

# Open letter on the revolutionary struggle

Babis Tsilianidis, Dimitris Dimtsiadis, Socrates Tzifkas, Dimitris Fessas

2010–2011

# Contents

13/10/10 . . . . .	3
A refusal to surrender and an all in for freedom... . . . . .	3
13/01/11 . . . . .	3
Royal flush of the greek police . . . . .	3
Revolution in first singular . . . . .	4
The Why . . . . .	5
Everyone has a responsibility . . . . .	5
From the me to the us . . . . .	6
We are the death rattle of this society . . . . .	6
Welcoming... . . . .	6
On the other hand however... . . . .	7
The intervention in the partial struggles, the terms, fermentation, the “alliances” . . . . .	7
What do we do? . . . . .	8
From the individual realization until its gigantic grow through collectivization . . . . .	9
The bet for the transition from the friend-group to the organized minority infrastructure . . . . .	9
Concluding... . . . .	12
Confinement does not mean defeat . . . . .	14
Stubbornness – force – continuity of the struggle totally and wholly . . . . .	14
The hostilities continue . . . . .	15

“This is why you my lads with the sword, the fire and the rage in the mouth I want you to come out naked in the cities, as the viper goes through the gardens of barley with its proud eyes furious as the lightnings streams through the youth.”

**13/10/10**

### **A refusal to surrender and an all in for freedom...**

A arson is carried out on a vehicle of DEI (national electrical company) in the center of Thessaloniki where is arrested our brother and revolutionary anarchist Giannis Skouloudis. And are published based on testimonies of cops, 4 arrest warrants for us.

The dilemma lasted very little and began the unfortunately short journey of clandestinity (even though short, it included in the absolute degree the sweetness that the conscious decisions of life and their militant applications can give to those who ignite it). A journey that we consciously chose to lead us to new ruptures with the existing and not afraid followers of an orbit that the antiterrorist force and its judges had set. We had to survive and in order for this to happen we stopped feeling like victims and hunted and anointed ourselves perpetrators and hunters. Anyway defeat for us was and is an unknown entity. We recouped therefore and decided: “Lets go again, this time to the end”. We published the first pamphlet of the Collaboration of Individuals for the Achieving of the Negative, we read a lot, we learned more, we prepared with caution and distress new small and big stormings to the sky, we planned new hostilities with the state, its society, its values and ethics.

**13/01/11**

### **Royal flush of the greek police**

“Now they should speak to be saved they should cease to dream in order to live...

The DAY is still far away and they are afraid not to kneel as you are afraid also.

Now they should speak to be saved, they should cease to love and to live.

The captain says: speak

The whip says: speak

The night says: speak

But the night is little and the comrades and they cut their tongues with their teeth, as you would do also”

After nine days of surveillance (something we realized the last 3 day but wrongly believed that we suffer from a persecution syndrome and we are seeing “undercover ghosts”) the bad thing happens. Three of us are arrested from helmetwearers in the small streets of Vironas area and the fourth in a house by some greenwearing dudes with bulletproof shields and automatic machine guns. We are transported to GADA (police headquarters of athens) with hoods over our heads, with our escorts giving a recital:

We are for the action.

You are only for texts.

We have the superior firepower.

This is what a surprise approach is. etc.

There we remained standing, naked, with hoods and turned to the wall for many hours declaring only that we are revolutionary anarchists. Followed an informal process of questions that also took hours while they transported us without reason to the corridors in order for them to take the first photographs that they would give to be publicized. Our refusal to give prints met an affirmative: “- I did not ask you, you will give them even if it means we have to break your fingers, it is an order of the interrogator.” The first three proved too little to “convince” us therefore they mobilized 7 or 8 individuals.

They slammed our heads on the tables, they stepped on ankles, they twisted our arms to the point that they were completely numb, they hit and bent our fingers in order for them to swell, so they can take them by force.

Until Saturday when we were transported to Thessaloniki, but also from Sunday to Tuesday, we remained in cells 2,5m by 1m denying to eat or to drink anything.

Finally, they took our photographs with 2 holding us while we wore handcuffs and one pulling us from the hair. When later it was asked from us to sign testimonies, to give this way our prints and DNA officially, we reminded them that we have learned to be careful where we put our signature.

(Note: it is unnecessary to mention that what we publish is in order to transfer the experience to those who perhaps will go through it in the future and surely not to complain for our trampled rights, since we have buried them along with our obligations to society)

Tuesday we were transferred to Koridallos and Avlona in order to continue now, our inside the walls struggle for freedom and the revolution.

“This round never finishes....

The rebels turn once again .....

A few dozen anarchists, revolutionaries, guerillas of all tendencies are in the prisons of Greece.

