



A CONVERSATION BETWEEN ANARCHISTS

A discussion about tactics, theory and
practice between the imprisoned members of the
CONSPIRACY OF THE CELLS OF FIRE
and a few anarchists in Mexico.

Black International editions



This dialogue came out for the first time in May 2012, in Spanish, in the Mexican anarchist magazine *Conspiración Ácrata*.

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First release of Black International Editions: “Mapping the Fire” – International Words of Solidarity with the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire (CCF)

For Greek language version, you can find this publication on paper at various self-organised spaces in Exarchia, Athens, Greece, or email [sal.spf\(at\)gmail.com](mailto:sal.spf(at)gmail.com) for copies.

In Santiago, Chile, find it at Biblioteca La Hiedra or via Entropia Ediciones in a Spanish language version.

In UK, find it at anarchist spaces, like Kebele in Bristol, or 56a Infoshop in London. You can also write to actforfreedomnow@riseup.net to have a copy sent by post. The email for contact with the imprisoned CCF members has moved to riseup.net’s mail server. From now on, you can communicate at [sinomosiapf\(at\)riseup.net](mailto:sinomosiapf(at)riseup.net)
For the destruction of the existent...



What was provocation and irreverence against Power yesterday, sometimes turns out to be obsolete today and even contrary to what it was at that time. Comrades, everything is at hand, we have to become destroyers and creators of a new language that talks of war on Power and spreads Anarchy.

As nihilist anarchists we hate both the hand that holds the whip and the back that endures it and passively accepts flagellation without reacting. We dismantle and destroy all the values of civilization, annihilate the dictatorship of economy by making it void, make the cities of the masses and their authoritarian urbanism crumble, attack the plunder of nature and animal exploitation, hamper dogmatic positions and refuse the religion of scientists. Only constant and merciless destruction-creation makes life worth living. Constant nihilist questioning, through texts, bullets and explosives, attack organized boredom, the offspring of the dominant culture of “identity”.

Through Anarchy we are creating a constantly changing world, a totally different world, a world where tension finds its duration after going through intellectual and emotional explosions, a world where new relations are being forged while old traditions and burdens are disappearing. But once they are considered concrete reality, the new values brought about by anarcho-nihilism in a very critical moment, will have to explode and destroy themselves, thus creating new agitation and new perspectives.

How we came up with the concept of Black International editions

We certainly have a lot more to do and even more to say. Frequently requested is the answer to the question of “what do we target?”

From the very first day of the imprisonment of each of us we never stopped the production of our speech and our suggestions and imperatives. Through texts, communiques, thoughts, discussions on other texts, pamphlets, translations ...

Of course, we do not forget nor never forgot, that theory is a tool which obtains its authentic meaning only when combined with the underlying action. We never wanted to settle for harmless theoretical investigations, nor believed that the acts speak for themselves alone.

They might have imprisoned our bodies but not our ideas, beliefs and values, which will continue to escape through various projects of insubordination.

One of these projects is the creation of “Black International” editions, which are supported by us, the imprisoned members of the Anarchist Revolutionary Organization Conspiracy of Cells of Fire, and from certain comrades who every day, every moment, embody practically the value of SOLIDARITY.

Together with these comrades we desire to create an anarchist publishing experiment that is not limited only in Greece but tries to spread into the international network of anarchists, into the actual Black International, that now in the year 2012 is a feasible reality.

Besides, through this perspective we were inspired with the

name of the editions, desiring that “Black International” will not be limited to shelves and bookcases, but seeks its authentic meaning in the streets, where the history of Anarchist Insurgency and continuing rebellion is written. How “Black International” editions will function in the development of the editions we experience some difficulties which we intend to treat with sincerity and honesty. Our point of view on self-organized, and clearly anti-commercialized projects are fixed and can be easily communicated, with a few words. We do not sell, we share. For us it would be ideal for the publications to function by being “sponsored” by money expropriated from the enemy. In this way, not only would it be easier to achieve the publication of a book, but even more fundamentally, it would be the best way to connect this project with Anarchist Struggle. But now we are faced with the coercive condition of imprisonment, which does not leave us room to “function” exactly as we desire. So we are forced to finance the publishing and distribution of these publications by putting an optional price. A price which, however anyone can intervene in whatever way they wish. For example, in the self-organized spaces where the books will be available they will be accompanied by a box where everyone can contribute regardless of the proposed price that will have been determined by us. As for book stores, the publications may well be useful as a training exercise for expropriation...

