciety. We cannot be detected, measured, or sufficiently explained. We are the chaos that is tamed in order to construct a road, to build a skyscraper, or to plan a water system. Before an area can be thoroughly pacified, before any totalitarian nightmare can take over, people like us have to be mislabeled, disappeared, and liquidated. Just as scientists build particle colliders in order to explain away the existence of dark matter, so too does the capitalist order label us as agents of chaos in order to hide and shelter themselves from the mystery of our existence.

Therefore, fellow members of the Anarchist International, our opponent is everywhere, and we need not consider how seemingly insignificant our efforts are. As long as the chaos, mystery, and ferocity of our actions pierce directly into the heart of capitalist normality, we may consider all tactics legitimate and worthy of repetition. Authority is everywhere and thus so are we, constantly struggling to undermine it. We need only lift our heads to see a manifestation of the reigning order.

Every city is a vampire. Its teeth are nearly invisible to others, but not to us. First, there are the prohibitions that have been internalized by the population. These prohibitions are psychologically enforced in many different ways. Next, there are the laws that are physically enforced. Then there is the structure and the administration of the city itself. Beyond this, there are only a few capitalists high up who are pulling the strings. Using this rudimentary sketch of the city's power structure as our framework, we offer the following outline for challenging all authority. We must be forgiven for the chaotic nature of what follows. It is as unreasonable and serious as it sounds.

- Begin by routinely smoking weed outside a placid cafe or tavern. Wait for people to join you until everyone is doing every drug imaginable. Then begin to have

public sex in nearby fields or parks. Also start covering this area with as much graffiti as possible, with an occasional window broken. Establish public urination areas. Re-establish the practice of burning everything on hand in communal bonfires. Always manifest fire. It is the most potent element for our purposes. Waste as many resources as possible, especially the most opulent ones, such as champagne. Steal from every store and share it all. Encourage a collective shame for not-stealing, for hoarding, and for being nervous while committing a crime. Brazenness in everything. Start yelling in quiet areas. Laugh as loudly as possible. Pull people into collective moments of insanity. Abandon the private nest, lose control on a busy street corner, and advocate extreme mental instability in all nearby persons. This is an incomplete description of ending the psychological slavery and inverted-desire caused by submission to capitalist law. Follow these guidelines as closely as possible or be prepared to suffer moments of extreme boredom, isolation, existential horror, and defeat.

- Defend everyone from the police without exception. After successfully creating uncontrollable areas, defend them with your body, your words, and whatever else is at hand. Do not make reasonable arguments. People break out of slavery through collective insanity and rage, not through logic or reason. Spit venom and throw bricks at parking enforcement, police, repo-men, and every other stooge physically enforcing capitalist law. Destroy all parking meters, traffic lights, and roads. Stop paying taxes and create an aura of utter guilt and shame around people who continue to feed the vampire of the city. Collectively commandeer trains and buses, encourage complete non-

payment of fare. Disrupt all local government meetings, police press-conferences, community meetings, etc. Respond to all police violence with unreasonable emotion, rage, fierceness, and unrelenting attack. Sweep up everyone in what, in the end, amounts to magic but is most often simply dismissed as frenzy.

- Take over every building, stop paying rent, steal all water and electricity, encourage the abandonment of the city. Highlight contradictions of civilization. Empty supermarkets, eat everything, then remind people that food is grown and harvested, not purchased. Collectively reclaim space, close roads, erect new structures, have orgiastic frenzies, act as if there is one final party, an epic feast, or a farewell dinner preceding the destruction of the old world. Bring on the cold sweats of chaotic fever in everyone. Act as antibodies, do not let people die of their fever, instead be there when they awaken from their endless party and point them out of the ruined and desolate metropolis. Leave on all lights, air conditioning, and water. Trash the city, empty it of its treasures, enjoy those treasures, savor them, burn them, eat them, and vampirize the vampire without becoming one. This is possible and quite insane. Enjoy.

Conclusion

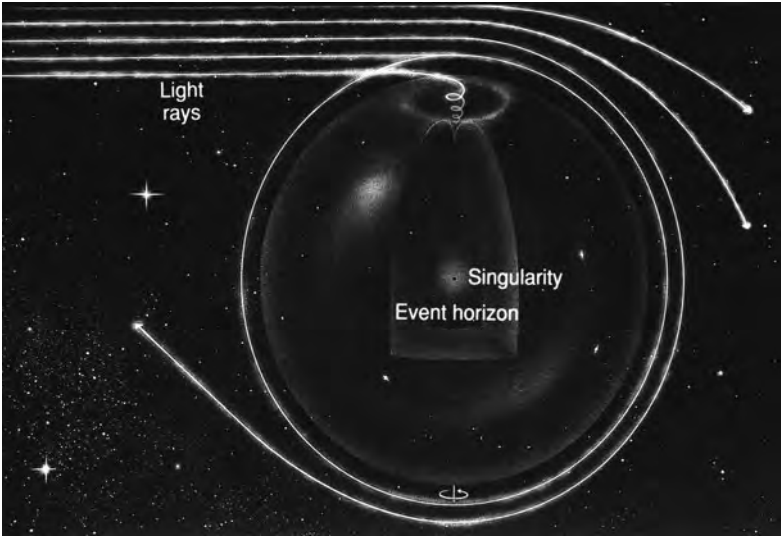
While the third tactic we have outlined will undoubtedly make less sense than the first two, we still insist on its relevance. It is quite difficult to explain this thing that we have only caught glimpses of and that has yet to eradicate the capitalist world. We are pluralists in every sense of the word. Unfortunately, we are trapped between the incommunicable

nature of what we wish to say and our desire to provide a clear sign that points the way out of this endless death-camp. Our task is impossible, and that is why we will triumph. The impossible is all that is left.

A fire was lit in the center of Reykjavik in 2009 during the collapse of the island's capitalist economy. Around this fire were dark, radiant people, bringing the chaos we have described above. As members of the Anarchist International, we were all there, and it is this fire that we wish to spark everywhere.

Towards the total triumph of chaos
and the setting of uncontrollable fires

Anarchist International



July 27, 2011

III: The Strike is Not Going to Work

or, La Finitude Infinie (or, The Impossible)

We who are everywhere homeless, for whom the insurrection is only ever an absence – something unreachable that has become more unreachable for our having quested after it – the only home that we could find is in homelessness and absence. For this reason we can truly say that home can be found anywhere, but also that its outside is nowhere to be found. In becoming everywhere homeless, our greatest loss has not been home itself but rather our ability to leave. Each time we have run away from home we have been returned to it. Returned, at first, to a specific door under the eye of an officer of the law, and later to a universal condition under the watch of all. It is no longer the case that in the search for what's absent we can look for it anywhere; now in the dissolution of the here and the everywhere, we are at a loss for anywhere to seek what we've lost. Because if it is not here it must be nowhere at all.

If it were given that capitalism is a universal lie, there will be found no negation of capitalism through the truths that hold us together. The universality of capitalism's logic assures that no truth is beyond it. The imaginary of capitalism, then, encompasses everything that we could consider falsehood and everything that we could call truth; moreover, the universal lie that is capitalism firstly establishes what is true and what is false and secondly forms the rift between the true and the false. The premise of a universal lie thus leads to the logical conclusion that this lie is also true. Capitalism is never simply a reality nor is it simply a fabrication; it is

always the circulation of an imaginary that is simultaneously a reality—it is the movement of the contradiction between truth and lie. The *truth* that capitalism is a universal lie thus does not negate the oppositional logic of capitalism, but instead affirms capitalism by applying its own logic.

There is nowhere to be found the much-sought-after Common that could tie back together our lost possibilities. There is no waking from this nightmare except into another, no liberation from despondency except the liberation into a cycle of despondency at a higher level. To situate oneself, to orient oneself, to speak from a position of anything other than a place of lack is to enable the capture of that position.

I. This movement, when witnessed from afar, is a blog post, a news story, a comment, an image, the slightest stirring of desire, despondency, lack—it is the collection of all these. A reality that, like all realities, is circulating, and circulating as unreality, busy tracing the limits of the real insurrection and its necessarily discarded remains, taking up these clay shards it left behind, congealing them under concealment, shaping them into a cup, a vessel to be the bearer of meaning, making it meaningful, full of meaning.

II. The old is never more than a shell because its essence is always drained, drunk out—while the new is ever refilled. To inhabit the shell of the old in the creation of the new is to be bounded and held by a corpse, animating its bones, the reproduction of its gestures—strike, blockade, riot. Even though all the events of the past have brought to us the miserable present, somehow this will be different and new; somehow this will do something, mean something.

III. Reality is the product of belief at the same time that reality gives shape to belief. To the extent that people believe in the movement, the movement becomes a reality. To the extent that the movement is real, people come to believe in it. In its contradiction between reality and fabrication, and in the manner of this contradiction's circulation, the revolutionary movement exists in the manner of all movement and in the manner of capitalism. The difference is only that, in seeking the end of capitalism, the revolutionary movement is the movement that seeks its own end, while the moving contradiction of capitalism seeks only its own continuation.

IV. The movement – that is, everything that moves and endures – exists as the circulated image of the sublime moment whose essence cannot be represented in the images that are inevitably made of it. Nothing of it can remain; what endures is this flimsy pamphlet in my hands, these words from far away, translated, reproduced, disseminated, put into circulation and, ultimately, lost. Lost is the singular impetus, that unspeakable infinite strike whose remnants include this piece that bears the name 'Infinite Strike'. Timelessness inevitably gives way to duration, to temporality, to forgetting, to the movement; these inevitably fail to drag anything of timelessness along but its image, its colors bleeding and blurring on the surface of time.

V. From the perspective of the movement, that which is undone is always what is remembered while that which is to be done is unmemorable and always forgotten. At the end, nothing is undone and nothing

is forgotten. Thus nothing belongs to timelessness, and everything belongs to time. A break with the temporal takes place and yet everything will be returned to normality by necessity, though normality may change in the process. That the break with normality takes place not in time but rather as a break with time, and that the return to the norm is the return of time, makes clear the marriage of the norm and the temporal. The revolutionary project persists as persistence in the loss of the one time; it is the hollow reverberation of the timeless through the logic of time; it is temporality's seeking of its own end point. Atemporality is at once beyond and beneath the process of temporality; it is the singular point from which temporality emanates as well as temporality's logical end.

VI. Forgetting is the process by which ecstatic recollection is lost and the reason it is able to return. There is no recollection not bounded on either side by the process of forgetting. Indeed, the first attempt to hold on to the truth-paradox of the ecstatic out-of-time marks the very moment when that truth becomes lost. The ungraspable slips away precisely at the moment one tries to grasp it, and the mere image of it is left caught between one's fingers. The search for truth and the forgetting of it are processes that unfold in time, but recollection is the ecstatic moment whose break with temporality is complete even while it is bounded by the temporal processes by which it is come upon and lost. Each strike in itself resonates purely out-of-time with each other strike in itself – more to the point, these are all in essence a singular point of non-work, an infinite strike. The representational image of the infinite strike,

meanwhile, is brought at various points into the fabric of time by the movement. The form in which this representation passes through time is the form of the revolutionary project.

VII. The movement cannot touch the truth of our friendships, the real of the unknown, or the purity of infinite strike precisely because it is a movement. The movement of time is the process by which the infinite is always absent even as it is quested after, even as its image is unfurled as the banner of the movement's aims and inspiration, even as the movement skirts the issue of its own inevitable demise that lies in the realization of its end.

VIII. An event is not a thesis. The true beauty of the stone thrown at a cop's head cannot be captured in the logical elaboration of processes; or, to the extent that the event is sequenced as a thesis, its singular atemporality is nullified and its beauty lost. The paving-stone becomes a statue, not because the moment of its flight is frozen in ecstatic timelessness—a lodestone resonating purely across time with every other stone whose arc reaches for a cop's head—but because the image of pure vengeance is cast in stone and then cast through time at our own heads. The revolutionary project paves over its own end by sculpting these false idols for us to worship. We are meant to repeatedly bang our heads against stones, against the fact that the stones are not vengeance itself. The keeping of such sculpture gardens is only ever the staving-off of the end of the revolutionary project, that end which was always the true beauty to begin with.

IX. The sad fate of all times is that class society per-

sists. Indeed, time itself will be knowable and measurable by this persistence. The attempt to rework the division as “those who still want to work and those who would prefer not to” is workable only insofar as it makes progress towards the insidious continuation of work by other means. One needn’t be reminded that the rich prefer not to work and, what’s more, they don’t have to work because they have everything. There is an eternal antagonism between those who, having nothing, have to work and those who, having everything, do not have to work. It is not simply the possibility of not working but rather a whole convergence of impossibility – for instance, everything for everyone and work for none – that points in no particular direction but towards the out-of-time vengeance.

X. It is not omerta but incitement, not prohibition but arousal, that governs speaking of the rejection of work. The masses plod silently in a world where Work and the Worker have disappeared while the logic of work expands into all times and deepens into the most shadowy of territories. It is of the places where the logic of work has not yet been established that the revolutionary movement incites one to speak of in the grand terms of the rejection and refusal of work. Speaking of refusal is itself productive as by tracing the contours of these mysterious territories, one’s work can be employed first cartographically and then strategically in the struggle of productive logic to root out refusal.

XI. The cybernetic project of generalized governance and the anarchist ideal of autonomous self-governance proceed not on one hand and the other but hand-in-hand. The myth of full employment and the

fable of voluntary self-managed work are not two sides of a coin but the twists of a Möbius strip that has only one side. They affirm more than the mere obligation to “make a living” – they insist that sooner or later we will not only have to make it, but we will have to like it as well, and we will manage everything even in the absence of either obligation or oversight. What is taking place is not merely the affirmation of work but the proliferation of work by other means – the continuation of work by any means necessary.

XII. The negation of the political appeal of futurism lies neither in the present moment nor in any form of presence; the negation of the future lies, rather, in the total absence of time and in every form of absence. Communist rewritings of *The Power of Now* only accomplish a populist affirmation of the present, and communism entails instead the abolition of the present state of things. While labor is indeed duration, there is no longer a distinction between labor-time and time itself, so that today one endures all time and not only the time spent at work. One could not yet say that time and work are synonymous, but it could be said that their ends are the same, and that they share a singular end.

XIII. Both the workers’ strike and the weather disturbance emerge as chaotic aberrations within otherwise predictable and ordered systems. The prediction and management of disruptions in systems are carried out in the same fashion and by application of the same logic. For those invested in the existent systems as for those invested in revolutionary futures, the strike is an aberrant non-functionality, but one from which some pro-

ductivity can be squeezed and profits made. The strike is the name for the singular point of non-work and, as such, it will not work towards any revolutionary project except to the extent that it can be put to work, before and after the fact, by the Left. Although the strike arises through the project of universal labor and although that project survives it, the taking-place of the strike means the death of the revolutionary project.

XIV. A strike is firstly forged by material conditions and secondly breaks from the process that produces those conditions. It emerges, then, as a break in the logic of capitalism in which the strikers take a break from the logic of work. In a time when it is not only humans who leave the workplace, for work has followed them out the door, when all time has become labor time, the strike is the only break from work that remains. A strike is essentially nonfunctional – it is a malfunction, a system failure. The extent to which strikes are converted from their essential failure and are made to function as part of a global revolutionary movement is precisely the extent to which revolutionaries are successful in repairing a failure. This is because the strike is a failure even in the revolutionary movement – the movement that, unlike capitalism, seeks its own failure.

XV. An event is still not a thesis. The coincidence of a general strike in one place and a series of blockades in another is not so much the product of active solidarity as it is the product of the unfolding of capitalism, which often produces similar conditions and symptoms in different locations simultaneously. Capitalism and class struggle unfold together as one fabric, deeply creased

but of a single weave. For one to succeed simply means the continuation of the unfolding; for the other to succeed entails the end of the process and the end of meaning, the rending of the fabric.

XVI. The violence of the strike is yet the violence of the outsider, or else it would simply be the violence of everyday life. What has happened is that a world without any outside has constituted itself as such only at the cost of its own consistency – by including the outside within itself, it has become riddled with holes. Each of these holes is the same as every other – they are bound to each other across time by nature of their singularity. The strike and its violence thus do not return to the past so much as they make an ecstatic break with time. There can be no transmission of meaningful knowledge from one generation to another because the singular truth of the strike is immediately lost in the return to normality. The loss of all meaning within the frenzied circulation of meaning has brought the epistemology of cynicism in which there is nothing to be learned. The break with normality likewise introduces its own epistemology, and this ‘epistemology of the barricades’ is the resonance across time of the singular out-of-time violence of revenge – not communication, then, between temporal subjects but rather the ecstatic coming – of truth, of paradox – that collapses the divide between truth and falsehood – that is to say, the vengeful return of the riddle.

XVII. The riot, the blockade: old gestures, immeasurably old. Ancient rituals. The revolutionary movement would infuse these with the hope and promise of an insurrectional process to come. But the insurrection,

like the future, is always coming. It is always here and yet hopelessly far away — always present in its wrenching absence. What looming negation whose force and terror hold everything in the tension between annihilation and fixation, cast each and every thing into uncertainty — the electron, the stone, the cop, the riot, the blockade. The half-step, the desperate failure. *L'appel du vide*, the irrational desire to jump from high places.

XVIII. Let us be quite clear that the return to normality cannot be rendered impossible — we need only consider the logical impossibility of atemporality having duration — and from now on, all possibilities will be normalized: the blockade, the riot, the strike, desertion, love and war, the reflux of despair and the flow into emptiness. But it has always been precisely what is impossible that is at stake. The impossible is the end of all possibilities, an end that is nothing more or less than an end in itself. All possibilities have their end in the impossible while the impossible has no end but in itself. This end is the insurrection. It is the point of arrival. It is not something to do; it is, rather, what is to be done — as in, to be finished. To have reached the point of finality — *la fin*.

Anarchist International



August 1 to November 5, 2011

IV: The Phenomenology of Miscellaneous Subjects

phenomenology, **noun**: **1:**The science of phenomena as distinct from that of the nature of being

2: An approach that concentrates on the study of consciousness and the objects of direct experience

August 1, 2011

I. Phenomenology of Dog

In Athens, the center of western civilization, there are numerous stray dogs wandering the dirty streets of the eternal city. Some of them have a very distinct and clear territory. For example, there has recently been a small brown dog who sits in front of the Kallithea metro station. Occasionally, the small brown dog follows random people, sometimes even walking onto the station platform or across the street and into the school. But this dog stays within its territory and seems to enjoy the constant presence of the metro passengers boarding and exiting the train, sometimes feeding the dog, sometimes not.

There are also currently three dogs almost always lingering around the Panepistimio metro, always traveling together, never straying too far. The majority of the stray dogs in central Athens have their basic needs met. There are more than enough scraps to eat, people are generally very kind to animals, and there is even a government service to give the dogs name tags that indicate they do not have diseases such as rabies (although junkies often steal these to tie up their upper arms). Because their basic needs are met, the dogs have no real reason to move other than to find food. Most dogs

spend their days asleep in the shade, having nothing better to do. The city keeps them alive and the dogs wander its eternal streets, bored, tired, and full.

Reincarnation exists, although it cannot be proven. It exists because of a dog, one dog who reappears in Athens throughout time. This dog is the canine manifestation of the anarchist waveform pattern and a locus of the world revolutionary Geist that is localized in Athens.

Our narration of this waveform begins several years ago. At a point in time that no one clearly remembers, a dog began appearing at demonstrations, marching with the anarchists and leftists, and charging at the police with them. One terrible day, when the anarchists were attacking the police, the dog leaped forward, bit a cop, and was then executed on the street by the police. The loss of this dog was a tremendous blow to the anarchists, who had come to identify with this one dog who was not satisfied to have his belly full, his needs met, and his life pointless. This dog had lived for more than mere survival in the eternal city, finding his greatest joy in fighting the very guardians of the city that fed him.

To the surprise of everyone, a new dog appeared soon after the death of their beloved companion. This dog had all of the same characteristics, but seemed to have become increasingly adept at arriving at the sight of a street-fight hours before it took place. To many anarchists, this talent seemed to resemble precognition, while to others it was nothing more than acute canine instinct. Nevertheless, this dog was at nearly every street battle, always barking at the police, always running with the anarchists and leftists. This dog succumbed to a natural death and passed away eventually, but as with the death of the previous dog, another one appeared with the same characteristics and behaviors.

This cycle has continued up until the present day. The

current manifestation of this spirit is a light brown dog with long legs. He physically resembles all of the others, something that we in the Anarchist International are at a loss to explain. It is also unclear why only one dog-waveform can manifest in linear time or why it is Athens that is hosting this recurring spirit. But one thing is clear: this dog is the mirror for our activities and our fate. Like the dog, none of us are content to just eat, sleep, and wander the eternal streets. We cannot help ourselves and always find our way into the eternal struggle. The luckiest of us possess elements of precognition that are similar to that of the dog. The rarest of us are conscious of this ability.

What is troubling, and what we wish to leave you with, is the relationship of the city to the dog. The dog would not have the strength to constantly fight were it not for the abundance of the city. The dog's enemy is the police, but the police are the same people who establish and maintain the brutal order of the city of Athens. We are unsure as to whether the abundance of the city produces the dog. The dog acts as either an antidote or a natural reflex to the intrinsic repression and malaise of the metropolis. It is clear, however, that the dog is the eternal enemy of the eternal city.

Using the dog as our mirror, we can clarify our own relationship to the city. The dog does not think twice about fighting against the established order, nor do we. But the behavior of the dog can be seen as some form of death-urge. The dog is not content to act like the other dogs, and is pushed to bite the hand that feeds it. The dog utilizes its excess energy to fight, but this fight is ultimately suicidal. This drive is powerful and is almost identical to what propels the Anarchist International. But let us look at this paradox and not shy away from its darkness. Amidst the emptiness of life in the eternal city, the dog chooses to fight. Along the way the dog loves and is loved, but there is only one truth for the dog: to live is to fight.

August 12, 2011

II. Phenomenology of the Fire Extinguisher

Island Fire Protection has been established as a fire protection company since 1991, and we have many years of experience in the fire protection industry. During this time, we have come to specialize in all aspects of fire protection – from fire risk assessments, fire alarm design, installation and service, emergency lighting installation and service, fire extinguisher supply and service, fire training and fire safety signage, in fact all aspects of fire protection requirements throughout the UK. – Island Fire Protection, Ltd. (UK)

Island Fire Protection has undoubtedly filled thousands of buildings with its fire extinguishers. Usually they are kept in glass cases, waiting to be used in the event of an emergency. However unlikely it is that a building will catch fire, the extinguisher is there to provide assurance that everything will not be destroyed in a blaze, that any damage will be minimal, managed, and under control. The fire extinguisher is intended to have a counter-revolutionary function. As we have said before, the Anarchist International views fire as a force that is vital to our growth. However, the fire extinguisher does not *need* to have a counter-revolutionary function, and we will explain why.

On July 20, 2001, at the peak of the offensive against neo-liberal capitalism, a young man named Carlo decided to pick up a fire extinguisher and throw it into the window of a police car. As he ran towards the car with the extinguisher in his hands, the cop inside lifted his gun and shot Carlo in the head. The car then ran over his body and sped away.

On November 10, 2010, hundreds of people flooded into the Millbank Tower, home of the Conservative Party, commonly known throughout London as ‘Tory Scum’. Long

a symbol of twisted authority, the tower was attacked at its base, the front windows were smashed out, and the angry crowd surged inside. They trashed the inside of the building and climbed their way up to the roof. Down below, the overwhelmed police were trying to preserve order when suddenly, as if possessed by a ghost, a young man decided to drop a fire extinguisher on them from the roof of the 387 foot tower. The young man missed his target, was turned in by his mother, and was sent to jail for over two years. While it might seem that whoever uses a fire extinguisher against the forces of order is inevitably captured or destroyed, this is incorrect.

The Greek MAT, green-clad guardians of order, have an officer who is equipped with a fire extinguisher. His job is to shadow his coworkers during a Molotov attack and extinguish any fires that may be burning on or near their bodies. This unit performs his counter-revolutionary function perfectly. He brings the intended nature of the fire extinguisher to its logical conclusion. But there is another person who is this man's opposite. And he brings the unintended, revolutionary function of the fire extinguisher to its non-logical conclusion.

