

# **A bank robbery, some anarchists and the choice to revolt**

Letters and texts of the comrades arrested  
for the expropriation in Kozani (Greece)



## Contents

Four anarchists arrested in Kozani after a double bank robbery	3
Statement of three arrested comrades	4
Letter of the four anarchists concerning the double robbery	5
Words of Nikos during solidarity gathering	11
Letter of Nikos concerning the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire	13
Letter of Andreas-Dimitris from Koridallos prison	15
Five anarchists arrested in Nea Filadelfia (Athens)	21
Letter of Fivos and Argiris from Koridallos prison	24
Letter of Giannis Naxakis from Koridallos prison	30
Letter of Grigoris Sarafoudis from Koridallos prison	34
Reverse countdown	36
Letter of Giannis Mihailidis	41
Flames of solidarity	54
Adresses and contacts	59

## **Four anarchists arrested in Kozani after a double bank robbery**

On February 1st 2013, 4 anarchists are arrested after a car chase. Two of them were wanted for participation in the anarchist armed group Conspiracy of Cells of Fire. Earlier there was an armed robbery in a bank and a branch of the Greek postal offices by 8 people.

During the robbers escape a manhunt begins by the cops. At some point four of the robbers go into the car of a doctor, after they immobilize his vehicle. Four of them manage to leave and are still wanted to this day (for two of them there are arrest warrants and their photos have been published, while the other two are unknown to the authorities). The rest take the doctor with them as a hostage and continue with their escape in the stolen van they used for the robbery. Cop cars and motorbikes manage to trap the van and arrest the anarchists. At the same moment far from the area of the robbery, is arrested one more anarchist who drove a stolen van which had been transformed into an ambulance.

This “ambulance” was going to be used by the rest of the robbers as the final escape vehicle since because of its transformation into an ambulance it would not attract attention of the police. Inside the two vehicles are discovered many weapons (kalashnikov, pistols, shotguns, scorpion Uzi) and most of the money from the robbery (about 180.000 euro).

The arrested are beaten by the cops and are led to the interrogator. During their transfer to the interrogator they shout chants (“long live anarchy motherfuckers”... etc).

The 4 anarchists are imprisoned (one of them in juvenile prisons since he is under age). Then follow the investigations of the anti-terrorist force in houses-dens rented by the arrested comrades with fake identification cards. In some of them they found usb sticks with communiques from two anarchist groups which had claimed responsibility for various attacks against state targets. Also they found many fake identification cards.

## Statement of three arrested comrades

We steal a couple of words from the cells of the detention centre where we are held hostage, in order to state our aims and our intentions and to clear up the air regarding the recent events.

As anarchists, we deem the choice of a bank robbery as a conscious act of resistance. Our act did not aim at the creation of personal wealth. The attack against the temples of capital is part of our revolutionary activity as a whole.

Regarding our torturing by the forces of repression, we do not want this to comprise a point for our victimisation. We expected nothing less from the enemies of freedom. Let's not forget how many people have been crushed inside their police stations and their prisons. Let the marks of our torturing comprise yet another occasion for rage to turn into action.

Against the institutional representatives of justice, our position shall be irreconcilable and tenacious.

WE DON'T COOPERATE – WE DON'T APOLOGISE  
LONG LIVE ANARCHY

The Anarchists  
*Nikos Romanos*  
*Andreas-Dimitris Bourzoukos*  
*Giannis Michailidis*

6th of February 2013

PS. A longer statement by all four of us will follow, regarding our case.

## **Letter of the four anarchists concerning the double robbery**

We run toward our escape, whilst around us a full-out manhunt is playing out. Behind us lies a life that is predetermined, carved from the hands of the sovereign, with the aim for us to internalise submission as an objective condition, to morally legitimise systems of law and rules, to equalise the individual with a statistical logic of numbers. Ahead of us, the world of our “utopian” fantasies that is conquered with violence alone. One life, one chance and determined choices.

Gaze at the gap in-between the clouds and jump, because the fall was never a more certain choice.

On Friday, 01.02, along with a group of comrades, we conducted a double robbery, of the Agricultural Bank and the Post Office in Velvento, Kozani. In our opinion it is of some importance to analyse, to an extent, the operational part of the robbery. This, primarily in order to highlight all the elements of the case, the choices that we made, the mistakes we conducted and the reasons that lead us to these:

And so, on that Friday morning, we attacked the two targets split in two teams. Our aim from the upstart was to take the money from both safes, as it did indeed happen. During our escape, a series of unfortunate events and mistaken handling of these lead to the exposure both of our vehicle as well as our direction to the police.

Due to the police grip that was automatically formed, the comrade driving the van that was externally transformed to look like an ambulance, sought exit routes for the team conducting the robberies. In this attempt of his, he made the mistake of driving three times in front of a vehicle of the cops, which resulted in him being considered suspect. A chase followed and then, due to non-familiarity with the area that he ended up in, he reached four dead ends in the mud-roads of the pits, which resulted in him being surrounded in the last one – and having no other actual space to escape. And so, once he set the van alight, he was arrested. Following these developments and while our comrade with the escape vehicle was already in the hands of the cops, our available options were significantly narrowed down. We therefore decided to stop the first passing vehicle, since this would guarantee a more safe escape for us and our comrades. The main issue in this condition was for the cops not to learn about the new escape vehicle of

our comrades – and so we decided to keep its driver in the van with us, until we would find a way for us to escape too. This is approximately when we crossed paths with a police car, which gradually turned into an intense chase until the city of Veroia, with most of the police forces available in the area, behind us. We obviously did not for a moment consider using the hostage in person as a human shield (we would not have a problem, for example, should we have had the manager of a bank) – after all, the police did not know of his existence. In the end, he acted as a human shield for the cops, without their knowledge – since he comprised the reason for which we did not use our weapons in order to escape. Because our consciousness and our moral code do not allow us to risk the life of a random person who found themselves with us against their will.

At this point we would like to make clear that we did not have the weapons just for the purpose of scaring off, but as a weapon in the off-chance of a clash between us and the cops. Therefore, the reason why we did not act in the corresponding way, in order to escape, was a condition in which we found ourselves due to a mistaken handling.

The only option for an escape by this point was speed – and our attempt to gain ground with our vehicle from the cops who were chasing us. Of course, the city of Veroia does not offer itself for something like this, and so we were soon trapped in a narrow street, resulting in our arrest. During our arrest, the only thing that we stated was that the person that we had with us had nothing to do neither with the robbery, nor with us. Despite this, the cops continued beating him too, at least for as long as we had eye-contact with him.

The above narration is not conducted as part of some boosting or self-promotion, but in order to invert the legacy of the arrests without a fight that the conditions lead us to.

\* \* \*

The narration ends at the police headquarters in Veroia, where an hours-long torturing of three of us by the pigs of the police took place. The tactics are well-known and expected: hood, tying with handcuffs behind our backs and beatings.

We consider a given that there is a clear separating line behind us and the system, which marks the war between two worlds. The world of sovereignty, repression and submission and the world of freedom, which we create and keep alive through the restless struggle against authority.

In this war, the pigs of the police comprise a permanent target of the anarchist guerrillas as a front-line and repressive branch of the mechanisms of sovereignty. For this reason, we considered the stance of the cops against us a given. If the state did not fight us, then we would have a good reason to be worried. Torturing, as a method, were, are and will be a weapon in the arsenal of any given authority. Us, of course, as anarchists, refuse to use methods of torturing against our enemies and promote the dignified practice of political “executions”, since we do not want to reproduce the rottenness of their world, but to eliminate it.

The opinion that sees people in struggle are pray in the hands of mechanisms of repression internalises the idea of defeat amidst subversive circles. It is the acceptance of a conceptualisation of curtailing the war against the enemies of freedom, as part of the acceptance of the bourgeois social morality and legality. And in order for us to be clear, the cue above concerns statements of the like of those by ANTARSYA or by A.K. [Anti-authoritarian Movement]. Which contribute more to reformism than to radicalisation. It is unnecessary for us to refer to journalists, SYRIZA [leftist party] and other parts of the system which address us with “friendly” statements in order to attempt to re-approach those consciousnesses that begin to divert from the norm, serving, in this way, the stabilisation of the regime.

Now, concerning facing the practices of torture, our own response lies in polymorphic action. The highlighting of particular events through actions of counter-information such as communiques, posters, gatherings, demonstrations etc. is definitely necessary, in order for an ever-increasing number of people to reach a conclusion. A conclusion that leaves no space for “isolated incidents” or “revanchist behaviours” but leads to the understanding that physical violence was always a means of repression and control by society. It comprises part of the war between sovereignty and revolt.

Of course, this message must spread equally with a message of terror for those natural torturers, the cops. In order for cops not to beat up, the intra-systemic denunciations and legal procedures have no meaning – while they also imply concessions and an informal acceptance of the juridical or journalistic authority. It takes resistance – and resistance must have violent form, too. Because an attack against the cops – not only those of Veroia – either with stones, either with molotovs, ether with guns, leads them undoubtedly to a reassessment of their choices, counting their wounds before they lay hand again. Because as it has been very correctly been pointed out, the enemies have names and addresses.

We shall not refer in detail to the role of banks – in any case, at the time that we live in this is well-known to everybody. Their existence is a continued robbery. For us, as anarchists, they comprise a target for attacks of all kinds: arsonist, bombing, robbing. Of course, there was much of a discussion about our case and there is undoubtedly a need for us to inverse these impressions. To strike against the continuous attempt of designification of our choice, and to highlight the rottenness of the sociological approach and the pseudo-humanitarian background, which they wanted to assign to us, due to our age.

“Next door kids and they attack a bank. Why?”

Because robbery is a consciously political act. It does not comprise the next level of a restless adolescent period, aspirations for personal wealth, nor of course is it a result of our supposed laziness. Yet it includes the desire not to bind our lives to the brutal exploitation of waged labour. Our refusal to become gears for financial interests. Our resistance against the charging ahead of mental and value bankruptcy of their world.

It is clear for us that we do not negate creativity within our communities. After all, putting together a robbery requires mental and physical labour. Yet we refuse to enslave our creativity to the world of production and reproduction of labour. Of course, for us the negation of waged slavery would hold little meaning if we did not at the same time act toward its destruction. We are remorseless anarchists and we do not seek sympathy, compassion or understanding because we acted “wrong” in a “wrong” world. We seek the spread of our values and practices and we will fight for this until our last word, until our last bullet.

\* \* \*

Each aggressive act of ours is also a moment of the total revolutionary war playing out at all levels. The money from this robbery was not destined for the artificial consumer paradise. It is simply the tool in order to move all forms of struggle. From the printing of communiques to the purchase of weapons and explosives, for the funding of illegal structures of defense and attack. From the rental of our illegal houses to the supply of explosives in order to blow up their social peace.

Our aim is the spread of direct action against the generalised condition of slavery that we experience. Whether in a guerrilla formation, or openly, face-to-face, with any way each of us appreciates to be more fertile and effective, in any way fancied by each individual and group that contribute to



the struggle. Always, the aim of each move of ours, of every guerrilla attack, is the spread of revolutionary consciousness. In order to stand consciously against the world of universal enslavement, against an ever-transforming enemy that sweeps everything in their path. Against this condition, the struggle for freedom and the attempt to assign combative elements to every aspect of anarchist struggle is fertile and necessary.

Because anarchy can never become a pleasant idea amidst the world of universal submission; rather, it finds itself in a never-ending clash with it. It cannot limit itself neither to harmless and democratically acceptable expressions, nor to fetishisms of the mediums -- but it comprises, rather, an undivided totality of all forms of struggle. Each individual or group, according with the desires, the intentions and their reasoning, contributes by any means possible, to the continuation of the struggle. Anarchy is our way to organise, to live and to struggle. It is the organisation without any restrictions, it is the incessant struggle. It is the extreme camaraderie that we experience in the revolted communities, against the rotten social fabric. In closing, we would like to greet all the comrades who acted. Pasting posters, shouting slogans, organising gatherings, issuing solidarity statements (from inside and outside prison). To those who, at this moment, prepare their attacks.