The imprisoned members of CCF and the revolutionary anarchist Theofilos Mavropoulos



esses that took place in radical and anarchist circles in Greece, we want to communicate and make understandable the choice of words with which we arm ourselves. For words only belong to those who take them and give life to them. We are going to desecrate all dictionaries and orthodox political traditions because we have no respect for a dead past, but only for the present as we live it with all our strength.

It happens that our brothers and sisters of struggle coming from other areas and traditions – like you in Mexico – let us know they have some difficulties with the words they use. We want to believe that we managed to communicate some of our history and culture with our answers, and that this will help to understand our positions. Of course we are not attached to words. Communication on an international level stimulates new forms and possibilities of struggle, which at times require new words to express them. We are ready to play with words on the sole condition that we agree on their meaning.

We are open to debate and to inventing new words having a clear anarchist etymology. The only thing we don't want is to consume ourselves in innocent chatter and philological approximation. Communication with you and with all the comrades of action, no matter whether they are in the FAI/FRI or not, gives us the possibility to make the struggle and the possibility to name our new challenges against Power international, perhaps in a very different way from how it has been done so far. This is an open proposal addressed to everybody. Language and action go hand in hand.

In Greece the terms ‘armed struggle’ and ‘urban guerrilla’ have been old concepts with archaeological connotations for a long time. After the arrest of the members of *November 17*, these terms reduced to simple discourses that some people tried to confine in books and embalm for the sake of a history that many believed was over. But nothing is over, action makes words come alive again. We made the decision to ‘steal’ these words from their political tradition and put them in a context of widespread anarchist experiment. For the moment we invented the concept of ‘new urban guerrilla’ and provoked double short circuits that struck both the State and the reformists.

We have taken the urban guerrilla down from the heights of armed vanguard, and have activated it as anarchist practice. We have knocked down the conservative barriers and the ‘professional’ pretensions that presented urban guerrilla as ‘the more specialized and highest form of action’. New urban guerrilla is an action that strikes power and abolishes its tyranny. From sabotage against ATMs inside banks to ‘bombing’ a State building with paint, to blowing up a target or executing an oppressor: this is the new urban guerrilla.

Now both the State and the reformists know that our action has no limits. It is a spearhead that challenges the new urban guerrilla, as an experiment of the CCF, because we include all methods in our action without hierarchies such as ‘*lighter*’ or ‘more militarist’ (petrol, bombs made of gas canisters, black powder, explosives, weapons, words, everything!)

Through this short summary of the historical contexts and proc-

A CONVERSATION BETWEEN ANARCHISTS

A talk between the imprisoned members of the CONSPIRACY OF THE CELLS OF FIRE and a few anarchists in Mexico on tactics, theory and practice.

What follows is a conversation between the imprisoned members of the CCF and a number of anarchists from Mexico. The questions are asked by various comrades of the country, not only by those of the editorial group Cospiracion Acrata. We thank the comrades who helped us with the huge job of translation from Greek into Spanish, and the comrades who helped us in making the conversation with the imprisoned comrades possible. Solidarity greetings to all of them and to our comrades of the CCF!

1. How was your experience in prison? What helped you to keep strong and active as prisoners of war? What would you suggest to those who may become prisoners of war all of a sudden?

As we wrote in some of our texts: “In the difficult and often solitary path of an anarchist of action, prison represents a possible stop but not their last one. For this reason, it is important that each one of us who chooses to deny power and to be wolves in a society of sheep, is prepared for this possibility.

There are comrades who gave us their souls as they described their experience as prisoners in the books they published. Once

they are written down, these experiences can prepare an anarchist of action by allowing him/her to gain some knowledge of what lies behind the walls of the unknown prison world. Of course each one writes the book of their life by themselves. For this reason a personal trajectory is always far from an indirect experience published in a book. For us, the passage from clandestine life to imprisonment went along with the destruction of myths. We got rid of the myth of the rebel character of illegal circuits very quickly. Before we were jailed, we thought that prisoners – owing to their experience in prison and their hatred of judges and police – were people open to anarchist points of view and practices. But we lost our illusions on this point as rapidly as we lost our freedom. In spite of all its violence and repression on those who are locked up and in spite of the illegal practice it has developed, the prison environment stinks like the society of law-abiding citizens, and in addition to this it has its own rules, authority and norms. Prisoners worship the same god of money that is praised by the law-abiding ones, and respect the same values (homeland, religion, etc) as the latter. The majority of prisoners are clever* and scared rodents that feed on others' weakness and misery. Their main characteristics are submission, snitching, caring only about their own skin and, finally, accepting the very idea of prison in their minds.