Locked up (and not defeated) because they lived and because they acted as it suits every person that fights against power, as an institution and as a relation, as it suits every person that stands proudly and with audacity against their era.

And they are not defeated because the hostilities do not seem to cease. Because the carriers of absolute refusal of this world, despite that the blows multiply, mainly become more stubborn.

And our times, are a big bet for the construction of the chaotic army, a big opportunity for one or even better for a lot of vital and irreparable blows to the social structure and its smoothness.

Before however we reach today let us introduce ourselves.

## **Revolution in first singular**

Even though our choices, our struggles, our arrest is only one small piece that completes the revolutionary mosaic of our era, we feel the need to expose our courses, our theories, our experiences in order to communicate with those who fight contributing to the dialogue within the anarchist revolutionary community.

Our identity anyway we never hid. We are also a piece of the anarchist movement, we promote inside and outside of it the revolutionary/individualistic analysis, mature (and not suburban) child, of experiences and also conditions of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

1. And individualism of the 21<sup>st</sup> century is not reported neither in its idealistic imprinting by office workers that lived 100 years ago, but also neither its “martyric” realization by our desperate -communists in theory-French and Italian grandfathers. Anyway, in our practical-theoretical

toolbox there is the tool of critical analytical thought and our influences will not be identical with specific theories of the past.

## **The Why**

We lived therefore and we live a life that does not cover us: materially and intellectually. We also met, as well as the rest of the social total, the relations of authority and exploitation, the moments of boredom and emptiness that were offered to us via the modern way of life and its idos. In short, we lived and we live an alienated life in which it was IMPOSED on us to function as producing-machines in order to make richer those who possess a higher place in social hierarchy. A condition which we ACCEPTED learning and finally, wishing for what it offers to us, having forgotten what we really need. We became consumers of materials and spectacles that were transformed into objectives of life. Our life fluctuated and fluctuates between 100 disgusting musts, of the schools, universities, jobs and 100 even more disgusting wants, for social devolution, getting rich, over-consumerism, snitching, mediocrity. Our life remained closed in apartments, bombarded with advertisements and television messages and wandering in front of thousands of cameras or often ascertained by the guards of order.

We felt the loneliness, emptiness, mediocrity, the subjugation. We felt the chains deeply in our skin and our brain. However we took our own responsibility for this situation, first as a perception, and then we decided to act in the here-and-now not able to wait inactively for the conditions “to mature”. Anyway, without excluding a collective insurrection it would not cover us if it happened with economic motives from a mass of people that will function as such, aiming simply at a painless relaxation of our chains, or even, at a total reform of the existing world, with a realignment. We therefore began our own struggle. And we decided to arm ourselves...

## **Everyone has a responsibility**

If the refusal of a slave life meant also the move of war against the administrators and their guards, its final destruction is stuck and sticks on the acceptance that comes from the remainder of the (self)enclosed in it.

The enemy is everywhere, and the cop is in our brain:

Patriarchal relations, xenophobic deliriums, uniformed wishes, installation of microcameras in small shops, need for safety and calmness, the vote of many of us, competition and ass-kissing in school and at jobs. Values and relations that were definitely promoted from above but for sure were adopted from below. Small or big contracts and self-enlaved acceptances of each person cannot be justified. VALUES, however, are realized by CHOICES, and to deprive the force of refusal from yourself, is one of them.

Our war therefore first and mainly is a war of values, with whoever retains one way or another, the social structure concrete. Thus we did not want to become neither the avant-garde of a ductile massive dissatisfaction nor an elite that fights against all. Understanding the faculty from above to split the annoying for them classes and groups, re-collectivizing them into a fabricated argument of safety, and supplying them through secure airtight channels, we stopped referring to totals and groups of people that had been defined as revolutionary subjects in the previous centuries and we defined as a revolutionary subject the individual.

For us everything begins from the configuration of an individual-revolutionary conscience that is prompted and prompts its carrier to dispute the sovereign way of life, its institutions and to realize its share of responsibility in the perpetuation and maintenance of the existing system. To deny and to attack in the end anything that maintains or evolves this world and its destroys its life, seeking freedom.

### **From the me to the us**

The human being however is a social being and when its need for communication and collectivization is expressed simultaneously with its individual awareness but also the knowledge of the strength it hides in its brain and hands, blooms what we name revolutionary-individualism. Is built, simultaneously, a negative collective conscience that in its extension abolishes roles, identities, relations, institutions and creates, increased qualitatively and quantitatively, time-space dykes that are capable to create authentic, individual/collective experiences of struggle, capable to realize the revolution every moment via the permanent deregulation of social balances.