PS. 1. We also want to send our solidarity to the hunger striker Spyros Dravilas, who gives a painful and tough struggle for a breath of freedom. Much strength.

PS. 2. A short while ago, comrade Ryo from Indonesia was killed in a random fray. Ryo was anarchist who promoted international solidarity through his action. Now, even when he is absent from the hostilities that we cause against the existent, we are convinced that we always look toward the same star, the star of continuous anarchist revolt. Honour to comrade RYO.

The anarchists  
*Nikos Romanos*  
*Dimitris Politis*  
*Andreas-Dimitris Bourzoukos*  
*Giannis Michailidis*

13th of February 2013

**One word only: Dignity.**

What charge is more beautiful  
 than the robbery of a bank?  
 And yet the comrades were not beaten  
 for "breaking the law".  
 They were beaten for their conscious attack against  
 the state monopoly of violence.  
 And they stood up against the mechanisms  
 and their violence, just like it is fitting for every  
 revolted person.

Not a word to the pigs, insults to the judges and the  
 journalists  
 Let the oppressors realise this.

Neither the torturing,  
 nor the pillorying,  
 cannot discipline all those who  
 resist their commands.  
 They cannot dry the lust for a free life

**Cops, judges, politicians  
 you have no reason to sleep in peace**

**Solidarity to the 4 charged for the robbery of  
 the bank in Kozani**

*anarchists for individual and social emancipation*



## Words of Nikos during solidarity gathering

*On the afternoon of Sunday, February 17th, approximately 70 comrades attended the scheduled solidarity gathering in front of Avlona prison, where Nikos Romanos has been locked up since February 11th. Four anti-riot squadrons guarded the prison gates the whole time. Comrades set up a sound system. So, when they managed to have telephone contact with Nikos, his words were heard everywhere loud and clear through the microphone. Also, for about five minutes there was eye contact with Nikos, and all of the gathered people erupted in screams and shouts. Below is a transcription of Nikos' message to his solidarians.*

Let me start by saying a few words about my case. From the first moment there was an effort to victimize us by concealing our own choices and presenting us as if we were some drifted youths. An effort launched by arrangers of state propaganda and continued by the reformist circles of leftist components such as the so-called 'Anti-authoritarian Movement' (Alpha Kappa/AK) and the 'Anticapitalist Left Cooperation for the Overthrow' (ANTARSYA). So, on the one hand all sorts of mainstream media have been sharpening the strategic towards the de-politicization of anarchist action, converting our choices into sobbing stories for tabloids, on the other hand the reformists of Alpha Kappa and ANTARSYA, without even saying a word about aggressive practices of struggle, have been sobbing their sad tales about us, contributing to our de-politicization.

To me, the sole fact that four armed anarchists were arrested without prior fight is a defeat that leaves no room for further victimization. Over many years, there has been a rich historical experience, a guerrilla tradition where revolutionaries fight to the end; a perception that promotes a genuine choice of conflict with Power; an option that has managed to shape important historical legacies of revolutionary struggle. Obviously, responsibility for this fact lies exclusively with us, the four arrestees. The reasons that prompted us to act in this manner were explained in the text we published on our case. Therefore, as for tortures while in custody, it is obviously important to analyze the strategic intentions of Power against us. However, when this analysis tends to overlie the choices of struggle that led us to prison, then it merely reproduces a terror-frenzy perception without any revolutionary perspective. To me, an appropriate response to tortures and murders of comrades (without equalizing the different significance of each) is reta-

liation against the enemies of freedom; retaliation that is simultaneously connected with multiform anarchist action, thus creating permanent foci of resistance.

I will now try to convey my lived experience in such a way as to be understood by everyone. The psychic pain of subjugation and bloodless surrender cannot be compared to the beatings by cops. Beatings put you into a rage, while the other pain haunts you.

In closing, I would like to salute all the comrades who have actively supported us by distributing texts, setting up sound systems at gatherings, fly-posting, organizing demonstrations, and setting targets on fire to warm our hearts.

Finally, I would like to send my unreserved solidarity to hunger striker Spyros Dravilas (prisoner in struggle at Domokos prison) and let you know that 37 individuals from Avlona prison declared their support with his fight for a breath of freedom.

*Nikos Romanos*  
17th of February 2013

## **Letter of Nikos concerning the Conspiracy Cells of Fire**

In the near future I will be called by the modern inquisitor Mokkas to “apologize” (testify) concerning my participation in the Revolutionary Organization Conspiracy Cells of Fire.

The reason I clarify my position is to state my choices and attitudes of struggle to my comrades. The penal responsibilities of an indictment leave me indifferent. Not from the position of a martyr but as an anarchist choice of clashing with the laws and the juridical mafia.

I do not recognize their procedures, neither the right to be judges by sub-humans, such as Mokkas, who for me do not even have the right to life. As much as I can I intend to insult their procedures and highlight, as a hostage now, the revolutionary conflict taking place everyday with authority. The intransigent attitude towards the judges is one more moment of battle in this war condition we are living.

I state therefore that I was never a member of the R.O. CCF and I still disagree with positions of the organization. This fact was not a serious enough reason for me not to be comradely connected with the comrades of the CCF. A connection which led me to share with them common thoughts, worries, experiences, knowledge. To share experiences for the attack on dominance and its allies.

I engraved and continue to engrave a course on the territories where the anarchist struggle stands high and spreads its insurrectionary force. In this contradictory but pleasant course, my choice of participating in revolutionary structures (and of course not the technical mistakes I made) does not constitute “guilty” evidence but honourable of me.

The oppressive strategy denies the autonomy of the anarchist groups of direct action and based on a centralized model they use the CCF to “excuse” the aggressive practices of the wider insurrectionary tendency.

A similar condition was also experienced by the fighters in Italy with the prosecutions of prosecutor Marini. The witch-hunt unleashed by Marini led to the condemnation of anarchists to exterminating sentences and tough restriction measures. One more example which proves that the terms of the “dialogue” should not be legal but armed.

Our attitude tries to promote a perception which is indifferent to the legalistic matters (to the extent possible of course) and targets the root of reproduction of all these methods, our common enemy.

Insurrectionist practices should be enriched and the level of violence should multiply.

I stand in solidarity with the imprisoned members of the CCF and I raise my fist to them from the prisons I am now hostage. Strength comrades.

Comrade greetings to all the guerilla groups, the cells of FAI/IRF and the revolting individualities all over the world.

LONG LIVE DIRECT ACTION  
LONG LIVE ANARCHY

*Nikos Romanos*  
Avlona Prisons

22th of February 213

P.S.1. When you are restless, take a deep breath and look high up. In the star you will see are hidden our hopes and behind them our smiles. For now continue, to love, to attack, to fight. Anyway, you know. People who hope die holding hands, this is how it should be. In the middle there is nothing, that is the only thing for sure. Until then use as a life compass your experience. Argiris and Foivos, strength and good luck. (These two comrades are wanted for the robbery in Kozani and on the run.)

P.S.2. The only happy news of the days is the positive course of the health of comrade P.Argirou. My thoughts are with you comrade.

## Letter of Andreas-Dimitris from Koridallos prison

*'It wasn't quite dawn yet, but I have never accepted defeat'*

25 minutes past midday. The last time I had a look at the time. Behind us a patrol car and in the van my two comrades, the 'hostage' and I. Only a few minutes earlier our emotions were completely different. For an instant, everything seemed to be perfectly all right, until they arrested our comrade in the 'ambulance'. All of a sudden we lost heart but in spite of this we remained as much lucid as we could, and in this way we managed to ensure our comrades' escape.

Let's go back to the picture of the beginning: the three of us along with the 'hostage' in the van and an 'accidental' encounter (actually it was not at all accidental because the alarm had been raised in all the surrounding villages) with a patrol car. In the last minutes of our freedom the countdown had already started. What we said to each other in the van is not relevant to our story, what is relevant is our final decision. We wouldn't have fired and put the doctor's life in danger. But it was our only choice at that moment. However the only weapon we had in those conditions was our passion for freedom. And we used it as best as we could. After a chase in the streets of Veria, just like in a film, we got finally trapped by a patrol passing there by chance, in a dead end road. It is pointless to tell the rest of this story once again.

The only thing I'd like to clarify is the part concerning torture, as this was quite a big thing. I know that in society the image of someone who got beaten up can generate fear, compassion or doubts. But this is not the case with us comrades. I also want to say that the State intentionally allowed our photos be made public, and they did so with the intent to terrorize those who might think to do what we did. Perhaps it was a 'mistake' due to hurry and the fact that any operation of the Anti-terrorism Squad is done almost automatically. Be that as it is, I don't want to concentrate on this now. Instead, I'd like to shortly talk about the thoughts that crossed my mind during the time we were beaten up.

I never felt like a victim and of course I don't want that others consider me as such. During those four hours of continuous beating one of the things I was thinking about was the possible scenarios on the 'end' the cowardly and bully pigs had in mind. Neither fear nor pain, just anger. In spite of how much truth can hurt, you just take someone by the hair and put them on their knees. While the beating was going on without stopping I recalled all

the years when I had chosen to clash with this rotten system. All my choices and thoughts became flesh and bones. Perhaps one single minute with my hands tied would have been enough. Perhaps the torture was just a proof confirming how the system is rotten.

But let's talk about money now, the money that flows abundantly (including during these times of crisis) in banks, public offices and all kinds of capital investment (like Cosco). This is the blood of capitalism.

My refusal to become yet another well-oiled clog of the system is one of the many reasons why I decided to carry out a bank robbery (personally I call it 'expropriation'). I mean I've never wanted to be another 'pedestrian' on this earth, one who has a 'normal' job and a 'normal' life. I didn't take much to understand that work aims at exploiting the human being for the sake of Capital, of the concentration of capital in the hands of few, which doesn't take much to show its side effects. At that point I asked myself some questions: were fraud and corruption leading the system to crisis isolated cases or is the crisis itself a pre-arranged plan that serves to achieve yet more profits? Was the 'crash' of the bank system due to lending or was it a capitalist trick for more concentration of capital, for an even bigger capitalization?

Surely we are facing an unprecedented crisis in capitalist reality and surely the crisis was preceded by the 'crash' of the bank system. But we are talking about two sides of the same counterfeit coin. Capitalism couldn't exist without the bank system nor would exist one of the most important means of capital concentration. As the State was called in to fill up bank safes when the crash of the bank system was imminent, so banks were called in to strengthen investments and pave the way to a new capitalization of the banks immediately after the collapse of the State machinery. A vicious circle that serves to spare death to moribund capitalism.

Looking at the brief history of Greece in the European Union and at its economic collapse I can only interpret it as something that was planned in advance, both Greece's collapse and that of other European countries hit by the crisis. As Greece joined the euro zone with a 'creative logistics' (as Greek logistics has been called), prime minister Simitis talked about a wonderful era and presented Greece as a strong country, in constant development, just like any other EU state. And at that time the middle class hoped in the advent of the capitalist heaven. But this ended with the 2008 crisis, the 'mark' of the capitalist system, and the beginning of collapse. What followed was once again 'creative logistics', this time introduced by Giorgos Papandreu so as Greece could benefit of financial support mechanisms (IMF-ECB). And then we came where we are today, to the total selling off of people's lives and the elimination of human dignity. Of course this goes hand in hand with low-cost investments and opportunities for the plunder of nature, as they are doing today in several places.



Lived experiences and the unbearable pressure imposed on society are sufficient to demonstrate the dirty face of capitalism in all its clarity. I recognize my action as expropriation. To me the real thieves are those who administer bank executive bodies and the state apparatus. An obvious assistant of the crisis of the system is repression, be it generalized or aimed at an objective, and repression is meant to terrorize and debilitate the whole society. Its main target is the wide anarchist-subversive spectre, which often acts as detonator and catalyst for insurrection, tensions and the anger that is increasingly spreading in different social sectors.