As a matter of fact the prison environment is the mirror of society itself. If prisoners don't pay homage to the gods mentioned above they worship the gods of heroin and psychotropic drugs. So anyone who expects to find the new revolutionary subject of their ideology in prison, the one who will substitute the defunct working class, in actual fact will find the opposite.

Before organizing ourselves as CCF, we had never accepted the losing concept that presented anarchist action as a caricature of the 'almighty' armed violence of the Marxist groups of the previous decades. For us action can't be judged on the level of violence it reaches. Action doesn't become more or less anarchist according to the amount of kilograms of explosive used to carry out an action. We are not arms traffickers, we don't assess ideas and practices in relation to the bullets we have at our disposal. There is nothing that can be defined 'low intensity violence' (defined in this way because of its lack of the strength of weapons). What exists and is real is a low level of awareness, courage and passion. The execution of an oppressor or any man of power, depending on points of view (that's why we insist on the importance of communiqués) can be more reformist than an attack carried out with paint bombs. An organization can kill some big boss as a reprisal for dismissals or decrease in wages, whereas another organization can attack with stones, paint and hammers and express their clear refusal of work. As a matter of fact, as in our communiqués we talk about war on Power, it is logic that we want to arm ourselves and attack the enemy. Everything is possible and all possibilities are at hand. There is nothing inaccessible and no action requires 'super commandos' or 'professional' revolutionaries, but simply our decision to attack, our will and awareness.

Urban guerrilla is exactly what its name says: instigation to create conditions of war in an urban area. It is a method of war and not a concept to be identified as leftist or Marxist. Even if its historical tradition belongs to these groups, it has been overcome in the current times.

State propaganda, the parasite of the political complex in the face of leftist urban guerrilla proliferates in antiauthoritarian circles. Within a good part of anarchism a sort of hierarchy of the 'means' took shape (even if in an informal manner), which led to the cult and fetishism of armed struggle and presented the latter as something inaccessible for anarchists. In this way a strong mythology was created around armed struggle, which on a subconscious level was the highest form of action, whereas the faith in the use of weapons annihilated all critiques. So besides the State and the mass media, a sector of anarchism also assessed its actions (arson, Molotov bottles, etc) as a 'poor relation' of armed struggle. This dogmatic prejudice built a very high wall, placed a veil of mystery around armed struggle and presented the latter as a distant radical option. Not so much for reasons of perception but because of a militarist underestimation, according to which the fire of arson cannot be compared to the weapons used during a political action.

This inferiority complex felt by many anarchists infuriated us. Up to a certain point this was due to leftist remnants which are still alive in the Greek anarchist tradition. Frequent and pompous references and slogans of many anarchists towards the Leninist armed group EAM, which acted during the civil war of 1945, are not casual. If we dwell on the diseases of the past (and even turn them into fetishist worship) we won't be able to build anything strong and we'll continue to be stuck in the eternal nostalgia for the past. One thing is memory, which highlights perspectives, altogether different are the beliefs that inevitably lead to myths. A perspective has to be created, whereas a myth is simply admired and fed.

This just confirms the anti-social anarchist tendency we express because it shows that a person is not influenced by the condition he/she lives in (for example prison); on the contrary what really characterizes people are the CHOICES they make.

Of course the "majority" abounds everywhere, while exceptions are very few. In the prison environment, where the majority is dragging its sad miserable shadow in search of heroin and psychotropic drugs, there also exist imprisoned individualities who stay on their own. These are people who thanks to their experience are aware of their imprisonment and their lives; and instead of turning this awareness into drug addiction or snitching practices they turn it into a weapon that they keep firmly inside them, which they direct against those who tyrannise our life. We soon came into contact with these very few exceptions and developed friendship with them and respect of them. All the other prisoners, who feel at home in prison, don't deserve the slightest compassion but only contempt. Furthermore, through our behaviour we made it clear, in the strongest possible way, that there is an entire ocean of values and perceptions separating imprisoned anarchists of action from imprisoned snitches and heroin junkies.