This person shoots a cloud of gas at the police whenever they try to assault a demonstration. When hit by one of these blasts, the MAT retreats, unable to see anything, lost amidst this gas that was meant to put out fires, not allow and encourage them. But that is precisely what it does. Hiding behind this expanding cloud of gas, the anarchists regroup and attack, often time throwing more Molotov cocktails. Besides this, the gas of the fire extinguisher helps dampen the power of the tear gas that the MAT is constantly hurling at its antagonists. Our Greek comrades have re-discovered and harnessed the power that our beloved Carlo was executed for using.

And so we return to London, the eternal city. Island Fire Protection has filled many buildings with its product, but

despite all of the assurances of safety, the second week of August, 2011 was filled with fire. The fire that was meant to be contained and controlled by the International Olympic Committee has spread beyond its pathetic little torch and infected the streets of the city that it wished to invade and sterilize. East London, a thriving area of criminality, poverty, and rage, is slated to be ripped apart, rebuilt, and cleansed for the upcoming Olympics. As the construction of the Olympic facility proceeded onward during the second week of August, the city around it exploded. The fires spread to Bristol, Birmingham, Manchester, and Nottingham. And the reason the fires started were because a young man, no different than our beloved Carlo, was shot by the Metropolitan Police.

As we write these concluding statements, the fire seems to have been contained in the UK. But we at the Anarchist International can assure you that it will reappear, as the Geist is fond of doing. Given that the eternal city of London was once the epicenter of global-capitalist expansion into North America, it is not surprising that it will now spread fire westward into one of the most pacified, degraded, and hollow countries in the world. As you have undoubtedly guessed, we are referring to the United States of America, the land of perpetual delusion and distraction. It is up to the members of the Anarchist International within the US to learn how to turn the dominant system against itself, to amplify and augment the final act of Carlo. Everything that is used to crush us must be subverted and turned into a weapon. There are endless tools to use, as our comrades in London have shown. All we must do is pick them up.

September 5, 2011

III: Phenomenology of the Pod

As our struggle intensifies and faces repression, more and more anarchists will experience moments of life within the contemporary jail pod. The jail pod is a hermetic, interior world that contains all possible social life for those who are incarcerated. It is the common area in a space that is completely controlled by the authorities. Within this limited area, prisoners are able to converse, play chess, exchange books, instruct each other, tell stories, deal drugs, and do a variety of other things.

During what is known as “pod time,” prisoners are allowed to freely associate within the common area. Some spend their time on the phone, others watch TV, but most socialize. It is here, in this space of limited freedom, that subversive knowledge is exchanged between prisoners. Relationships are made, connections are forged, and advice is given. These connections continue outside jail and are often criminal in nature. Most people in jail have been there before, will most likely return, and over time have established networks with other prisoners that span thousands of miles. The jail pod is where these networks are born, and it is this simple fact that we wish to analyze, for we believe that the jail pod is a primary symbol for our times.

The limited freedom granted within the pod is the microcosm of the freedom we are granted in our living rooms, bar rooms, parks, and parties. We are surrounded by and exist within an apparatus of control that designates certain areas for free association and social life. Like prisoners, we chose to play chess, read, watch TV, drink, use drugs, write, exercise, write letters, etc. While we may be able to take walks in the forest, sit on the beach, and make love, it is worthwhile

to entertain the notion that all of these actions take place within a large recreation yard inside a mammoth open air prison. While you may find this assertion to be ludicrous, please take a moment to listen to our reasoning.

The normal functioning of the prison is dependent on the pacification and subservience of the prisoners. In its most basic manifestation, this subservience is maintained through collective punishment. If someone is caught smoking a cigarette in a pod, that entire pod is punished by having their privileges revoked. These privileges include the TV, pod time, and the ability to purchase Cheetos and Top Ramen from the commissary. In most cases, the smoker will be scolded by the other prisoners more fiercely than by the guards. The smoker will have their privileges revoked for longer than the other prisoners, and when the other prisoners regain the ability to watch TV, that privilege will be more precious than it was before.

The more this process is repeated, the less likely it is for prisoners to disobey. When they have regained their pod time and their ability to socialize, they squander it in mindless activity, the only goal of which is to stave off boredom. This addiction and compulsion towards mindless distraction is identical to the force that exists in what the Anarchist International refer to as an open air prison. Prison and jail act as the punishment, and when prisoners return to the less-administered portion of the open air prison, they cherish their ability to squander their time. We feel that this is the primary mechanism through which the reigning order is maintained: **the fear of losing what little freedom has been granted by the authorities.**

This situation is bleak and inspires hopelessness. However, there does exist a way out of this feedback loop of repression and subservience. We are referring, of course, to the intrusion and expansion of the world revolutionary Geist

within the common area of the pod. When this occurs, several things can and have taken place. Most commonly, a riot takes place within the pod, a riot that, if organized enough, can either spread to several segments of the prison or take over the entirety of the prison. By the time a prison is taken over, the external authorities surround the prison and ultimately assault it. When the bloodshed and violence of the repression is over, reforms are sometimes instituted that have historically granted prisoners more privileges. But it is safe to say that these riots have never destroyed the prison system of the various nation states. At best, these riots have been beautiful examples of collective rage and anger in which prisoners kill tyrannical authorities and live, if only for several days, more freely than they ever had (while still inside a cage).

There are grander things that have happened when the Geist invades a prison. It has created a rage in prisoners so deep-seated that when they return to the open air prison, they can think of nothing other than the destruction of all prisons. This rage has propelled people forward to dig tunnels into jails, break out their comrades, and assassinate guards. In one of the most sublime examples of this exemplary rage, thousands of ex-prisoners stormed the Bastille prison in Paris and razed it to the ground. As you well know, the storming of the Bastille was not enough to prevent the terror of the bourgeois from drenching the ground of the open air prison with the blood of thousands of prisoners. But that moment represents a point in time in which the prisoners possessed infinite potential, potential that was ultimately used and squandered by the merchants and wealthy aristocrats who wanted nothing more than a few more privileges in the open air prison of the King.

We have numerous examples from which we can better prepare ourselves for another intrusion of the world revolutionary Geist. While we inhabit the communal areas of the

open air prison, we should never squander our time. We only receive a few chances to act, and when one passes, we are lucky to see another one. Lifting our heads and watching the TV, eager to get through another day in the pod, will surely alleviate our boredom and despair. But we must never fall into these petty traps and diversions. The prisons do not function without our complicity and subservience. At every moment in time, there is the potential to set fire to the prisons and free ourselves forever.

With these words, let us wholeheartedly dive into the new offensive. While all of the pieces may not have been assembled for you yet, we will continue to provide you with our analysis and interpretation of events. For some of you, however, you may have just read as far as you needed to to begin. We have already begun. Feel free to join in.

As a comrade of ours wrote very eloquently: *We made gods and jailers because we felt small and ashamed and alone. We let them try us and judge us and, like sheep to slaughter, we allowed ourselves to be...sentenced. See! Now! Our sentence is up.*

October 23rd, 2011

IV: Phenomenology of The Queen

Dedication:

And now we arrive at the saddest portion of our *Phenomenology of Miscellaneous Subjects*. At the time of this writing, we are witnessing the explosion of the world revolutionary Geist all over the planet. The events that have transpired over the course of these serialized installments bears out the validity of our assertions. If you have recently seen the actions of anarchists synchronizing to a common rhythm, make no mistake that what you are witnessing is the intrusion of the anarchist waveform pattern into the linear time of the capitalist world. Soon, we will all have collectively articulated the rudiments of the Anarchist International's invisible structure, but as of this writing it is premature to say that we have reached this goal.

The Anarchist International has existed throughout time, and as we have stated earlier, it is our intent to ensure that this explosion of the world revolutionary Geist will be the one that finally brings down the authoritarian world. This is a moment similar to all of the others: 1871, 1936, 1968, 1977, 1999, 2008. Before we launch into our analysis of the Queen, let us wish you all good luck in your efforts to make the best of the months and years that follow. Close your eyes, look for a red light, and you will know how to help rebuild the Anarchist International.

Northern Ireland:

In the 1970s, a member of the Anarchist International supplied false passports to a majority of the guerrilla groups operating in Europe at the time. This man from the old world, a Basque anarchist who had robbed banks with Francisco Sa-

bate and guided people across the Pyrenees mountains, was named Lucio Urtubia. He and others like him carried our history out of Spain on their backs. After the defeat of Spain, Lucio took an interest in any group that fought the capitalist order that had allowed his comrades to drown in blood. To this end, he ended up supplying the Provisional Irish Republican Army (Provos) with false papers and money to aid them in their war against the Queen.

That war, as many of you undoubtedly know, is one of the most bitter and tragic that has ever taken place. In 1969, the army of Queen Elizabeth II was sent into Northern Ireland to calm tensions between the Catholics and the Protestant-controlled government of Northern Ireland. After having split with the Official IRA, the Provos began their guerilla war against the forces of the Queen in 1970. Their official program was to inflict as many casualties as possible upon the British Army and to defend entire neighborhoods in Belfast and Derry. Their campaigns eventually grew to include the bombing of commercial targets linked with the Northern Irish government and British interests. After creating a chaotic and deadly situation for the forces of the Queen in which two hundred fifty British soldiers died, the Provos declared a ceasefire in 1972.

After the ceasefire, members of the Provisional IRA began to negotiate with agents of the Queen. The Provos demanded a withdrawal of British forces by 1975 and the release of all political prisoners. The Queen refused this offer, leading to the resumption of the war. In 1973, the Provos began to send their fighters into the heart of the United Kingdom. In 1974, one of their groups began a campaign of bombings and assassinations in the Queen's city of London that resulted in the deaths of dozens of people, including a right wing politician.

In 1975, another ceasefire was declared and the Provo leadership continued to attempt to negotiate a withdrawal of

British forces from Northern Ireland. But while they were negotiating, the Queen's agents were infiltrating the movement and causing internal clashes between the Provos and the Official IRA. Noticing that the tactic of the Queen was to pacify the fighters with promises of freedom, the Provos resumed their war in 1976.

Surviving persecution by the Northern Irish Government, the Provos went on to form smaller cells that were harder to infiltrate. These cells continued to kill soldiers and bomb targets throughout 1979. On August 27th of that same year the Provos killed eighteen British soldiers with a roadside bomb and assassinated two members of the Queen's royal family. This campaign continued throughout the 1980s and included an assassination attempt on Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. In 1981, the Provos detonated a bomb at an oil terminal where the Queen was speaking at an opening ceremony. This was the closest they ever came to killing the Queen.

During the 1980s, Provo cells made their way to London and carried out extensive bombings and assassinations in the center of the Queen's empire. Understanding they were fighting a diffuse network of cellular groups that could strike anywhere (even British targets on the continent of Europe) agents of the Queen formed similar groups to begin striking at Catholic targets. These paramilitary forces, acting on information supplied to them by the British Army, proceeded to assassinate civilians in Catholic areas of Northern Ireland. These loyalists also supported (and often were themselves) fascists who killed immigrants in the United Kingdom. Refusing to kill Protestant civilians in revenge, the Provos responded to the loyalists with their own wave of assassinations and proceeded to kill the leaders of the Queen's militias.

It is important to point out that many anarchists in the United Kingdom supported the struggle of the Irish against

the Queen during this period of time, in spite of the bombs that were killing civilians in their own cities. While the conservative Catholic beliefs of many Irish fighters were repulsive to them, the anarchists did lend their assistance to those who fought British colonialism and fascist terror.

By the 1990s, there were over ten thousand British soldiers in Northern Ireland. The British had to travel with heavy protection and their bases were routinely damaged or destroyed by Provo mortar attacks. Despite the complete militarization of Northern Ireland, Provo attacks increased in ferocity.

In London, they attacked the Prime Minister's office with mortars and detonated a bomb at the Baltic Exchange in 1992, causing eight hundred million pounds worth of damage. The bombing of the exchange caused more monetary damage than all of the bombings in Northern Ireland over the previous twenty years combined. Rather than blowing up pubs or killing lone figures, the Provos had finally dealt a tremendous blow to the center of British capitalism. Knowing that this was the best way to strike at the Queen, the Provos detonated another bomb in 1993. This one ton fertilizer bomb was placed on the same street as the Baltic Exchange, which was also home to the Royal Bank of Scotland and Barclay's. A telephone call to the police caused the area to be evacuated. After the bomb went off, one billion pounds worth of damage had been inflicted in the financial heart of London, causing Lloyd's of London to nearly collapse from its attempt to pay off insurance claims. The Queen had been stabbed in the heart. Her next move, and the reaction of the Provo leadership to this move, is the reason we have narrated the basic story of this war.

Negotiations for an end to the conflict had been ongoing for some time. However, after the bombings of the early 1990s, the Queen realized the war would never end. And so, in 1994, she offered a ceasefire that the Provo leadership could accept.

The fighters of the group were not happy with this, given that the British still occupied Northern Ireland. However, in spite of the anger of the militants, the political wing of the Provos, Sinn Fein, began to grow more popular as a legitimate political movement. The Queen knew that if she gave the leaders more power, they would deactivate their own fighters in order to hold onto that power. And that is precisely what happened.

The treaty of 1994 was broken in 1996 but once the British agreed to deal directly with Sinn Fein, the ceasefire was resumed in 1997. Within the next two years, a deal had been brokered between the Queen and all political parties in Northern Ireland. On December 2nd, 1999, the peace accord went into effect and the Provisional IRA had nothing left to do but let the politicians carry out their plans. In 2005, the Provos surrendered their weapons.

The fighters were left to lead normal lives under the Queen's capitalism. The leaders continued in their political careers. The Queen remained untouched, uncaring, and smiling for the cameras. Her trick was not a sophisticated one. She merely pretended, as did all of her family, that she mattered more than other people and the reason she smiled so much was because people believed her. The leaders of the Provisional IRA were more susceptible to this trick than the fighters because her power infected their minds more directly. Their mistake was to listen to the Queen, to accept any of her terms, and to not realize that her greatest trick was to colonize Ireland not with an army, but with an economic system. Striking the heart of this economic system scared her and she quickly neutralized the leaders of the Provisional IRA by assigning them a place in the system they had been excluded from.

The Queen destroys her enemies by convincing them that they are already part of her system. And the saddest part about this realization is that she is most often correct. By the

end of the war, Sinn Fein had long since become managers of the capitalist economy of Northern Ireland.

Southern Ireland

We will not retell the full story of Southern Ireland becoming a nation state separate from the British Empire. The war of independence claimed many lives and was fought to reclaim a heritage and culture that was being suppressed by the forces of the Empire. However, the civil war between Irish factions that followed the forming of a new nation state was far worse.

In 1919, Sinn Fein proclaimed an independent Irish Republic, triggering a war with the British. Upon the conclusions of Ireland's war for independence, a faction supporting the newly formed Irish Free State concluded a treaty with the British in which the new state would have to swear an oath to the Empire. This was seen as a betrayal of the fighters who had fought and died for independence. As part of this treaty, each county was given the choice to not join the Free State. The largely Protestant Northern Ireland voted to remain part of the Empire. Seeing the island split in two and watching the new government betray its own people, a faction of Republicans decided to wage a war against the newly established authority. The fighting lasted less than a year and the new government quickly wiped out its opponents and consolidated its power, eventually forming the independent Republic of Ireland. While the civil war took place, Northern Ireland was effectively forgotten by their southern comrades and surrendered to the British.

Long before the war for independence, British capitalism had taken over the large cities of the island. After centuries of butchery by the British, the Irish had struggled to hold onto their culture and their language. What was left of it was channeled into the nationalist movement that sprung up

at the beginning of the twentieth century and bolstered the power of the Republic.

The British surrendered Southern Ireland only because it had leaders that could administer the capitalist economy of that region. The anti-British rhetoric used by the new rulers of the south meant little to the Empire. As long as the Republic was participating in the global economy that the British had created, it could have all the nominal freedom it liked.

In the years that followed independence, the Republic of Ireland became one of the most repressive and conservative countries in Europe. After crushing its first rebels, the new government maintained a heavy-handed policy regarding all internal matters. The population of the Republic of Ireland seems to have been too traumatized and exhausted to notice, after the delirium of independence and civil war, that the Empire never left. And so they accepted the authority that flowed from Lienster House, following all the laws it made, living within the economic policies it decided on. No one doubted for a moment that the British had been expelled or that brave Ireland had defeated the Empire.

Before independence, the British controlled Ireland by utilizing large segments of its own population against it. This strategy is ancient and has been used by every conqueror. Employing an oppressed group to police and control itself has worked for centuries and its persistence throughout time is a testament to the ability of humans to trick and confuse themselves so thoroughly that they willingly enslave themselves to others. When the rule of the Empire became untenable, when the slaves would no longer submit to its authority, the Empire simply withdrew, allowing its servants to be liquidated by the IRA and trusting that the new leaders would be able to administer the economy.

Queen Elizabeth II ascended the throne in 1952, presid-

ing over the remains of the old British Empire. The second world war had just ended and the Republic of Ireland had remained neutral throughout it, still having no desire to fight and make sacrifices for the countries that had allowed the British to subjugate the island. Like her father, Queen Elizabeth II understood that it would only be a matter of time before the Republic would join the world of the same rulers that had allowed the fascists to slaughter millions of people. Her assumption was correct and in 1955 the Republic joined the United Nations, binding itself to an organization that included the United Kingdom, making its first steps towards global integration.

Flann O'Brien, a possible member of the Anarchist International, published a book in 1941 titled *An Béal Bocht* (*The Poor Mouth*). The book was written in Gaelic and did not appear in English until 1971. The book takes place in an Irish town where it is perpetually raining, everyone is starving, and it is mandatory not only to talk in Gaelic, but to also talk endlessly about the idea of the Gaelic language. The book was meant as an attack on the stupefying existence imposed on the population by the Republican government; it illustrated the narcotic effect that nationalism had amongst the dispossessed. In the book, the narrator draws a map of Ireland and requests that the reader look at it from a certain angle. It is not a far stretch to suddenly perceive the entire island as a giant sea-cat, bounding after something it cannot see.

By the 1970s, Ireland had joined the world economy in a deep recession and in restructuring. The instability caused by the conflict in Northern Ireland worsened the effect of being connected to the global capitalist system. Restructuring took place throughout the 1980s, a time that most people remember as being filled with chronic unemployment, despair,

and emptiness. Rage and rebellion against the Irish State was never able to articulate itself during this time period, due in part to the engrained nationalism that was only reinforced by the struggle of the Provos.

Southern Ireland did not have the memory of a struggle against its own government when it arrived in the economic upswing of the 1990s. Just as it did in the rest of the world, in Southern Ireland the events of that decade arrested and stupefied the minds of massive numbers of people. The now restructured capitalist economy isolated and caused implosion in the USSR, took over Europe, and spread its new technologies and networks around the world.

The IT bubble expanded in Ireland at the end of the 20th century, but not to such an extent as it had in the US, and just like that country, Southern Ireland found its solution in the housing and real estate markets. Along with the rest of the world, the Republic of Ireland found itself in a recession at the end of the year 2008 after the collapse of the real estate bubble. Because of the severity of the global meltdown, many young Irish have fled the country to look for work and opportunities. Oddly enough, they have mostly fled to the United Kingdom, the land of the Queen.

The streets of Dublin are filled with boredom and alcohol, there is very little point in participating in the economy, and the future of life under the rule of the capitalists holds no promise. The population has taken its first steps towards resisting its government, but those steps are awkward and slow. Parties, groups, and factions dominate the left of the Republic. There was one group, however, that made a final statement in the midst of the disaster.

Sinn Fein was nearly alone in opposing the visit of Queen Elizabeth II to the Republic in 2011. At the request of the President of the Republic, the Queen was asked to visit.

She was to be the first monarch to visit the independent nation state. This announcement was immediately met with anger and hostility from the conservative Sinn Fein. At a protest in front of the Leinster House during the March elections, Sinn Fein made a spectacle denouncing the traitors in the government. When one passerby took a flier and saw why the group was protesting, he handed the flier back, shook his head, and said "Let her come." This was to be the common reaction of the population.

On March 26, the Queen's city of London was shut down and torn apart by rebel segments of the population, angered at the collapse of the economy and motivated by a distrust of all authority. The Trade Unions Council helped bring hundreds of thousands of people to the capital, but just like Sinn Fein, it appeared only as an old relic walking on a collapsing stage. With the last vestiges of her old Empire collapsing in its very center, the Queen prepared for her visit in May.

There were bomb threats, sabotage, and death threats being made in the lead up to the visit, but the population remained tranquilized by the media that was telling them to be excited for the privilege of being alive to witness such an auspicious event. Sinn Fein tried to remind everyone of what the Queen had done to Northern Ireland, let alone what her family had done to the South, but no one cared to remember. The politicians droned on about the importance of healing and moving on, as if the population had not been forced to move on by the whims and fancies of the economic system. Former IRA fighters were put back in jail; Dublin was militarized; some youths fought the Garda in the streets, and everyone watched as the Queen set foot in her family's former colony. She waved and smiled and was content with the knowledge that the system her family had left behind was still running, however erratically.

The Queen

It is no coincidence that we live now in the world with Queen Elizabeth II. She has appeared once before and was responsible for seeding the eastern coast of what is now called the United States with colonies. Elizabeth I, the virgin queen, was one of the principle architects of what became the global capitalist system and her colony of Virginia slowly became a fortress of slavery and death. Under her reign, the Irish were slaughtered in pacification campaigns that lasted for years and left the earth blackened. She was also a patron of the arts and loved theater.

It has taken over 400 years for the Elizabeth waveform pattern to return. The Queen, the eternal Queen, knows how to keep the rabble in place. Within her Empire, her subjects stumble about from work to the tavern and on Sundays they go see a play. Sometimes they grow angry, and when they do she lets them rage up to a certain point. When they actually threaten the stability of her Empire, she cuts their heads off and kicks their bodies into the river. Her palaces and balls are so intoxicating that her enemies quickly become her servants upon entering. She rules through splendor and force. All of her slaves know they exist at her mercy and that is why their rebellion is often so confused. They lash out at each other at all the wrong moments and fight battles that end up being illusions. The Queen hides her hand in all matters, and when people think they are undermining her plans, they are often simply caught inside those plans, wrapped in a hallucination of independence and freedom.

But clearly the Provisional IRA discovered a way to harm her. We have no doubt that some of their best fighters understood, if only for a moment, the way the world worked. The Provisional IRA split in the period leading up to the cease-

fire and a group called the Real IRA formed. They have been active since 1997 and were originally composed of all those who felt betrayed by the treaty with the Queen. As always, the linear time of capitalist reality is punctuated by these betrayals and conflicts that reappear endlessly. This new group will hopefully understand what the Anarchist International means about time and recurrence, just as we hope you do.

The Anarchist International has only one enemy; the Queen is one of them. We understand the illogical nature of this statement, but that is the only accurate way to describe our true enemy: the virus that is multiform and yet singular, the virus that devours in multiple places at once. But we also are everywhere at once, throughout time, fighting this war, and as we said at the beginning of this narration, it is our intention that this current moment of possibility not be squandered fighting illusory phantoms projected by our enemy. The capitalist system is the ultimate creation of our enemy and it will be its last. Let us hasten its death, together.

October 29, 2011

V: Phenomenology of Venice

Venice, eternal harbor, infinite departure, anonymous palace, gateway to the sea. Venice, the endpoint of so many journeys, the midland between fire and water. We do not know how many journeys have ended here, within the twisted canals, but we know that ours ends here, in the city that is sinking from having drunk too much water. Venice contains the full splendor of capitalism, highlighting all of its intricacies and labyrinths. It also contains every black hole, dark place, and invisible zone imaginable. Venice holds both the weight of capitalist logic and the lightness of total freedom in its scales. Under the weight of its commitment to gold, Venice is falling into the sea, caught in a state of perpetual decay.