### **We are the death rattle of this society**

The social body for us cannot be faced as something homogeneous and be characterized either as an ally or as an enemy. It consists of various social groups that are composed from various individuals. The relations that are developed in its gut are permanently altered depending on the clashes, balances and contradictions of each era but simultaneously and diachronically, also altered models of deep alienation, imposition of force and exercise of authority. The social body is finally nothing for us, but a battlefield. A struggle that can become the property and ground of co-formation for those who consciously listen to it, organize it, enrich it but at the same time clashes with those that do not. And if therefore we claim that our struggle turns against this but also every society, obviously we do not mean that it targets all the individuals that compose it as candidate victims. Such a thing would be contradictory and impasse because whether we like it or not we are a part of it as well.

It is simply that we believe that the existence of a mass human society itself, creates institutions, hierarchies, specializations, oppression, the exploitation of nature. We live in it and we shape in its interior a powerful minority that conspires against every of its expression and undermines its perpetuation, organizing it again into structures of fighting camps (based on characteristics of conscience) and applying from now into practice the existence, collaboration, solidarity even the potential polemic between small autonomous communities.

And let us remind that the struggle for us is a product of the lack of freedom and self-definition and not the result of any economic inequalities and the “evident” exercise of authority from some collectivized subject against one, beforehand, collectivized object. For us the economic conditions are only a accelerating explosion as long as we manage it smartly.

### **Welcoming...**

The economic crisis, another opportunity of struggle,  
one more opportunity for the revealing of meaningful judgement

“The negative decides, The inevitable cannot be neutralized and takes positions in the beginning of the last adventure. And this time, no one will come out alive from here”

Social conditions are not a stagnant situation but differ depending on the time-space economic situations. It is very important for a revolutionary to analyze them and take them under consideration, in order for his action to be more effective. And obviously we do not speak of change of values or arguments, but of the accuracy and better aim of actions but also words.

In the era in question we live in a period of social crash-test in the form of an economic crisis. We see a new sharing of wealth from the bellow to the above. The dilemmas that we did not anticipate to place to the “neutrals” were placed by the enemy. Testing their resistances, they remind their position in the social hierarchy and make the situation evident, for those who are not blind. Obviously it has a cost...

And we are not referring obviously to the increase of criminality. This will meet so much the repression as well as its management in order to extend the feeling of insecurity that it has create. And the pie uneaten and the dog full. (old greek proverb)

Sovereign will generously offer what they know will return the labour surplus value and the freedom of the feared citizens. News Bulletins, cameras and cops.

### **On the other hand however...**

Albania, Ireland, Greece, France, Portugal, England (yes, England), Arabic countries, the permanently agitated Latin America. The hibernation of social conflicts has been interrupted. And it is exactly as we imagined it. This force is not but:

Partial but also unforeseen.

Demanding yet also conflictual.

With national characteristics but a carrier of class hate.

Ready to return home and also ready to remain for ever in the streets.

Using blind violence but simultaneously giving essential moments of resistance.

Cut into pieces but in the beginning of a rudimentary process and an embryonic collectivization.

The first shaking was given by the enemy itself. And the second one is obviously our own obligation.

The ignition of the civil revolutionary war, the social polarization now looks even more feasible. The responsibility of the anarchist/revolutionary movement is to light up the wick that will ignite this particularly explosive social condition. And obviously it will not be a simple process. Besides, “it needs hard work, it needs persistence and a smile and a way”.

### **The intervention in the partial struggles, the terms, fermentation, the “alliances”**

“You are waiting for a revolution? So be it, mine began a long time ago! When you are ready (what endless waiting!) I do not mind riding a little together with you. When however you stop, I will continue my insane and triumphant path to the important and paramount conquest of nothing! Every society that you will build will have its limits. And outside of the limits of every society, disobedient and heroic vagabonds will wander around with their wild and sacrilegious thoughts – planning even newer and more frightening outbreaks of insurrection! I will be among them.

And after me, as before, their will be those who will say to their friends: “bow to yourselves rather than the gods and idols. Find what you hide inside you and bring it to the light, reveal itself”.

Because each one exploring within, extracts whatever mysteriously has been buried in them, it becomes a shadow that will overshadow every form of society that can exist under the sun!

All societies tremble when the despised aristocracy of vagabonds, the excluded, the unique, dominators and conquerors of the ideal of nothing, advances decisively to its sacrilegious and liberating work.

Therefore, iconoclasts, ahead!”

Especially this period the mixture in the social pot can be characterized flammable.

It would be our mistake to leave these occasions to be lost. An even bigger one of course, would be for us to be absorbed by the dissatisfied crowd. What we are saying is that we can and we should extract from this the minorities that are not satisfy with walks, voting, symbolic clashes.