Besides us there are currently other people in prison who are accused of anarchist practices. For us you are not anarchist only because the cops arrested you for 'anarchist practices'. You are anarchist when you act as an anarchist even behind the walls of a prison with your words, coherence and attitude. With the exception of a few COMRADES, there is a good number of anarchist prisoners in Greece, who just want to serve

their sentence 'quietly' and avoid any clash with the jailers. An example of the lack of 'community' between anarchist prisoners was the escape attempt undertaken by 4 comrades of the CCF and our anarchist brother Theofilos Mavropoulos along with a 'social' prisoner. On that occasion the rest of the 'anarchists' who were in the same prison (Korydallos) did absolutely nothing, not even when dozens of jailers were taking our comrades back to prison. The rest of the 'anarchists' shut themselves up in their cells and the only ones who remained outside in the exercise yard with us were 4 or 5 prisoners with many years' prison behind them.

We've been in conflict with the prison services since we entered prison. In all the prisons we have entered our refusal to accept and abide by the rules and habits of the prison system produced the result of clashing with the jailers (beatings, solitary confinement and transfers).

In such circumstances the only language the jailers understand is that of fear, the fear of our response and revenge. Moreover, as we have already said, the power of the jailers ends when they go outside the walls that protect them. They are vulnerable outside and they know it.

All the solitary combative mobilizations that have occurred at times have also contributed to this atmosphere of fear felt by the jailers. A good example is the parcel-bomb sent by the Italian FAI/FRI to the Korydallos prison, but also countless solidarity demonstrations organized outside the prison. All this helped us a lot as we were starting the war we are waging

State Struggle, some sectors of the E.L.A.) but at the same time, in some communiqués of these guerrilla organizations there were also conservative and 'patriotic-populist' aspects. However, one can't deny that until summer 2002 (the year of the arrest of the members of *November 17* and E.L.A.), those who referred to armed struggle or urban guerrilla had the minority circuits of the extra parliamentary left in mind. At the end of their struggle against the dictatorship the majority of the extra parliamentary left continued to wane and became increasingly conservative and reactionary. They had retired and turned into a ridiculous protest framed within the legal boundaries of the system. Very few members of that sector of the extra parliamentary left didn't hand in their weapons and continued the armed struggle instead. Today the left is dead, not only as concerns its ideas but also its actions. Of course it is not up to us to celebrate mass for this political death.

As anarchists we come from another culture, a culture with its own distinct values and we keep our own war on Power in all its expressions. But we recognize that until a few years ago anarchist action, even if it was very widespread, considered itself inferior compared to the 'blow' struck by the leftist guerrilla.

It is pretty obvious that we don't give a shit about how journalists and analysts of the Anti-terrorism Unit 'describe' anarchist violence. With the intention of creating opinions and making propaganda they often attribute very peculiar and derogative descriptions to us, such as '*light* terrorism', 'those who place small bombs made of gas canisters' or 'those who engage in clashes'. But we also consider the fact that, besides

struggle but we are trying to revalue these concepts and to put emphasis on what they mean today and what they meant last century. This compels us to reconsider them and approach the ‘cult’ or glorification of the weapon in a critical way (a subject widely analysed by comrade Bonanno), in particular as concerns the use of ‘tactics’ and ‘strategies’ implicit in the very concept of ‘guerrilla’ and all its vanguardist implications (quantity development, safe house, methods of survival, etc). We believe that it is not sufficient to add the adjective ‘new’ in order to change all these connotations. For this reason we insist on the importance of creating other informal formations and co-ordinations based on affinity autonomous groups. What’s your opinion on this question?

As we say in the pamphlet *Fire and Black Powder*, it happens frequently that *words express different concepts according to the country*. That’s why it is important to know the historical and political origin of the terms we use in order to make them comprehensible in their current use and to enhance the expropriation we carry out by taking references and beliefs from that past that stinks of the museum.