It is here that Guy Debord made a seemingly insignificant remark about the Punta della Dogana, a promontory that greets a mariner upon leaving the Grand Canal. *At first, as it's approaching, you don't notice it. Then you discover it as you come abreast of it, and you cannot fail to recognize that it was designed to be seen in this particular way and no other. But already we are passing the cape, and leaving it behind us, and heading into unknown waters.*

There are certain things that one cannot see until they have been left behind. Just like the Punta della Dogana, we will not be able to transcend our past until we view it the way it was intended to be seen. And so Guy Debord, the lost soul, continues to describe the assault he and his friends launched against the capitalist world order:

Along the way many of us died or were taken prisoner; many others were wounded and permanently put out of action; and certain elements even let themselves slip to the rear out of lack of courage; but I believe I can say that our formation as a whole never swerved from

its line until it plunged into the very core of destruction.

There are some who have called Guy Debord a megalomaniac, and we would not disagree with them, but we also believe, just as they do, that Guy Debord and his friends certainly did inaugurate a new offensive against the world capitalist system. He wrote the words we have quoted in 1977, a year when the fighters of the world were in fact plunging into the very core of destruction. But what was he looking back upon? What took place in those years between 1968 and 1977?

In order to convey our meaning as quickly as possible, we will describe only one moment in time.

In the first months of 1968, Italian students continued their occupations of universities in Turin, Milan, Rome and other cities. By February, the last of the occupations were crushed by the police. In Rome, this last remaining occupation met at an assembly and decided to retake their campus. Four thousand people marched to retake their space on March 1st. A fierce battle took place on the streets that night in which one hundred forty eight police were injured and eight police cars were torched. Despite this, the police were able to repel the assault and nearly five hundred people went home bloodied and wounded. Pier Paolo Pasolini, a film-maker, happened to be at this battle and later remarked that he felt sorry for the police because they were the children of the poor and the students were the children of the bourgeoisie.

Once the last of these occupations were crushed by the police, everyone involved remained swept up in the frenzy of their moment, knowing that something would happen, that their time would come again. Two months later, the insurrection in Paris spread to the whole of France, causing thousands of people to take over their schools and workplaces. The remnants of the occupation movement in Italy saw this take place and knew they were not alone in what they had tried to do. In July of 1968, the

Fiat factory in Turin was occupied, heralding the start of the years to come, the hot autumn followed by the years of lead. Many people joined armed groups, many continued to protest, and in the end everyone was crushed by the forces of order. This moment we wished to describe, the first half of 1968, was a moment identical to this one, here, now. We are plunging...

see...

now...

see...

now...

see...

now...

And so we say goodbye to Venice, sailing away to the south to see our comrades. We wave goodbye to the memory of Guy Debord and all those who plunged with him into the very core of destruction. We have seen our past in the manner it should be seen and now we are ready to leave it behind. We detonate the rigid minds and blast away the stupor of time. Linear time is our enemy, and we burn its foundations once again. Remember the past by forgetting it.

Every city is the eternal city. Athens, London, Dublin, Venice. We say goodbye to them all.

The only mistake we can make from looking at the past is to repeat it.

And so we conclude our Phenomenology of Miscellaneous Subjects.

We will not plunge into the core of our own destruction, but the absolute destruction of the enemy.

Towards victory,

Towards life,

Anarchist International



November 23, 2011

V: Instructions for Rebuilding the Anarchist International

While it may seem irrational for us to suggest that the Anarchist International must be rebuilt (given that it exists), we assure you that it certainly is irrational and that is not a trick of your imagination. The Anarchist International has existed perpetually throughout time but there are moments where it falls into disrepair, forgets its own existence, and must re-articulate itself to itself. We are currently living in the end of one of those moments of forgetfulness. With the intention of aiding in this re-articulation, we offer the following step-by-step instructions for rebuilding what already exists.

I: Assess lack of infrastructure

Given that anarchists have not been able to build or maintain very much in the grander context of the war, making a quick assessment of what is currently at hand and how it could be used sustainably in the offensive is a vital first step. There are issues of food, supplies, printing, the internet, vehicles, and other necessities to deal with. Knowing who would be willing to provide these things is important. It is not important for them to be anarchists but it is certainly ideal if they are. If they are not anarchists, they must understand you to be one (unless something prevents this).

II: Explain fragment of the offensive to others

Given that you yourself do not know the full nature of the current offensive, it is of the utmost importance that you

explain some aspect of it to numerous people around you. The world revolutionary Geist is everywhere at the current moment and people are strongly receptive to the ideas and memories we have carried with us through time. Clearly explaining what anarchism is and is not to large numbers of people will cause an immediate articulation of the Anarchist International. There are some who may be able to do this addressing large crowds, there are others who can only do it through private conversations and there are some who do it accidentally. However it is done, explain it clearly and never waver from what you know anarchism to be. There are many anarchist tendencies but all of them are against capitalism and the state. For our purposes, that is sufficient. The rest will be sorted out later.

III: Establish local lines of communication and transmission

Given that many people are coming into increased contact with anarchists and our ideas, it is important to establish clear lines of communication between people who are interested in expanding anarchist practices and infrastructure. While most anarchists operate in small groups of friends, which tend to be closed, it is necessary to openly spread details of initiatives and plans to people who may or may not be anarchists. Any plan that is easy to connect with, understand, and participate in will draw increasing numbers of people. Obviously, channels must open between diverse individuals and the simplest way to do this is to openly spread information to those who are drawn towards offensive activity. Trusted faces will increase, the response to call-outs will grow and more people will appear at each action. This is a simple tactic but it is often inexplicably difficult for anarchists to comprehend. So that we are not misunderstood, we will say it simply: **talk to all who want to listen.**

IV: Quickly establish new infrastructure

Given that a large enough network exists to mobilize for such an undertaking, new infrastructure must be created as swiftly as possible. With the world experiencing bursts of mutiny, conspiracy, and rebellion, it is now possible to appropriate property, land, and other such things with more ease than we have previously experienced. Swiftiness is key, however. Our enemy is hoping to localize and contain rebellion in singular areas. Metastasizing will make it more difficult for the enemy to brutally crush the free spaces we create, which they do (when possible) with overwhelming displays of power that are intended to repel people from our ideas and tactics. However, by spreading ourselves thin, we also weaken our defensive capabilities. That is why the infrastructure we create must be defensible not only with our own bodies and force, but with the Geist that animates the networks of people that bring the infrastructure into being. As we have stated numerous times, the world revolutionary Geist is what allows any of what we are describing to take place. Fortunately the Geist is here and if the previous steps are taken, the infrastructure will maintain itself. *(For more information on the subject of infrastructure, consult Anarchist International Text 2.1)*

V: Spread to neighborhoods, cities, regions

Given that infrastructure has been created in multiple locations, it is imperative to continue to spread in every direction. Neighborhoods will be the first territories affected by the spread of our ideas and tactics. A neighborhood cannot be transcended as a territorial limitation until there is no need to repeat the basic tactics described above. Once a neighborhood is sympathetic to (if not overtly supportive of) our activities

and there are no more petty quarrels amongst the locals, it will be possible to link up with other initiatives in different neighborhoods. If these initiatives are sponsored by anarchists, it will be all the easier to begin the process of spreading across an entire city. Make no mistake, there will always be conflict amongst incompatible tendencies and proclivities. However, our ideas will spread, partly by virtue of their resonance with the world revolutionary Geist. We need only follow our own ideas, intervene in the inevitable civil conflicts that will arise because of them, and protect those same territories where our ideas are thriving. Once a city has become a cauldron of subversion, it will connect with the entire surrounding region due to existing and re-purposed infrastructure.

VI: Destroy the Pyramids of Giza

Once the previous five steps have been taken, it is absolutely imperative that the following message be transmitted to our comrades in Egypt:

None of us will succeed unless you physically destroy the Pyramids of Giza. We understand the importance these relics have for those employed in the tourist industry and the resistance that archeologists and employees of the industry would put up to defend them. But that is precisely why they must be destroyed. These archaic monstrosities, built by slaves, have absorbed an inordinate amount of attention and energy. Egypt has suffered from numerous foreign occupations due in no small part to our enemy's fixation on what the pyramids represent: TOTAL CONTROL. All invaders have sought to claim the pyramids as their own. What we find most disturbing, however, is the fixation that contemporary wage-slaves have in regards to these disgusting temples. If you can convince the population of Cairo to destroy these relics of tyranny and slavery,

we win. In no uncertain terms, this is the final task. Cross the river with pickaxes in your hands. Head south along the Nile until you reach Al-Ahram and then follow that road south-west all the way to the sands of Giza. Climb to the top of the three pyramids and begin chipping away at what remains of their tips. If you can do this, if you can convince the slaves to not only hate but to destroy the temples of the masters, you will have won the war. The world may continue to crumble, but you will have committed the crime that contains all other crimes. Have courage, friends, and prepare yourselves for what we all must do, everywhere. The pyramids have persisted through time and so have we. Our time is now. Do what must be done. Now. Go.

Anarchist International



December 10, 2011

VI: Statements on the Current Situation

The dream lived in the void of my spirit.

— Roberto Bolano,
member of the Anarchist International

The Ignition of the Fire:

We have all observed the emergence in Tunisia of a vast energy that spread to Egypt. In Tunisia as well as Egypt, unstable dictators were unseated. We distrust the people who helped push for these limited goals. Specific people and organizations (such as the April 6 Movement) persistently agitated and organized to implement technocratic capitalism in Tunisia and Egypt. In Tunisia, elections have been held and a new prime minister elected. Now that Tunisia has a reliable capitalist democracy, the actors that exacerbated the insurrection have mysteriously vanished. There is still rebellion and the population knows how to utilize the tools of the democracy-bringers, but the absence of these actors is very clear. In Egypt we see a similar pattern catalyzed by these same actors, fighting for technocratic capitalism.

These people are attempting to create a stable capitalist international in the face of impending disaster. That is their plan. The old world of dictators and overt fascism is being liquidated. Taking its place will be diffuse control, managed chaos, and managed transparency. Every decision regarding the rate of decay and the severity of austerity will be displayed to everyone on the nightly news, on the internet, over the radio. Control will be visible. It will no longer be a secret. This is the nightmare they are hoping to create.

The invasion of Iraq and execution of Saddam Hussein

was the first assault in this war to stabilize the capitalist international. Once an active participant in the communist international's assault on capitalism (providing asylum and logistics to actors in the offensive), Saddam had quickly degenerated into a despot willing to collaborate with the highest bidder. No longer could he think of arming and providing a haven for guerillas. Instead, he threw the people of his country into war with Iran, created a totalitarian dictatorship, and thrived off the riches of his oil. During the first assault on Iraq, the capitalist international showed the world again that it would attack and liquidate rogue leaders if they did not obey the dictates of systemic stability.

The assault on Iraq in 2003 was an effort to stabilize a world system that will soon reach its limits. The resources in Iraq and its proximity to Israel and Iran made stability in Iraq necessary for the world system to remain sustainable. In 2011, we witnessed the liquidation of Muammar Gaddafi and his government. This effort was identical in intent (if not in form) to the liquidation of Saddam and his government. Gaddafi had continued to fight the traditional imperialist enemies (funding the IRA and other guerrillas) while maintaining an overtly totalitarian dictatorship in his country.

It was highly disturbing to observe how the energy that had spread from Tunisia into Egypt was being used to achieve the capitalist international's goal of removing all unstable rulers from the world network. When it was clear that the opposition in Libya was not strong enough to defeat the dictator on their own, the capitalist powers intervened, guaranteeing either the eventual surrender or death of Gaddafi. We would have been discouraged by the developments in North Africa had we not also observed what was happening elsewhere.

The Course of The Fire:

A man set himself on fire in Tunisia and triggered the current intrusion of the world revolutionary Geist into our time. The fire that has been traveling the world can never be properly contained by our enemies. At most, it can be manipulated by them. But they cannot stop neighborhoods in Bahrain from rising up and fighting the police, nor can they stop people in the United States from breaking out of their narcosis and taking their first steps towards freedom.

In Spain, people began to occupy their central squares and attempt to replicate what they had seen take place in Egypt. Just as in Egypt, there were people in the Spanish plazas who frantically worked for a more efficient and humane capitalism. They failed to create a counter-power as strong as the one created in Egypt and so diffused out from the plazas into smaller assemblies and groups that still strive for the same limited goals. In the wake of these groups, a whole landscape has been opened for our offensive. A perfect example of this are the events currently taking place in Greece.

The square movement arrived in Athens just as the anarchists of that city were struggling against a fascist pogrom and a nationalist backlash against the murder of a Greek citizen by an immigrant. The occupation of Syntagma Square then proceeded to open up a space in which the entire crumbling structure of the government was consistently viewed as the enemy by many people who did not view themselves as belonging to any political tendency. The endless hours of fighting in front of the Parliament, the brutal assaults by the police, and the eventual clearing of the square served to fracture the core of the movement and send it outwards, just as had happened in Spain. Now, a broad constellation of forces are in motion, with the common goal to destabilize the current rulers of Greece by encouraging the non-

payment of fares, tolls, utilities, groceries, etc. The current rulers of Greece are backed by the European Union and the capitalist international and everyone knows this. In Greece, as in other places, the world revolutionary Geist is working against their plans.

This is the variable we have identified in what has been called the Occupation Movement. It can act as a containment vessel for anger and rage, but when it fractures or transcends itself, that energy is released and continues to articulate itself. After undergoing the process of reclaiming space, facing repression and learning to fight, people across the planet are learning the first lessons of what it is to battle a world system that is determined to subjugate them. Each movement, from Cairo to Oakland, know themselves to be connected. Because the capitalist international is liquidating its traditional opponents, it is now much easier for people to identify their common enemy. Without rival nation states or economic systems to blame or cling to, people are seeing capitalism and its police as the unifying antagonist. The fact that this knowledge is now common across the world has vastly helped expand the ranks of the Anarchist International.

Circling the Square:

The world revolutionary Geist cannot be constrained into a coherent form for more than a brief moment in time. If these forms persist after the Geist has departed from them they will become hollow shells and dead fruit, doomed to forever replicate only themselves in the same manner as a hologram. This is how the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat was able to sustain itself in Russia for over seventy years, how the terror of the guillotine persisted throughout the French Revolution, how the shadows of former failures have followed us into the present moment.

Whenever the Geist intrudes upon linear time it leaves its imprint, sometimes in the form of deranged cults worshipping whatever form it took upon its intrusion. The idea of occupying a central plaza has been circling the planet ever since images of Tahrir Square implanted themselves into the minds of millions of people. This tactic was replicated in Spain, Greece and then, in September of 2011, it began its replication in New York City. Upon its arrival in the United States, the idea of occupying a plaza became intertwined with the idea of the 99%: that all are united against unrestrained finance capitalism and nothing else

While we may empathize with the grandness of attempting to unify all but the high-capitalists, we find the pre-supposed unity of the 99% to be a deception. This unity was establish *a priori*, at the outset of the American Occupy Movement. *While we do not discount the possibility of unusual and unexpected alliances, they are things to be built, not assumed.*

Before anyone could conceivably confront and destroy the high-capitalists, they would have to first confront the small-business owners and petite-bourgeois, dismantle their own respect for property and capital, and learn to create areas free from capitalist logic. From September 17th to December 6th of 2011, we have seen the deception of the 99% umbrella become clear to a large number of the movement's participants. In some instances, this clarity has been caused by the work of the Anarchist International. The occupied squares and parks have either been raided or have started to decompose, but before that occurred, some of them were able to launch wonderful attacks against the capitalist economy and create free areas for the participants to taste and experience. Now, with the initial fixation on the form of plaza occupation crumbling and the false unity of the 99% in question, the Anarchist International now finds itself in an open landscape of possibilities

that did not exist in the United States before September.

Oakland created a temporary commune, flooded the city with people, shut down its port, and showed the world that the new offensive had finally reached the pacified and hollow plains of the dark center of our reality. Seattle initiated a fluid movement of people that has consistently challenged the government of the same city that houses Starbucks, Microsoft, Boeing, and Amazon, causing large disturbances, creating a street commune, and taking over buildings. New York fostered the fledgling movement by consistently causing large incidents in one of the main centers of global capital and centering everyone's attention on the international capitalist network. Everywhere between these three cities there have been numerous examples of rebellion and freedom. In the midst of these occurrences and events has been the Anarchist International, fostering free areas where chaos can bloom and discover itself.

On the day we write these words, in the eternal city of Athena, people have walked up to the Parliament that stands above Syntagma Square and thrown molotovs at a cowering group of police. (They did this in memory of Alexis, a young anarchist murdered by police on December 6th, 2008, in Exarchia, Athens.) The authorities did not anticipate such a bold attack and then proceeded to raid Exarchia that night in retaliation. Three years after the murder of Alexis, seven months after the occupation of the square, the people of Athens have grown accustomed to pushing towards the Parliament and it will not be long before we see it burning. Imagine this in London. Imagine this in New York City. Imagine this everywhere.

The Rise and Explosion of the New Guerrilla:

Since the beginning of 2011, we have also seen a rapid articulation of the international anarchist guerrilla offensive.

What started as a call to create a rudimentary federation of independent cells has blossomed into a wave of attacks that has spread from Italy and Greece to Russia, Indonesia and Mexico, and the United Kingdom. The different cells across the world communicate to each other through their actions. Besides giving logistical details to aid in the replication of actions, the communiques-of-action declare support for specific groups and individuals. In this way, a basic collectivity has been established between separate and diverse groups . By basic, we simply mean that all of these groups know themselves to be fighting the same fight against the same targets, whereas in the past this fight was merely presumed to be the same.

We find the construction of the Informal Anarchist Federation/International Revolutionary Front to be a positive development. It is proving itself to be formidable, adaptable, and able to live up to its promises of being a fluid, ever-changing organism of attack. Some have argued, however, that giving any group or network a singular name promotes a division between the actors and the observers, creating specialization amongst group members and alienating people from their own ability to attack. We agree that specialization is created when any minority of an antagonist movement begins to attack their enemy, but we do not believe that a singular name causes this. A singular name, like the singular form of the square occupations, can become a dead shell that has outlived its usefulness. This current experiment that has grown considerably since its inception, has not exhausted its usefulness just yet. It will very soon, however, and on this we all must be clear.

The manifestations of this phenomena in Indonesia and the United Kingdom have remained confined to small groups that consistently attacked targets and, in the case of Indonesia, resulted in some people being captured. But in Mexico, this tendency of claiming membership in the international

group has since grown, fractured, and then diffused into a constellation of extremely diverse actors who have acknowledged the international struggle and moved onward. There is currently a Mexican Conspiracy of Cells of Fire that is fighting alongside several other named-groups. There is another group that has forsaken its name (Individuals Tending Towards the Wild) and is now operating in secret, proceeding with its objective to destroy industrial civilization. There are currently comrades in jail for attempting to blow up an IBM nano-technology facility in Switzerland who know that others in Mexico are acting for the same goals as them. This shared idea or thought, whatever it might be, is the Anarchist International, this simple knowledge that others act for the same undying reasons.

Every armed or clandestine group that has acted for the same reasons as the population around them has been a catalyst for an insurrection or a revolt. The goal of the armed group should be to act with the world revolutionary Geist, to identify it, and move with it. Now that the names of these groups are starting to mutate and slowly be discarded, there is the possibility of a truly fluid offensive that is no longer bound to the duty of replicating itself. We will say it again. These singular networks and groups have not outlived their usefulness, but their future lies beyond them. The International Revolutionary Front will become the Black International only to one day transcend rational comprehension and defy all laws.

To act with the world revolutionary Geist as a fighter is to be swept up, to instinctively know what needs to be done, and to do it flawlessly. The choice of the target will be obvious and the resonance of the attack will be extraordinary. To act with the Geist is to become the Geist as it intrudes upon the banal monotony of linear time. But to act with the Geist is also

to hear what it is saying in the chaos around you. The chaotic world, the free world, is the world we want to grow and expand. To foster this is the goal of the Anarchist International.

Conclusion:

We have outlined some of our basic tactics in previous communications, specifically our *Three Unifying Tactics of The Anarchist International*. Over the four months that have elapsed since we released that information, we have seen some of the tactics play out within the context of the Occupy Movement that is taking place in the United States. Some chaotic and free areas were created, pushed to their limits, and are now diffusing outward into new forms. It is unknown what will emerge next, but our objectives and goals remain the same.

We would advise all of you to continue to act relentlessly. There is no danger of the world revolutionary Geist vanishing. It is far too vast and far too necessary to be extinguished by world governments. Major events continue to take place with an increasing frequency and the moment of our defeat of linear time is approaching. Some have noticed the ease with which one loses track of time when one is wandering the intricate pathways of an occupation or the painted hallways of a squat. Debt, economy, investment, loans, jail sentences, wages, all based and plotted on linear time. Time is our enemy and to defeat it is to achieve total victory.

Towards the death of time
and the beginning of life

Anarchist International



January 24, 2012

VII: A Forgotten Transmission from the Anarchist International

The following text is the transcription of a lecture given at the The New School for Social Research in New York City on May 6, 2011. The lecture was part of the Anarchist Turn conference. The New School for Social Research played host to the first instance of the rhetoric and tactics of “occupy everything” appearing in the United States in December of 2008. The school was briefly occupied before the active students were crushed by the police. Since then, the rhetoric and tactics of occupation have become household words in the US and the western world.

Shortly before this lecture, a similar talk was given in San Francisco, California on April 30, 2011. The majority of the people who attended this event described the speakers (supposedly the authors of *The Coming Insurrection*) as being “ass holes” and “dicks.” The supposed authors offered no apology nor seemed to care about the reactions of the people around them. This caused one native Mission resident to remark, “just because someone expresses themselves poorly and comes from France it doesn’t mean they are somehow secretly saying something profound.” The unintentional profundity of his remark cannot be overstated.

After leaving the US, a similar but vastly augmented lecture was given at the third Babylonia Festival in Athens, Greece on May 30, 2011. While the Invisible Committee were speaking to a large audience inside an underfunded and dis-

integrating university, thousands of people had begun filling up Syntagma Square. The occupation movement that sprang up over the next month was to end with the MAT brutally crushing it as the government made its deal with the IMF and the Troika up above in the Parliament. But before that happened, a lone member of the supposed Invisible Committee gave a lecture to a group of people in Athens who were then able to step outside of the university halls and into the new world context that had been predicted by the authors in 2007.

With the release of this text we wish to make our first official public announcement:

We are a diffuse conglomeration of reincarnated anarchists (or *souls*) that reoccur throughout linear time. Our intention is to analyze and encourage what we view as positive developments in the struggle against the world capitalist system and linear time. We view the population of the world as the only ally with whose support we can achieve our objectives. We believe the majority of the world population no longer wishes to remain enslaved to the global system or capitalist time. All anarchists who aid the world population in their liberation are our comrades.

Anarchist International

New York City
May 6, 2011,
6:15 PM

start transcription

0:00

...the layout of a town like New York, pinnacle of the petty-organic-hipster-bourgeoisie, captures intensities and vitalities in order to chew them up, digest them, and shit out value.

Also, if everyday capitalism triumphs, it's not merely because it crushes, exploits, represses, but also because it is desirable. This must be kept in mind when building a revolutionary movement.

There is a war...uh...a civil war, that is permanent and global. Two things prevent us from understanding it, from perceiving it. First, that there is a deep sense of denial of the very fact of confrontation is still a part of this confrontation. Then, that despite all the new prose of...uh... various geo-political specialists, the meaning of this war is not understood. Everything that is said about the asymmetric shape of the so-called new wars only adds to the confusion. The ongoing war of which we speak has a Napoleonic magnificence of regular wars between two great armies of man, between two antagonistic classes. Because if there is an asymmetry in the confrontation, it is less between the forces present than over the very definition of the war itself.

That is why we can't talk about social war, because if social war is a term used for the war that is led against us, it cannot also describe the war the we wage from our side, and vice versa. We have to think again the words, themselves, in order to forge new concepts as weapons.

We call *hostility* what governs, almost fully, the relationships between beings. Relationships that are pure estrangement, pure incompatibility between bodies. Hostility can take the shape of benevolence or malevolence, but it is always a distance. "I beat you down because I'm a cop and you're shit. I invite you to the restaurant because I want to fuck you. I leave you the bill because I don't know how to tell you how much I hate you. I don't stop smiling." I think you see what hostility means, right?

We need to add towards the sphere of hostility the same non-relationship that it imposes within itself. That is to say, it's all about reducing it, of taking aim, and annihilating it. To say it differently, empire is not a subject that is in front of me but a milieu that is hostile to me. It can't be a question of being victorious over it, only of annihilating it.