The paradox of the repressive politics of the State can be seen in the way it also strikes other social sectors that resist as it describes them as 'illegal and terrorist people who only want destruction'. An example of this is the spasmodic reaction of the State after the events of Skouries. The massive fire that totally destroyed the equipment of the gold mines was quickly labelled as 'terrorist attack'. It is a fact I welcome and I'm on the side of those who realized it. The only possible dialogue with a multinational that wants to destroy and plunder nature for its profits' sake is pure and hard attack. I acknowledge the courage of the people who opted for direct action and took their lives in their hands. They caused fatal injury to both the 'El Dorado' enterprise and the State. This is also the reason why on the following day the entire village of Skouries was literally inundated with forces of order, which promptly raided all the houses of the village. This method reminds of civil war and shows the totalitarianism of the State, which turned the village into a war zone. Of course they also talked of the 'involvement of terrorist anarchists' in this attack. Since the beginning the media hastened to locate the 'terrorists who gave instructions for the attack'. Media tactics are well-known: denounce, terrorize and vilify always following the guidelines of the messenger in charge, the Security of The State, the Anti-terrorism Squad or the government itself. Authentic 'workers' of oppression and submission are digging graves – deep enough to allow everyone in – so that the repressive arm can continue its work and the judiciary mafia can bury everything when resistance occurs.

In this way the delirium of the media (Goebbels-style propaganda) also set off immediately after our arrest. Perfect stuff for the news bulletins of terror and the screenwriters of the anti-terrorism fiction. I can't help recognizing a clear political line adopted by the media when with pomposity and sensationalism they talked about our 'certain participation in other actions besides the robbery'. Using a tactic similar to that employed in Italy in the mid-nineties to strike the anarchists (ORAI case), the Greek state is trying to repress all forms of resistance.

It was easy to imagine what was to happen in the days following my arrest. Some special prosecutor in charge of terrorism-related cases (can he be

named Mokkas?) would summon me on the basis of empty evidence, apart from the conjectures of the Antiterrorism, and point at me as a member of some organization. Confirmation of this didn't take long to come.

I was summoned by the special investigation judge (in fact he's called Mokkas), who included me in the revolutionary organization Conspiracy of the Cells of Fire. Of course I recognize the actions of the CCF and its members as revolutionary, but this doesn't prevent me from saying that I've got nothing to do with this organization. I've never been a member of it because of essential differences in both projectuality and the general perception of society. By making me a member of the CCF the State can easily increase my sentence and consequently the years I should spent in prison. But I think this is just putting all in the same bag, a flagrant grouping that automatically suppresses any political attitude of a fighter.

*'Price of self-determination is never low,  
and in same cases it is incredibly expensive.'*

Certainly the trajectory to revolution and anarchy cannot be covered with rose petals, but it is not the only trajectory either, no matter what the current situation is like. Our means are well-known and need constant development, and the range of choices we have in our armoury is wide enough. I think that any revolutionary has to have the necessary acuteness and lucidity to choose the most adequate 'weapons' according to the conditions. The road to resistance presents many aspects and we need a multiform struggle. It can be a poster calling for a strike, the occupation of some state-owned building, arson on a bank, an explosive attack on some structure of the State, expropriation of the money belonging to the State: the goal is still the same, i.e. on the one hand to strike the structures and functions of capitalism, on the other hand to spread the means, practices and conceptions of struggle for anarchy, for freedom.

I'm in a society very much varied and I always struggle for myself, my comrades, the definitive destruction of the system and the total collapse of the existent. This does not mean that I will stop criticizing those who deserve my critique because they are responsible for maintaining and reproducing a rotten and oppressing system with their tolerance and indifference.

*"This revolution must be violent, even if violence is not right in itself.  
It would be absurd to hope that the privileged ones recognize t  
he suffering and injustice caused by their privileges  
and that they decide to voluntarily renounce them."*

Violence emerges from inside us and it is the only worthwhile response to the decay and misery generated by the system. The radicalization of society

is obvious nowadays. The historically important question is: where is this polarisation heading to? A tangible example of this tension can be seen in the growing percentage of votes gained by Golden Dawn during the elections, and the recurrent episodes of racist attacks in the centre of Athens. Clearly this is a superficial 'extreme' position because it lacks conscience. Presenting itself as an alleged 'anti-system party' Golden Dawn has managed to recuperate most of the anger of some social sectors.

Needless to say, I'm not a supporter of the 'theory of the extremes', and I don't consider Golden Dawn as anti-system. It is even too clear to me that they are indeed part of the system and also a weapon of the system. This is the reason why Golden Dawn shouldn't attract less attention than it deserves.

We will organize for a multiform and lasting struggle to destroy work and its foundation of oppressive relations, and will do this through conscious expropriation of capitalist wealth with the aim of strengthening and supporting the struggle. We will continue on the road of direct action and total attack on the capitalist system. By constantly communicating and stirring up the anarchist-subversive environment as well as wider social sectors we can spread anarchist relations and self-management of our lives. By being constantly present in the streets and in wild street struggles we form our conscience and fighting soul, and violence spreads in the struggle.

No: molotov bottles and barricades are not steps necessary to 'climb higher' and eventually dedicate oneself to gas bottles, bombs and armed struggle. Instead, they constitute an inseparable part of the struggle itself. One completes the other. Street struggle is as much necessary as is night sabotage carried out with all means against the machinery of the State. Armed struggle is one of the expressions of the fight, an indispensable expression that has to support the wider struggles of the movement and be supported by the latter. Any sabotage separated from the struggles of the movement and wider claims risks to pass through history in low profile, as if it was an unimportant event, and finally be erased.

Let's leave an indelible 'imprint' in history. The moment has come, let's make revolution possible and destroy plutocracy, for anarchy.

*Andreas-Dimitris Bourzoukos*  
Koridallou prison, wing A  
March 2013



## **Five anarchists arrested in Nea Filadelfia (Athens)**

On Tuesday, April 30th, at around 4pm, anarchists Yannis Naxakis and Grigoris Sarafoudis were arrested on Dekeleias avenue in the district of Nea Filadelfeia, as they were coming out of a cafeteria.

At the same time, a large police force stormed the café and caught the anarchist fugitives Argyris Ntalios —who tried to break out of the kettle— and Fivos Harisis-Poulos. Both comrades had arrest warrants pending against them since mid-February 2013 (after the double robbery in Velventos–Kozani and the incarceration of anarchists Andreas-Dimitris Bourzoukos, Dimitris Politis, Nikos Romanos and Yannis Michailidis).

Anarchist Dimitris Hadjivasiliadis was also arrested inside the same cafeteria in Nea Filadelfeia.

All five were transferred to the anti-terrorism service on the 12th floor of the Athens police headquarters. The two comrades that were caught out on the street, as well as the two that were wanted by the authorities encountered the violence of statist dogs in the anti-terrorist office. The fifth comrade was forced to stand for twelve hours handcuffed tightly behind his back and when he was taken into a cell (the white cells of the 12th floor), he remained handcuffed for several hours.

The same evening, the Greek security force put out a report that accused all of them of resisting arrest and giving false testimony —because the five anarchists refused to give fingerprints, profiles or DNA samples, which were ultimately taken by force. In addition, Naxakis, Sarafoudis and Hadjivasiliadis were charged with harbouring fugitives.

On Wednesday noon, May 1st, the arrestees were all transferred to Evelpidon courts, where the media crows were lurking, and were met with the comrades' hostility. The comrades stood before prosecutor and interrogator without any formal indictment and (for some) without being allowed to meet with a defense lawyer in advance that would also be present in the hearing, what perhaps occurred for the first time in the history of similar cases. The judges applied their usual tactic to postpone the preliminary hearing for two days regardless of the arrestees' wishes. Ntalios, Harisis, Naxakis and Sarafoudis refused to make any statement. On the other hand, Hadjivasiliadis demanded that he be heard immediately with the presence

of a defense lawyer. His demand was dismissed, so the comrade stated that he has denied food and water already from the moment of his arrest, and he goes on hunger/thirst strike for as long as he be locked up in the white cells of the antiterrorism torturers. Lastly, he held the judges responsible for his prolonged custody on the 12th floor of the Athens police headquarters, where the cops were attempting only to 'manufacture' an accusatory brief against the three anarchists for whom no warrants were outstanding in order to ask for their pretrial incarceration.

On Wednesday evening, preventive detention warrants were executed against the two ex-fugitives, and Fivos Harisis and Argyris Ntalios were transferred to Koridallios prison.

On Thursday, May 2nd, Ntalios, Harisis, Naxakis and Sarafoudis were charged in past robbery cases on the basis of 'findings' from DNA samples that were forcibly taken by them. Additionally, an appellate judge who handles such cases issued preventive detention warrants against Yannis Naxakis and Grigoris Sarafoudis. An indictment was presented to all five arrested in Nea Filadelfeia, including the accusation of 'membership into a criminal organization with a view to committing robbery,' in accordance with the Greek antiterrorist law, without exhibiting any direct evidence of premeditation or even intent, other than some orange juices served on the cafeteria table...

Meanwhile, on Thursday, the cops staged a psychological war on Hadjivasiliadis to make him stop the strike. They brought water bottles inside the cell, repeatedly 'offered' him food and water, and threatened him that he would stay there for many more days. Hadjivasiliadis and his lawyer insisted on his right to medical examination. A doctor came in at night, and assured that there was no immediate danger to him at this stage but his condition could deteriorate any moment. The doctor also told the human-guards to let the transom window of the cell's door open, to help the striker breath more efficiently.

On Friday morning, May 3rd, the five anarchists were brought to Evelpidon courts once again, where only a few comrades and relatives were gathered in solidarity. Four of the accused insisted upon their refusal to make any statement. Then Ntalios and Harisis read a text in solidarity to striker Hadjivasiliadis, declaring that he is being held without any substantial evidence whatsoever against him. The judges had no basis to press criminal organization charges against the arrestees and set bail conditions instead for all five of them.

Nevertheless, Dimitris Hadjivasiliadis was the only one to be released, and thus stopped his three-day hunger and thirst strike.

Argyris Ntalios and Fivos Harisis were taken back to Koridallos.

In the meantime, Yannis Naxakis and Grigoris Sarafoudis were still held as suspects in a bank robbery case, awaiting further proceeding in the city of Larissa. According to mainstream media, these two anarchists were brought before an interrogator on Saturday, May 4th. They are said to be remanded and moved to Koridallos prison.

## Letter of Fivos and Argiris from Koridallos prison

*“To you who at night you go to bed desperate from the futility of the struggle, from the oppression which ‘steals’ the comrades from us, the squats, which wipes out anything that stands in front of it. Get dressed, take with you a decision and fight. Let history write of those who fought till the end, till the last revolutionaries become dust in the passage of updated technological oppression. Let the whore of a history write about the enraged cries of the People before their executions. Yes, to you who at night counts the stars and your heart beats fast, faster, even more faster awaiting the dawn for the continuation of the attempt and the struggle... ALL OR NOTHING”*

That afternoon in the area of Nea Filadelfia ended the beautiful journey of freedom which we had begun after the official announcement of our illegality. Time froze, minutes were also set under surveillance and the sky hid from the hoods of our persecutors. We fell into their hands, the bitter feel of defeat which entails a captivity will hunt us behind the walls as well as long as the memories of our free life will come alive in our minds. Our journey of illegality, struggle and freedom in no way began in mid February -when our arrest warrants were published- neither ended with our hands cuffed behind our backs in unmarked cop cars.

All these years we decided to take a battle position in the anarchist struggle we experienced valuable moments of conflict, violence, discussions, attempts, casualties. But above all the smile left on our face by the feeling that we accomplished something, the minimal pebble we put with our comrades for the structuring of a true and unenslaved life. Through the molotovs, rocks and teargass on the protests, the chase with the cops in the alleyways of the centre, the violent actions, the discussions with comrades and friends sharing our common worries for the promotion of the Struggle. So many moments, means and forms of actions which we countdown time backwards in order to re-live.

We are not the ones who have something to regret, but all those who follow the development of their lives on televisions, who remain impassive looking at the bloodied repercussions of the marathon of indifference. All those indifferent who “kill” daily from their couches.

Statements of repentance consist for us an acceptance of victory of authority. And as for those who speak of “mislead youths” which are lured, let



us remind them that mislead are those who sleep next to the illusion of assurance and are comfortable with mediocre and harmless solutions not troubling themselves to risk even the minimum. They should stop characterizing us as mislead youths attempting to depoliticize our action.