In Greece concepts such as ‘armed struggle’ and ‘urban guerrilla’ have traditionally belonged to the extra parliamentary left. For this reason all the prejudices of the inexpressive and dry language of the Marxist religion are still there as well as the traps of vanguard, leaders, calls for ‘mass struggle’, etc. There were occasions when these topics came from more libertarian positions based on antiauthoritarian references (*Anti-*

inside here. For the fear that practices of anarchist solidarity provokes in the jailers is what allows us to see their true face. At the same time, anarchist solidarity that does not limit itself to words but which becomes effective and coherent action fills us with courage, and strengthens the wolf we carry inside ourselves. In this way we feel we are still alive. We feel we are part of this beautiful anarchist struggle that is underway. We feel we are there in the street fighting against the police, in the night arsonist incursions, in the clandestine upheaval of the explosives that blow up the symbols of this civilization, in the conspiratorial sabotage, in the armed attacks on the State.

So we are ready to reiterate our ‘crimes’ at any moment, for the spreading of the new Anarchy, without repenting anything. We wake up every morning with this feeling. Perhaps we hate all the breakfasts we have behind bars and the noise of the prison megaphones, but deep inside ourselves we know that everything continues. This keeps us alert. We never forget that prison is a hostile place. Inside here an anarchist of action has only one thought and desire: to attack, in a thousand possible ways, the chains of his/her imprisonment, destroy the prison that locks him/her up, escape from the walls and bars that prevent freedom and CONTINUE to spread constant anarchist insurrection.

Far from the illusions of class and social struggle, far from ‘combative’ prison unions claiming better conditions of detention and more food for prisoners, there exists our remorseless ‘ego’, ready to blow up and escape at any moment, taking all risks, including clandestine life out there, on the fringes of

society. Anyone who believes in his or herself can do this. A person who believes in himself/herself and in his/her comrades can make the impossible possible. This is our great strength. The collectivization of our individualities. Not for a single moment in prison have we abandoned the *Conspiracy of the Cells of Fire* and everything that it represents. We are always on each other's side and give strength to each other.

Before we were arrested we learned to share the pleasure of masking up, the same tension when loading our guns, the same laughter when joking before an attack, the same happy feelings when hearing good news or the same sad feelings when hearing the bad. And we shared the same desire to be ready for the next attack as soon as we had carried one out.

The same thing is happening now. Nothing has changed. We share the same anger every time the jailers lock one of us up in solitary confinement; the same pain when someone is about to be transferred; the same pleasure when we get news of our comrades; the same strength when the FAI/FRI, the new Conspiracy of the Cells of Fire, the anarchists of action and the nihilist anarchists attack yet again; the same anger when we think about how to destroy the walls surrounding us. This sense of community, solidarity and the common desire for direct action is our most powerful weapon. As we wrote during our hunger strike: *"If one is not ready to die for another, then we are already dead..."*

2. How did the project of the CCF start? What pushed you to action?

For this reason we anarcho-nihilists, unlike all the other anarchist circles here in Greece, don't talk about 'transformation of social relations' towards a more liberated view, we promulgate their total destruction and absolute annihilation. Only through total destruction of the current world of power and of the civilization made of oppression/exploitation of human beings, animals and nature will it be possible to build something new. The deeper we destroy the more freely will we be able to build. We don't want to save anything of the current world. All values, relations, habits and traditions as well as all scientific and technological triumphs are contaminated by Power and only serve its interests. Nothing of this will be part of our baggage when we go wandering in search of wilderness and autonomous and anarchist life. We don't have illusions about 'the proletariat', 'the self-management of the means of production' or 'voluntary work'. Today we are destroyers, tomorrow we will be builders until tomorrow becomes yesterday and a new destruction begins. All the situations of life, even the newest ones, inevitably produce new roles and authority as soon as they stop and become stagnant. For this reason they must be abolished and left behind. Anarchy is like a Russian doll: there is new Anarchy inside it and so is it infinitely.

10. Still regarding this idea, we think it is very important to revalue many terms and concepts we continue to use not only because the latter are stale but also because they are inadequate to our goals, for example like 'armed struggle' and 'urban guerrilla', in spite of the anarchist origin of these concepts. We should clarify that by saying this we are not choosing to abandon anarchist violence or armed

stagnant and easy life. Immobility is synonymous with death. On the contrary: Anarchy is constant movement without limits or restrictions. For there is no freedom without movement.