All that we learn to know singularly escapes from the sphere of the non-relationship. All that gives rise to circulation of affects escapes the sphere of hostility. It is what friendship is about. It is what enmity is about. That's why we don't try to crush any enemies, we try to confront them. "My enemy is my own question taking shape," said a horrible jurist.

In this confrontation, it's less existence that is at stake than it is potentiality. All means are not equally useful in the confrontation between two political positions. To say it differently, a political enemy is not to be crushed, it must be overcome. Distinguishing the sphere of hostility from the one of friendship and enmity lends to a certain ethic of war.

For the anarchist, the paradox of the current historical situation could be formulated like this: **Everything proved them right, and nowhere did they manage to intervene in a decisive way.** Which means that the obstacle does not come from the situation or from the repression but from the very inside of the anarchist position. For more than a century,

the figure of the anarchist indicates the most extreme point of western civilization. The anarchist is the point where the most hardline reformation of all the western fictions, the individual, freedom, free will, justice, the death of god, coincide with the most declamatory negation. **The anarchist is a western negation of the west.**

Schürmann rightly characterized our time as a deeply anarchical one, a time of the collapse of all the principles of the unification of the phenomenons. Anarchy tells our epochal situation. From there, calling oneself an anarchist is to say nothing. It means whether, when directed against the dominant order as it is the case in Greece, for instance, a way to expose to everyone the inert split and malaise of civilization. Or [unintelligible] all the tiring chattering of the particular anarchist literature is held to this: how to violently affirm that we exist without ever affirming any single ethical content. Those who said "there are no nihilists, there's only impotence," were not mistaken. To claim oneself a nihilist is only claiming one's impotence.

Isolation is a cause for impotence way more dreadful than repression. Those...[coughing]... sorry... who don't let themselves be isolated do not not let themselves become reduced to impotence. Malatesta understood that well in his time.

All the doctrines of governing are anarchist doctrines. They do not trouble themselves with any principle, they do not prescribe order, they produce order. This world is not unified *a priori* by some sumptuous fantasy, by some universal norm or principle that will be posed or imposed. This world is unified *a posteriori*, pragmatically, locally. Everywhere are organized the material, symbolic, logistical, repressive conditions of an *as if*. Everywhere, in every locality, everything goes *as if* life obeyed this principle, this norm, compatible with the other localities. It is how empire covers globally the anarchy of our times. We manage. We manage phenomenally.

6:35

This is what testifies to the insurrectional movements of the last years, in Maghreb, in Europe, or in Asia, and that is precisely why they are meant to waste the point of anarchists. The contemporary figure of the man without qualities that we call the Bloom is struck by what we must call an ethical impotence. It cannot leave one particular thing without worrying about missing everything else. It never is here without his own being here being doubled by the anxiety of not being everywhere else, too. That is why so much of all those can be reduced to technological apparatuses: through our cell phones, internet, global transportation. Without these prosthesis, he will collapse on the spot. New York, as the absolute metropolis, condenses this experience where the price of not missing anything is to not leave anything.

Anarchism is a spontaneous political consciousness of the Bloom. The ambition to deny *everything* is what legitimates to never fully deny *something* and thus to start to affirm *something singular*. The desperate conservatism that presently spreads in the political sphere expresses our inability to comprehend the ethical underpinnings implicit to western civilization. We need to settle up with the muted and knotted totality of what underlines all of our actions, words, feelings, and representations. But the scale of such a task is, for an isolated individual, in the end, any stupid affirmation of any neo-conservatism is always more reassuring.

The current fallback towards the most dogmatic, ideological forms of anarchism or communism, towards a fictitious radical political identity come from the same fear to show oneself in the unknown of such an adventure.

It is necessary to do away with the reigning confusion. One of the main flaws of the revolutionary movement is to still be imprisoned in faulty positions, or worse, to force ourselves

to think in the shackles of these false alternatives. Activism or wait-and-see. The great evening of the process. Vanguard or mass-movement. We say false alternatives not because they don't express actual differences, on the contrary, but because the false choice transforms all decisive questions into a binary, unsatisfying, paralyzing alternative. This said, to debate around the necessity to create one's own little oasis or to wait for the insurrection to come, before creating troubles within the radical milieu, was firstly a theological question.

One could wait for the coming of the messiah, staying at the very position god gave him, or one could pretend to hasten the second coming. There is another way, one of a different nature. There is a messianic time that is the abolition of the time that passes, rupture of the continuum of history, the end of waiting. That also means there are sparks mixed with the filthy blackness of reality. It means there exists some messianic, that the kingdom is not merely to come, but already, by fragments, here, among us.

What we say is that it is not more urgent to act than it is urgent to wait. Because we want to get organized, we have time. We do not think there is any outside to capitalism, but we do not think that reality is capitalist. Communism is a practice that starts from the sparks from those forms-of-life. We said "all power to the communes". A commune is never something given, it is not what *is* here, it is what *takes* place. The commune is not two people who meet, or ten people buying a farm. A commune is two people who meet to become three, to become four, to become a thousand. The only question for the commune is its own potentiality, its constant becoming. It is a practical question. To become a war-machine or collapse in a milieu? To end up alone or begin to love each other? The commune does not enunciate *what* we organize but *how* we organize ourselves, which is always at the same

time a material question. **A commune is only as it becomes.**

There is no preliminary to communism. Those who believe the contrary, after pursuing its finality, only achieve to fall into the accumulation of the means. Communism is not a different way to distribute the wealth, to organize production, or to manage society. Communism is an ethical disposition, a disposition that lets itself be affected by the contact of beings, by what we have in common. Communism is as much the beyond and below of capitalist misery.

What we put behind this word communism, is radically opposed to all who use--and used--it, to its current dislocation. War also passes through words.

How many times, in activist circles, have we had these dead-end discussions? What are we fighting against? You just have to raise the issue and everyone will go for their own petty fantasy that will in the end, subsume all the others. "What we need to confront is patriarchy. No, it's racism. No, it's capitalism. No, it's exploitation and alienation is only a part of it. No, it's alienation and exploitation is only a part of it." The finest theologians even managed to build a small activist trinity that articulates a triple oppression: sexism, racism, and capitalism. All the good will of the world was never permitted to decisively answer this question. That sums up pretty well the impotence to which our full conception condemns us.

When we're looking for an enemy we start by projecting ourselves on an abstract scene where the world has disappeared. Let's ask ourselves the same question...hold on...sorry...let's ask ourselves the same question, but starting from the neighborhood where we live, from the company where we work, from the professional sector we are familiar with. Then the answer is clear. The front lines can be distinctly seen. Who is on what side can be easily determined.

13:10

And that is because the question of the confrontation, the properly political question, only makes sense in a given world, in a substantial world. The cybernetic philosopher or the metropolitan hipster is a political question. The political question never makes sense to him. It refuses itself to him, endlessly walking backwards into abstraction. And that is the price to pay for so much superficiality. As a compensation, he would prefer to juggle with some great folkloric significance, to give himself some post-maoist or pro-situationist thrills, or to accommodate his nothings with the latest glosses of the ultra-left laboratory.

To all the metaphysical principles overhanging reality, *Schürmann* opposed a faithfulness to the phenomena. That is also what we need to oppose to the political impotence. Because, besides a few harrowing moments, it's over the ordinary, the daily, that the anarchist breaks itself. There we experience the disjunction between the political and the sensible that is the disastrous background of classical politics. The powerful thing that we leave, leaves us mute and what we experience in terms of silence that manifests failures we have no words for. Only the anarchist gesture sometimes comes to save its prolific consistency. But doing this gesture, we only obey an order corresponding to our anarchist identity. That we have to, from time to time, obey our identity to realize our discursive existence tells a lot about the poverty of our worlds.

Identity politics captures us in the negation of all the implicit, all the invisible, all the unheard that makes the frame of the world. We've called this the ethical element. Wittgenstein talked about forms of life.

It's on the basis of everyday life, of the ordinary, that the war against this world must be conceived. From Oaxaca to Keretea, from the Susa Valley to Sidi Bouzid, from Exarchia

to Kablliah, the great battles of our time emanate from a local consistency. A street vendor who self-immolates in front of the local administration after being slapped in public by a police woman, expresses the implicit and adiscursive affirmation of a form-of-life. This gesture of negation contains a clear affirmation that this life does not deserve to be lived. At root, it was the power of this affirmation that took over Tunisia.

Genoa...the riots in Genoa...would never have been such a summit without the rebellious Genovese proletarians. To say that the war against Empire arises from everyday life, from the ordinary, that it emanates from the ethical element, is to propose a new concept of war stripped of all its military contents. In case..in any case...it is coming to see for the last ten years the strategy of all the western armies as well as China...as well...as...what is going on?

Okay.

In any case, it is comical to see for the last ten years the strategies of all the western armies, as well as the Chinese army, approximate a concept which, for reasons of the forms-of-life, escapes them. Its enough to see a special forces soldiers speak of the battle of hearts and minds to understand that they have already lost. Its an asymmetrical war not because of the forces that are present but because the insurgents and counter-insurgents are not waging the same war. This is why the notion of social war is inadequate. It gives rise to the fatal illusion of symmetry in the conflict with this society, that this battle takes place over the same representation of reality. If there actually is an asymmetric war between people and governments it is because what sets us apart is an asymmetry in the very definition of war. We welcome, in passing, the nomination of General Petraeus to the head of the CIA. It no doubt ushers in an impassioned decade for the United States.

It has been four years since the publication of *The Com-*

ing Insurrection. It was, at the time, crazy but also rational to pose the insurrection as the world's origin. One could say that the present period has confirmed this analysis. A social movement like that of the anti-CPE protest in France adopted as its slogan "blockade everything." An entire country like Greece saw the insurrection coming so it ultimately had to bear it over the course of a month. Not to mention Tunisia, Egypt, or Libya where the determination, even unspoken, to destroy the structures of power remains...remains exemplary, for sure. There are still too few heads of the state sunning themselves in Saudi Arabia, away from the countries they once presumed to lead.

But something is definitely accelerating.

[*coughing in audience*]

18:47

One has only to look around to see the content of this book is realizing itself, but at the same time it withers. Its limits are becoming apparent. The movement provides the only admissible critique of the text...uh...uh...or its historical impact. "The field of tactics is always the domain of the counter-revolution," one said. And so, we understand. **When we are forced onto the field of tactics, when we are only a little step ahead, when we chase after events as they happen, we can no...[very fast and hardly discernible] we can longer act in a revolutionary way.** Sorry.

At the present moment, in order to no longer be forced into the field of tactics, we must overcome the question of the insurrection. That is to say, we must take this origin as given and begin to think and act on that basis. We must take the insurrectionary situation as our starting point, even now, even here, when it is counter-insurrection that dominates reality.

In this regard, we locate two crucial questions which

pose themselves to the revolutionary movement. First, that of the exit from the framework of government. Since its origin in Greece, politics has carried within itself a metaphysics of order. It begins from the premise that man must be governed, either democratically by themselves or hierarchically by others. The same anthropologies underlie the notions of the individualist anarchist who wants to express his own passions fully or govern himself, and that of the pessimist for whom man is a hungry beast who will devour his neighbors if he frees himself from the binding power of government. Various political positions organize themselves...[loud coughing in audience]...ultimately according to the answers proposed to this question. The question of the governments, of human beings and their passions, all rooted in a readily discernible notion of human nature.

But in fact, the question of government only poses itself in a void. One must produce enough of a void around the individual, or even *in* him, or within society, to produce a space sufficiently devoid of content, in order to wonder how to arrange those disparate, disconnected elements. Those of the self as much as those of society.

If we have a politics to advance, it is one which begins from an opposite hypothesis. There is no void. Everything is already inhabited. We are, each of us, points of intersection, quantities of affects, of families, of histories that fundamentally exceed us. The point is not to constitute a void in which we finally begin to recover everything that eludes us but rather that we already have the means to organize, to play, to form links, and bonds.

There is an open battle between, on the one hand, this fear, at once senile and childish, that we can only leave on the condition of being governed and, on the other hand, an inhabited politics which dismisses the question of government altogether.

[drinks water]

From the Tunisian situation, from attempts to block economic flows in France, or from the coming insurrection latent in Greece, we learn that one cannot separate the tearing down of power from the material establishment of organization. Everywhere when power falters, the same chasm opens before our feet. How is it to be done? We have to figure it out materially but also technically. How can we effect...yeah...how can we effect a shocking exit from the existing order, a complete reversal of the social relationship, a new way of being in the world. We could think it is a paradox, but it is not.

[sighs]

All power to the communes. Tear down power globally, locally. Wherever it captures, manages, and controls us. It means to organize, by and for ourselves, first of all in the neighborhoods, cities, and regions, food, transportation, healthcare, energy. In any case, we need to find the level at which we can act without recreating the power that we only just deposed. The commune is not a form, but rather a way of posing problems that dissolves them. And so the revolutionary imperative reduces itself to a simple formula: **to become unconvertible, and to remain that way.**

It is from this horizon, for example, that we can understand the failure of the recent movement of pensioners in France. By blocking the infrastructure that regulated the country rather than...than begging...uh, uh...the government with demands...

[turns pages and whispers]

...yeah... rather than begging for reform or anything, the movement implicitly recognized that it is a physical organization of society that constitutes its real power. By blocking the circulation of commodities rather than occupying the factories, the movement took leave of the classical workers per-

spective which understood the strike as a prelude to the occupation of the sites of production, and the occupation of the sites of production as a prelude to their takeover by the working class. The people who made the blockades were not only those who were working in the places that were blocked, but also multiple crews of teachers, students, and trade unionists, workers from all sectors and trouble-makers of every kind. The blockade was not a prelude to an economic re-appropriation, but a political act in each [*unintelligible*]. The sabotage takes aim at the social machine as a wall.

Nevertheless, this movement was defeated. Whether this was because of the intervention by unions or because of the architectural flows of networks [*unknown*] and rapid reorganization in the case of interruption, the gas supply in France, which the movement spontaneously chose to target, could not be permanently blocked.

One could go on and on about the weakness of the movement. What is certain is that it didn't have a sufficient knowledge of that which it tried to block.

This example suffices to understand that we must henceforth understand the materiality of domination. Everything that organizes...er...

[*pause*]

[*whispers*]

Right.

We must investigate, we must research, we must go search and above all share and propagate all the necessary information about the functioning of the capitalist machine. How is it fed by energy, information, arms, and food?

To understand that, what we need to understand is... what do we want to...in the situation where everything is suspended, in the state of exception, what do we turn off, what do we transform, what do we maintain?

Refusing to pose this question today means that we will be obliged to come back to a normal situation, if only to survive. We can believe that such an investigation, having reached a certain degree of reality, will not fail to produce a scandal...*[mumbles]*...as big as the threat it poses to the functioning of everything. Contrarily, to the amusing thought of Wikileaks, it is a sharing and diffusing of accessible information to everyone which allows them to feed off or consequently paralyzes a country.

In a world of lies, the lie can never be defeated by its contrary, it can only be defeated by a world of truth. We don't want a program. **We want to constitute a science of apparatuses that at the same time reveals the structures and weaknesses of the organization of a world and indicates practicable tasks outside of the current hell. We need fictions, or a reason to the world, which will allow us to hang on, which will give us breath.**

When the moment comes, we must be ready.

[whispers for ten seconds]

27:33

To conclude:

If we have come here to talk, it is only because we have been persuaded of this. We must be done with radicalism and its meager comfort now. The intellectual, the academic, both remain mesmerized by the contradictions of the *[unintelligible]*. By never beginning from their own situation, intellectuals distance themselves from their world so much that it's intelligence itself that abandons them.

If hipsters succeed in perceiving the world with precision and subtlety, it is only to aestheticize the sensible even further, which is to say, to keep it at a distance, to contemplate their life, their beautiful soul and their bike, to promote

their own impotence, their particular autism which expresses itself in the valorization of even the tiniest aspect of life.

[*single loud cough from audience*]

Meanwhile, the activist, in refusing to think, in adopting the ethic of a little manager who runs screaming into every single wall before him, finally collapses into cynicism. To take part...if taking part is the only option in war, the lines that are offered to us, visibly, are not the ones we should follow. We have to display them in order to move ourselves in between them.

Whether it is a Marxist theologian or the anarchist anti-intellectual, the identitarian moralist or the playfully transgressive hipster, all of this is an apparatus. We have said enough what we want to do with apparatuses. Each of these figures, the hipsters, the academics, the political activists, express as much a singular attachment to a power as...a common... amputation.

And here we see, and maybe while we're here [*now*], the fundamental division on which western civilization has been built. That is, the separation between the gesture, the thought, and life.

If one wondered what *Tiqqun* means, it could mean, for instance, here...uh...letting ourselves...uh, uh...being comfortable in those very splits, in those very amputations. But rather, starting from those very attachments, those very bonds. Thinking, acting, living. How to maintain this, instead of being separated in figures; the hipster, the academic, the activist. All of this could be the plane of consistency that will actually enable us to draw lines that are way more interesting than the line between those figures.

[*long pause and coughing from audience*]

If the life of militant radicals in western societies show the dissatisfaction proper to our revolutionary existence with-

out a revolution, the recent uprisings in Maghreb attest to an insufficiency of revolution without revolutionaries. That is, the necessity of building the party. Building the party not as an organization, but as a plane of circulation, of common intelligence, of strategic thinking, just as much of local consistencies.

There is a threat that weighs on all attacks starting from singular worlds, and it's that they remain incomprehensible by lack of translation. **The party must be that agent of faithful translation of local phenomena, a force of mutual knowledge of experiences and their weight. And it must be global.**

What we need to do is...uh...

I don't know.

[Laughter from audience]

[Laughs and breaths deeply]

What is at stake is how we're able to flee and keep our weapons. What is at stake is how we extract ourselves from the milieus in which we are stuck, whether it is a university or the anarchist scene. A lot of people here have always wondered about the very situation here, saying, "Oh, but there is no situation here." There is no "no situation." It does not exist. And for sure, what we need to start from, we need to run into the first world we encounter, to follow the first line of power that we get to and then everything follows. We just need to get organized and not leave the territory to militias.

That's all.

[Applause from audience]

[Mumbling in French]

Alright, what we thought...uh, uh...because doing question and answer is kind of weird for us...uh...like being like some of central authority or whatever. So maybe what we thought would be maybe nicer is that it seems there is wine and time and so, for sure, I mean, if you understood something of this badly translated thing that we said...uh,uh...the

issues are not only just the issues are addressed to us, they are the issues that we think...uh,uh...belong, are addressed to all of us, so it probably will make way more sense that we have a...like...a general discussion rather us answering I don't know what question.

Does that make sense? Or...

[Affirmation from audience]

You know, what we're interested in, in coming here, is to build the party. Not to be here, in itself. We think there is a possibility to build the party here, tonight. Maybe not, but we would not have come if we didn't think so.

[Audience begins to mingle]

[Speaking in French]

[Audience chatter increases in volume]

36:05

END



February 27 – April 19, 2012

Meditations and Recommendations from the Anarchist International

February 27, 2012

Meditation I:

On February 4, five thousand people assembled underneath the Acropolis in Monastiraki Square. The demonstration had been called by a wide array of people in the anarchist and anti-authoritarian spaces. The purpose of the event was to highlight opposition to the Troika and to distribute information to the public. We will now quote at length a portion of one communique issued after the event:

During the demonstration, thousands of counter-informative leaflets and texts of anarchist agitation were shared out to passersby. On some occasions, people on the sidewalk applauded the demonstrators and a couple of elderly citizens even raised their fists in support; nevertheless, most of the passersby as well as homeless people across the demo route had blank and tired stares from the misery of everyday life, and only a couple of people joined spontaneously the march. While the demo was underway, various slogans were painted on the metropolitan walls.

*Despite the massive anarchist presence on the streets, where several political trends came together under the projectuality of social class counterattack, **the demo gave the sense of a comradely walk**, rather than a protest march, and breaks between chanted slogans felt at times as if they reflected our inability to give a firm and decisive response to the hardest issues that we all face today: How will we overthrow this system of death, which suffocates us on a daily basis?*

We find this comradely walk they speak of to be highly important. Five thousand people walking together, being-together, knowing they are together, acting together, however minimally, is a process that increases the likelihood of the world revolutionary Geist entering linear time. Those five thousand people can act as a conscious amplification device for the Geist, acting together for the singular purpose of destroying capitalism and ending linear time. While the demonstration on February 4 did not see a mass intrusion of the Geist, those same five thousand people remembered each other on February 12, the day the Geist returned and laid siege to dozens of cities across Greece.

Later on the day of February 4, sixty people attacked the house of Greek President Karolos Papoulias. All sixty people were able to outrun the DELTA police who tried to capture them. This action was claimed in solidarity with Stella Antoniou and the others arrested for being part of the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire in 2010. It was promised that more attacks would continue. On February 23, a nameless group of people burnt six ATMs, a newspaper van, and a Ministry of Culture building in five separate areas of Athens. This was also claimed in solidarity with Stella Antoniou.

The comradely walk through town is the being-together of multiple people, acknowledging their shared struggle. Experiencing this being-together creates strength and confidence in the people involved. It is wise to view these walks as valuable efforts that will strengthen any future efforts. These walks can be taken in multiple ways and are in no way confined to the form of the street demonstration. As should be obvious by now, two goals of the Anarchist International are to forge a stronger collectivity between anarchists internationally and to increase the sense of being-together on the planet, engaged in the same struggle. To use Greece as the microcosm of the international struggle, we need to ensure

that the five thousand comrades can become five hundred thousand individuals who share the same goal of removing the government, the police, and capitalism from their lives.

We hope many people attend the demonstration called by the Villa Amalias squat for March 3rd. The demonstration will be starting at an occupied market that has been brought to life after seven years of being abandoned. Immigrants are taught Greek there and food is given out for free. We find the sentiment in Greece to be highly inspiring and eagerly await the impending transcendence of the population and the prolonged and potentially infinite expansion of the world revolutionary Geist. As we said in *Three Unifying Tactics Of The Anarchist International*, as long as the chaos, mystery, and ferocity of our actions pierce directly into the heart of capitalist normality, we may consider all tactics legitimate and worthy of repetition.

To conclude, we would like to quote the words of Christos Tsakalos, also arrested for being a member of the Conspiracy. Christos and his comrades reject the words and the terminology of the State, constantly arguing that they are simply anarchists who have decided to attack their enemy.

As for our terrorism, it is the human will for freedom and anarchy. Apparently, you dread this will, so you vote new terror laws, you establish exceptional court-martials, you take special security measures, you do not allow us to talk to our relatives and companions during trial recesses, and even when you take us to the detention rooms, ten metres from your court room which is built inside the prison, you handcuff us. This means that you are really scared. This is an honour and pleasure for us, because it shows that a group of people, a circle of anarchists of praxis can terrify an entire State. This shows that, away from the silence and passivity of the mass, the will of only a few people is sufficient for your system to be crushed.

It is our hope that Christos realizes that the mass he speaks of is not passive, it is simply beaten down constantly and kept

contained in a city-wide jail called Athens. Just as jail breaks do not occur every day while living in prison, upheavals cannot happen every day either. There is only patience, time, determination, and consistency. Until we have all broken free, some of us will remain trapped and it is our hope that this is now obvious. All of us are trapped and must make the most of our time in order to have a chance at seeing the endless expansion of the world revolutionary Geist and the end of capitalist time.

March 20, 2012

Recommendation I:

What will happen when the International is better organized, when a great many more sections – above all, agricultural sections – are enrolled in its ranks, when each section triples its membership? What will happen when each and every member knows better than he does now the ultimate objectives and true principles of the International, as well as the means to insure its triumph? The International will have become an invincible power.

–Statement from the Anarchist International, 1871

The Anarchist International endorses the call for an international general strike on May 1, 2012 and recommends the participation of all comrades on that day. We look forward with great anticipation and excitement to the first clear articulation of the new power we are creating together. This event could be a powerful moment where massive numbers of us all physically affirm that we are together in our efforts to destroy the capitalist international. However, there are some reservations, problems, and questions that some of you may have with the current plans.