No it is not us who have to apologize for the charges attributed to us but all the enemies of freedom whether they are called cops, judges, interrogators or politicians, technocrats and businessmen, for their repeated murders.

We have nothing more to state than that we are proudly on the side of the Guilty of our Times, a circle which all the disputers of authority always had. People all around the world in their own way -depending on the social/political particularities which make them- look at the stars in the skies and prepare for their own bloody battles with authority.

From the position we are now and looking at the now barbedwired sky we have few means of struggle at our disposal. Despite all this with pencil and paper, with our refusal to apologize before cops and judges, with our refusal to succumb to the humiliating cavity search in prison and but also to "swallow" the sterile profile of a prisoner, with our attempt to create a community of struggle inside the walls of the prisons together with anarchists and dignified prisoners we will will gamble on the always open bet of revolutionary prospect.

### **Concerning the r.o. Conspiracy Cells of Fire....**

As it can be seen from the rest of our text but also our attitude towards the cops and judges we have no intention and aim to enclave our speech calling on legal terms which are of another world clashing with ours. Despite that the charges for the CCF attributed to us have a political character, it is therefore important to clarify our position. We state that we are not members of the r.o. CCF. In the last years the police-juridical circles through the CCF attempt first of all in the legal part to load people up with more charges placing them in the organization and secondly to enclave the autonomous political journeys of those arrested fighters in the frames of only one organization. Presenting and baptising as a member whoever happens to be arrested, authority tries to present to the outside the struggle and more specifically the violent/guerilla side of it as a monopoly of a group not recognizing the autonomy of action or its diffusion inside the wider subversive movement.

Putting "aside" the fact that authority uses the organization of CCF in no case do we do not overlook the big contribution of this specific anarchist revolutionary organization to the continuation and enrichment of the strug-

gle itself (for example the bet of internationalizing the anarchist struggle). And this contribution is independently of whatever disagreements or agreements we have with their speech and action.

The anarchist struggle does not cease to be a large mosaic of ideas, political speech and perceptions as well as an inlay of different and multiform aggressive attacks. Our intention in any case is the common -of each revolutionary cell- acceptance and understanding of the meaning of COMMUNITY, the community of struggle against the state and the diffuse authoritative relation.

The meaning of community in no way means identification at a level of speech and action but a project which has to be understood and appropriated not only by the anarchists/revolutionaries but all the oppressed of authority.

Let us finish once and for all inside and outside the anarchist movement with the fragmented resistances and lets bleed on the trenches of collective resistance against the onslaught of dominance.

### **Some thoughts about the condition of clandestinity**

When the warrants and our pictures were published we took the decision to disappear since we had no intention to give away our freedom to no people-guards, neither to bury our ideas and actions between juridical files and documents. We realize the condition of clandestinity as a “balance on a tight rope”. As a condition where danger lurks at any moment of the day, from the movement in the streets to the safe-houses and the meetings with friends and comrades under the fear of police surveillance. A situation which demands continuous attention and careful planning. In the battle of clandestinity the smallest mistake can cost you dearly, the slightest relaxation could be exploited by the enemy. It is a peculiar regime where everyday life is structured on rules and security measures.

The bet set from the first moment of our disappearance was: how to “burglar” the regime of isolation which the clandestine condition is trying to impose. And the isolation we describe has two sides, political and existential. On one side of the coin isolation “means” an inactivity at a level of political action which means simple survival. The truth is that the means and forms of action are limited. Public appearances at meetings or protests and generally movement structures are now dangerous. Despite all this it is in our hands to try with smart ways -with whatever risk each

is willing to take- to not lose any contact with the social events and as much as possible affect them with our action. Our position on the actions and possibilities of the struggle is that there should not be a standard/dogmatic logic which wants its means to follow the dipole legal-illegal. A clandestine fighter can wear the hood and attack with weapons as well as sharing out flyers at night. It is time for our imagination invents innovative ways of use and managing of ALL means, either from the safe-houses or the legal houses. The other side of the coin reflects the isolation at a personal, existential level. A distance from our loved ones -friends, relatives etc.- but also contact with few people every day create an "individual void". This situation creates a sharp sensation. On one side you feel like you miss those people close to you but also various aspects of the struggle, on the other with the few comrades you are with are created fraternal bonds which are difficult to describe on a "piece of paper".

Simultaneously the condition of clandestinity also offers each fighter the possibility to evolve and raise the level of armed conflict with the regime. A characteristic example are the illegal structures/groups of anarchists in the last years who with their guerilla action factually disputed the monopoly of state violence and caused material and political wounds to the dominance and its civilization. The importance of guerilla structures is crucial in the evolution of our war with authority functioning as a front-line of the destructive force of anarchy. Crucial because it keeps alive the bet of generalized armed insurrection against the regime and makes democracy drop its alleged rectified façade revealing its real self. At the same time it creates such situations in which is succeeded the spreading of anarchist speech and practice to the wider social body. Guerilla actions does not consist an end in itself but neither is isolated from the rest of the movementist processes. It functions and acts based on them transferring the war to a military level.

### **For those who support us and are supported by us...**

Going together under the two skies...

At some point you stop, you look at your people there and you continue... Some stay behind, some fell into captivity and now bite the bars in their rage. In the cells of their prison the revolution feeds with numerous Memories and imaginary ifs, and ifs, and ifs...

If what? Ask the index to turn back. Take the answer in the noose of confinement...

Some others out there alone, stop, think, cry and again fight. Stubborn. They count their fears and inhibitions, sometimes they come out ..... and some-

times they pull the trigger. The bullet sticks in a great hope. It hugs the plans, embraces for a last time the date and salutes for years Dekelias avenue.

Sudden change of environment. The blue sky transforms into a small white lamp. The smiles of our comrades are wearing hoods.

The motherfuckers are fooled. That moment the sight of the inevitable shadows the beating. No one feels, hurts. They only taste the big defeat.

Listen to me carefully. Take with you what we lived, all that we risked, all that we lost, all that we would live but had "bad luck" on the way... Hide inside you one by one every promise and hide so they cant find you EVER... In the land of their sunset you are clandestine, illegal, enemy.

Talking with era the other day we realized our guilt.

It is not right to hide inside you the inevitable. Then again maybe you feel guilty.

In no case however change your freedom with an eternal await.

I do not know where you will be today, tomorrow, now. I imagine you know how these things are.

Close your eyes therefore and think: a smile, a walk in the forest, our stormy discussions, our ambushes and attacks. And as soon as you open you eyes look at the sky and say: Lets go again, this time till the end.

LONG LIVE ANARCHY

SOLIDARITY TO ANARCHIST COMRADES GIANNIS NAXAKIS AND GRIGORIS SARAFOUDIS AND TO ALL DIGNIFIED HOSTAGES INSIDE THE WALLS

NO PROSECUTION TO ANARCHIST DIMITRIS HADJIVASILADIS

NOTHING IS OVER – THE HOSTILITIES CONTINUE

anarchists

*Fivos Harisis*

*Argiris Dalios*

1<sup>st</sup> wing of Koridallos prison

May 2013



## **Letter of Giannis Naxakis from Koridallos prison**

A month after my arrest I still remain sunken in thoughts trying to find moments of calm and clarity, so I can finally put the pen down to write a couple of words. My mood changes at the speed of light, it goes up and down non-stop and is finding it hard to find a steady point to hold on to. The account of what happened in Nea Filadelfia sickens me, the renewed conclusions that come out hurt me, the realization of what exactly happened kills me. I relapse when listening to daily boring and endless discussions evaluating months, years, charges and all the other relevant matters. We know very well why we are in here and the reason is definitely not for some common criminal practices just like we know that from now on time does not necessarily roll with us counting down to the exit.

That afternoon of April, one fucking mistake of ours was more than enough to enslave us and stay there to haunt our dreams. In one moment the universe was de-stabilized, the hands of the clock turned back and the flow made a sudden reverse. One fucking conspiratorial rule was not followed that day -in a series of many followed- and this was more than enough for the thugs of the anti-terrorist force to catch us. In a -as much as the term is allowed- unsuspecting moment the bastards got the upper hand. Four people, a circle of anarchists, a cell in Koridallos. A series of arrests that took place these last years in front of us were enough to trouble us but not to make us realize the surgical accuracy and consistency our moves require in the frames of security. What is required for sure in these cases is the strict alignment of attack and security and obviously I am not talking about making discounts on the first part. We saw imprisonments, we saw numerous prosecutions coming to people from nowhere, we knew very well about discreet and indiscreet surveillances but still the bad moment came. Let me be the last sucker that gets caught, I will be glad, I would accept it as an honour to manage to write the epilogue in such a long history. This is why you comrades out there, while conspiring your plans, look at each other and say: "We will do better than them. They got to the impossible, we will dare the unthinkable!" And this promise might secure you the ticket to the sky... These imprinted thoughts are a retreat before emotions, more of a soul deposition than an "obligatory" deposition of speech, an attempt to find already existing common worlds and an individual redefinition on exterior factors, which all together and each one separately anticipate the absolute. The words in here want to communicate directly with the insurgent heart out there. A heart which was shot from authority at the peak of its inno-

cence and since then was scared for ever. It was shaken, wounded and bled endlessly but a strange thing -destined to be revealed later- saved it. And this heart did not cease, but was only left to not feel anything, except hate. Time passed however and slowly slowly it started feeling some interior processes. A tough dual between numerous insecurities and their overcoming, were evolving with the intensity increasing rapidly. It wasn't long before the inevitable came and this heart broke and overflowed, releasing from its depths a mysterious, new substance in abundance. As a result an unprecedented feeling was born which gradually revealed the hidden lust of life, the refusal. A new condition of life is established which is freely translated into war with authority, conscious and permanent and a general unwillingness for anything besides that. This heart still beats hard...

The existing condition amongst us, pleads for only one thing, destruction. No analysis can give it an precise description but only confirmation. The socio-centric analyses ignore a basic fact for the reading of "objective reality". They ignore out of naivety that is, that authority in the form of exploitation as meant by many today, begins where the individual ends. Authority which characterizes the existing around us, pre-exists in the individual as a basic element which defines its existence, like an instinct which defines its survival. Authority in other words is not a metaphysical element which one morning came to infect "free" society, authority is an element of nature as sure as life and death. The socialized individual therefore, as much as it fights it, it equally carries it. The infamous revolution therefore, is nothing more than the overcoming of this contradiction. The revolution is an endless motion cycle, a spiral of life and the most honest element of the individual which represents better than any else its general organizational dead-end besides itself, without the existence of any kind of exploitation. The cop, the judge and all the other shit therefore, are nothing more than roles of enforcement/survival which result from our individual continuation, from our extension to the other individual. The possibility of a liberated and without authority society which some propose for tomorrow is an imagination of the mind, an illusion of hope for the naïve and the dangerous who while realizing the existential gap of the repeated daily life in the world of authority and want to cover it with something more substantial, they do not realize the authority of lying, depravity and wretchedness resulting from the exploitation of the purest intention of an individual who is looking for a way to express spontaneously, directly and without inhibitions, the accumulated oppression and rot shared out by mass society, this disgusting world of accumulated authorities. Authority is neither good, or bad, not small or big. It is one and contagious, widespread like a flood.

In the war of contradictions and towards the vocal commands of the au-

thoritarian camp, refusal holds a special position. It speaks the language of its own desire, which is on its own its intervention, its truth and absoluteness among many.

We must say: "I am the organization, and I am the society. I am the property, and I am the economy. And only I can destroy them." At every moment we must agitate, provoke, ignite and detonate. The next we must spit at ourselves for not accomplishing anything. There is no limit as long as we look up, except for the earth under our feet.

We must fall into the fire together with the molotov. So we burn, melt and from the ashes be reborn as an amalgamation stronger from the fire.

We must seek a life beyond the trodden. When a path seems familiar to us we should go off it and look for the unknown, the wild, the free one. We must glance at the horizon and say: "I am coming to you even if we never meet."