When we talk about anarchist revolution we have an unknown revolution in mind, a revolution that is totally different from all previous revolutions. Of course it is not sufficient to correct the concept of revolution by adding the adjective 'anarchist'. But we don't want to give words to the enemy or to history either, as history has always been written by tyrants. That's why once again we build and destroy new concepts. For us Anarchy has its own revolution and specific urban guerilla, which are different from all the others. It is endless revolution, permanent battle without end, a journey with no breaks or previously established destinations, combative rebellion that never stops because there will always be a better sunset than those we have already seen. This is Anarchy for us. As soon as a battle finishes we are ready to begin another one.

Imagine that anarchist society becomes true. Even in this future society there will certainly be anarchists who don't want to be in it and will carry out a struggle in order to reach something different, unknown territories never explored before, territories of more freedom. Hence a new conflict will arise: that of the new deniers of the existent. In Anarchy as well as in life, in friendship as well as in love there exist no guarantees. Certainty and safety offered by immobility kill all forms of life and evolution. The source of life is constant movement and evolution. To evolve means to destroy and build again, once and yet again, incessantly.

The *Conspiracy of the Cells of Fire* made its first appearance in January 2008. Up to that time no informal anarchist groups of action existed in Greece, apart from a few exceptions (for example the groups *Arsonists of conscience* and *Black Star*, which had been active for many years). In spite of this, there has always been a minority tendency in the Greek anarchist movement, a tendency that chose to set fire to the quiet nights of the metropolis and attack the symbols of power.

In order to answer this question more completely we need to take a look back, a critical as well a self-critical one.

To start with, all the comrades who share the project of the CCF come from anarchist circles that identify themselves with a minority incendiary tendency. We got to know each other within these circuits, we shared concerns, planned attacks expressed preoccupations and shared the fire. But we were dissatisfied with the lack of strategy, coherence, development, perspectives, etc. Apart from a few exceptions most incendiary anarchists carried out attacks on an occasional basis, as a response to trials or arrests of comrades. At the same time, rebel attacks were sometimes carried out in response to some urgent event, for example the discussion of some law bill, police violence against immigrants, etc. But in most cases attacks were dominated by improvisation in their planning, the choice of the same targets (for example banks), lack of discussion before the action and of assessment after the attack and poor attention was given to the claiming of the actions. Generally speaking we can say that the anarchist incendiary tendency manifested itself through rebel attacks but the latter were getting weaker, decreasing in number and repeating them-

selves in a vicious circle of deterioration, which lacked any perspective of evolution. Communiqués did not achieve the spreading of anarchist ideas and action either, because they were made through telephone calls to the media of the regime and only mentioned the target, the names of the imprisoned comrades to whom the attack was dedicated and the group claiming the action.

There was also improvisation and disorganization concerning the name of the groups, which led to the use of different signatures and names that changed every time. The content of the attack, the specific positions of the group and the values and ideas of the comrades who participated in the action were never highlighted. This was a result of the lack of infrastructure and of informal direct action groups. In this way theory was separated from action and awareness took some steps back, giving room to adrenaline and the illegal aspect of the action. The main reason for the lack of informal action groups was the fear of many anarchists who maintained that the existence of such groups would attract the attention of the cops and lead to arrests and years of imprisonment. So the dynamic of the anarchists of action was fading into the randomness of events and limiting itself to occasional upsurges that lacked planning and perspective, as some of those who had participated in the struggle against Power with fire returned to the legality of daily life in the space of a few years. For this reason incendiary Anarchy was becoming a thing of the past, juvenile dissent with deadlines, temporary outbursts or occasional struggle. For us anarchist direct action has nothing to do with teenage reactions or occasional dissent. For us Anarchy is not just an ab-

committees, popular assemblies, popular committees, etc? All known revolutionaries suffer anxiety and are eager to constrain our lives into new schemes and rules, which however 'revolutionary' they claim to be, are still restrictive. In this way the new society determines its new limits even before it is created. The shadow of Power sneaks in right there. In fact all these recipes prepared in advanced for the 'new world' are often sold by those who are getting ready to seize power tomorrow, no matter whether in the role of leaders or vanguards.

Moreover, as you said, all revolutions managed only to 'move' the Power of the enemy to another side. They simply reduced themselves to a move of power, no matter if this occurs under a new tyrant or by changing the rhetoric of the overthrown power. That's why communist dictatorships of the proletarians have nothing to envy to capitalists' dictatorships. We are enemy of any ideology aiming at repressing the infinite possibilities of freedom that are born from the destruction of Power, and impose their plans, rules and orders to be implemented 'after the revolution'.