We do not have anything to lose therefore from our intervention in the social struggles, as long as we go there with clear intentions. Deviation, communication, diffusion, but at the same time the protection and simultaneous propagation of our aims. The critical attendance is what can, to us take “things” forward and not the identification or the blind following of each claim.

Not all struggles are the same, no matter how you look at it. And the contradictions first and mainly strike the anarchists that participate in them.

The “mind cops”, teachers that give away expulsions, specialized knowledge and values of this world not a few times have turned into fighting schoolteachers, truck drivers that clashed with the MAT wore ancient Greek t-shirts and applauded king Konstantinos. The “hero” immigrants, our “damned brothers” (most of them atleast) do not seek anything other than to devolve and live the “western dream”.

In order to not be misunderstood and in order to finish we should stop speaking of totals of people, even more in their name and search the moments, the relations, those refusals that can't be absorbed by the demands and can be turned into a real danger for the state and its society.

Lets embrace those who are ready first of all to deny their role (immigrants, schoolteachers, doctors, generally the “oppressed”) and to constitute the revolutionary community that does not request, but fights.

Our bet is here, open for each one that stops victimizing their existence and read the force within them.

Lets be intelligent, lets be crafty, lets stand next to those who fight. Lets stop getting excited and consuming spectacles of struggles, lets become essential, experience the substance, sow the chaos we have inside us.

The contribution of anarchists in the intensification of social oppositions, their organization, the revolutionary prospect....

For those who perceive the gravity of this era (or better the gravity of every era) and the importance of the anarchist/liberating/revolutionary struggle in this, its imperative we ask the following question.

## **What do we do?**

The ways of organization, our structures, the means of struggle, their intelligent management, the language that we use, the points of connection and rupture with whatever certain struggles,



the objectives, immediate and future. Subjects which have received thousands of approaches from the fighters, the revolutionaries, the guerillas of every land and every era. The question of organization and the objectives of the revolutionary community has a lot of aspects and we are committed to approach them analytically in future texts.

At the moment we judge useful we present en brief our own approach and point of view.

### **From the individual realization until its gigantic grow through collectivization**

The meeting of the individuals that have realized that the modern way of life does not cover them is the first step for the growth of subversive action and the process of fermentation of liberating ideas and practices. This meeting is achieved via the creation of informal groups, collectives and affinity groups (on a first level between friends). In them the individuals apart from going more organized into action, can communicate their perceptions, reflections, refusals and wishes, their fears and their dreams. These re-groupings, at least as we have experienced them, despite the sincere intentions and their many times effectiveness in the objectives they put, have the negative element that, because precisely of this relaxed relation between the individuals, in time they are weakened and finally dissolved with a portion of individuals that composed them to turn disappointed to privatization.

### **The bet for the transition from the friend-group to the organized minority infrastructure**

The transition from the group to the organized infrastructure is not a question of utilization of certain excessive and substantially empty words. It lies within the perception itself and the organization of our refusals. It is the attempt to demean and experience the words: responsibility, commitment, consistency, continuity, development, comradeship, devotion. The participation and organization in a revolutionary infrastructure has requirements. Requirements that are obviously decided collectively from all participating on the base of respect in individuality but also on the common passion to fight. An entire world remains to be discovered, another remain to be demolished, no only by friends but from comrades and co-fighters.

Circles of self-education, practical knowledge, thoughts for the future of the struggle, setting up strategic plans that are judged advisable to be used, moments of experienced attack and in particular in duration of time. The relations thus tighten and keep well shut the door to hierarchies, specializations, the silence in the conversations from the “shyest”. Simultaneously, the common experiences, the progressive convergence of theories, the coordinated henceforth rhythms welcome to the team the significance of development but also the fast diagnosis of the conditions (internal-external) that result, making thus more accurate the intervention, correction or even the polemic against them.

At this point it would not be pointless to mention the question of means. The bipolar legal-illegal means should immediately be surpassed by every fighter, not however their careful choice. It is not only that each case is judged differently, i.e. that the distribution of texts can be more effective in one case, while in a other an explosive mechanism can do “the job better”. This obviously and is in effect leaving it to the mature judgment of those who know not to fetishize but also not to excommunicate.

For us the events, flyposting, protests, clashes in the streets, the smashing and the paintbombing, the dynamic practices of direct action compose the united and multiform revolutionary struggle. The distribution of our word and our acts, can be carried out in many ways. If somewhere we simply want to draw the attention of the new comrades, it is that they are careful not of what means they are using, but the way they do it.

Conspiring (or as it has been said “the will for anonymity”), the low profile, the carefully arranged appointments, the games with the word so not to identify i.e. the writing on a poster, with the writing of an attack action, are matters that should not be exceeded quickly, from the new revolutionaries.