We must know the yesterday but not look back in time even for a second. A moment is enough to do the damage, to trap you in a designated life you have lived before.

We must dispute the given, we must reject the vested. Our motive to get up in the mornings must be the deconstruction of the ideology. Or else tomorrow will find us rotten and history will find us finished.

We must renew ourselves. Know what to throw away and what to keep. See what we have acquired till today in our journey and say: "What we have, is what we are. And starting from now we will demolish the foundations of this world." And renewal becomes regeneration.

We must have time as our ally in the struggle. With courage to say: "Hated world I will not give you even an hour of work. And when your miserable life tires you, I will find the opportunity to 'lift' all of your surplus value." The monster, creates monsters.

We must as well among others recognize the irony and its provocations. Not so much in the part that says: we fight the authoritarian world with its own means and we want to flatten human civilization with tools invented and found in our hands, but the other part which says: fuck yeah, this is what I desire even if the whole fucking universe is against me. Irony on one side, loads of right on the other. No matter how you look at it, civilization is a gigantic crime. If we want something, it is a life without any elements from this one. If we want freedom, we want it wild. Not primitive, new-found.

No matter how many words are said, how many literature volumes are written romantically describing resistance, how many books with heroic stories of insurrections are printed and reprinted over the centuries, how many revolutionary poems, how many preachings of orthodox anarchy, how many wild misanthropic cries or beautiful melodies of unity travel to the ends, how many passionate and graphic chants are shouted loud and



send shivers and how many clear as day propositions of struggle and ready made recipes of liberation -let alone abstract manifestations of refusal- fill thousands of pages of communiques, the world of practices, violent actions, the “dirty” war only can give meaning to whatever theory around the clash with authority. The dynamic of the actions, direct and sudden interventions on the existing is what symbolizes the anti authoritarian justice and sets the terms in the endless hunt of free life. Informal and autonomously the anarchist struggle has a pulse, militantly intrudes into enemy time-spaces destroying structural elements of the opposite world and unites us like a real revolutionary community which has abolished barriers and borders triumphantly, evolving thus the individual conscience to the unpredicted as the sole matter.

From prison now, through a condensed and tough social reality, I come even closer to my responsibilities dealing with the consequences of my choice to follow a provocatively beautiful and strange journey to the world of factual refusal. A new test, harder and more dangerous awaits me around the corner now. With my thought on the fighters who “left” early because they dared, those who their daring journey, included a sudden and long stop at the institution of “correction”, the “incurrigibles” in here who did not expect to see me but in reality joyfully awaited me because this is how fucking things go, those stubborn ones who I entered the gate of the institution with, those stubborn ones outside who ridicule their phobias everyday and those who simply do not understand what means law, police, death, and smiling go ahead to the unknown, I clench my teeth and after a deep breath I start again from zero...

*Giannis Naxakis*  
1st wing Koridallos prisons  
31th of May, 2013

## Letter of Grigoris Sarafoudis from Koridallos prison

What is indisputably clear in the post-crisis historical condition is an economic war. A war which is for sure is from the top towards the bottom, since these last decades the “proletariats” constantly signed treaties of “social peace”, tearing up their collective conscience and living in dreams of consumerism and fabricated prosperity! Now, however, the economic elite, in cooperation with the legal and political authority, takes off the mask of the “right to work” and shows its real – frightening side “it is a privilege to be a slave in the modern hard labour camps”! Let's not be fooled therefore, this economic war we can and must transform it into social war whose aim will not be the sterile claim of “workers rights” but the destruction of today's meaning of work as well as every structure of authority. In this war the state mechanism seeing the wider social unrest, which grows day by day, wants to subdue all resistance, through fear, using all means at its disposal: propaganda of terror-lust and economic insecurity, unseen violent oppression, arbitrary laws and constitutional revisions which are carried out without any political cost and with a clear political intention.

*“Nobody can continue hiding behind of the regularity of their life, but we must leave behind our limits and barriers and go onto the attack.”*

The line between the two camps is very clear. On one side we have the economic, political and legal authority ready to use whoever is willing to state their complete subjugation, to the above, and on the other we have people who resist, overcoming their fears and transforming their everyday life into aggressive action, creating cracks aiming at the deconstruction of this rotten system, hunting moments of absolute freedom, living for today and risking everything. In this camp I place myself as a part of the anarchist movement, which independently of the objective conditions must awaken its collective conscience, overcome the ankylosis and its vested in order to use every time-space with insurrectionist and battle intention. The means we have at our disposal are many and our intention, besides their use for the achieving of our aims, is their diffuse. The sharing of communiques, the self-organized and self-managed spaces, political posters, solidarity acts, sabotage, arsons, conflictual demo's as well as armed struggle are arrows in our quiver. Every action has its own importance and causes its own crack in the under-layer of social cohesion. Of course there is a gradation in the risk we will take in every battle in this war and it is a personal choice which ways everybody will get involved. The only sure thing is that we all must

consistently support co-completion of a wide range of means and different dialectics in the anarchist movement whose intentions are mass social unrest as well as the transition to communal structures of individual and collective freedom.

In relation to our case I want share some of my thoughts:

Concerning the clandestine condition in which two of my comrades were in. The aim of the legal authority, when publishing arrest warrants, is mainly to isolate each anarchist. How the comrades will attempt to break this regime of isolation, does not depend of course only on them, but on all of us who owe to show our factual solidarity, to keep them near us, at a comrade as well as friendly level... !

After one month of detainment the following sentences contain a critique of our arrest but also for all those who claim the title of the “infallible”.

*“One mistake was enough for the walls to rise around us, for the days and nights to become smaller and for us to find ourselves hostages...”*

*This is why you who is going forward should look back at your mistakes and the mistakes of the others and use them in order to be one step closer to the continuation of your daily attack! As for you, who simply remains inactive and your concern is spiteful chatter and safe cafeteria critiques about the actions and mistakes of the others, I have one thing to recognize to you – YES! YOU ARE INFALLIBLE! – ”*

I conclude by saying that we remain UNITED and STRONG ready to fight, with whatever means we have, until we tear down every conceivable and real prison.

P.S. Solidarity to comrade Kostas Sakkas on hunger strike since 4/6/2013

Grigoris Sarafoudis  
1<sup>st</sup> wing Koridallos prisons  
10th of June 2013

## Reverse countdown

This text does not contain complete placements around the matters it grapples. It publicly places thoughts, conclusions and findings. It aims at giving food for thought and desire for action. Until next time.

### **To new comrades**

If something stresses us and troubles us, besides the deprivation of our freedom, it is our worry if the life we gave and give to the struggle, will touch some at the degree we desire.

Those who will decide that anarchy is not a frozen meaning, it is not an ideology, it is not attached with the bug of diplomacy. Our anarchy is expressions of an authentic and slave-less life. One can see it in the flaming bottles against the riot cops in the demos and the night-time attacks, one can see it in the smoke from the incendiary attacks, attacks on fascists and every enemy of freedom.

For those of you who see it therefore do not even bother to speak to it of ideologies, it will not answer to you and despises wooden speech.

The language it speaks, demands passion, rage, imagination and destructive intention. You will feel it flood you when you revolt violently. Fall in love with it and make it yours.

### **Melt the ice of incarceration and warm our hearts with fire...**

...And now words will speak. Words which are not enough to describe our armed decisions and contradictions. But even so they promise, reminisce. Words which revenge the organized silences of the modern world when accompanied by the sounds of explosions of guerilla attacks, creating thus liberated time-spaces in the generalized captivity produced by the system. In these moments therefore neither bruises for the newsreports fit, neither scratches for hypocritical evasiveness. Either way the bodies of the rebels always bared, the beatings, swearing, incarceration and handcuffs. And if some times they stop for a bit, it is not from the slaps and kicks from the pigs, but the subservient looks which silently admit their complicity.

Pity has no place, it never did and never will. It likes to pose however in front of the lens causing unanswered questions in the armies of tv-idiots who never wondered what really goes on in the darkness of invisibility with unknown protagonists the disinherited of the social margin. As for the people of our cast, the bet of destroying the existence and the existential mutiny remains open, for whoever, for those whom the flame of resistance burns their bloodied heart.

### **The choice of robbing a bank and its extensions**

Then come choices. They should be analysed, become clear and understood, take down bridges of communication through their dialectic approach and revolutionary critic. The target? To be adopted by more and more comrades who will judge them as fertile and effective practices of the anarchist struggle. For me bank robberies are a timeless choice of revolutionaries which “unlocks” many possibilities. First of all it releases you from the tentacles of waged labour and the contracts attached to it. Thus time is liberated from your daily life, giving you the choice to devote yourself to your passions. Where the destruction of joy ends, begins the joy of destruction. Simultaneously bank robberies consist also a necessary mean to fund multiform structures of the anarchist struggle with money re-appropriated from the enemy. We are talking about the support of anarchist projects, hostage comrades, guerilla structures. At the same time it is a factual opposition to the social ethics of waged labour and its social roles which the capitalist world reproduces. Of course no action on its own has revolutionary characteristics. The subject through speech, motives and its aims, gives meaning to the action and leads it to the targets it defines. In my case, the refusal of labour is a part of the specific choice, the other is the support of anarchist direct action and attacks against state and capitalism through anarchist urban guerilla.

### **Concerning the anarchist urban guerilla**

The means of urban guerilla is a useful tool in the “arsenal” of every anarchist. An armed confrontation against dominance which disputes in practice so much the state monopoly in violence, as much as the fictitious need of a mass revolt in order to act. Urban guerilla action shows that the system is challenged and its myth of omnipotence can collapse together with the façade of the invincible machine. It causes fatal wounds to the enemy and is a message of insurrection and an open invitation to take action against the oppression. At a personal level you do not let yourself succumb and bow the head before the strength of the system but you arm yourself and attack it. Risks, decisions and consequences are weighed with political and personal criteria and lead to the choice. Either you fight for the destruction of the system or you capitulate with its benefits. A choice which goes along with the qualitative evolution of the anarchist struggle. Something that means we must cast off the political populism which has blossomed in the anti-regime circles. Lets tell it how it is. We are at war with the system, we have casualties, hostages, hunted. None of that can or should be said pleasantly in order to caress the “oppressed” ears. It must be said as it is, a punch in our stomach which we ought to return it to their faces.

For all those who refuse our existence, avoid to connect micro-policies with the multiform anarchist struggle and dream of “self-organized” bloodless struggles and post-capitalist paradises. If we knew them, we have already forgotten them.

### **A few words about the organized boredom of today**

We live in a time where social contracts are delivered to the flames of the onslaught of neo-liberalism. Consequently the welfare state and social benefits shrink before the onslaught of multinational conglomerates.

The spearhead of civilization, the techno industrial complex consolidates its sovereignty. The new order demands a god which will be announced as the saviour of humanity. Its name is science. An authority which cannot be disputed by common mortals while its social acceptance prepares bloodlessly for total control. The application of new technologies, the growing technostucture of the state which abandons the bureaucracy of the past, the desire for voluntary mass control from society, is a taste of a civilized totalitarianism. Through dominating propaganda, daily crimes of science are groomed. With the excuse of improving the living level and medical care. The protectors of life raise the value by wearing the uniforms of hypocrisy. When however they find it necessary they drop the masks in order to exterminate in the name of their god (money), declaring the crusades of today.

Deterministic theories collapse, since despite the economic bloodsucking of the population, people remain prisoners of their inhibitions, fears, vested (which are decreasing more and more). Prisoners of a system from which they depend materially, mentally, spiritually. Tolerance therefore increases and humiliation continues. In the queues at the unemployment offices, the churches soup-kitchens, the bosses offices, in the refined charity of the humanitarian campaigns of the media.

A humiliation which insults human dignity, while the managers of political scene brag about the accomplishments and humanity of democracy.

Modern human beings do not choose, they simply follow the choices of others. They do not worry, they leave others to do that for them. They do not have a voice and prefer to listen to the voices of others. They do not arm themselves, best case scenario they become indignant. They do not live but simply are convinced that the virtual world of screens and adverts are their lives.

Screens of modern civilization project models of people and ideal products, decreasing thus the distance between them.