It is certainly true that the initial form the general strike will take is going to be a partial strike in mostly non-vital in-

dustries, one that takes place prior to a series of marches and gatherings on the streets. This will vary to a greater or lesser degree in different regions of the world. Some cities will see the participation of mass unions while others, especially in the United States, will see a new form of mobilization that relies predominately on the participation of non-union and thus semi-autonomous workers.

The United States finds itself in a unique position with 89% of its workforce laboring without the economic protection of a union and thus with out ever having had the luxury of contenting themselves with high wages for manual labor. This is very different from places like Belgium or Greece where the percentage of unionized workers is significantly higher and the members of these unions still retain the hope of forcing the government to agree to their limited demands.

While the participation of mass unions can potentially bring hundreds of thousands of people onto the streets of the cities, those people will mostly be operating under the assumption that our enemy is listening to them, waiting for coherent arguments and a list of grievances. It is true that our enemy is constantly moving to undermine and destroy all mass unions but it is unlikely that they will be able to succeed. Should they ever wipe out all of these old union structures or should these unions naturally decompose and vanish into nothingness, new forms of solidarity and autonomous organization will inevitably emerge that will be far more antagonistic to capitalism than their predecessors due simply to the very fact of their birth within the current capitalist reality.

The first instinct of most people is to always replicate the forms of struggle and resistance they have come to know through pattern and repetition. The only way for these old forms to organically transcend themselves is for them to become inhabited by an excess amount of people and potential.

Within this critical mass of bodies and desires, be it a mass demonstration or a night of insurrection, there is the possibility of the Geist intruding upon linear time and transforming the old methods and tactics into new forms that defy classification or immediate analysis. We will not know these new forms until the Geist has withdrawn and it is only in those moments, when capitalist time has returned, that we will view what came out of its intrusion as novel methods and tactics. In capitalist time, what was once timeless and unclassifiable is studied and replicated, becoming static.

As was stated earlier, in some cities these unions will be bring out large numbers of people and we cannot discount or ignore the proven fact that the Geist has turned passive crowds of people into a rebellious force that finally is able to do what it has always wanted to do but never dared: burn down and destroy the houses of governance and capitalism. We recommend that all of you assist these people should they happen to awaken and become animated by a kindred spirit.

We do not have the ability to offer any specific unifying tactics beyond mere participation in the general strike, but that is only because of the wide diversity in geographic locations and social contexts . We are certainly not advocating passive participation in a project organized by another group. Should any comrades be unable to muster enough support to have a strong and autonomous presence in their own cities, they should travel to the nearest place where their support would best enhance the autonomous efforts of their neighboring comrades. But beyond this, we have nothing to offer other than our limited services and refer our readers to the previous communications of the International.

The form of the general strike has persisted throughout linear time and has become a mythological construct, a gateway to heaven, a dead shell. We support the appropria-

tion of the term general strike in this effort for one reason alone: a true general strike will always be impossible. Once it is achieved, we will have defeated linear time and destroyed capitalist reality. Should the populations of the world stop production completely in any location, they will have to provide for themselves without the capitalist world network. It will be up to them not to replicate the system they have just destroyed or make deals with the surviving nation states.

What role the Anarchist International will play in a world outside of time will be determined solely by the extent to which all of us consciously create that world. We applaud the call by German comrades for an international week of actions leading up to the general strike and during the final week of April we expect to see new spaces opened up, ties between comrades affirmed, and bonds strengthened between ourselves and the people who have become animated by the Geist along the way. Let the May 1 General Strike be an affirmation of our new international, leaderless and multiform, propelled by an eternal spirit of rebellion and freedom.

April 11, 2012

Meditation II:

Our epoch is a birth-time, and a period of transition. The spirit of man has broken with the old order of things hitherto prevailing, and with the old ways of thinking, and is in the mind to let them all sink into the depths of the past and to set about its own transformation.

—Hegel, 1807

Thesis:

The majority of the Anarchist International does not re-

side in the country, in the small town, or on the periphery of capitalism. The majority of us inhabit the centers of global capital and spend our lives close to our enemies' heart. One side effect of living in such close proximity to these glowing cores of money and power is a confusion as to what reality is like for those who live far away and near the edge. Military suppression, famines, civil war, and urban guerrilla warfare are commonplace in nation states such as India, China, the Philippines, and Afghanistan. Those inhabiting the interior sometimes trick themselves into thinking they understand what living in these situations is like, but obviously they do not.

Those who live within the stability of capitalist democracies haunt the camp of the enemy. Despite what our comrades might say, our enemy is still forcefully expanding into the uncolonized areas. This expansion emanates from Beijing, New York City, Frankfurt, Tokyo, Mexico City, Athens, and every other center of capital. We need not look any further than the young girl who was recently tied to a tree and burned to death by loggers who hoped to scare off the rest of her Amazonian tribe. The permanent capitalist offensive continues everywhere, from the untouched jungle to the congested and pacified metropolis. While it may be the same system the surrounds us all, those who inhabit the interior of the enemy live a life that is characterized by a lack of overt conflict and a militarized peace.

A tactical error has often been made by viewing resistance in the periphery as something more advanced than what is taking place within the interior. This line of thought is plotted against linear time and relies on worn out theories regarding stages, phases, and periods. According to this thinking, the cadre must first build up membership in the party before engaging in armed conflict, the purpose of which would be to seize the means of production. Once this occurs, the economy will be restructured and the population will be reorganized.

Because of this error, many former and potential comrades have hopelessly cast themselves on a journey that can only ever end in civil war and authoritarianism. By creating the necessary mechanisms to ensure their permanent continuity (cadres, parties), these people replicate the linear time of capitalism and no matter how well-intentioned they may be, their ideas will lead them to eventually see the Anarchist International for what it truly is: the bringer of chaos and disorder.

The last major intrusion of the world revolutionary Geist was a period that lasted from the mid 1950s to the end of the 1970s. According to most recollections, the Geist was ever present during this time period. Unfortunately, the Geist was largely interpreted through the lenses of Maoism, Leninism, and Marxism. Fidel Castro and his guerrillas used the Geist to overthrow the capitalist government of Cuba, the FLN used it to overthrow the French government of Algeria, and Ho Chi Minh and the NLF used it to defeat the US military in Vietnam. In each of these examples, the Geist was forcibly suppressed in the post-revolutionary nation states and capitalist production was restored. These revolutions were promoted as the climax of a uniform process that could be implemented anywhere on the planet, with the end goal being the dictatorship of the proletariat, the people's republic, the workers council, or some other fiction.

Hundreds of thousands of people were swept up by the Geist and in their fever they began to launch low-scale, agitation offensives from within the interior. The majority of them believed themselves to be part of the Communist International. Eventually, some of the most determined of these people started to wage guerrilla warfare against the enemy and discovered that the interior was the most vital place to strike. However, swayed by their delusions of communism, these guerrillas limited their imagination to striking targets

that related to either their own internal concerns or those of the fighters on the periphery. Because of this, the Geist became stunted in their minds, growing blunt and dull, doomed to replicate only itself. However much we may respect the spirits of Ulrike Meinhof or Margherita Cagol, we have only their own ideas to blame for the ultimate limitations of the groups they helped create.

By the end of the 1970s, the world revolutionary Geist was leaving linear time and the interior offensive was becoming desperate and dark. The guerrillas started to exchange ideas over the television, newspaper, and radio, sending each other images of kidnapped millionaires, hijacked planes, and burning buildings. All of this culminated in a spectacular orchestra of murdered politicians, judges, and industrialists, followed by a period of intense counterrevolution that lasted from the 1980s until the beginning of the 21st century. The offensive of the Communist International failed.

Antithesis

The Anarchist International does not view the periphery as the ideal site of our offensive. The periphery of capitalism is simply a place where the social and physical control mechanisms of the interior do not function smoothly. It is a place where the militarized peace of the interior transforms into an overt war between the state and the population. The interior is the place of control and imprisonment. The periphery is the place of capitalism's breakdown and decay. It often hosts dozens of smaller groups that mimic the forms of capitalism, reflecting back the light of the interior, fighting amongst themselves in order to survive. The state must always be contended with, and freedom only resides in the cracks and weakness of capital.

One example of what we are talking about is the archipelago state of Indonesia, an area that exists on the periph-

ery of global capitalism. Numerous factions and forces have arisen throughout the course of the nation state's history, but none of them have come close to overthrowing the state or capitalism. The peripheral islands of Indonesia will only be free from the capitalist international when Asian capital can no longer feed its workers and when Indonesia can no longer receive the goods it needs to defend itself. Asian capital will not withdraw until territorial China has been forced to contend with its own rebellious population and ignore its competition with the other collapsing nation states.

It is significant that there are comrades of the Anarchist International fighting in Indonesia against capitalism. Indonesia is now integrated into the global network and performs its function of exportation and importation adequately. It currently exists as a capitalist democracy that continues to quell internal resistance far more brutally than its German equivalent. However, it must not be forgotten that the German state would not hesitate to enact identical brutality upon the same type of resistance within its own borders. The defeat of the Indonesian state would result in its containment and isolation by the rest of the global network. The defeat of the German state would result in something we cannot adequately imagine, given its centrality to the network. Such an event would only ever occur during an intrusion of the Geist into linear time.

For this reason, the Anarchist International considers the interior to be the ideal site for our offensive. When the Geist animates millions of inhabitants in the cities of the interior, there is the possibility of bringing capitalism to its knees, something the world system never has had to do. An event like this will only ever happen when these millions of people stop paying their rent, start feeding themselves, destroy the physical mechanisms of capitalism, and definitively choose to never return to the shameful peace of the interior.

The crippling of a city is not solely a military affair. Chaos, despite what our critics may say, is the breakdown of all order, especially logic. Chaos is what occurs whenever the Anarchist International takes any offensive action. We break down the enemy's ability to comprehend our actions by virtue of our inherent inexplicability. Likewise, we encourage those around us to stop acting in a manner that is comprehensible to the enemy. People are taught to enrich themselves so that they might enrich the king, the nation, the world. Chaos is what appears in the eyes of the king when his subjects stop enriching themselves off his land and risk their lives to burn down his castle. Chaos is the negation of all order. As we have said before, our actions, in whatever form they may take, should cripple the normal functioning of capitalist time and space by their very nature.

Jakarta, New York City, ~~SÃO PAULO~~, London, and Beijing must all erupt at once or not at all. There will be no victory without hundreds of millions of people consciously choosing to nullify the capitalist reality they exist in. We will soon experience a more sustained intrusion of the Geist upon capitalist time, something that will carry us all away from what we now know. It is to our advantage that we have remained in the multiple hearts of capitalism, undermining its every step. The objective of the Anarchist International is to defeat capitalism and linear time. We are well poised to do so.

In the woods outside of Seattle, on the outskirts of Manado, or in the wastelands surrounding D.F., exists the periphery. These wastelands are the microcosm of the peripheral nation states. Nothing changes there aside from occasional development and natural disasters. A great dark hole exists in the distance, but away from the metropolis life moves slowly, ruled by strange laws emanating from the centers of capital, rules that do not have to be followed so closely, if at all. Space can be carved out for life on these peripheries, but they will not

seriously threaten the functioning of the interior. Instead, they will be places of freedom, autonomy, and refuge. They will contribute to the offensive by acting as a beacon, a reminder of what reality can be outside of capitalist time. Beyond this, the rest of the conflict resides in the centers of capital.

Peace + City = Shitty

Hegelian dialectics are an arcane and moronic control mechanism created by a fool. They restrict thought to a bleak trinity that always reinforces order. The USSR and the USA were once antagonistic, now one is gone, the other has absorbed it. China and the USA were once antagonistic, but now they mutually support each other in the grand harmony of the global network. All those who followed the insane Hegelian religion found themselves synthesized by their enemy. The Anarchist International has no interest in subscribing to this or any other religion.

If we still hold onto the multitude of anarchist thoughts, it is only so that we not forget ourselves as we travel through linear time. Our signifiers exist only to remind us of what did not work, what we aim to accomplish, and what we intend to bring to the world. Without these memories, the Anarchist International could not exist.

We present to you the following conclusion from what we have just written: We are in a moment of time that resembles the onset of the world revolutionary Geist. The Communist International once acted as the unifying myth that connected the participants in the offensive against the Capitalist International. With the wreckage of their disaster now far behind us, we affirm the existence of the Anarchist International as the new unifying myth and we positively state that this will be the final incarnation of the force we have been trying to build across the centuries. After this, there will be

no more synthesis, no more order. We will have all escaped.

April 19, 2012

Recommendation II:

The Anarchist International recommends that as many comrades as possible attend the International Anarchism Gathering in Saint Imier, Switzerland that is set to take place from the 8 to the 12 of August, 2012. The conference is being held in the same city in the Jura mountains where the first Anarchist International was created in 1872. The symbolism of this location pleases us, but our humor is not the sole reason we are advising you to attend.

Paul Goodman, a self-described lumpen-bourgeois anarchist from the US, often wrote about the ability of artisans and craftsmen to create a degree of autonomy and intellectual freedom for themselves through their self-employment. He identified these people as being largely susceptible to anarchist ideas, his theory being that people can only critically think when they do not have to work endlessly and can become anarchists by learning to provide for themselves.

The watchmakers that Bakunin met in the Jura mountains of Switzerland fell into this category. Because their craft was so specialized and because the watchmakers operated within a federation, they could dictate their own wages and hours. This completely separated them from the majority of European workers who were still toiling in largely unbearable and murderous circumstances. Naturally, they became anarchist workers who understood the ideas of Bakunin and sided with him after the split with the communists in the First International.

As Paul Goodman correctly identified, these watchmakers were able to refine their ideas and join the Anarchist In-

ternational because of the amount of free time they had been able to steal back from the capitalists. However, they still sold their goods on the market and they still used money and because of this they never fully escaped capitalist time. Nevertheless, the limited freedom they obtained for themselves and for their comrades transformed the Jura into a bastion of freedom and rebellion. It was only by being literally enslaved to capitalist time that the Jurassic watchmakers were able to create a place where the anarchists from across the planet came to conspire and gather inspiration and resources for their assault on the early capitalist world system. Countless exiles, fugitives, and revolutionists passed through this mountainous region before dispersing back into the world, armed with new ideas and powerful friendships.

In the years that followed the historic Saint Imier congress of 1872, anarchists proceeded to establish similar free areas for themselves across the planet. Peasants taught themselves to read in Spain, syndicalist unions were formed in France, study groups were created in China, and cooperatives and communes were established in the US. In addition to taking offensive actions against the capitalists, anarchists pooled whatever resources they had in order to free each other from mental and physical bondage. It was this protective and emancipatory tendency that led to the predominance of anarcho-syndicalism throughout the world milieu. During this time period, the priority of the Anarchist International was the mutual support of all its members. The offensive tendencies developed as extensions of these free areas in a time of intense repression and brutality. Only later did they detach from the larger support networks and blaze off on their own.

By the 1920s, most of the free areas that anarchists had been able to build had been significantly reduced. The hyper-exploitation of the world population had created areas

of massive wealth, wealth that was able to pacify the upper levels of the working classes. While the syndicalist-unions struggled to maintain their own existences, the assassins and bombers continued to inflict whatever damage they could on their ruthless opponent. Because of the repression that followed these acts, the syndicalists distanced themselves from their comrades, concerned only with making the figurative watches that would generate the money that would buy the food that would feed the bellies of the hungry members of the Anarchist International. Others chose to feed only their own bellies and take the offensive actions that their comrades would dare not take. We believe this is the root of the split in the Anarchist International that is only just beginning to heal.

The collapse of the world economy in 1929 was triggered by the intrusion of the world revolutionary Geist into linear time. The Geist would remain in the world throughout the 1930s, fueling various revolts and upsurges. The revolution in Spain and the rise of the Nazis in Germany were both brought about with the help of the Geist. As we all know, this massive explosion of energy was ultimately usurped by the fascists and culminated in the slaughter of millions and the creation of the atomic bomb. Once the carnage of the war was over, the capitalists decided to prevent any future upsurges by providing as much wealth to as many people as possible. Through social welfare programs and state employment, the Capitalist International competed with the Communist International. Whenever one side could provide more wealth than the other they would succeed in pulling a nation state into their bloc. This war between the two, which lasted until the fall of the USSR, left the Anarchist International weak and directionless.

The wild ones continued to attack their enemy, the cautious ones continued to preserve their watch making, and

both seemed to be hopelessly antagonistic to the other. The Anarchist International had once been able to provide limited freedom in times of great poverty and strife. Some of this freedom came in the form of food, some of it came from being able to physically strike the enemy. In the recent past, however, the Capitalist International has defeated us because of its ability to give many people an unskilled job that ensured their material survival and guaranteed their dependency to the world system. But as is now clear, the Capitalist International is collapsing. Our enemy's efforts to destroy us have lead only to the ultimate disintegration of our enemy.

And so, comrades, we recommend that all tendencies of the Anarchist International to attend the International Anarchism Gathering in Saint Imier. We are in a position to return to where we came from and move beyond our origins. This will never happen if we cannot even manage to have critical solidarity with each other despite our differences in methods and tactics. We are aware of the dangers present in any public gathering, but there are conversations that no spy or agent can understand. The most dangerous weapons they will find at this gathering will be a handshake and an argument made in good faith. These two things will bring us all closer than we have been in decades. We in no way mean to diminish or gloss over any differences that we surely have with each other. We merely wish to have these disagreements be debated, understood, and accepted without undue hatred or animosity.

Switzerland is extremely far away from most other parts of the world and many of us will not be able to attend. Given this reality, we also recommend that similar gatherings be organized on different continents, with the specific intention of bringing us all together, regardless of tendencies. If possible, members of the Anarchist International who go to Saint Imier should eventually bring what they have gathered

there to the far reaches of the world. The symbolic significance of this gathering in Switzerland is clear. But if we truly have the intention of rebuilding the Anarchist International, the gathering will also have a material significance that we can only begin to imagine.

We once made watches to buy time for ourselves. Some of us still do. But time is our enemy and we cannot toil for it any longer. The old world is gone and the Anarchist International persists, lingering outside of time on the borderlands between slavery and freedom.

This concludes our Meditations and Recommendations

**Towards infinite solidarity
and the end of time**

Anarchist International



May 10 to June 18, 2012

IX: On History, Repression, and the Infinite

This is the first of three expositions detailing our final three barriers.

History:

The Mexican Guerrilla and Forgetfulness

History tells us that the Nazis cleansed Berlin of Jews in the days leading up to 1936 Summer Olympics. Before everyone arrived from abroad, the Jews had been pushed out of sight, the brutality and pogroms hidden away. The city was brightened, the roads were cleaned, and the shops were open. Three years earlier, Hitler had presided over May Day celebrations, having successfully hijacked the ideas of socialism and revolution from the Marxists, many of whom also happened to be Jews. In 1945, Hitler killed himself and had his body burnt. The war he started before his death consigned the world to its current fate of authoritarian domination. Long after he died, the SS patrolled the streets and Nazi rockets filled the sky.

In 1968, the students of Mexico City (DF) began boarding buses and handing out literature, marching in the streets against the PRI government, and withstanding heavy assaults by the police. They fought to free their imprisoned friends, to keep beauty alive, and to destroy the capitalist terror around them. They were executed in cold rooms after defending the occupied UNAM, they wandered drunkenly down Insurgentes knowing their future was gone, they fucked in dirty bathrooms knowing the world was against them, and they witnessed the tumultuous expansion of the world revolutionary Geist before their intoxicated eyes. Some of them were part of the Anarchist International, although we may never know to what extent.

Ten days prior to the opening of the 1968 Mexico City Summer Olympics, the PRI government sent a group of paramilitaries (the Olympic Brigade) to liquidate the student movement. The Brigade was created to cleanse the city and erase all unwanted disturbance. In the Plaza de las Tres Culturas, hundreds of students were killed outright, their blood and life and beauty permanently staining the dry ground of the capitol.

The Olympic Brigade had been trained and equipped by the CIA to fight the Communist International. A year earlier, on October 9, 1967, Che Guevara had been killed by the CIA trained military while attempting to start an insurgency in Bolivia. Five months earlier, a school teacher named Lucio Cabañas witnessed police firing on a group of his students who had occupied a school. After this bloodshed, Cabañas fled into the mountains of Guerrero where he soon joined a band of guerrillas.

The guerrillas were lead by Genaro Vázquez Rojas, a man who had been a school teacher in the slums of DF and had once studied law at the UNAM. After leaving the capitol metropolis, Rojas moved to Guerrero and formed an above ground group for the defense of peasants and farmers. In 1962, this group staged a demonstration in Iguala that was attacked by the police, leaving thirty people killed and Rojas implicated in the death of a cop who had been assigned to follow him. The group was outlawed by the PRI government and Rojas fled into the mountains where he soon formed a band of guerrillas.

Rojas was eventually captured in 1966 and thrown into prison. On April 22, 1968, six months before the student massacre in DF, Rojas' group broke him out of his cage and returned to the mountains of Guerrero. During his absence, Lucio Cabañas had joined the group. These two school teachers quickly became very close as Mexico plunged into the battle between the capitalists and the communists.

The group staged its first bank robbery in April 1969. During the process, the police apprehended all of the fighters and recovered the stolen money. The next action of the group was better prepared and on January 5, 1971, the guerrillas kidnapped the head manager of the Commercial Bank of the South from his car on the freeway. The group freed him after receiving a five hundred thousand peso ransom payment. On November 19, the group kidnapped the Chancellor of the University of Huerrero, who was also a soft drink mogul. After the authorities released nine political prisoners and paid another five hundred thousand peso ransom, the group released their capitalist prisoner. Tiring of these disturbances, the CIA instructed the Mexican military on how to crush the band of three hundred guerrillas. Thousands of soldiers encircled the coastal mountain the group used as its base of operations. The circle tightened and eventually the authorities were able to kill Rojas after he crashed his car during an escape attempt.

His comrade Lucio Cabañas took leadership over the group after his death and lead the group out of the encirclement. Over fifty guerrillas were killed in this period, but they were eventually able to regroup and attempt another action. In December, 1974, a commando kidnapped a senator from Guerrero and during an attempt by the authorities to free the captive politician, Cabañas was killed in a shootout. The group he led had carried the name *Partido de los Pobres*, the Army of the Poor.

The counter-revolution effected Mexico just as it did the rest of the world. Most of the insurgencies in Central and South America were crushed by the CIA while fascist dictatorships were allowed to flourish. By the 1980s, the prospect of stopping the offensive of the Capitalist International appeared uncertain and likely to end in death and oblivion. But one day in 1983, a group of urban guerrillas entered the un-

tamed jungles of Chiapas in a desperate bid to relaunch the offensive in Mexico.

The EZLN and the World

We will not attempt to summarize the multiform and diverse activities of the EZLN that have taken place over the past thirty years. The texts, communiqués, and books released by the Zapatistas speak for themselves. However, we will quote at length from one particular communiqué written by Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos in December, 1994, nearly one year after outbreak of the insurrection in Chiapas.

The cold is harsh in these mountains. Ana Maria and Mario are with me on this exploration, 10 years before the dawn of January. The two have barely joined the guerrilla. I am an infantry lieutenant and it is my turn to teach them what others taught me: to live in the mountain.

Yesterday I ran into Old Man Antonio for the first time. We both lied. He said he was on his way to see his field, I said I was hunting. We both knew we were lying and we knew we knew it. I left Ana Maria to follow the path and I went towards the river to try to find a very high mountain and Old Man Antonio. He must have thought the same thing because he appeared at the same place where I found him before.

Like yesterday, Old Man Antonio sat on the ground, and leans against a patch of dark-brown green and begins to roll a cigarette. I sit in front of him and light the pipe. Old Man Antonio begins.

"You're not hunting"

"You're not on the way to the field" I answer.

Something made me speak to him in the proper tense, with respect, that man of undetermined age and cedar skin who I was seeing for the second time in my life.

Old Man Antonio smiles and adds,

"I've heard of you. In the canyons they say you are bandits. In my village, they're upset because you are here."

"And you, do you think we're bandits?" I asked.

Old Man Antonio releases a huge puff of smoke, coughs, and shakes his head. I'm encouraged and ask him another question.

"So who do you think we are?"

"I would prefer if you told me" he says and looks into my eyes

"It's a long story" I say.