And obviously we do not speak of segregation of people that fight into illegal and legal. The language of the cops is impossible for us to reproduce. On the contrary, we judge necessary the guerrilla word relates and is not hostile to the public.

Perhaps simply we should revise the ways i.e. we distribute a leaflet or flypost or on the other hand we should learn to use the word, to have the possibility of making the enemy seek us in a foggy landscape. We do not want to extend ourselves more publicly, we are simply transferring our thoughts for those who continue and dare to fight, for them to judge and evolve them.

Concluding, we are beside and we have big confidence in the new generations of revolutionaries, that they will exceed our own errors and ankylosis and as our own generation they will deliver to the next more complete, more targeted, harder, more careful experiences of struggle from those that they received.

The infrastructures of attack,  
the diffuse revolutionary guerrilla,  
the myths, reality, the sycophancy

“Revolutionary action itself, even the fact that we equip ourselves, that we prepare ourselves, the fact that we do actions that violate urban legality, creates a conscience, an organization, the revolutionary conditions.”

For decades, the anarchist movement in Greece (and we obviously are not referring to any official bureaucratic and leftist version of it), because of theoretical disagreements, internal frictions, small time politics, fear, insistence on the spectacular approach of violence, remained primarily uninvolved in the issue of armed conflict with the forces of the state, leaving the “responsibility” to the armed organizations of the left (with a few but luminous exceptions).

Itself the spectacular image of armed struggle, in combination with its demystification, so much from the perpetrators, as well as the “spectators”, reproduced armed conflict but also more generally guerrilla action as a condition to be managed only by certain specialized commandos. The margins for those who saw the necessity of these forms of struggle, was shifted by the attendance in them, and fluctuates somewhere between the gossip in cafes and the clapping while sitting on the couch.

Obviously, the years from the change of regime until 2002, the participation of anarchists in social mobilizations (that many times took intensely conflictual characteristics) but also the low intensity guerilla (smashings and arsons with a lean reasoning accompanied by a formal expression of solidarity to the each time imprisoned fighters) brought substantial results so much in the numerical increase of the a/a movement, as well as any vested experience of direct/conspiratorial action.

The dissolution of the R.O. 17<sup>th</sup> November, was a decisive point for those who perceived the necessity and importance of continuing armed action.

The gap of the blows, that would inspire other fighters, that would hurt the picture of the “omnipotent” state, in the times of the most shameless compromise of the Left, began to be covered by armed groups with a more intense anarchist/antiauthoritarian characteristic and phraseology.

A few years later, in the frames of dialectic development, were born groups and organizations with a clear anarchist phraseology (even if they used or use “heretical” speech).

The revolt of December 2008, acted as a catalyst and multiplicative for these groups, for the guerrilla tendency of our era, for the firmament of what is called, not unfairly, new urban guerrilla.

The definition of “new” is not used in order to break it away from its roots, the historical deposit it received, autonomize it temporally in the continuity of struggles that have been expressed historically (an impossible thing anyway) but in order to reveal the by us necessary and fertile ruptures with the theoretical quivers that were delivered to it.

The urban guerrilla of our generation did not speak from choice, with economic or defensive terms in order to justify its existence socially.

It engraved and engraves its own orbit speaking experiential, direct and accessible, not so much in order to be consolidated in the such ductile social conscience (if in the end it exists as a united piece), but in order to constitute/co-form exclusively with those who fight, the revolutionary community and its own conscience.

It was and is, so much a component of a wider radical and multiform struggle, as well as a PERMANENT PROVOCATION (INVITE) for anyone interested, a PERCEPTION of MOVEMENT IN THE URBAN FIELD, A WAY OF LIFE.

It is a fact that it did not seek social acceptance but the INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE COMPLICITY.

It is of no interest to us even now, if not hostile, the criticism, the “understanding” or the claps of the couchlovers, the progressive, those who do not fight (and we are not referring only to armed struggle at this point) and they are not the criterion for us to act, for us to live. Simultaneously, if its something we really anticipate is so much the critique as well as the co-formation of common struggle, of those who with a thousand ways fight and dream the destruction of this world.

New urban guerrilla of course, crossed and crosses its own course, a course that obviously knew and overtook its own errors and contradictions, something which happens in every healthy evolutionary course of a tendency and proposal of struggle.

The self-criticism of those who compose it, whether behind the bars, or via the continuation of the hostilities themselves, constitutes for us a basic element in the promotion but also its continuous readjustment on the significance of permanent improvement, felicity, sharpness.