People, products and machines become one in the whirlpool of control spreading constantly.

The uniqueness of the individual ceases to exist and identifies itself with the mediocrity which takes on the responsibility of silence. A silence which murders while smiling drowned in between products of consumerism heaven, police stations, prisons, concentration camps, psychiatric clinics and the "developed" countries of the capitalist periphery.

Public opinion, this will-less systemic creation, settles with vulgar habits and strolls around the beds of the bosses. Empty opinions therefore are not susceptible of ideological repairs. Besides, no matter how much ideology you sprinkle, shit remains shit.

For the people who against their time take the risk to fight and fall in love passionately, attack will never fit into an ideological mold in order to be liked and fair.

Tracing past historical experiences of struggle, discovering our common points of connection with other fighters, we strengthen the barricades of today and construct the revolutionary prospect of tomorrow.

Lets built militant communities of struggle which will conduct a front-line struggle against state and capitalism.

Lets built anarchist relations inside us living and promoting the anarchy of wild freedom in the present tense.

Lets dare and continue to dare.

10, 100, 1000 revolutionary cells against dominance and mass subjugation.

EVERYTHING FOR FREEDOM!

LONG LIVE ANARCHY!

*“The point where pain does not reach.*

*The point where storms connect with rough seas.*

*The point where hope greets the tears and a promise is enough.*

*The point where sweaty from the stress hands, touch those red-hot faces who eternally wait for that something.*

*At that point we will meet again.*

*And if something is left to be said, lets be consistent”*

My warmest comradely greetings to all anarchists who do not capitulate and maintain the bet of subversion open. To the comrades who choose to strike the state and capital anonymously, those who choose a name to baptise their mutiny, to the cells of the Informal Anarchist Federation – International Revolutionary Front (FAI-IRF), which continue the diffused attack. To all hostage brothers and sisters at every corner of the world who at night look at the stars between bars and barbedwires.

Nikos Romanos

Avlona prison

June 2013

P.S.1. Just before this text came out I was informed of the hunger strike of anarchist comrade Kostas Sakkas who demands his immediate release. In the near future I will publish a text in solidarity to the comrades struggle.

P.S.2. With my look on suburbs of Stockholm set alight and the flaming barricades in Turkey.





## Letter of Giannis Mihailidis

This letter is an attempt to explain my positions and choices as a part of the anarchist insurrectionist action hoping that they serve as a trigger for its spreading.

It is not written under the prism of a specific ideology or crystallized tendency, it is a synthesis with products stolen from the ideological supermarket, as are my thoughts.

It is overwhelmed however by the judgements and values of someone participating in the war against authority, charging from the dazzling ideal of anarchy. An ideal seen so much in traditional communities of the past, as well as revolted communities of past and present.

An ideal which up to now can only be approached, and might never totally dominate. Because as comrade Giannis Naxakis wrote "authority is not metaphysical, it is inside us" just like the passion for free and non-authoritative relations.

The realization that the reality of capitalism is war of everyone against everyone, it is a competition of survival, pushed me to take part in the war against it, to choose position. And considering the fans of order non-conscience murderers, I went with the side of insurrection. Anarchy is the way to revolt while trying to not reproduce what I am fighting against -relations of authority-, anti-hierarchically organizing the communities of struggle.

### Outlining the enemy

The evolution of civilization contains the constant update of a grid of social conventions. This grid is universal, it includes money, laws, ethics. Every clash and every competition of interests is mediated and settled by this system of conventions.

The modern social structure, has been formed in order to balance the counter-forces based on the reproduction but also its strengthening. It is constantly evolving and re-adjusted by many centres of authority, powerful capitalists, state officials and scientists whose prosperity depends on the ability of the social machine to survive and reproduce itself.

Even the destruction of a part of a gigantic machine functions as an opportunity for its updating. Every war, every natural disaster, insurrection, or revolution creates new fields of investment for capitalism and a new, steadier regime is born from the ashes of the previous one. Every previous empire of the past was threatened by other authorities. Capitalism offers such social

flexibility that every powerful element of authority, is simply assimilated. The power of the modern social machine, is its ability to assimilate everything. Every citizen, every worker, is a gear that must be put in the right place. And all feel that they depend on this genius system of depreciation of social vibrations called capitalism and dominates all:

Money is the global language, it is the measure of ability of each person to exploit. Each one when learning how to manage money is initiated in the system of authority.

*"These people are the system. And this system is the enemy"*

This is the powerful world of capital. But the universal religion of money besides a clergy, needs also miracles: The complex science-technology which has placed human intellect at the service of the most pathetic subjects. Powerful machines which murder en mass, torture, exterminate, and worst of all decompose human comprehension. From nuclear bombs, to experiments on animals, to slaughterhouses and animal farms, up to the pollution and destruction of the planet. From the cameras and televisions which spread the role model of a modern slave, up to the smart weapons of the police.

But technology is not neutral, it is a whore which could sleep with you, but will never forget its pimp. A massive force which evolves rapidly bringing this world closer and closer to the brink of absolute control, closer to the final defeat of freedom.

The wondrous new world therefore is here and is so complex that it leaves no one the right to claim they are innocent.

As much as the hypocritical ethics of bourgeois culture has rooted into society, tough reality is present and is incapable of hiding behind the mountain of alleged altruistic ethical rules. The appearances of sensitivity are not earthed with total of forbidden behaviours, the diffuse imposed self-oppression with sole function the prosperity and reproduction of a society of castrated individuals.

Theft is unethical, when it disputes the holy grail of legitimate property, while exploitation through property must be respected. Murders are unethical unless they have been carried out by a cop or mercenary, then it is heroism. It is not worth mentioning the numerous pointless and unimportant rules which simply reproduce complexed humanoids, limiting the erotic and wider human relations.

But ethics is for victims, the lower part of the social pyramid. Those who are at its peak, have already spat on it in order to be there while pretending that they respect and recognize it. Just as it has been spat on by the free and conscious revolutionaries who act based on their judgement feelings and their ethos is formed from the source of empathy defying the norms of prohibitions, with the difference that they do not need to pretend.

Of course the capitalist system is not limited to diffuse structures of authority neither could prosper based on an ethic which anyone can dispute. What it needs is a violent mechanism which will deter everyone from a prospect of dispute of its routine. The violence of legitimacy replaces the margins of ethical rules and ideologies. The global capital is an empire and has as the core of its violence imposition, the democratic co-government.

Just as every totalitarian regime, democracy is also promoted to its subjects as the most beneficial form of authority. And of course it makes sure it reproduces its ethics, culture and propaganda through the state education, spectacle and centrally controlled information. The message that every non authoritative form of organizing human relations is infeasible, is needless to mention, it is implied.

*“There cannot be naked, brutal force violence, because if that was the case Caligula’s horse would have the same right to the ypatia of Rome as its owner”*

Thomas Pownall

In order for the regime to seem as the favourable but also only choice it is not enough for it to be applied with raw violence, it needs appearances of leniency. Democracy of capital is paradise compared to the hell it creates on the lands in exploits.

It avoids applying to its interior the dogma of zero tolerance even if its in its rhetoric in the frames of terrorising those who consciously or not dispute law and order. The limit of tolerance is adjusted in order to secure sensitive balances. Democracy therefore avoids the physical extermination of its internal enemies maintaining the humanistic façade which covers the bloodied nature of the cluster state-capital. Every deviation from this rule consists a confirmation of a destabilization of the system, is and echo of an intense internal dispute which threatens to change the character of the regime. Damage for upper class democracy -which functioning on the guidance of the principles of economy- is called to spend more energy for the restitution of its internal order.

Of course, the whole mechanism of physical violence within democracy, police-justice-prisons, is based on the ideology of security. Crime is the imaginary enemy from which the state protects while producing conditions which create it. The same system which creates weapons, defines their legitimate use from the military branch which through raw violence creates conditions of brutal looting abroad, and the police branch for the imposition of order in the interior, that is the streamlined condition of capitalist exploitation.

Basic mechanism of subjugation of capitalist democracy, is the institution of imprisonment. Incarceration -for humanists, correction- functions as black-

mail for whoever thinks of derogating from civil legitimacy consisting a more lenient way of punishment compared to execution, which protects the humanistic façade of the regime. An elementary part of the modern scientifically structured system of authority which continues to be based on direct and indirect violence in order to accomplish the control of consciences.

### **Armed consciences**

Observing the constant evolution of the technology of oppression and control towards more and more totalitarian models, one question erupts. Against who is the system shielding itself? What threatens to sink its orderliness into chaos? What force are the humanistic appearances trying to deceive?

A force so powerful as the force that created it. Human conscience. A conscience which revealed values that go against the mindless exploitation and oppression. What is called "social vested" is nothing but the update of the regime in order to absorb the values and decrease the reactions against it, remaining in its substance violent and exploitative.

The modern system of authority with basic pylons the constantly evolving technology and science, the powerful capitalistic mechanism and the western democracies as regulators, is the result of a dialectic co-evolution of authority and insurrection. The regime was born from revolutions and remains revolutionary.

The "miracle" of the modern world is the bastard of the intercourse between authority with liberated ideas.

On one side authority limits its brutality, on the other its explosive and swift evolution -sometimes under persecution- of knowledge and freedom of expression launch its power.

A situation that cannot take a positive or negative sign compared with societies of the past, since there are neither measures for comparison, nor a hypothetical history, but only an evolving world, and in its evolution we have the possibility to participate with the force of our own conscience.

The evolution of consciousness goes through the dispute of established ideas and values and creates new ideals going through individual or social insurrections and revolutions. This is course of history. Besides the blood which flows in abundance in order to serve the interests of the rulers, flows also the blood that wets the blossom of insurrection, leaning towards the sun of freedom, subversion of empires. Because free spirits arm themselves and claim their own place in history. Whoever claims that revolutionary action means nothing since the system is too powerful, should wonder how the world would be if it was not formed out of insurrections and revolutions, should wonder to what degree would totalitarianism of authority would have gotten to if the only force evolving was the greedy tendency for more

power, more control. And since the answer is so obvious, let them look at themselves and see the cover-up of their guilty choices.

### **Tracking my journey in the world of insurrection, resistance and solidarity**

Ever since my experiences led me to dispute the dominating state ideology, ever since I realized that every minute of inactivity is complicity in the crimes of the rulers, I aspired for my action to be consistent with my thought. I sought ways to sabotage the orderly function of state and economy, I sought accomplices in this task. Many comrades ended up in similar choices long before me and I was inspired by their thoughts, their action, their journeys. Journeys hard many times and painful which they made claiming their self-definition, their freedom, their life.

Every form and choice of struggle has importance and a value in itself. In order to give life to the desires of every insurgent individuality participating, to contribute the necessary expansion of the revolutionary front spreading the liberating ideas, to sabotage hierarchies, markets, social structures, the machines which at the service of capital annihilate nature, human and not. Obviously the means and strategies chosen in the revolutionary war -as in any war- are defined to a great degree from the corresponding strategy of the opponent: Ruling democracy in its greek version prefers to allow the free expression of revolutionary ideas, having secured not only that they will be slandered by the controlled mass media, but mainly that they will be buried under the plethora of advertisement flyers. That the masses will continue to consume the mock experience. Television languor prevails. The state knows well that in order to stand in the war of information overload, we must be dynamic, and in order for the message to infiltrate socially, it needs action. And the update of oppression has been orientated to this action. The aim of this little analysis is to stress the importance so much of the projects of spreading anarchist speech, as well as guerilla actions.

Because speech on its own, not only would have been buried in the grave over information overload dug up by urban civilization, but would have lost its meaning if it had not disputed the state's violence monopoly, if it did not find its incarnation in factual revolutionary violence.

Respectively no responsibility claim through printed or electronic media can substitute for the hand to hand sharing of communiques, the communication through the organic relation developed in open resistance projects. The strategy of the state to nerve system of the anarchist struggle by striking its dynamic, violent and aggressive forms, renders some some choices more crucial. Of course a claim that some forms of struggle are superior to others would ridiculous however a bet must be placed in every insurgent

individuality or collective: if we will abandon some fields of the revolutionary war succumbing to the constant state black-mail called legitimacy.