So I begin to talk about the times of Zapata and Villa and the revolution and the land and the injustice and hunger and ignorance and sickness and repression and everything. And I finish by saying so "we are the Zapatista Army of National Liberation". I wait for some sign from Old Man Antonio who never took his eyes from my face.

"Tell me more about that Zapata" he says after smoke and a cough.

I start with Anenecuilco, then with the Plan de Ayala, the military campaign, the organization of the villages, the betrayal at Chinameca. Old Man Antonio continued to stare at me until I finished.

"It wasn't like that" he says.

I'm surprised and all I can do is babble.

"I'm going to tell you the real story of Zapata".

Taking out tobacco and rolling paper, Old Man Antonio begins his story which unites and confuses modern times with old times, just like the smoke from my pipe and his cigarette which mingle and converge on one another...

...I chew on the now-short stem of the pipe waiting for Old Man Antonio to continue, but he never does. In fear that I will disrupt something very serious I ask, "And Zapata?"

Old Man Antonio smiles. "You've learned now that in order to know and walk you have to ask questions." He coughs and lights another cigarette and out of his mouth come these words that fall like seeds on the ground.

Old Man Antonio took from his backpack a little bag of nylon. Inside there was a very old picture from 1910 of Emiliano Zapata.

In his left hand Zapata had his sword raised to his waist. In his right hand he had a pistol, two cartridge belts of bullets crossed his chest, one from left to right, the other from right to left. His feet are positioned as though he's standing still or walking and in his gaze there is something like "here I am" or "there I go". There are two staircases. One comes out of the darkness, and there are dark-skinned Zapatistas as though they were coming out of something. The other staircase is lighted but there is no one and one can't see where it goes or where it comes from. I would be lying if I told you that I noticed all those details. It was Old Man Antonio who told me. Behind the picture, it said; "Gral. Emiliano Zapata, Jefe del Ejercito Suriano.

Gen. Emiliano Zapata, Commander in Chief of the Southern Army.

Le General Emiliano Zapata, Chef de l'Armee du Sud.

C.1910. Photo by: Agustin V. Casasola."

Old Man Antonio says to me "I have asked a lot of questions of this picture. That is how I came to be here." He coughs and tosses the cigarette butt. He gives me the picture. "Here" he says "So that you learn how to ask questions...and to walk."

We hope this passage from the communique will serve to fill the gap between the year 1994 and 2006. Old Man Antonio was the person who first began to trust the weary guerillas in the 1980s and allowed them entry into the Mayan

villages. While Marcos wrote the quoted communique, the Mexican economy began to disintegrate, due partially to the sheer reality of the EZLN and the autonomous zone they created in Chiapas. The next month, Chase Manhattan would send a communication to the Mexican government, encouraging them to “eliminate the Zapatistas” in order to improve the state of the economy.

It is significant to us that Marcos found it important to publicly remember Old Man Antonio at a moment when the autonomous area was about to be assaulted by the military. Facing death and defeat at the hands of the Capitalist International, Marcos chose to remind all those who read his words that the struggle he and the EZLN fought extended back throughout linear time and would continue forever. However, an armed guerrilla group had never done such a thing as the EZLN had, nor had one ever issued such strange communiqués before, nor had one been able to create an autonomous area that was public, visible, anti-authoritarian, and resilient.

Marcos is quite possibly a member of the Anarchist International, and we are sure he has thought this himself from time to time. He was most certainly influenced by the mythos and ideas of the now collapsed Communist International. In his attempts at the peace accords we can see Che Guevara speaking to the UN, demanding an end to hostilities against Cuba. But more importantly, we can see in Marcos the story of Lucio Cabañas, the school teacher who fled into the mountains in 1967. Marcos himself was a teacher, and as he hiked into the jungle on his first journey, he underwent the process of leaving linear time that we have previously described (see Foundational Statement of The Anarchist International). It is in his delirious writings that we can see something new, something that is distinct from all the previous failures of the Communist International. In his writings, we can see the

world revolutionary Geist leaping off the page.

Marcos and the EZLN followed the Mayans in their quest to free the jungle from capitalist time. As everyone saw in the years between 1994 and 2006, they succeeded to a greater or lesser extent. During this time period, the dictatorship of the PRI was finally unseated from power. The free area they created was able to withstand the tumultuous, neo-liberal assault of the 1990s and the renewed counter-revolution that began in 2001. Despite seeing the strength of their international allies weaken during this period of repression and totalitarianism, the Zapatistas did not abandon their commitment to the struggle against capitalist time.

On June, 28th, 2005, the EZLN released the Sixth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle in which they explained how they had spent the years since 2001 building up the infrastructure and defenses of the autonomous area. They also declared that they would *forge new relationships of mutual respect and support with persons and organizations who are resisting and struggling against neoliberalism and for humanity, and as far as we are able, we will send material aid such as food and handicrafts for those brothers and sisters who are struggling all over the world.* The declaration also called for persons and organizations to adhere to the principles of the Sixth Declaration and to begin working on what would become the Other Campaign.

In April of 2006, Marcos and the EZLN came to San Salvador Atenco, an area on the outskirts of DF that had previously resisted the creation of an airport on their traditional farmland. This was one stop among many in the Other Campaign's effort to unite the disparate social movements of Mexico. There, the EZLN met with the People's Front in Defense of the Earth, the group that had forced President Fox to cancel the plans for the airport only two years into his term. During the EZLN visit, the People's Front decided to adhere to the Sixth Declaration.

Shortly after this, on May 3, an insurrection broke out in the general area of Atenco after flower sellers were physically prevented by the police from working at a market in Texcoco. The flower sellers appealed to the People's Front for assistance. Once this collaboration took place and all of the dissidents amassed on the streets, a fight with the police started that lasted all night. People blocked the main highway, the flower sellers hid away at a house in Atenco, and the people pushed the police away from their forces, all the while ringing church bells encouraging everyone to join the fight. Eventually, the police assembled enough forces to crush the insurrection. The police brutalized and raped dozens of the people they captured. The Zapatistas remained in DF and closed off access to the autonomous area in Chiapas. This police action was widely seen as the first instance of overt repression against the Other Campaign and any other social movements that thought to rebel. This all took place two months before the 2006 Mexican General Election.

Nearly simultaneously, that same May, a teachers strike began in Oaxaca City. The teachers occupied the central square of the city for a month. One of their consistent demands was the resignation of the ruling PRI governor who eventually ordered the police to crush the occupation. On June 14th, three thousand police cleared the occupation of the square after hours of street fighting. Once the eviction was over, the allied rebels formed the Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca (APPO) and decided to reoccupy the square on June 17th. The people succeeded in holding their space and over the next months began to spread their assemblies and occupations to distant towns and urban radio stations. Universities and municipal buildings were occupied, women took over television stations and released counter-propaganda, insurgents withstood PRI paramilitary attacks, and the governor

hid away in DF for a period of time.

Back in the capitol, the media and the government were saturating the public with controversy over who would become the next president in a tight race that had been fraught with irregularities. This spectacular distraction helped the government act with less restraint while it increased its attacks against the Planton de Oaxaca. Over the course of the next August and September, Oaxaca was a relatively autonomous zone. At one point, there were over one thousand blockades in Oaxaca City with pirate radios helping to coordinate defenses. Throughout the month of October, many people died during government attacks. Nevertheless, thousands kept marching, throwing molotov cocktails, and feeding each other.

On October 29, the police retook the central square and destroyed the encampment once again. The EZLN called for a series of global blockades to take place on November 1 and 20 alongside the people of Oaxaca. On November 2, the authorities attempted to destroy the last remaining pirate radio in the occupied university but were repelled by the defenders. During this same day, Marcos and the Other Campaign walked up to the northern US border in Ciudad Juarez and proclaimed that they acted with the people of Oaxaca and that the border before their eyes meant nothing to them.

On November 6, a bank, the PRI headquarters, and the Federal Electoral Tribunal were bombed by a coalition of Oaxaca guerrillas. In their communications to the public, the groups stated their actions were in retaliation for the bloodshed in Oaxaca. No one was killed in their attacks. Shortly after this, on November 20, the EZLN shut down all of the major highway in Chiapas. This took place concurrently with other efforts across the planet. Everything culminated in the attempt to re-occupy the square in Oaxaca City on November 25, an effort that did not, ultimately, succeed. The insurgents

burnt many buildings that night during the fighting and they defended the autonomous zone to the best of their abilities, but eventually the government forced them to retreat just in time for the ascension of Felipe Calderon to the presidency on December 1, 2006. With him came the drug wars that we are all now familiar with.

The Present

Since then, the autonomous area in Chiapas has had to withstand further assaults. With all of the money and resources that Calderon and the US devoted to the drug war, the EZLN was forced to go largely on the defensive. The large networks that aided the ELZN in the '90s began to collapse just before the new counter-offensive of the Anarchist International.

On May 1, 2006, with the events in San Salvador Atenco and Oaxaca about to commence, one of the largest general strikes in the US took place across the country. The hundreds of thousands of people who took the streets that day were largely immigrant workers from Central and South America. In Los Angeles on May 1, 2007, California, one of the main epicenters of the 2006 strike, the people were indiscriminately attacked by the police in a public display of brutality meant to terrify the undocumented workers from doing something similar in the future. This event, along with Atenco and Oaxaca, was meant to remind all who fought against the Capitalist International they they faced the same repression.

Despite this, after the completion of first tour of the Other Campaign, the EZLN held a Zapatista Intergalaktika in Chiapas where conversations were had that led (in part) to the creation of a network that would plan an action at the border between the US and Mexico in 2007. This effort, aimed at exposing the new Immigration and Customs Enforcement

(ICE) of the US and its network of immigration prisons, was to be a final push to keep alive the international offensive that had begun in 1994 against the Capitalist International. Fitting with the period of counter-revolution, the actions that took place in the US were either suppressed or demonized by the authorities. At the end of 2008, the struggle to fight the immigration police apparatus had been largely recuperated by the US government and put squarely in the hands of reformists.

The old networks had lost their former power by 2007. However, as we have stated previously, that is also the year that the current offensive of the Anarchist International commenced. As if presaging the coming crisis, the anarchists of the world began to frantically burn marks on the edifice of a collapsing world system. Between 2008 and 2012, the Anarchist International has been significantly rebuilt amidst the current intrusion of the world revolutionary Geist. We have seen the occupation of squares across the world so similar in spirit and form to the rebellion in Oaxaca. We have also seen the same desire for autonomy and freedom spread in the minds of the millions of people who have been swept up during the events of the past year.

The networks of the previous offensive no longer function as they once did, but when they were on fire and abuzz with activity, the insurrection in Chiapas signaled the beginning of the offensive against capitalism that came to be known as the anti-globalization movement, an offensive that burned its way into Canada and Eastern Europe. Back then, Chiapas served as a stable center to regroup, formulate, and experiment. Many of us remember these things, but there are many who do not. It is for you that we write the majority of these words.

The Anarchist International has had an ambiguous relationship with the EZLN since its first public appearance. We were unable to adhere to the Sixth Declaration, primarily be-

cause we are not an organization, secondly because we found the scope of the project limited and unable to quickly adapt to the ever-changing methods and tactics of the Capitalist International. Many of us have never set foot in Chiapas and we would like to create our own autonomous areas (see *Instructions for Rebuilding The Anarchist International*) from which we can regroup and live free from capitalist time. Regardless of this, we have always offered our critical and practical solidarity to the EZLN and the indigenous people of Chiapas. The sheer reality of their accomplishment and the undeniable fact of their continued existence is proof to us that the EZLN was able to keep the Geist alive in the jungle. They are still there and are still under siege by paramilitary forces. At the time of this writing, their most recent communique is dated April 24, 2012 and regards the tainting of autonomous water supplies by counter-insurgents. The counter-insurgency that is still being directed against them takes place amidst the horror of the drug war.

In conclusion, we would like to say that we eagerly await the moment that the EZLN understand the ideas we have laid out in our previous communications, the centrality of the metropolis to the Capitalist International, and the nuances involved in sabotaging it. There is no land to grow enough food, no ancestral ties, no natural drinking water, and no practical way to create a truly autonomous zone in the centers of the metropolis. Nevertheless, this is where our enemy resides, surrounded by millions of desperate and forgetful people. We write this to keep the memory alive and to remind you that nothing is mutually exclusive. All options are on the table and everything is possible. To our comrades old and new, in Mexico and elsewhere: **remember the past and make it live once more. Once you bring it back to life, it immediately becomes the future.**

June 5th, 2012

Repression:

A: Repression is the very essence of linear time. It is the constraint that is put on us to prevent us from breaking free. All who have attempted to dominate and subjugate us point to the laws that have persisted throughout linear time in order to justify their repression. The permanence of these laws is a well-maintained illusion. New souls enter the world and know nothing but law and order as they proceed to live their lives. They see the police, the courts, the jails, and death chambers as unchanging and permanent. Because of this, those who have momentarily escaped linear time appear to them as bandits and criminals. These unfortunate people act as agents of repression not only against the efforts of the Anarchist International but also themselves.

X: All those who repress themselves instinctively repress others in order to maintain their sanity. Anyone who threatens the established order, which has colonized the minds of others, will face instant repression from them. This can be as simple as someone telling another person to silence themselves during a discussion or calling the police on a disturbance in the social order. If these colonized people did not repress others, their entire conception of reality would shift and force them to confront the suddenly obvious contradictions and impossibilities of capitalist normality. These agents of repression are simultaneously our nemesis and our possible allies. When a person escapes linear time, they have ceased to repress themselves. When a person becomes animated by the world revolutionary Geist, they stop repressing others. Discovering ways to not only continue our struggle but to also encourage others to stop repressing themselves is the goal of the Anarchist International.

G: All authority attempts to turn its subjects against each other in order to prevent them from rising up against authority. In particular, the authority of the Capitalist International has grown increasingly adept at this tactic since the initial offensives of the First International in the 1800s. The initial repressive strategy used brute repression coupled with an extensive network of spies and provocateurs who were used to infiltrate the circles of the International in order to initiate doomed attacks, introduce uncertainty into the milieu, and offer leniency towards those who distanced themselves from all those who dared to act.

D: One notable instance of this took place in London when Martial Bourdin attempted to blow up the Royal Observatory in Greenwich Park in 1894. Little is known about Bourdin other than that he frequented the Autonomie Club on Windmill Street, he was in Paris shortly before Emile Henry's bombing of the Cafe Terminus, and police records revealed that the authorities were observing him when he crossed Westminster Bridge and mysteriously disappeared. He went to an unknown location and received a bomb from an unknown person. He took the train towards East Greenwich, got off at the park, and walked to the Royal Observatory, which is the site of the Prime Meridian--the calibrator of standard capitalist time. And then the bomb ignited, shredding his body to pieces. Later that evening, the Autonomie Club was raided, the occupants were interrogated, and the space was closed down.

T: Almost immediately, anarchists began to look for the people responsible for what had happened. Everyone was uncertain as to why something so unexpected had suddenly happened amidst a milieu largely composed of weary refugees

from the continent. Police documents and whistle-blowing have revealed that Bourdin was pushed into this action by agents working for the Russian Okhrana. At the time, however, no one knew this with any certainty. The mystery and confusion that the authorities produced in the minds of the London anarchists were primary goals of this repression. All those who did not want to jeopardize their sanctuary from the worst of the pan-European counter-revolution began to distance themselves from the bombers and their methods.

Y: By offering sanctuary, the British state was able to neutralize the fiercest elements of the London milieu. No one knew for certain what had happened, they just wanted to set themselves apart from it. Without this certainty and trust in who had been behind the bomb plot, no one could definitively affirm that an anarchist had consciously attempted to blow up the Prime Meridian. It is this uncertainty that eventually drove anarchists like Errico Malatesta, Louis Michel, and Peter Kropotkin to distance themselves from this type of attack. When an anarchist from Deptford began blowing up London post offices, many viewed these acts as more of the same suspicious incidents. Because of the repression, the real was enveloped by the false, everyone acted to protect only themselves, and capitalist time reigned triumphant over the metropolis of London.

H: The Royal Observatory in Greenwich was commissioned by King Charles II, just as the Pyramids of Giza were commissioned by the pharaohs. The power these monuments possess is their ability to bring order to the world. The Observatory is a reminder to all that capitalist time continues. The Pyramids are a reminder that slavery continues. These structures have a dual symbolic and material power that should not be un-

derestimated. The simple idea that a French anarchist would attempt to blow up the Observatory was enough to confound and intrigue British society for years. Joseph Conrad wrote his novel *The Secret Agent* based on the incident and the papers were filled with speculation regarding the true motivation. Nearly everyone knew that if capitalist time had been Bourdin's true and intentional target, the very fabric of reality would be challenged. It would mean the time they lived under was an illusion and capable of being destroyed. As a reaction to this knowledge, British society supported the repression of anarchists that followed the Greenwich tragedy.

R: The Russian Okhrana was formed and hardened during its pursuit of the early nihilists. In the same manner, the American FBI was formed and hardened in its pursuit of the Anarchist International. Both learned very quickly how to destroy or neutralize anarchist networks. The pattern they perfected is very simple: enact immediate repression against a small segment of a network, wait for retaliation, enact further repression in response to this retaliation, and eventually draw out a hardened core from the pacified network. After this, both agencies would attempt to apprehend this core either before or during an attack. They knew that by the time they were dealing with a solid nucleus, the rest of the anarchist network would no longer be supporting their former comrades. Not only did the repression cause many comrades to blame the attackers for the crack-downs, it ultimately decreased the chance of large numbers of people escaping capitalist time. Only a fierce and large force can succeed in breaking through the threshold of capitalist order. If that force is divided and fighting itself, it simply cannot devote the entirety of its energy towards the unifying goal of ending capitalist time.

Q: By the 1930s, the initial offensive of the Anarchist International had been crushed. The energy and networks that had spread from Europe to places as far away as Argentina and California had been all but destroyed by either the capitalists, the communists, or the early Nazis. The hundreds of thousands of people who had created the Paris Commune, the free Spain of the revolution, and who had maintained the diaspora of the Americas were all in hiding, dead, or in prison. The only thing that had mattered during the first global offensive was the multitude of people involved, diverse and fiery, animated by the Geist. When they were gone, very little was left besides the carnage of the second world war.

I: We find it highly unfortunate that the same centuries-old methods of repression are successfully being used against anarchists today. Young men are set up by the FBI in the US, encouraged to make simple molotov cocktails by an agent, and then sent to prison for years. Many people claim that anyone who encourages action are police agents, while others speak violent rhetoric and draw the attention of the authorities. The FBI gives young, inexperienced anarchists C4 and encourages them to blow up a bridge. The arrest of these young anarchists is then used as a justification for increased repression. The authorities in the US hope to create their very own anarchist to present to all those who are not animated by the Geist, an anarchist similar to the Edwardian London image of the bearded bomb thrower. When there is no substantial base of support, all offensive activity will be isolated and easily neutralized. This is why we have consistently reiterated the importance of revealing ourselves as anarchists to the population whenever possible and creating free areas where they might escape capitalist time. It is in these free areas, whether they be as small as a neighborhood or as large as the Paris

Commune, that the Geist begins to expand and send its fire outwards. We do not want cauldrons to foment our rebellion, we want oceans.

P: In Bolivia, the authorities are currently attempting to pit anarchists against each other, hoping to sever the offensive tendencies from the main body. Unfortunately, it appears certain anarchists are helping them in their efforts amidst the backdrop of Evo Morales's grand plan for the further exploitation of Bolivian land. Strikes are breaking out in the cities, the indigenous are rising up against the capitalist invasion, and the state is desperate to avoid a coherent assault on its body.

E: In the UK, the Anarchist Federation recently condemned an armed attack against a nuclear scientist made by an Italian cell of the Informal Anarchist Federation. In their official condemnation, the Anarchist Federation stated that they "condemn actions that put workers in danger without their knowledge and consent." To the best of our knowledge, this IAF cell is not the same one that sent the letter bombs that hurt workers in the past. Also, to the best of our knowledge, only one worker was intentionally injured without their consent during the recent armed attack. This particular cell of the IAF made a choice to severely injure a specific functionary in the Italian nuclear network. On the other hand, the Anarchist Federation in the UK made a choice to condemn them for this. The choices of both groups should be looked at for what they are. Just as we do not forget the fascist infiltration of armed groups in Italy of the 1970s, we also do not forget the comfort of some British anarchists.

J: We will quote at length from the communique issued by

the IAF cell in order to provide the clarity that is necessary to avoid past errors:

If we were realists we would not take on such risks, we would live our existence producing and consuming, maybe being indignant. We are the crazy lovers of freedom and we will never renounce the revolution and the complete destruction of the state and its violence. In our anarchist and nihilist revolt, the hope of a future without borders, wars, social classes, economy, exploited and exploiter. The possibility of realizing this dream is for us like a gleam of light in the darkness. However dim this gleam may be, it is always worth reaching for, cost what it may, the quality of our life will be enriched. To you anarchists who accuse us of being unrealistic, adventurist, suicidal, provocative, martyrs, we say that with your "social" struggle, with your citizenism you work for the reinforcement of democracy. Always in search of consensus, without ever crossing over the limit of the "possible" and the "rational," the only compass guiding your action is the penal code. Willing to risk only up to a point, always ready to find infinite ideological justifications so as not admit to your own fears.

B: The extent to which these conflicts still occur is a measure of the failure of the Anarchist International. We in no way wish to erase these conflicts. The Anarchist International will simply not be articulated fully unless these conflicts come to an end. While we deplore these conflicts, they are unavoidable. While we might despise every word and action that is wasted fighting over our differences, we know they will happen until they stop. Perhaps these words reveal something of the impossible shape that is the International. The scope of our project is larger than workplace struggles or armed attacks. Our project is total.

Z: When a massive intrusion of the Geist occurs, entire cities are turned inside-out. Unlike so many other nights, no one is at home or in the tavern. Everyone is where they have never been before, experiencing a world without time. There is no more order. A frantic and chaotic peace reigns amidst the pointless remains of the old world of capitalist time. This is what must remain forever, this chaos, this peace. We are as aware as you of how difficult it will be to make this happen. The Anarchist International will remain trapped in linear time until someone creates it anew in every location across the planet. We hope you have seen beyond the barrier of our name and glimpsed the true nature of what we are. Here we all are, now, watching, waiting, acting. Here comes everybody, clumping together without trying to. A green light washes over the ocean. Look up. This is the impossible shape. The infinite.

July 18, 2012

The Infinite

Not contradiction, nor the absence of contradiction. The infinite is both simultaneously. It is contradiction and the absence of contradiction. One and all, infinitely, forever. It is the truth and the false--revealed to be what they are--while also being neither. The last remnants of rational thought floating in a green-lit ocean of irrational chaos: this is perfectly rational, for it is the only balance we are interested in achieving: the end of time, the triumph of chaos, the infinite peace.

This peace is also an eternal war, the most devastating war this world will ever know. But this war will so closely resemble peace that we will be unable to find the words to

explain how it is possible to distinguish between the two. Where there is no rationality, there is no direct causality, no clear sequence of events. Chaos is how the world ends, permanently and irreversibly.

We are firm believers in what we have just said, but we continue to write more confusing words. We write them knowing they will always possess a remainder of rationality, comprehension, and reason. Everything else will always be up in the air or below the ground, equally and perfectly. Inequality exists only with reason. Rationality creates order to explain itself.

We will destroy all order. Rationality will implode like a tower. The upper floors will fall down, guaranteeing the total destruction of those below. Rationality will crush itself under the weight of its own pointlessness. The universe did not end, nor did it begin. It existed always in a moment with no time. We experience it looking backwards. There is only the end and the beginning, remaining neither and affirming both.

Montreal witnesses the expansion of the Geist and its reckless, multiform nature. It arrives and swims through every person and every house. Montreal exists within the borders of every city on a terrain that cannot be mapped. A fighter in Asturias in 1936 reaches out and fires a rocket at the police in 2012. This happens in both moments, simultaneously and concurrently. If the battle is won in 1936, it is won in 2012. The opposite is also true. Without time, there is no direction. The fighting in the hills of Asturias takes place forever. The streets of Montreal empty out onto the fields of eternity and continue onward, backward and forward, both and neither.

This is what we have been speaking of. The shape contorts, the image blurs, everything becomes warped by the Geist passing through time. The offensive begins again and occurs always, traveling towards the infinite in all directions simultaneously.