“The deep good intention of self-criticism submits the ideas in a tireless and exhaustive interrogation. The verdict with the adequate strickness that suits the attachment to the revolutionary case, decides unscrupulously the rejection of the handlings that rest henceforth in the the quiver of the opponent. It sails without delay from the sentimental anchorage, blows up without leaving traces the remains of the false conscience, it destroys unhesitating what disorientates it and also delays it.”

It is absolutely natural and beautiful in the frames of an innate and recently conscious/experienced liveliness and appetite for action exists so much enthusiasm and hurrying. These two basic components of the character of a new revolutionary is necessary they are accompanied by their suitable management so as to avoid a pointless expose to repression. The war that we conduct is endless, each move should be well weighed and well-processed and not a product of compulsion.

We must learn to separate the war with the enemy from its underestimation. Big dreams are not necessary to be accompanied by big talk but by well-aimed actions and critical analyses.

We should be aware that critique and rupture with the official and orthodox revolutionary line of each era includes a big responsibility for those who practice it. The responsibility for the organization and the strengthening of their own “tendency” and not the occasional pastime with it.

The relations and awareness are surely not made only in the amphitheatres but also on the action, on our common experiences. We shall find the balance between the will for action and in the will for theoretical fermentation. The balance between the quality and quantity of the objectives and the quality and quantity of our relations and our analyses.

We should guard the secrets of revolutionary war from the hobbyists. The struggle needs dedicated people to intensify it and it cannot bare any more silent privatizations, retreats, renunciations when things go bad.

We seek the essential and experiential imprinting of ourselves, our co-fighters, our tools of liberation, the significance of destruction in our own lives. Lets exile the spectacular depictions from now on from our brain activities.

If there is an indirect reference in some of our experiences, exposing them publicly and direct, it does not happen in order to give more food for clusters of inactivity and to experts on the subject, gossipers.

We are nothing but a small but proud minority of this tendency and having the conscience for the clearness of our choices and for the surpassing of our own mistakes we want to share the experiences of our journey. Our small defeats and our big victories. Victories that cannot be measured in military terms (at least not only in them) but are an alloy of moments and experiences that we acquire as warriors of the revolution.

The damage (small or big) that we cause to the enemy, the happiness that we experience being 100% devoted to the struggle, the overcome fear during an attack, the smiles after its done, the precious relations that bore and bear, the organizations and groups that in the difficult times continue, those that now with audacity spring up...

This list still writes.

Because history counts the silences, but surely also counts the struggles and our struggle will have no end.

The bet we put has already been won. The names of organizations and fighters are of no importance anymore and our war cry was met in the hearts and the thoughts of those who will not die as slaves in this shit world. Already new revolutionaries, new guerillas process our structures and choices of struggle.

And as long as this chain does not break, our own involvement, our own small ring in this cannot be considered lost.

## **Concluding...**

The connection of revolutionary infrastructures, the informal networks of coordinated action, the construction of the chaotic army

“The negative recognizes the vastness of the duties its called to serve. It restores in the historical limelight the meetings that were avoided, whether because they skewed from the rota and the needs of time or because of wrong handling”

Communication, the co-ordination of action, the joint appointment of issues, the exchange of critical opinions, mutual aid are the next step for the organization of rebels, for the qualitative and quantitative upgrade of the struggle. The diversity in the perceptions and practices, the autonomy of each infrastructure (as that of the individuals that compose it) should not mean also split action, at least not continuously. On the contrary this diversity if communicated, cultivated, connected with fertile terms it is the wealth that is jointly shared by those who fight. What is in the first place necessary, is the conquest of the conscience of COMMON STRUGGLE. Then can spring up (and we stress not necessarily) collaborations, fermentations, co-sailing. The exchange of theoretical disagreements but also the exchange of information of actions can bring so much the co-formation of common public speech resulting in the biggest and better-aimed possible approach as well as the co-formation of common objectives and appointment of issues resulting in the biggest wound to the enemy. Henceforth individual development and awareness will be developed simultaneously so much with the collective as well the inter-collective. The horizontal-chaotic networks of multiform anarchist/revolutionary action are a feasible process, a process necessary, in order to compose as much as possible, the cut up community of refusal but also in order to signal from before, the end of every effort of its hierarchical structure.

From the illegal radiostations to the occupations. From the attempts of counter-information and publication of printed material to the assemblies of solidarity. From the sabotage groups to the armed organizations. From the groups of guarding and medical or legal coverage in the demonstrations to the networks of support of fugitive comrades. Lets learn from the movements of the enemy and the co-ordination of its forces and do the same. Or even worse. The unification of this world in a “single unbeatable destructive force”, should become the aim of the revolutionaries of today.