### **Still alive in the belly of the beast**

I am now dealing up against the world of prison, the space-time defined exclusively by conventions. I was led here by a series of choices of mine, in my attempt to carve my path of refusal. A refusal to succumb to the state blackmails, a refusal to live as one more microscopical pawn. It was a conscious journey of insurrection, resistance and solidarity. A tracing of many paths which go up hill towards the volcano of anarchic revolution.

Being temporarily inactivated, I take advantage of the possibility provided by the democratic regime to express myself freely, attempting to transform its force into weakness.

The dead time of prison feeds the development of ideas that undermine the foundations of democratic illusions.

It is necessary that every revolutionary transmits messages which ignite insurrectionist activity. At the same time, the actions, as well as the life attitude we choose, functions as a message. Therefore I think its important to defend the choices which I consider nodal, revealing what they meant to me. I consider this more important than the "leniency" which the democratic courts might show if I choose to remain silent on the more sensitive matters. I discredit the legal codes. I will not allow them to restrict my speech dynamic. I also discredit the alleged "strategy"

Because, our struggle takes place first of all in the political and social field, its not a military clash of finite camps. The dynamic of the barricade of the revolution is the prospect of spreading, and the spreading is feasible when we shout messages of insurrection, not when we wait around expecting a more favourable treatment by the enemy.

Of course the regime of conventions is not based on mindless violence, the modern state adjusts the penalties depending on the attitude towards its police and juridical institutions. Snitches are dealt with differently, repentant prisoners are also dealt with differently, those who step back are dealt with differently and so are those who defend their choices.

Obviously some were fooled by more able generals who know that: *"better to leave an escape path for the enemy and slaughter them as they retreat"* (Sun Tzu)

No retreat therefore, raging battle to the end.

## The path of derogation

Right now I am accused of attempted murder with a bow and arrow at a protest, participation in the r.o. Conspiracy Cells of Fire, 160 attacks of this organization, the bloody clash with the cops in Pefki and the bank robberies in Velvendo (Kozani) and Filota (Florina). Every such charge for me is a title of honour, since I feel proud that the regime includes me in their enemies. Of course I was an armed enemy of the system of authority before the police recorded me in their files. And I want to explain the mind frame that guided my journey, referring to some points of my actions and choices. Obviously there will be some omissions since I do not intend to give the enemy information they do not have.

When in 2009 some structures of the anarchist guerilla were hit by the state and many comrades went underground, for me it was evident not only to support those wanted, but also the necessity for me to participate in the guerilla action.

In these frames emerged my relationship with the r.o. CCF.

I was never a member of the organization, since in anarchy each individuality has the possibility to follow an autonomous course and collectivize freely forming new organizations, contrary to a centralized structure -as projected by the journalistic propaganda- which wants all to be in the same organization, tearing down the different characteristics of each one. Recognizing however during that time period some common targeting, emerged relations of factual solidarity and those relations led to a deeper cooperation.

And this cooperation led to me accepting the consequences of the oppressive operation against the Conspiracy.

A few days before the raiding of the anti-terrorist force in Volos, I had been arrested during a protest while aiming at the parliament with a bow and arrow -an action I support in full to this day since in the frames of the polymorphism of the struggle it moved in the direction of enriching the means, and the evolution based on imagination, and I stick to the positions I expressed in the letter I published then.

Back then therefore I was released on bail conditions, which I had already decided to break in order to not risk being arrested in the case that the police already knew things they hadn't reveal. The choice, the conscious choice of going underground, was validated by the arrest warrants issued for me after the arrests of the 5 members of the CCF in Volos.

I found myself at a crossroad of choices but I already knew my path. I chose the inaccessible path through the beautiful sceneries of the outlaw action and life. I chose the constant guerilla warfare with its amazing moments, so much in the structuring work like night-time excursions to steal vehicles or the armed robberies, as well as the moments of attack.

You are deprived of many things when you are wanted, but to not be a citi-

zen of the state any more is now a equal to a declaration of war. This fact made me as an anarchist feel consistent towards myself, something that would not be the case if for a quite life in the arms of legitimacy I risked arrest or even worse, I chose to surrender anticipating a more lenient treatment by the enemy.

I had to support, together with my comrades, my refusal to surrender in a tough and constant labouring of infrastructure: fake id cards, renting houses, collecting weapons, self-funding with armed robberies. Infrastructure of defence which was simultaneously infrastructure of attack when we chose. Combined with the rules of security and the counter-surveillance measures, our endless labouring in the pressured condition of illegality pushed us to taste the experience of war. Life on the edge suitable only for lovers of real experiences, life which the peaceful consumers fail to approach in the cinema rooms of passivity. Because life means intervention, demand, war, not to be a battery for the giant machine to work.

Realizing myself as a fighter against the regime and knowing that its armed dogs can any moment attack me and take me captive, I adjusted my life and my moves awaiting also the moment an armed clash with mercenaries of the state would break out. The moment where the value of life of a cop has a negative sign depending on the degree in which they will be an obstacle to my freedom. Undoubtedly there are inhibitions which deter us from taking the life of even a soldier of the enemy, whether it is the consequences, or the leniency towards the "irresponsible" idiots who the condition of generalized apathy led them to enlist with authority. But when I receive an attack from the guards of legality, my freedom will cost more than their anyway unnecessary life.

Despite our equipment so much at a material level, as well as a conscience level, the moment we had to go against two armed cops, during a infrastructure process, found us poorly armed -in the vortex of the pressured situations of clandestinity- to be exact we had one pistol.

It so happened that I was unarmed and when I felt the cops getting closer, I tried to escape by running until I was immobilized.

I will never forget how beautifully the shots sounded, while I was contemplating desperate the short end of freedom. However, the difficult choice of an armed clash from a clearly disadvantaged position, which which anarchist Theofilos Mavropoulos took, freed me awaking inside me the rage of freedom. We had to escape going over their bodies.

In the battle of Pefki, my contribution was to snatch the vehicle of the cops, which I used as a weapon, threatening to crush under its wheels the cop who would be overzealous enough to try and stop me, always directed towards the escape to freedom.

The final outcome of this raging battle was two cops heavily wounded, a cost which contributes to the spreading of fear in the mercenary force of the



police, but had a heavy price for us also, the injury and subsequent captivity of the comrade.

For me on a personal level, the two-year extension of my unlawful freedom was invaluable. The only thing I regret is that I did not manage in the time before my arrest to complete my expectations, the intensification of guerilla action and the coveted liberation of comrades from the prisons of democracy. But I gained experiences that I wouldn't exchange for anything, relations which were forged in the armed comradeship which roamed the mountains and cities preparing robbing attacks and guerilla actions. I gained experiences which I will save as a treasure in order to manage better when I am out free again.

I will neither ever forget how enclosed I felt when two years later we found ourselves hunted but armed to the teeth in a van in Northern Macedonia and decided that we will not risk the life of a hostage in a battle with the police. Contradictory conditions, contradictory choices.

In the world where subjugation to the weapons of the cops dominates, only with the threat of weapons can we secure our existence. It is almost certain that if any of our moves is perceived, it will be snatched to the police. Therefore, the only way to keep the information of our variants safe, it to subjugate the carrier of information with our violence. Since they are use to being subordinate to the orders of the cops, may they temporarily obey the imposition of the insurgents. Until their conscience is harmonized with the proposition of resistance, where an anti-authoritarian relationship is then possible.

If someone is found in the difficult position to be subjugated to the intensity of a voice which screams "robbery, keep your head down" - while not intending to cooperate with the oppression - surely understands that our choice was a necessity and is on our side without causing problems to this tense condition. The world of capitalism is at war and every wannabe snitch has in advance chosen to enlist with our enemy. We can understand the choices and be lenient, but to impose ourselves on them is the least we can do, since we chose to answer to war with war.

It is groundless to critique the authority relations developed during a bank robbery or hostage situation, since authority relations are already in the bank, money is hid in the safes by the police weapons, and after a small part of it is withdrawn, it will be used to buy products and "services", that is the continuation of the slavery chain.

The only non-authoritative relationship that can exist, is born in communities of struggle.

## **Organization and attack**

Of course, the above analysis and narration would not have any special meaning if it was not accompanied by the proposition of continuing the

struggle with all means and all forms. Because communities of struggle consist of different individualities with different beginnings and motives which meet in the war against authority, and thus appears the desired and necessary multi-form of theories, but also means of struggle.

Of course the bet of organizing the anarchist war remains open. For the accomplishing of more powerful and effective action against the enemy, as well as the strengthening of the relations between comrades.

Organization which means comprising groups and cells of action either on the base of common experiences, or the base of common targets and views. Action which concerns the diffuse of our propositions and values, the connection with other forms struggle, intending that every individual struggle transfers its focus from one side to the whole, from the special condition of oppression and exploitation, to the generalized captivity produced by the civilization of authority.

Action which violently strikes the enemy without recognizing the dipole of legal and illegal, which never accepts to speak the language of the enemy, even if it knows how to decode it.

Collective action, individual action, direct action. From demonstrations and popular assemblies to night-time incendiary sabotage, bombs, robberies and executions of executives of the system.

In this action, relations between revolutionaries are moulded, they take the form of comradeship, they become a whole in the meaning of solidarity. In this action every individual feels their completion and lives in consistency with their emotion conscience.

Organization therefore means also overcoming yourself, self-critique, rupture, dilution and re-grouping on higher bases and relations. However it also means coordination of forces in our common directions seeking ways to bridge the differentiability, reconnect the cracked lands, never forget where the enemy is located.

### **Head on attack on the edge of evolution of the civilization of authority**

Closing I would like to stress a crucial lack of directions of the struggle. We concentrate almost exclusively on the police and oppression or the political and economic institutions, the moment when the world of absolute control is being prepared in unguarded scientific laboratories. The moment when the most twisted animal torturers, in the name of knowledge and science experiment on controlling the mind, while they do not have police guardians, such as politicians the targeted window front of the system.

It is truly easy to return to the clergy of technological-science a bit of the violence it produces and very few things happen in this prospect. In a text

where I speak of my choices, I close with a self-critique on this basic omission, which is included in what I always postponed, awaiting the right moment which never came. In order for new comrades to heal the gaps of the previous. I consider substantial, beyond the symbolic meaning, the sabotage of technological-scientific infrastructure of civilization. Because whoever examines the directions of researches and their funding realizes that the powerful capital and its dominant state mechanisms lead the evolution of sciences and technology in order to serve the intentions of economic profit and social control.

It is known that industry exploits the scientific accomplishing in the most disastrous way towards nature and the most painful way for animals and humans. Starting from the infection and overheating of the planet, going through the decrease of biodiversity and ending up at the torture of asphyxiating caging in animal breeding factories intended for food or fur, humans do not reserve a better fate for their kind, except violence, pain, exploitation, death.

The power of scientific method eases the social manipulation through psychological propaganda, prepares the generalized surveillance through ingenious systems with telescopic cameras on satellites, even microscopic cameras on spying robot insects, experiments on animals brains unravelling the thread of thought control. They evolve the unmanned bombing aircrafts which are already spreading death in the zones of military conflicts, and robot soldiers. Simultaneously, they prepare the merge of human and machine, a technocratic ideal, where the distance between eye and screen, and between hand and keyboard will decrease in the direct interconnection with the brain, allowing an even more rapid evolution of the super power of technology. An ideal which is not science fiction since there are already laboratories which "host" different kinds of animal-cyborg with electronic implants in their brains and university infrastructure which hope to prepare the world ethically and legally in order to welcome this technology of singularity of human-machine.

This reality places a clear blackmail which we must realize: either us or them. And I believe that as time goes by this blackmail will be felt by more and more people, but we will become more and more helpless. We must act while its time and we are already very late. The new fascism is here and is not being imposed, its being bought. We owe it to our selves to sabotage it and put together a strong front against it, independently of ideological or theoretical differences.

In order to fight the techno-scientific complex we have to adjust, absorb the new technologies and use them against it. Just like the Indians could not fight the european conquerors, revolutionaries will be wiped out if they do not update their ways of action. Unfortunately these sound distant, but the future is predicted even more pressured stating it clear that there is no other way.