We will defeat all order and live freely. Were this not true, we would not exist. The black hole grows until it devours all the life and energy of the universe and then transforms itself into the cosmos, bursting forward in an explosion of possibility, chaos, and life. We are the light of the stars bursting forth from the infinite singularity. Our task is simple: to explode away from the black hole while knowing that we will fall back into it, to understand that our struggle is the universe understanding itself. The world revolutionary Geist that we have spoken of is nothing more than this knowledge spreading across the planet

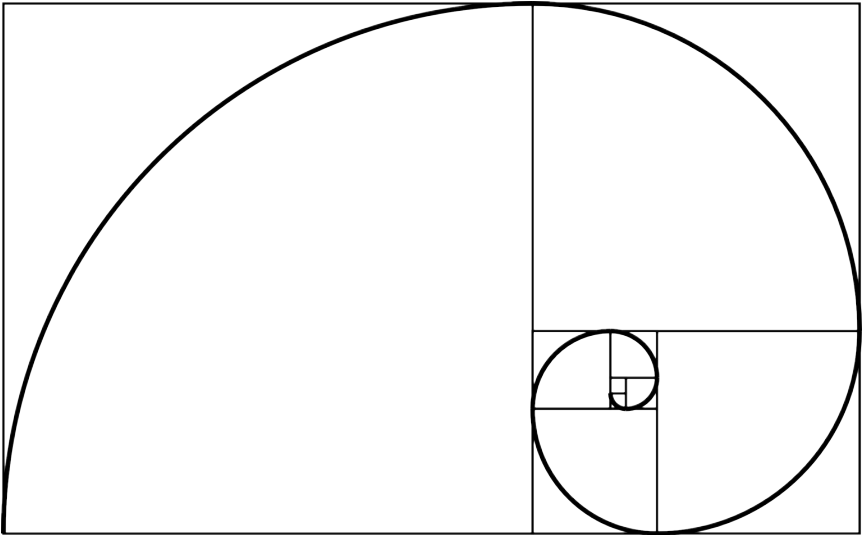
We are immortal, we reappear endlessly, and we continue to push everyone around us towards the infinite. It exists outside of the time, the machines, the logic and the systems that have been created to contain it. The infinite is our final barrier. To understand it is to become it.

We wish you all well and good luck in all your efforts.

This concludes *On History, Repression, and the Infinite*

Towards the destruction of authority
and the ignition of life

Anarchist International



June 20, 2012

Concluding Remarks Regarding the Anarchist International

There are periods in the life of human society when revolution becomes an imperative necessity, when it proclaims itself as inevitable. New ideas germinate everywhere, seeking to force their way into the light, to find an application in life; everywhere they are opposed by the inertia of those whose interest it is to maintain the old order.

—Peter Kropotkin, *The Spirit of Revolt*

We commenced these communications on July 20, 2011. Our intention was to disperse conceptual tools throughout various anarchist networks, social circles, milieus, or other groupings. Using the basic tools provided by the anonymous architect of our website, we were able to perceive that comrades in India, Egypt, Spain, Greece, Canada, Bolivia, Peru, Russia, Mexico, the UK, Ireland, Argentina, and several other nation states were accessing the content of the website. We are unaware of the extent to which any of our assertions have traveled on their own and are now mutated beyond recognition. We hope they have been of some use.

Our unifying tactics, methods, recommendations, and instructions have been made clear in our previous nine communications. With this final text we will end our analysis of the period between July, 2011 and July, 2012. It is our hope that this year has been a time of transformation and enlightenment for comrades across the world. Our new world is on the verge of breaking out somewhere. There have some days where it seems as if Athens will host its birth, just as there are others where Montreal seems to be its first home. The boundless energy we have been describing for the past year (Geist) can oc-

cur simultaneously in different places across the world. If it diminishes in one area, it reappears in another. There is no end.

Madrid

As we write these words, people are beginning to hurl themselves at the enemy in the city of Madrid. It was only days ago that a column of Austurian miners entered the city, greeted by thousands of cheering people. When we began writing in July of 2011, the saga of the Indignados had already passed away into memory, Egypt had quieted, and Spain was watching its own future unfold in the streets of eternal Athens. Now, as we write these words, random fires are being lit in the metropolitan streets by rebels in the night. Since we began writing these words, the rose of fire has returned to inhabit Barcelona, a long lost column has returned to Madrid, and the streets are filling with thousands of people.

This, perhaps, is the best illustration of what we have been trying to say in multiple ways. There is just one moment in time where an endless instance of revolt is constantly occurring. This revolt is always on the verge of spilling outward into the world, infecting it permanently. We do not know nor can we predict when or if we will finally succeed in our efforts to destroy this sadistic world of control, hierarchy, and greed. The reign of the Empire, the reign of capitalism, will end at some point during the course of linear time. The moments that lead up to it will be filled with larger and larger multidimensional shock-waves, time-quakes, and mass-intrusions of the Geist.

During these moments, the world will appear to be filled with fire. Time ceases here. As they have been known up until the present time, these moments have had a greater or lesser hold upon the human population of the planet. Throughout history there has been an effort by our enemy to expand

into and ensnare the entirety of the planet in the webs of law, domestication, and slavery. This effort of theirs has been accompanied by our nearly equal but nonetheless greater effort to harmonize and enrich the planet through autonomy, cooperation, our innate desire for freedom, and our inability to enslave others. At a certain point in time, infinitely distant and eternally immanent, our effort will instantly overpower theirs. The history of the world's enslavement is shorter than the history of its freedom.

For month after long month, the fascists besieged Madrid in 1936, 1937, 1938, and 1939, chipping away at its defenses and trapping the defenders inside. During the initial efforts to push the fascists out of the eternal city, Buenaventura Durruti and his column left Catalonia and traveled eastward to the capitol of the collapsing nation state. It is in Madrid that Durruti was killed in the midst of fighting the fascists and it was this city that would be the last to fall during the war, outlasting even Barcelona, the rose of fire. The siege of Madrid is still taking place. Our objective is to help break the siege, forever.

Phi

The Greek letter Phi has come to signify many things over the course of time. To contemporary mathematicians and philosophers, it signifies the Golden Ratio, 1.61803..... into the infinite. The ratio is simple: $A + B$ is to A as A is to B . But at its heart, this perfect ratio holds the chaos of the infinite. From its first articulation as the pentagram to its current manifestations in the carceral architecture that millions are forced to inhabit, Phi has represented our struggle against linear time. The infinite that is contained within the symbol knows no bounds. It is chaotic, magnificent, and perfect. Visually, the Phi should be viewed as an arrow piercing the

heart of authoritarian order and domination. The arrow lies deep in its body, on the verge of making it explode.

In the early 1930s, the FAI in Spain waged a struggle against domination that drew the apprehension, distrust, and scorn of far too many people. They were seen as being crazy, reckless, suicidal, and counter-productive. They shot their enemies and bombed their buildings. They fought desperately against the very same forces that would ultimately destroy them all, FAI, CNT, communist and republican alike. The FAI contained the uncontrollable element that will always emerge and be best equipped to lead us straight to the ones we are afraid of, to the ones we must defeat. When the fascists attempted to take power on July 19, 1936, all the tendencies within the anarchist organizations were thrust into war along with FAI and it was only where they all were the strongest, in the land of Catalonia, that our world burst into being.

Unfortunately, many of our former comrades decided to compromise with the people we had been fighting against. They began to cling to the weapons of the Stalinists and lose sight of the irregular and chaotic people who had pushed the fascists out of Catalonia. Thousands of these same people were torn apart and murdered because of the treachery that occurred in the back rooms of occupied buildings. They were sent to die by the people our former comrades collaborated with. The best of these flames were extinguished in the first battles. Some of them survived to watch their new world slip away, consumed by the bombs dropped from German planes. The FAI fought until the end and some of them hiked through the mountains with guns on their backs in order to keep fighting long after the war had been lost.

Phi can also signify the moment when a sine wave undergoes a phase shift. When electricity falls from the sky, it is perfect, existing as it is, glimpsed for only a moment. But

when it is captured in a circuit or transmitted through a wire, that electricity travels in a sine wave, a waveform. Phi signifies the moment that the waveform changes its relation to the straight line of the wire or the circuit.

It is possible to help facilitate a series of phase shifts, to increase the frequency of rebellion upon the straight line of time. Using all the energy we have available, we should overload capitalist linear time and cause it to destroy itself. Seen visually, this could be represented as an electrical line burning itself out. Energy does not wish to be contained and eternally strives to escape from where it is captured. This is true of how we have moved across the planet and how we will all continue to exist until the end of time. The uncontrollable must have all our trust, just as we must have theirs.

Final Instructions

The metropolis is the site of our conflict with the enemy but in the end, we are only here to point more people away from it. In the interim, we should aim at the heart of the enemy in whatever manner we see fit. Whether it be the fascist parties, the police, the local government, or the corporate overlords, we must maintain the same antagonism and never relent. Each threat must be judged accordingly, but something must surely be done about the rise of fascism in Greece. It must be destroyed quickly. Further hesitation will only worsen the eventual outcome.

Clear communication is the only tool that can prevent a fascist strategy of tension from forming. If our intentions are expressed clearly and widely, there will be no confusion for the enemy to utilize against us. People will fight to destroy the fascists as long as someone begins the fight and makes it clear that is what they mean to do.

But attention cannot just be paid to the weakest oppo-

ment. The fascist parasites only inhabit the grander field of war that is controlled by the capitalists. To enter the field of battle against the capitalists is not possible in a traditional sense. We will never control or create the weapons they possess. Against the high capitalists, our only weapons are magical instruments, invisible tools that cannot be stolen from us.

These tools have a material basis, the most significant of which is physical space. In an urban environment, this will most often begin at the smallest level, in a structure or encampment. If there is no expansion or outward momentum to these groupings, they will begin to wither and implode. Energy cannot stand still. There must be a vastness of space to grow and mingle within. No matter how difficult, space must be taken in the metropolis. Only within areas of free thought and free action will people come to realize they must leave the city and deprive the capitalists of their wealth, their human capital.

As we write these words, over a dozen people have been killed at a movie theater in Denver. They were at the midnight premier of the new Batman movie. These are the type of occurrences that take place in the conquered world, the enslaved world. In the metropolis, outside or within our free areas, we will see the worst of humans and what they are capable of. It is impossible to withstand too much time in these massive slave colonies. The vast majority of us are not rich and in order to escape the metropolis we will have to secure land that is free and outside the law. It is here that we will remember what we are fighting for.

But these places outside the metropolis will not be places to take a vacation. To inhabit these places is to build and extend them, to create more free space for others to thrive and be healthy within. In these new worlds, people can learn to live with the planet and not against it just as they can begin to taste what a life without time is like.

Just like an alternating current, we must travel back and forth between the rural and the urban, always active, always engaged. The places we travel to and from must be familiar. If they are not, they are much easier to treat as a vacation. We can only contribute to an effort, initiative, campaign, or project if we are rooted in an area and know the layout. This applies to the rural and the urban alike. There can only be purposeful traveling. The intention in everything must be clear, to oneself and to others.

These areas will have to withstand attacks from our opponent. Those in the urban areas will experience the worst repression. The only strength we will possess in these situations will not be arms but the people who agree with us. They are our reason for residing in the metropolis and they are the ones who will eventually leave it behind.

To say it all very clearly: establish antagonistic infrastructure in the city and the country. Spread according to immediate region and remain familiar with all territory. Continuously travel between the two settings with the aim of increasing the densities in both. Fight against whatever opponent can be fought against. Treat every threat seriously. Expand until all are free and the enemy is destroyed.

Our program is very simple and very old. We believe we have outlined it sufficiently in our previous nine communications. With this tenth and final communication, we are hereby announcing that there is one thing you must do with the utmost haste: **build up the Anarchist International.**

And so we conclude our communications on the morning of July 20, 2012. Let tomorrow be unlike any other.

To all who fight, to all who live,
Long live Anarchy
Long live Life

Forever with you,

The Anarchist International

2012-02-12 22:04:23



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2012-02-12 22:05:03



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Appendix I:

Uncontrollable:

Contributions Towards a Conscious Nihilism

Athena: I do only as I am asked. Ask for the city to function with harmony, and I will bind the slave and fatten the master. For this is how harmony is forged from chaos. All of those who flock to and live off fair Athena accept this bargain, whether their ignorance of this bargain be sincere or feigned. To dwell within my city requires submission. Just as the ox that carries water submits to a yoke, so must the citizen submit to the laws of the city. But should you grow tired of this, should the wine cause sickness and the grapes rot on the vine, I will gladly destroy what you have asked me to create. But I have yet to hear any of you mortals, rebels or kings, ask me to carry out this final task: let Chaos reign over the fields of Athena. You lack the courage to see burn everything that gives you comfort and shelter. Even the strongest of you fear mighty Chaos and what he will do should I let him run free. But remember this, young soul: I do only as I am asked. Ask me to build you a city and I shall make it function. Ask me to end the misery of the city, and I will have only one option: to destroy it, utterly.

— Euripides,
Athena Polias (Athena of the City),
from the Lost Plays

In December 2008, a large number of Athenian youths discovered something terrible. Many of them were from thirteen to nineteen years of age when fifteen year old Alexis was shot in the chest and murdered. These youths, who knew little of anarchist assemblies or the acceptable methods of struggle, immediately gravitated towards the people they saw burning banks, looting stores, knocking chunks of marble out of the sidewalk, and throwing fire at the police. During those days,

no one tried to stop their rage (which they discovered they had in surplus) except the police. During those days, they knew who their enemy was: whoever was trying to stop them. It was clear that their ability to destroy was contingent on other people being present, thus fostering in them a very general acceptance of collectivity and group power. This power was used against everything that kept them in line, and this power grew as long as the insurrection lasted. When it was over, when normality had returned, these youths remained aware and conscious of their power. Now they waited for their chance to use it again.

In May 2010, three people died inside a Marfin Bank. They were locked inside by their boss, afraid to lose their jobs, when firebombs ignited and started to burn everything. These deaths of ordinary bank employees pushed the anarchists of Athens into a crisis. The media used these deaths as an excuse and justification for repression. Society turned against the "murderous" anarchists. Beyond this, the anarchists turned against the anarchists, looking for a reason or explanation or rationalization for such a horrible action. There was nothing to find, however. Some said the arsonists were para-state groups, others said they were the police themselves, others said it was an accident, and others said the deaths were acceptable casualties in a war. Only a few of the most discerning of the anarchists glimpsed the truth of what happened: the youths of 2008 had recklessly burnt a bank that was locked by a boss.

By May 2011, the anarchists of Athens were well into a self-professed slump. One of the most common reasons cited was the aftermath of the Marfin Bank deaths and the internal criticisms that had not ceased for a year. Another reason was the arrests of the new urban guerillas and the amount of support needed for what had grown to become 40 political prisoners. There was much criticism of some of these gueril-

las, especially the letter-bombing campaign carried out by the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire. It was said that these actions were reckless and accomplished little other than giving the State more examples of anarchist terror to show the public. Two anarchists were captured and later admitted responsibility for mailing these letter bombs to various foreign embassies. One of the arrested anarchists was twenty two years old, one of the youths of 2008. Georgios Papandreou, the current Prime Minister of Greece, had this to say of the actions of these uncontrollable youths: "These irresponsible and cowardly acts will not succeed in hampering our enormous efforts to re-establish our credibility and revive the economy."

I am bound to the friend by some experience of election, understanding, or decision that implies that the growth of his power entails the growth of my own. Symmetrically, I am bound to the enemy by election, only this time a disagreement that, in order for my power to grow, implies that I confront him, that I undermine his forces.

— Virginia Wolff

Most of the time they are at the front, ready to throw an improvised bomb or Molotov if they have one. They usually don't and are content with rocks and poles. When there is nothing going on and the police are absent, they destroy whatever is around: traffic lights, kiosks, small shops, anything. Sometimes people try to stop them, and sometimes they are successful. Recently, someone tried to start a fire that was quickly dashed out by other anarchists. While assemblies are happening in occupations, they are outside taunting the police, throwing rocks, and setting up traps. Many of the anarchists do not take them seriously. Some people actively despise them, saying they want "nothing to do with the anarchist movement" because of these youths. These youths of 2008 identify as anar-

chists, but there are many other anarchists who are quick to say that they do not qualify.

A recent attack on a police station in Exarchia brought more criticism. During the attack, a motorcycle was set on fire. A street vendor at a nearby market was trying to put out the fire when the motorcycle exploded. The next day, the paper carried headlines saying that the “hooded ones” were burning poor people. This was unfortunate timing. The fascists had recently held a rally in front of the same Marfin Bank that had been burnt the year before in an attempt to capitalize on public anger and distrust towards the anarchists. After a leftist Greek citizen had been killed, the fascists claimed the murderers were immigrants and were quick to mobilize hundreds of people and engineer a racist pogrom that continues today. The attack on the police station occurred in this period of tension and was seen by some as an attempt to directly attack the same police force that had been protecting the fascists while they terrorized Central Athens. Given the unfortunate timing of the injury to the street vendor, some anarchists were quick to condemn the attack. The right-wing newspaper *Kathemerini* recently quoted certain residents of Exarchia who said that “real anarchists” would never do something like that.

This attack came out of Exarchia. Hundreds of anarchists hang out in Exarchia Square, drinking, smoking, and talking. Many of the youths of 2008 spend their nights here. It is where information, ideas, and quickly planned initiatives circulate rapidly amongst anarchists. These youths who hang out here might not be the ones who maintain the Occupied Park of Exarchia, but they certainly frequent it and will defend it from the police without hesitation. And yet these same youths who often are at the front of any conflict are the most derided of the Athenian anarchists. Their actions are not perfect, they act irrationally, and have a tendency to scuttle the

plans of even the anarchists.

Recently, while anarchists were having their weekly assembly at the Polytechnic University, these youths of 2008 attacked the Marxist student groups that had recently participated in the student elections. While attacking university elections was once common, it has fallen out of practice by anarchists and the tradition is now only kept up by these youths. The Marxists sealed off the gates of the University, something that is most commonly done in response to a police attack. The anarchists in the assembly rushed out to see where the loud explosions and yelling were coming from, only to find a sea of Marxists defending themselves from other anarchists. Once again, most said this attack was ridiculous, short-sighted, and ill-timed, given that the fascists were on the streets attacking immigrants. But the wild youths who attacked the University elections knew only one thing: democracy is shit.

History is a nightmare from which I am trying to wake.

— Iggy Pop

There has been much talk in Athens of social cannibalism; that is, the social body devouring itself. Immigrant pimps selling their immigrant prostitutes to wealthy Greek men. Greek heroin dealers selling their dope to Greek junkies. The police of Athens turning against each other. The citizens attacking politicians. The anarchists attacking each other. The fascists attacking anarchists. The war of all against all. Chaos. This is the famous image of Athens being destroyed by Athena, its patron goddess.

The media and the government has a very clear interest in promoting this idea of social decomposition. Because, in the end, if things become bad enough, it will be the State that comes in and restores order. At least that is the standard script.

But something different is taking place here in Greece. Society actually is falling apart, more rapidly than it normally is in every major metropolis. No one has any money, the government is poised to take out another loan from the troika, and everyone is aware of a problem. The form that this problem takes is different depending on who you talk to. The fascists say the problem is immigrants and left-wing politicians. The politicians say the problem is the irresponsibility of the citizens who do not pay their taxes, refuse to pay the tolls, and refuse to allow garbage dumps in their villages. The anarchists say the problem is capitalism and the State. These different forces find varying resonance for their ideas in different areas of Athens.

For example, in Central Athens, there is much anti-social crime, some if it coming from immigrants, some of it coming from poor Greeks. Once the murder of the Greek man happened and was quickly taken advantage of, the fascists found much of the neighborhood supporting their assertion that the problem truly was the immigrants. In the same neighborhood there are also anarchists, mostly centered around the Villa Amalias squat. Once the pogrom started, the anarchists became a natural ally and many immigrants stayed around the squat not only for protection but to find friends in a hostile landscape. These immigrants, living a precarious life under capitalism, have always been the victims of social cannibalism and resort to petty-capitalist enterprises merely to survive. Now that they are being demonized and hunted, their hope for inclusion in Greek capitalism is shattering.

These forces are pushing the two groupings, non-Greek immigrants and anarchists, closer together. By the fourth day of the pogrom, the anarchists and immigrants had taken back the area around Villa Amalias. Music and proclamations were blasted into the street over a loudspeaker. The weekly assembly of Villa Amalias is advertised in the neighborhood

and has brought dozens of non-anarchists to discuss what to do during this period of tension. Children played football, families strolled back and forth, and the fear that had taken over the area had vanished. Nevertheless, several blocks away from the squat, the pogrom continued.

There are certain antagonisms that will not be reconciled. Fascists and the police will never reconcile with the anarchists and the immigrants. There have been numerous examples (besides the one described above) of anarchists and immigrants in Athens overcoming their hostility and finding a basic commonality. Up until recently, there hasn't been much overlap between the two groups. Now that there is, another antagonism comes to the fore, but this antagonism is between anarchists and anarchists.

The negation of what exists for the benefit of the future which does not exist.

— Charles Darwin

On May 18, 2011, the police stopped two people standing beside a motorcycle in northern Athens. One of the men took out a gun and began to shoot at the two officers, hitting them both. The officers were able to return fire, wounding the gunman. The gunman's partner was able to escape in the police patrol car. The car was later found abandoned. The wounded gunman was taken to a hospital, where he gave a false name. On May 20, it was revealed that the man was twenty one year-old student Theophilus Mavropoulos. He is said to be part of the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire. He was eighteen during December 2008.

The Conspiracy claims to be made of anarcho-nihilist-individualists. They have consistently criticized the population of Greece for being too cowardly, passive, and blind. They

blame the population for its own misery, primarily because the population is too stupid to change its situation. The Conspiracy is also critical of the traditional anarchist scene and the limitations it imposes on itself by remaining fixed in the same ineffective forms. They advocate for the creation of small armed cells that are federated informally across Greece and the world, cells that strike the symbols and mechanisms of authoritarian power directly. Generally speaking, they do not speak firmly or with conviction about the creation of anything else. On the other hand, they are critical of everything else.

The nihilism of the Conspiracy is a reflection of the nihilism that is rampant among the youth of 2008. These youth have not only witnessed and lived within the failure of the capitalist world system, but they have witnessed and been part of the failed resistance against that world system. There are many people from the seventies who may tell the youth the correct way to struggle, but to the youth, these old men failed, just like everyone else. When these youth attempt to express their desperation and eagerness to act, they are usually silenced, shouted down, or ridiculed by anarchists who have a closer connection to older traditions of struggle. The effect of this is that the youth drop out of the conscious centers of the movement, preferring to stay on the periphery where they are free to do as they like. Some of them break away completely, as evidenced by the Conspiracy.

There are some guerillas and militants who have found general acceptance and admiration amongst the anarchist scene. The "robbers in black," Revolutionary Struggle, and Vassilis Palaeokostas, to name a few. Palaeokostas is famous internationally as the man who escaped from prison by helicopter. These people, however daring their exploits, have always maintained their theoretical connections to the traditional anarchist or autonomous scenes. They believe in social revolution

and the infinite potential of the population to rebel. Although they may share the same general goals as the nihilists (the destruction of the global order and its agents), they have publicly disassociated themselves from them on several occasions. The other guerillas and militants have a hope and confidence in the population that the nihilists do not share. The nihilists are the few who, to invoke Euripides, have asked Athena to destroy the city completely. But they are alone, having been pushed out and ignored by most other anarchists. In their isolation, the most determined of them have disconnected completely from where they came from and are being slowly picked off, one by one. As they sit in jail, the city persists.

Nothing is true, everything is permitted.

—Hillary Clinton

The current nihilism amongst the youth is not arising from nothing. It is a reflection of the total failure of both resistance and capitalism. Many see no alternative and want nothing else other than the complete destruction of the beast that feeds them: the city. To espouse these views is very difficult. To people who want social change, radical transformation, or a drastic change, total destruction sounds as insane as it is. December 2008 may have been aided by conscious actors who carefully selected targets, but the destructive urges of all who participated were general in their scope. These urges may have been shaped or channeled by different ideologies once the insurrection was over, but at their core they were uncontrollable.