A first attempt of constituting such a network of struggle has already been put into action. The informal anarchic federation-international revolutionary network that is comprised by groups and organizations from the whole world aiming at the co-ordination of action and the approach of thematics gives its own point of view of organization of the struggle. Safekeeping the rules of conspiratorial, people that perceived the existence of their common references and places of connection, practice and theory set up and evolve via their communication from the written published speech a platform of thought and action. Something proportional should be in the planning by the imprisoned rebels all over the world. Something proportional can and should be created in the all fields that where the revolutionary war is expressed and the anarchist/liberating struggle is composed. It is in our hands, the organization, strengthening, deepening, enlargement, the collectivization of our refusals. The times demand it the consciences require it...

Lets prepare the construction of the chaotic army...

We were and we will be a piece of those who fight for the connection and not for the rupture of forms of struggle.

We also believe that the hands of each one are capable of making both types of lead to rattle.

We promote and support the polymorphy of the anarchist revolutionary struggle without hiding our longterm objective:

the multiplication of guerrilla organizations, the social polarization, the civil revolutionary war as an essential condition for the crushing of the social machine.

In this effort of ours, in the effort of organizing a guerrilla front, on the 13<sup>th</sup> of January we were arrested and on the 18<sup>th</sup> of the same month we were led as prisoners of war to the prisons of the enemy.

## **Confinement does not mean defeat**

There is also that point in the course of a revolutionary where he/she will fall into the hands of the enemy. Territorially, the captivity of an adversary of sovereignty will be in the prisons, while the time-line fluctuates -from a few months up to decades.

What leads however a revolutionary to captivity is nothing other than her/his choices. The situations that we experience are shaped based on the decisions that we have selected to put into application and in future defend. As anarchist revolutionaries, it is obvious that we know and in the end should contemplate that each choice is accompanied with the equivalent cost. Inside these frames, every revolutionary knows or at least SHOULD know (experiential and with a historical base) the particular cost, from the loss of social bonds and imprisonment, up to death and to be prepared for this.

From the biggest loss, we have learned to gain everything.

Each revolutionary planning, happens with a complete analysis of all fields of its application (apprising the conditions) and surely its results (in all aspects). This price, many times is under the form of punishment. Sovereignty, firstly knows that no correctional system is able to function in the way with which it was initialized, when it is applied on a conscious enemy of it.

Thus, the incarceration of revolutionaries, does not aim in their punishment but:

1. Their material extermination, the quantitative reduction of revolutionary potential.
2. The cutting off of the revolutionary from the fields the social and revolutionary fermentations and activities.
3. Making an example that is addressed to those who attempt or even think of the carrying out of each subversive thought or plan.

Finally, incarceration in shackles of the enemy attempts to reveal the spectacular supremacy of sovereignty, the militant conflictual of comparison (“I have caused x wounds to the enemy and it has caused v wounds to me”). A message like “look who has the upper hand” addressing the neutral social body.

When the punishment finds us proud and ready to face it, it loses its real use. When on the other, fear dominates over us and influences our every choice, going above the substance of the choice itself, then the latter loses its revolutionary character.

## **Stubbornness – force – continuity of the struggle totally and wholly**

In every revolutionary exists innate a powerful dose of force. It is the same force that exerted-exerts and will continue to exert on the existing. The friction between revolutionary forces that attack against the state develops a bidirectional relation, a relation of aid or alleviation, which mainly depends on the continuation or not of its application.

More simply and specifically: half of the force and the stubbornness that a prisoner shows comes from the individual itself. All the remainder is an aid that comes from the continuation of the struggle itself. No, its not the actions of solidarity – exclusively- that will give strength to a prisoner. Its the actions of solidarity as a partial application of the struggle that you continue expressing. The stubbornness that will be shown from those outside functions additionally with the stubbornness that will be shown by those inside.

Both however concern the TOTAL application of the revolutionary anarchist struggle and depend on it.

We recognize, therefore, that only this would have importance on the application of any revolutionary planning. The fighting continuity consistency on the pre-agreed frames. Besides, to this we commit ourselves. From there after, each hostage or not revolutionary owes to do the same.

The war today requires it.

### **The hostilities continue**

“And the crops grew and bared fruits.

But the birds, did not approach because a scary figure was guarding.

Time passed

and the black birds multiplied and grew hungrier.

Until one morning, they could not take it anymore.

They stopped being afraid and they attacked the sleepless guardian of the field.

And while their beaks tore it apart, they realized it was only a scarecrow. Realizing thus that their biggest enemy

the one that made them starve

was their own fear.

From now on nothing can stop them.

From now on the flooded with wheat land belongs to them.”

And the war continues.

In the foggy battlefield we continue to dash armed with revolutionary dignity and stubbornness. The enemy attacks also in return. Some of us will fall in their hands, other will even lose their life.