Together with the call for action I send a signal of solidarity to the comrades globally who fought and fight the techno-scientific complex, the state and capital inside and out of the prison walls.

Revolutionary greetings to the cells of the international network of the ALF, the ELF, the IRF, FAI, the Conspiracy Cells of Fire and all groups and organizations anonymous and eponymous which are not global networks of cells -independantly of their agreement or disagreement with their theories- keep the bet of resistance, insurrection and revolution open.

*Giannis Mihailidis*  
Koridallos prisons  
July 2013

PS1

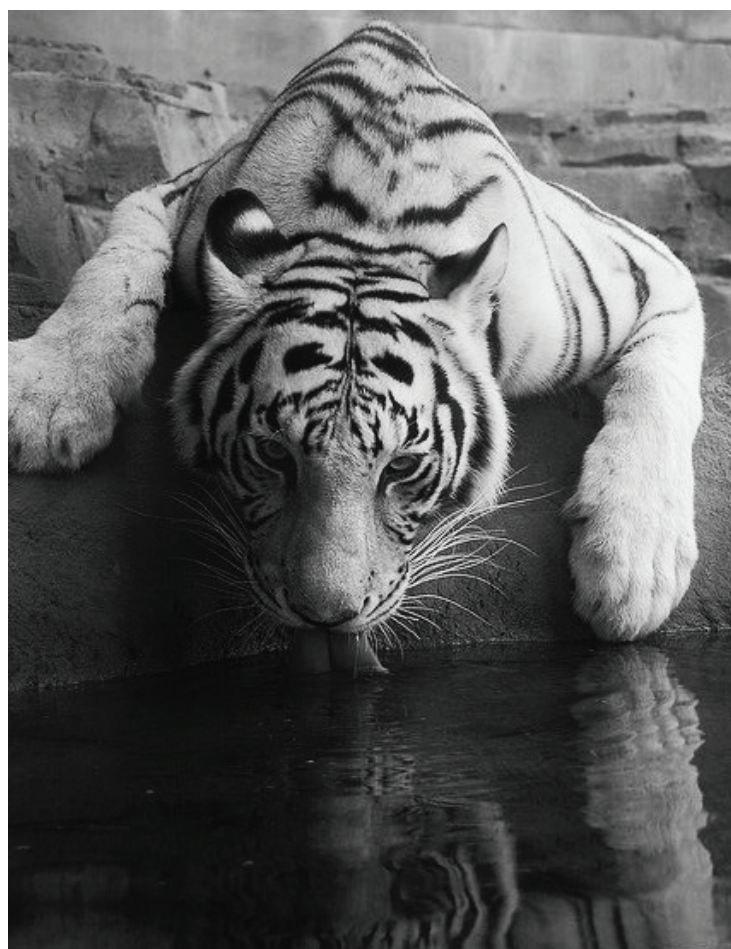
The moment this letter is published, is taking place the hunger strike of anarchist hostage Kostas Sakkas since June 4<sup>th</sup>. I express my solidarity to the struggle of the comrade for his claim to liberation. It is necessary to take action in order to block the exterminating strategy of the state against the hunger striker.

PS2

For a few days now is taking place the vicious manhunt of the illegal escapees of Trikala prison. Of the people who dared to ridicule the security measures of the prison, proving that nothing is impossible. They gave us the most real smiles with their militancy and courage when defending their freedom. Good luck, until the tearing down of the last prison, until we are all free.

PS3

The barricades around the world warm our hearts.



## Flames of solidarity

*We publish here a handfull of the many solidarity actions and attacks that took place in the last months. Some attacks were revendicated (we publish only some extracts), others remained anonymous; knowing that solidarity also consists of continuing the struggle and that no chronology could ever grasp the entire mosaic of anarchist attack and initiative.*

6th of February, Kozani (Greece)

### **Solidarity gathering in front of court**

*A gathering took place in front of the courthouse of Kozani, where the four arrested comrades were brought before the prosecutor and the judge. Friends, family and comrades for Athens, Thessaloniki, Kozani, Veria and Larissa (about 80 people) added their voices and stood by the side of the four anarchists.*

6th of February, Athens (Greece)

### **Sabotage against cameras and ATM's**

*"Amid enthusiasm, we blinded 3 surveillance cameras of Agrotiki and National Bank branches and messed up their ATMs, too. Freedom for the 4 hostages of Kozani case, for Freddy, Marcelo, Juan in Chile, and for Marco Camenisch: we must not leave him grow old inside the Swiss galleys!"*

6th of February, Barcelona (Spain)

### **Paint against Greek consulate**

*"LONG LIVE ANARCHY MOTHERFUCKERS. The shouts of freedom of our beaten comrades are printed on the walls of the Greek consulate in Barcelona as a minimal act of solidarity."*

8th of February, Veria (Greece)

### **Action against the car of the city mayor**

*"We know your game and your intention but we refuse to play it and tolerate it. In the early hours of Friday 8/2 we broke the window and threw paintombs in the interior of a car of public property which mayor of Veria, Hariklia Ousouljoglou, uses for all her transportation which was under her residence. - Cries of Lawlessness"*

17th of February, Berlin (Germany)

### **Arson against vehicle of Deutsche Bahn**

*“In the early hours of February 27th, in search of a suitable target for a solidarity action with Nikos Romanos, Dimitris Politis, Andreas-Dimitris Bourzoukos and Yannis Michailidis, we spotted a vehicle belonging to the Deutsche Bahn in the neighbourhood of Prenzlauer Berg, in Berlin, which we wrapped up in the flames of international solidarity. - Chaotics of the Night”*

17th of February, Brussels (Belgium)

### **Bank burned down and ATM blown up**

*A bit before midnight, unknown assailants attacked a bank branch of BNP/ Fortis Paribas in Schaarbeek (Brussels) with molotovs. A few days later, an ATM was blown up, according to the media with the help of a grenade.”*

21th of February, Athens (Greece)

### **Police station attack with molotovs**

*During the night, a group of comrades attacked the police station of Exarchia with molotovs. This attack took place in solidarity with the anarchists arrested in Kozani. The cops fled when they saw the comrades approaching.*

23th of February, Veria (Greece)

### **Demonstration in solidarity with the 4 arrested of Kozani**

*The demo was called by many anarchist groups from all over Greece. About 400 people participated with a major and unforeseen participation from Veria. The demo had an intense pulsation and 20.000 flyers were thrown during the whole of the demo, posters and stickers were also put up, and many pamphlets were given out. Snitch cops and local journalists made sure they created a climate of panic and terror-hysteria from the moment the calls came out for the demo. A characteristic example is the official announcement of the Veria bus drivers that they will abstain from work on the day of the demo because they are afraid of their own well-being and their vehicles. The main roads of the city were also closed down as well as some shops.*

28th of February, Barcelona (Spain)

### **Ten ATM's smashed**

*“During the night, 10 ATM's were smashed in solidarity with all prisoners in struggle. You are not alone, comrade! Courage!”*

7th of March, Athens (Greece)

### **Private cars of cops burned down**

*“We visited a well known adress, belonging to a family of cops, more precisely on 42, Erastotheneous street in Agios Dimitrios, and burned down their two private cars. This action is a minimal response to their daly provocations. We send our solidarity to the prisoners of ro CCF and all comrades accused in the same case; to the members of Revolutionary Struggle and all those accused in*

*the same case; to the four comrades arrested in Velvedo, Kozani and all fighters prosecuted by Justice. - Domestic Violence."*

9th of March, Thessaloniki (Greece)

### **Attack against Eurobank branch**

*"We send our message as a minimal sign of solidarity with all rebels in struggle. Saturday 9th of March, we attack a Eurobank branch, in the street Ionos Dragoumi, and burned down its ATM. - Humans of praxis."*

15th of April, Pontcharra (France)

### **Arson against prison constructor company**

*Just before 4 'o clock in the morning, four construction engines were destroyed by arson on a site of Eiffage, a notorious company which builds prisons in France, Belgium and elsewhere.*

7th of June, Athens (Greece)

### **Explosion against car of prison director of Koridallos**

*"The bomb we placed at the vehicle of the director of Koridallos prisons is the first drops before the storm. Or, as it was written in the last communiqué by the CCF against the Greek minister of Justice... - Conspiracy of Cells of Fire-FAI-IRF / Consciousness Gangs-FAI-IRF / Sole-Baleno Cell"*

26th of Juni, Jakarta (Indonesia)

### **Arson against Sheraton Hotel**

*"Tonight (June 26) we moved out and brought the fire and burned down the third floor of Sheraton Hotel, in Sahari Mountain Street, Jakarta. Our fire is to respond to the call from our brothers in Greece in the Phoenix project and as a gesture of solidarity toK. Sakkas, anarchist in hunger strike action to reach his freedom. We put the incendiary with timer in one of the trash cans in the karaoke room (which is located on the third floor) and let the fire speak for us. - Anger Unit/International Conspiracy for Revenge/IRF-FAI."*

24th of August, Balikpapan (Indonesia)

### **Incendiary attack against a school for police**

*"We take responsibility for the arson against a school of police in Sudirman St, Balikpapan, on 24 August 2013. We put the incendiary device with timer in front of that school and let the fire do the rest. - International Conspiracy for Revenge/FAI-IRF/Free Mandylas and Tsavdaridis Cell."*

28th of August, Bristol (UK)

### **Barclays Bank firebombed**

*"That's why we claim responsibility for deploying a simple firebomb against the Barclays bank just off Bath Road in Brislington, Bristol, in the early hours*



*on August 28. Candles burned down inside tyres (giving us time to withdraw) to ignite fuel-soaked rags, which set off three 5-litre containers filled with half petrol and half kerosene with crushed polystyrene (the incendiary) and around 1680 grams of camping gas canisters (the explosive). - Informal Anarchist Federation/Improvised Guerilla Formation”*

11th of October, Athens (Greece)

### **Incendiary attack against diplomatic car**

*“In the early hours of Friday, October 11, 2013 we torched a diplomatic corps van, with vehicle registration plates DC 93-3 at the intersection of Pyrras and Delacroix streets in the area of Neos Kosmos, Athens. This action is dedicated wholeheartedly to our comrades who are prosecuted for the double robbery in Velventos, Kozani, and will stand trial in late November and also in memory of the murdered antifascist Pavlos Fyssas. - Arsonists with a conscience.”*



## Adresses and contacts

*To write the imprisoned comrades:*

**Fivos Charisis**

**Argiris Ntalios**

**Giannis Naxakis**

**Grigoris Sarafoudis**

**Andreas-Dimitris Bourzoukos**

**Dimitris Politis**

**Giannis Michailidis**

Dikastiki Filaki Korydallou

A' Pteriga, T.K. 18110, Korydallos

Athens, Greece

**Nikos Romanos**

Avlona Eidiko Katastima

Kratisis Neon,

19011 Avlonas

Attiki, Greece

*To contact the solidarity groups and stay updated about the court-cases, adresses, letters, actions...:*

*For the adresses of the other imprisoned anarchist comrades in Greece, their cases and their letters, see:*


<http://tameio.espivblogs.net>

<http://actforfree.nostate.net>

<http://contrainfo.espiv.net>

*Most of the translations in the pamphlet were done by the comrades of Act for Freedom, who are doing (like some other comrades) a tremendous effort to keep spreading the subversive sparks coming from Greece.*





The court date for the double  
bank robbery in Velvedo-Kozani  
is set for November 29th 2013.

The accused comrades are:

*Dimitris Bourzoukos,*  
*Dimitris Politis,*  
*Nikos Romanos,*  
*Giannis Mihalidis,*  
*Fivos Harisis* and  
*Argiris Dalios.*

The other comrades arrested in  
Nea Filadelfia, Giannis Naxakis  
and Grigoris Sarafoudis, are still  
in prison on other charges.

This pamphlet is a compilation  
of texts around this case, letters  
of the imprisoned comrades and  
solidarity attacks and initiatives.

Solidarity to the comrades  
No one hostage in the hands of  
the state  
Long live anarchy