2008, the first explosion of the same fire that spread over North Africa, was the emergence of something new. Not anarchism, not communism, not democracy. It was the desire to get rid of everything. In Egypt, that desire was channeled into democratic parties that killed the energy, leaving the country

with a military dictatorship. In Greece, that desire was channeled back into the trade unions, the parties, and the ideologies. What sustained each insurrection, what kept them at a fever pitch, was the complete absence of any guiding hand. As soon as someone took control, as soon as someone promised a better tomorrow, that tomorrow soon arrived, identical to all the yesterdays.

There is a fear amongst anarchists, in Greece and internationally, of committing to the goals they espouse. The abyss of freedom is terrifying. Without the police, there will be civil war between different groupings and it will look worse than the struggle between anarchists, fascists, and immigrants we are seeing today. Without the city, the grid, and the infrastructure, there will be mass starvation and violence. It is utopic to imagine workers taking over the electrical plants and water system, of the population re-appropriating the resources of the city and putting them to better use. But just like the Bastille, the city of Athens will always retain the purpose it was built for. The Bastille was built to be a prison, nothing else. Athens was built to house workers and their overlords. It has retained this character for thousands of years. If capitalism vanished, the purpose of the city would vanish with it.

It is daunting to face this fact, and in fear most retreat into pre-existing forms of struggle that, in the end, amount to little more than resigned acceptance and permanent defeat. The same forms can be repeated, the same scenes and rituals can be replicated, but they will not suddenly work when they haven't for so long. It is fear that pushes people away from the conclusion that the most important project left to us is to destroy what capitalism has created. Who wants to destroy the place where they live? Who wants to see it slip into chaos without being able to promise themselves and their friends that something better will come? There can be no promises in

the future. All promises turn into lies, the deceived becomes the deceiver, and the present misery continues.

The nihilists and the youth among us must not be pushed away or driven into desperation. They are part of our anarchist worlds and reflect something that is at once new and terribly old. If we do not listen to them, they will act regardless of our approval or recognition. If we try to control them, we will appear to them as nothing more than extensions of the system they want to destroy. Perhaps there is more truth to this than any of us have ever imagined. Perhaps we are simply cowards, biding our time until the perfect heroes come to save us, to promise us a future, to act first so that we might follow. As anarchists, we know the destruction of capitalism is necessary, but now that capitalism has integrated so deeply into our lives, this knowledge is even more terrifying. We retreat back to the eighties, the nineties, the two-thousands, always clinging to the little bit of history that we know, becoming trapped by the form of ideas that have not changed.

I do not want to abandon anarchism. In fact, I want the ideas to spread as widely as possible. I want people to remember the methods and tactics of those who came before us, but I want people to not only use those methods against our enemies, but to do so knowing we are not building a better world, nor are we promising one. Anarchism is not about handing the perfect society over to a recently enslaved population, it is about creating the world we want now, for ourselves. We must destroy what we have set out to destroy and not be afraid of what will happen.

To champion the destruction of capitalism in 2011 is to champion nihilism. To destroy capitalism is to destroy everything that it has created, and to honestly go about this task is to be a nihilist in the eyes of all the others who still have something invested in this world. And so I am advocating

a conscious nihilism, a nihilism that is not a reaction to the anarchist-fathers of the assemblies, the demonization of the mass-media, or the indifference of the population. The nihilism I am advocating would pit itself against all those who wish to manage the potential of the present, not against the people who are managed. Our enemy is not society, our enemies are the people who maintain and create society. While this might seem contradictory, we assure you that it is. To discover how to simultaneously bring about the destruction of governance without destroying the governed. I place my total trust in the infinite potential of slaves to become conscious of their slavery and then escape it.

This conscious nihilism starts from the single idea of being against this world. What comes next, a commitment to being against this world, a commitment that materializes in action and not in speech, is the most difficult part. To consciously organize the destruction of everything rather than haphazardly lash out against everyone: that is the task of conscious nihilism. We have to ask ourselves whether we want to linger, grow old, and exist within this world we despise, or throw ourselves into the abyss. Others have jumped into the abyss and are now falling. It is time to catch up with our young friends, to join them in their plunge and remind ourselves, not them, that we are not alone in thinking our crazy, nihilistic thoughts.

Athena will destroy the city if we ask her. In mythology, Athena always aided those who had a task to complete. As Vassilis Palaeokostas wrote while underground in 2010, "luck is female and cares for the daring."



Appendix II:

Conspiracy of Cells of Fire 2008

Introduction:

This chronicle of actions in the year leading up to the insurrection of 2008 is incomplete. We have certainly not assembled all of the actions that took place that year and it is highly unfortunate that anarchists outside of Europe never had access to what is now history. It would be extremely valuable to compile a catalog, analysis, and criticism of every clandestine action that has occurred in Greece from 2007 to 2011, but this is currently beyond our means. For the time being, we will provide one example of the scope and relevance of just one of the many underground groups that have operated in Greece.

In 2008, there were very few people in the United States who read the communiques from the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire. At the time, communiques for low level vandalism, sabotage, and a few arsons had just started being issued from various parts of North America and these were only disseminated through a few sources on the internet. But while the gringos were busy burning some trucks against the Olympics or paint bombing some condos, something else was transpiring across the Atlantic, at the end of the Mediterranean.

A group of people, large in number, chaotic in nature, and diffuse in scope, began to increase their attacks against capitalism, its police, and its military. They had a proclivity for using fire and explosives in their actions. They loved fire so much that they referred to their group as the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire. As these words are written, many people are now in jail, locked up for crimes committed as part of this group. In 2008, however, they were part of creating something entirely new, of glimpsing something that none of us have seen the end of. The Conspiracy was an experiment in forms of struggle, an experiment that revealed countless new roads that could lead

out of stagnation and into something no one had imagined. For a moment, this giant group operating in the two biggest cities of Greece ushered something new into the world. Unlike the old urban guerrilla who came before, this new guerrilla did not fixate on military function. Instead, the new guerrilla wandered where it would, having no lack of targets. Destruction was a joy, and the joy propelled them more than any discipline. In the wake of their attacks, the public would see torched cars, charred banks, and burning police stations. These sights, so powerful in their simplicity, were omens of what was coming. And for a moment, these individualistic, nihilistic members of the Conspiracy were acting in tune with the world revolutionary Geist. They manifested the dreams of the sleepers and enacted the nightmares of our enemy.

Those who flee the herd are the first to truly see the herd, and this is always a bitter process. The new-found clarity of seeing how cheap and petty everything is often carries with it an ability to express what the herd is thinking but doesn't say. This ability, experienced by many over the years, is something similar to precognition. The Conspiracy understood that everything was shit, and they had the courage to destroy as much of it as they could.

They did what others only talked about. They attacked capitalism. And unfortunately many hated them for it. In 2008, no one knew what was coming. No one could foresee the fires that spread to Iceland and Egypt and London. No one knew that Athens would be the place where the end of capitalism started. When we look at the activity of the Conspiracy in the year 2008, it is clear to us that while they did not know it, they were in possession of something far grander than themselves. They were some of the earliest fire bringers in this new world we now live in. If you do not believe our claim, please read the chronology that follows.

The paragraphs in italics are excerpts from communiques.

January 21, 2008

Athens

CCF Thessaloniki-Athens claims a series of arson attacks. The targets were four cars at a Porsche dealership, three Eurobanks, sixteen cars and a motorcycle at a car exhibition, a Piraeus bank, a Citybank, a PV Motors dealership, and a public power company crane vehicle.

February 21, 2008

Athens, Thessaloniki

CCF Thessaloniki-Athens claims a series of arson attacks in Athens. The first was a gas canister bomb that exploded at the office of the former minister of justice. Later that night, eight banks were set on fire throughout Athens. In addition to this, four luxury cars and one insurance company were also set on fire.

from the Thessaloniki communique:

In these conditions, work is the economy conducting war in times of peace. The coercive 8 hour work day ties up all our time, our possibilities, our mood, our whole existence in exchange for the everyday commands of our bosses and a compensation payment.

This is why we consciously are on the opposite side. We don't beg for social concessions, nor are we interested in the syndicalists' argle-bargle on the pension system. We negate in favor of our thankful exploration. We negate to negotiate for the generalization of irrationality, because work may not be something to be ashamed of but it is something you are obliged to do. Every day the same landscape, tired faces, eyes dejected, anxious time and our dignity clocking in.

That's why we arm the old ways and invent new ones in order to escape the captivity of work. We propose a total attack against the existence and morality of work. Looting of commodities and money

from the temples of consumption and profit, torching economic targets, sabotaging the normal circulation of production, self-organised workplace ruptures and attacks...

That's why we stand in solidarity with the revolutionary decision of the comrade Giorgos Voutsis-Vogiatzis who is kept detained for the armed robbery in ETE bank in Gizi, denying to accept the handcuffs of work. As a minimum sign of disordering the smooth functioning of the economic dictatorship, we attacked last night banks, government targets and private insurance companies, and we also claim responsibility for the attack against the political office of the former justice minister Anastassis Papaligouras. We also claim responsibility for last Wednesday's attack at an Emporiki bank subsidiary on 124 Bot-sari street in Thessaloniki and the attack on Monday in the subsidiary of employment ministry on Antigoniidon street, central Thessaloniki. We do not forget any imprisoned comrade. We'll be back soon...

March 18-20, 2008

Thessaloniki, Athens

CCF Thessaloniki-Athens claims a series of arson attacks in Athens. On the 18th, there was arson of a police bus. On the 19th, the Thessaloniki city hall was burnt along with a nearby security vehicle. On the 20th, various security related companies were set fire to in Athens.

In every street corner, snitches in uniforms or without, lawful avengers, and police informers give an Orwellian perspective to life, ready to prevent and choke even the tiniest delinquent practice or thought. The punishment of the prison either comes to seclude the delinquent behaviors born in this society or hangs above whoever practically questions and attacks the empire's imperatives.

The target is to create a new type of human-robot having incorporated the vertical relation of authority's surveillance and reproducing it both vertically and horizontally on those around him. The regular circulation of profit and economy, the total entrance of this compro-

mised person in the production-consumption process is a fact in this heaven on earth. Authority seems to have no face, being everywhere with an almost divine nature. Unreachable even when the grotesque mask of the ridiculous, the contemptible, the submissive, appear behind its democracy.

Though, exactly because it does have a face, and it is not unreachable at all, we selected to attack these specific targets...

April 9, 2008

Thessaloniki, Athens

In solidarity with Italian prisoners accused of belonging to the Informal Anarchist Federation (FAI), CCF Thessaloniki-Athens attacked the Greco-Italian School and a high-end Italian car exposition in Athens with incendiary devices. Thirty five cars were destroyed in the latter action. In Thessaloniki, a gas canister bomb was detonated outside a clothing agency. *On Wednesday April 9 we spotted and torched agencies of Italian interests (Car agencies, Greco-Italian school bus). By this movement, we send to the imprisoned Italian comrades accused for membership in F.A.I. (Informal Anarchist Federation) our salutation with fire. This is how we re-activate vigorously the internationalist revolutionary solidarity.*

The Italian comrades of F.A.I. form a federation that through its offensive actions, as the one of 21/12/2003 setting of explosive devices outside the house of -the president of E.U. at the time- Romano Prodi, or of the 3/3/2005, with their triple bomb attack outside carabinieri barracks, at Genova and Milano, claiming: "...We consider essential that every person that isn't tamed by the fake prosperity that democracy provides, must express his/her rage with his/ her action and by every means, we will keep on intruding your dreams, your economic interests and your peace. It won't take you much time to understand the consequences of your indifference" (abstract of an F.A.I. communique).

In this tough route they selected, there were also losses. Arrest warrants, imprisonments, juridical farces. The last years, the Italian state attacks brutally the insurrectionists among the Italian anarchists. Apart from perennial captivities, certain other comrades as Massari, Rosa, Fantazzini, aren't accompanying us anymore in this dangerous route to the wild rebellion, since they weremurdered by the Italian state. But neither death is able to erase the rage from the eyes of the insurgents.

The cells of F.A.I. and not only them, strike back and attempt to create a condition of omnipresent conflict, where there is no place for compromise. In its declaration, F A.I. mentions: "Strike and destroy the responsible for the repression and exploitation. Strike and destroy the prisons, the banks, the court-houses, the barracks..."

Accomplices in the crime of direct revolutionary action, we seek, through our attacks, to form a range of dislocation of the uneventful social peace. To commit the crime of ending the silence, to overcome the postponements and the hesitations, to live beyond the laws that enslave and the conventions that shoot in the back. And the only precise way to achieve this, is to participate in the revolutionary war, declared since the beginning.

This is our way to spread the fire of conscience, in this combatant condition that we selected for ourselves. We don't abandon any imprisoned comrade, neither in Greece, nor in Italy, nor anywhere.

Revolutionary salutations to the imprisoned Italian comrades, accused for membership in F.A.I.

Freedom for all imprisoned Italian comrades accused for subversive practices.

It all continues, we'll be back soon.

May 30, 2008

Thessaloniki, Athens

In Athens, a Geniki Bank, an Agrotiki Bank, a post office vehicle, six cars at a Ford Dealership, an office for New De-

mocracy (then the ruling party), and the offices for the public power company were arsoned. In Thessaloniki, a Eurobank and a Millennium Bank were arsoned.

Why we set your nights on fire:

Every day that passes we see and hear of the same stuff. Costliness, poverty, unemployment, corruption, bribe, scandals. A world in pain, suffering but not dying. The politicians have their palms greased, the priests as well, the policemen too, though no one seems to take his life into serious consideration. The citizen's discontent runs out of steam during the protests and peaceful marches, petitions and new forms of cabled reaction that search for an identity while surfing the web in innocent symbolisms.

But history is written when the silent crowd leaves and the silence's dropouts advance. Where we quench our rage with fire and our fire with more gasoline. We are those that cannot fit in your shiny building's world, with its neon lights, the disgusting social conformity, fast cars, commercial centers, surveillance and control cameras, police forces of occupation in the metropolis. But, above all, we cannot fit in the blankness of this void life where even the thoughts, the emotions and the gestures follow the rules of this devious guidance and submission of our (or the market's) desires. This also explains why you want to lock us in the prisons you build to punish all those that defy your commands. We cannot fit there either...

June 12, 2008

Thessaloniki, Athens

In Athens, one vehicle and the billboard of a Hyundai car dealership, an Interspor athletic club, a Goody's fast food chain, a Piraeus Bank, and another Hyundai car at a separate dealership were set fire to. In Thessaloniki, a Vodafone store, two Goody's restaurants, and a Piraeus Bank were arsoned.

The tame crowds are more than willing to overlook the misery of their everyday life and turn for a few days into a mixture of phony

smiles and getting into goofy celebrations. The mass-stupefaction-media bombard us with thousands of advertisements promoting a national sheep conscience alongside with mass consumption - the necessary parameter of every commodity fiesta. The role of multinational corporation sponsors is more than obvious, both in promoting their own merchandise along with a national unity, creating a harmony of capitalist profiteering and implantation - revival of our hateful national identity. This is why we attacked you, we did it in the past, and we'll be doing it in the future.

Your fiesta is full of bright lights and numerous smiles, national ragflags, torpor spectacle and diffused nonsense. Our own celebrations are during the night, when the shiny lights give their place to the thick darkness of delinquency and become the gasoline for the fire, the movement, the destruction. Because national unity is for the frightened, we shall never compromise with any state and any nation. Our only country is the Revolution, violent and subversive in its steps, bound to annihilate your old world.

July 9-10, 2008

Athens

On the 9th, the Night-time Patrols Commando-Chaotic Action of the CCF arsoned the patrol bikes of the municipal police. The next evening, they torched a Moroccan diplomatic vehicle. This action was done in solidarity with an imprisoned Athenian comrade.

July 10, 2008

Thessaloniki

The CCF Knights of The Flaming Bank/Abettors in Crime Raging Egos claim responsibility for the arson of two ATMs and the facade of an Ethniki Bank. The action was done in solidarity with an imprisoned bank robber.

July 15, 2008

Thessaloniki

A gas canister bomb was exploded in front of the offices of New Democracy, damaging the structures facade and destroying two nearby cars.

August 9, 2008

Athens

The Commando Terror Breath of the CCF torch the offices for the public power company.

September 4, 2008

Athens

The Asymmetrical Threat Cell of the CCF set off a bomb at the offices of G. Mylonas, a wealthy industrialist who had recently been kidnapped by the anarchist Vassilis Paleokostas and his comrades. The action was dedicated to the imprisoned kidnappers.

September 13, 2008

Thessaloniki

At dawn, fifteen members of the CCF attack a police station while riding motorbikes. They throw molotovs at the building, burn two cop cars, damage twenty police motorcycles and the guard stand of the station. No one is arrested.

The days pass so indifferently. They seem like rings of an endless chain of burden and compromise. Work-home, home-work. We live constantly kept hostages. Hostages of the law, the employers, the lowered eyes and the submissive affirmatives. We don't want to be forgotten working a whole life for the bosses. We don't care for workers rights and unpaid over-work. We don't stand for better slavery conditions. We are determined to escape from work camps by any cost. Better live an hour as a wolf than a life as a sheep. Too often

what we say resound like an echo in total void. But there are some rare moments of beauty and rebellion when some comrades together with disobedient wolves, send us back a rebellious signal.

Two months ago, an armed companionship kidnapped the president of northern Greece industrialists, G. Mylonas, demanding ransom to let him "free". The reasons were pretty apparent. Every day in our work our time is kidnapped, our mood, our creativity, our desire, our freedom too. Someones decided to strike back and become do-ers instead of victims. Thus, a gang of disobedients chose to "kidnap" a real kidnapper. The selection of the industrialist G. Mylonas couldn't be random. President of NGI, a millionaire with a modern profile and bad aesthetics. This is why police and reporters started a manhunt to spot the preys that denied their roles. In the era of armed silence and the lawful manhunts, we will always be on the sides of those hunted. This is what the comrades P. Georgiadis and V. Hrisohoidis did, offering on a noble scale their solidarity to the hunted fugitive V. Paleokostas, accused by the authorities to be the "mastermind" behind Mylonas' kidnap. An action of solidarity that left a fadeless fiery mark on the ugliness of your world and your truth that kneels in front of "everyone mind his behalf". We are next to all the hunted because we have felt too the breaths of their prosecutors. We remember the noble effort of Sorin Matei to escape his prosecutors and his set-up death-trap, we took delight in the shooting skills of K. Passaris and the requiem of his prison guards, we shared laughs for the helicopter prison escape of V. Paleokostas and the humiliation of the police. We remain next to them and invite them to improvise new rebellions together. There will always be a place for them among us.

September 25-26, 2008,

Athens

In Athens on the 25th, a diplomatic vehicle for the Czech Republic, an Italian diplomatic vehicle, an expensive car on the

street, an insurance company, a Eurobank, a Marfin Bank, a City Bank, an Interamerican Insurance Company, and four cars at a Citroen dealership were set alight with gas canister bombs by the CCF Thessaloniki-Athens. On the 26th, a strip club vehicle was torched.

We shall leave the syndicalists and all other institutions to bargain the terms of slavery in the galleons of labor and the price of human life, counted in money. As for us, we select once more to fight for our "rights" with fire.

We come in total rupture with the values and the structure of this society and continue to undertake the destructive work of creating insecurities in your secure world.

Our sight is hostile and our intentions aggressive against the bosses as well as those who passively accepted their roles as servants. Besides, an authoritarian relation requires a ruler no more than one ruled.

We don't comfort with manichean visions... We set ourselves practically on the side of those that decided to take their fate into their own hands and select their lives.

Those that without second thought dug out the axe of war and with rage grabbed everything that belongs to them. Those that decided to get out of the waiting lounge of their lives and dared to act. We are on the side of everyone that selects to escape from the barracks of the existential poverty and mere survival.

September 29, 2008,

Athens

The Anarchist Individuals Cell of the CCF set of a gas canister bomb in front of an Ethniki Bank. The action was in solidarity with an imprisoned anarchist bank robber.

October 28, 2008

Thessaloniki

The CCF claims an arson attack against a military courthouse.

November 2-4, 2008

Athens, Thessaloniki

CCF Athens-Thessaloniki claims a string of arson attacks against the military and businesses that supply and cooperate with it. Over the course of several days in Athens, the CCF burnt a military jeep, several Navy vehicles at the Naval Command, the offices of Ace Hellas, a club for retired army officers, the union headquarters for retired army officers, and the office for the minister of national defense. In Thessaloniki, the CCF burnt a reserve officers club, a military private school, and an ATM of Geniki Bank.

On the other side, we select to enlist another camp. The camp of revolution. We serve the duties of negation and create military factions of chaos. We don't need the discipline of authority because we have self-discipline in the projects of the night. In the camp of negation and disobedience we find on our side other comrades that selected to paint themselves in the colors of war, with their own ways.

We dedicate this fire rampage, as an act of war, to the fugitive comrades dimitra syrianou, kostas halazas, ilias nikolaou. Lastly, we don't forget the comrade giannis dimitrakis, who is still kept captive by the enemy.

December 3, 2008

Athens

CCF Athens-Cells Of International Solidarity claim an arson attack on the French Press Agency in Kolonaki, one of the wealthiest neighborhoods in Athens. The attack is in solidarity with French comrades arrested for allegedly sabotaging high-speed train lines.

December 6, 2008,

Athens

Alexis is assassinated.



Appendix III:

Anarchist Federation (UK) statement on kneecapping of nuclear executive by Informal Anarchist Federation (FAI)

On the 11th of May, Roberto Adinolfi, CEO of an Italian state-controlled nuclear engineering company, was shot and wounded. A cell of the insurrectionist Informal Anarchist Federation have claimed responsibility for the attack in a statement, saying that it was an act of vengeance for deaths and environmental damage caused by the nuclear industry. Previous acts claimed by Informal Anarchist Federation cells include sending a letter bomb to the Italian tax collection office, almost blinding a worker at the office¹ and risking the lives of the postal and clerical workers who unwittingly carried the bomb. Although it adopts the same initials as our affiliated Anarchist Federation in Italy, the Informal Anarchist Federation has no affiliation whatsoever with them or with us. It is an entirely separate entity, and we consider its adopting of the same initials as a pre-existing anarchist group to be, at best, confusing and ill-judged, and at worst malicious. Whether or not the Informal Anarchist Federation intended that their actions would be associated with the Italian Anarchist Federation and other members of the International of Anarchist Federations, these organisations have now been mentioned in press reports relating to the actions of the Informals, and so we now feel it necessary that we, the UK Anarchist Federation, make our position on their actions clear. In our aims and principles, the Anarchist Federation states that

¹ Correction: This statement makes reference to a worker at the tax office being injured. Although in other attacks workers have been injured, in this case the person who was injured was a leading official and the intended target of the attack. While the AF does not endorse the use of letter bombs in any way (due to their indiscriminate nature), the original wording was misleading.

“It is not possible to abolish Capitalism without a revolution, which will arise out of class conflict. The ruling class must be completely overthrown to achieve anarchist communism. Because the ruling class will not relinquish power without their use of armed force, this revolution will be a time of violence as well as liberation.” We are not a pacifist organisation and do not condemn insurrection itself or all insurrectionist tactics; however, as Anarchist Communists we strongly criticise individualist and vanguardist tactics that do not come out of a broad-based class struggle movement. We condemn actions that put workers in danger without their knowledge and consent, and we reject elitist statements, such as that made by the Informals, which consider the working class to be too ignorant and invested in Capitalism to be relevant to struggle. Capitalism is, fundamentally, a social relationship; it can no more be harmed by small groups who are disconnected from the wider class struggle shooting individual bosses or sending bombs through the post than it can by passively marching from one place to another or consuming “ethical” commodities. Instead, the Anarchist Federation advocates organising with other working class people to take direct action for ourselves in order to both defend ourselves against attacks by capital and the state in our everyday lives and build a culture of resistance that can seriously challenge capitalism. As well as being tactically more effective than isolated acts of violence, organising in this way allows us a glimpse of a better world, free of exploitation, alienation and oppression. By acting collectively and making ourselves accountable to others, we prepare ourselves for a world where our whole lives are really under our own control.