However as long as one of us still breathes, in any corner of this planet the dykes are rebuilt and the plan will continue to develop.

And look!

New battles approach and this time we will be readier than never. Our ranks are staffed with new comrades, our structures are organized and our practices developed.

The result of the war does not interest us anymore, besides each one of us imagines differently the celebrations of victory. All of us however are expressed by this war because very simply the consequences of this peace ate at our guts like carnivorous worms. We could not do differently. We could not leave fucking fear to march undisturbed in our hearts. We looked it in the eyes and this made it step back.

It is the pride of our choices that makes us not care of the consequences and the reflection of our dreams in the eyes of comrades that gives us strength to continue.

Our day dawns and the enemy can be slightly seen from far away. We have the wind against us and the sun blinds us. But the bodies of the opponents are rotten because for a long time now illness has been dragged in their land.

Lets go therefore comrades, lets attack in the name of revenge, in the name of our ego, in the name of freedom.

Lets go therefore comrades, we have already won.

Lets go and crush them and get crushed in the effort.

“It is sad to write on a page with the heart wondering: and after what?

But we are devoted to the struggle. Or to achieve our loss. Its bound to happen and thus someone of us inevitably is lost. And then the idiots will shout, stubborn anarchist! Who however can comprehend the storm that roars in our brain? Who can understand our insatiable hunger for joy, for life? Who can perceive our victory over human cowardice?

We are alone. We did not find a group of daring and risky, ready to participate in the struggle for the conquest of life. Consequently we were beaten and one of us was lost.

But always the other remains always with the look nailed on the horizon. It cannot, it should not deviate. This is our destiny. Will we find, we wonder, comrades on our course? And if not, again, each one taking his own lonely course will disappear silently or noisily from the scene of this world? A chapter closed, a chapter full of fights, hopes, delusions. But, the end has not come yet. This is all i have to say.”

Text of revolutionary Kostas Pappas

As for us... We remain standing, we remain unrepentant, we remain proud for our action, our choices and the comrades that will evolve them.

SOLIDARITY AND UNITY TO THOSE WHO FIGHT INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE PRISONS,  
HERE BUT ALSO EVERYWHERE HOLDING THE BANNERS OF LIBERATION HIGH Long live  
the revolution

Long live the new urban guerrilla

FREEDOM FOR EVER

Babis Tsilianidis

Dimitris Dimtsiadis

Socrates Tzifkas

Dimitris Fessas

4/03/2011

P.S. 1: Consciously we did not refer in our first text on the diagnosis and interpretation that we give to the recent repressive mobilization. The question of governmental counter-attack towards those who fight and dispute its omnipotence obviously concerns us, and we will try to approach it in the near future.

Now we can make two small references.

We declare publicly that the anarchist Fee Meyer has no relation with us and what we lived or chose. Her only implication is her friendly relation with one of us and a coffee in Thisio that was finally proved bitter. Our solidarity even now that we heard of her release, is a given, since she will continue to be dragged in courts for a case she has nothing to do with.

Our parents and our friends have no relation with our choices (unfortunately and at least for now), so it would be wise of the antiterrorist force and the cops to stop HARASSING AND BULLYING individuals of our close environment.

We judge useful these facts and such movements are published IMMEDIATELY, in order to show the role of EL.AS (greek police) and its new tactics, not as a whine but as one more element of polarization and clearing out of fighting camps. Camps that henceforth, and if we judge from



the movements of the thugs that raise their hand more than they should, it appears our mothers, fathers and friends are also entering.

P.S. 2: We thank those who stood and stand next to us. We stole enough strength from the strength of those who were in the courts in Athens/Thessaloniki, those who broke the climate of terror in the neighborhoods we lived, those who we found out that they think of us, those who honoured us accompanying our names with dynamic actions of attack.

Simultaneously, let us to ask something from those who feel what we mean. Solidarity to the prisoners of war has a meaning when it is simply another reason to fight, another reason of war. Don't bite on this climate, we should not spend ourselves on the question of solidarity, and limit ourselves to this.

For us there is no stronger sense of warmth and solidarity than the continuation of hostilities, especially in this era, especially in this condition.

DONT STOP THE STRUGGLE EVEN FOR A MINUTE COMRADES

RAISE THE SAILS AGAINST THE WEATHER

Anarchist library  
Anti-Copyright



Babis Tsilianidis, Dimitris Dimtsiadis, Socrates Tzifkas, Dimitris Fessas  
Open letter on the revolutionary struggle  
2010–2011

Dark Matter Publications  
boubouras translations

[en.anarchistlibraries.net](http://en.anarchistlibraries.net)