Very often, even in anarchist circles, the future organization of 'anarchist' society is discussed along with the role of work, self-management of the means of production, direct democracy, etc. According to us, this kind of debate and proposal look like the construction of a dam that tries to control the impetus of the abundant stream of Anarchy. They reduce life to the immobility imposed by 'revolutionary institutions' and deprive it of spontaneity, research, development. Anarchy, however, cannot be reduced to a series of instructions that promise a

all known revolutions? We don't think so. We think that all known revolutions, from the French Revolution to the most recent ones, ended up in dictatorships and/or authoritarian governments. We also think that this fact doesn't occur continuously by coincidence, on the contrary it occurs precisely because of all that this liberal word implies. When a 'revolution' takes place, things change place, i.e. they move from the hands of some to the hands of others and leave the condition for immediate reproduction of Power intact because oppression and exploitation have not been erased. Don't you think that in this century it would be more appropriate from an anarchist insurrectionist perspective to propose the idea of total destruction, including that of the means of production and the market in order to avoid power being reinstated and to leave free the way to Anarchy?

Specifically we think that this question makes quite clear the difference between the revolutionary anarchist idea and other revolutionary ideologies, which compete with each other in order to make their truth and dogma prevail.

Any revolutionary idea speaks of the formula, of the infallible recipe for the realization of a future world that will solely emerge when this ideology wins. The orators and theoreticians of vanguard 'prophesies' the dream of 'society after the revolution'. Their ideologies work as religions do because they invent a world suited to their needs. Any revolution has its 'gospel' on 'how life will be organized after the victory of the revolution'. How many times did we read or hear of workers'

stract idea, nor does it reduce itself to a bunch of beautiful words written in classic anarchist texts. Anarchy and direct action are a coherent lifestyle that starts with daily simple things and completes itself with each attack on the system, with each arson attack on the law, with each explosion against the guardians of order.

This struggle knows no truce or lassitude. This struggle is us. It is Anarchy experienced in first person and in the present. We don't want to put off until tomorrow something that can be done today.

In this way, among comrades who had already met and others who joined later, through our common experiences in anarchist circles of action, we had conspiratorial meetings with the aim of arming our desires. During these meetings, amid laughter and preoccupation, considerations and debates, desires and anxieties, projects and strategies, the *Conspiracy of the Cells of Fire* was born and went to war.

From the start, as anarchists of action we have refused any centralist model of organization as the latter would reduce our rift with the existent to a 'mere duty to fight'.

For us the new anarchist urban guerrilla is constant insurrection without roles to play, dogmas or 'revolutionary vanguards'. CCF was, is and will be an informal network of autonomous anarchist cells of direct action without a leading centre. A network that struggles for Anarchy here and now. With the Conspiracy we leave the low profile of the old groups of incendi-

ary anarchy and embrace constant struggle against Power without stopping in the face of legal consequences. We are anarchist urban guerrillas and not lawyers concerned about the laws of our enemy. We get rid of the burden of mediocrity and defeat, and put all our cards on the table. Arson attacks, expropriation, kidnapping, political executions, sabotage and communiqués are part of the war we have declared against the State, Power, civilization and its society. The use of a permanent name, Conspiracy of the Cells of Fire, has nothing to do with the centralization typical of armed parties and Marxist organizations.

As we have written, for us the CCF is a flow of ideas and practices that expresses itself in anarchist direct action. But this doesn't mean that we want to get lost in the confusion and vagueness of the diffused and not very concrete anarchist movement. The CCF identifies itself with the insurrectionist, anarchist-individualist and anti-social tendency of Anarchy and it has nothing to do with anarcho-syndicalism or with orthodox and outdated anarchist social positions of 'specialization' in Greece. Each cell that takes the name of the Conspiracy in Greece, Mexico or any other place in the world from its own perspective and autonomous way of planning, consolidates and strengthens this tendency. A tendency that does not wait for State repression to defend itself but which goes straight on the attack, now and forever.

3. As we've seen, your discussions on anti-social anarchist tendency have caused a great deal of debate within formal organizations, especially in Greece, forcing these organi-

individual and cell takes a stand in the debate in a sincere way and in the awareness that comrades taking part in the debate honour their words with actions and are not beginners accustomed to immobilist chatter and reformist practices that occur during moderate meetings. Moreover, we are aware that evolution comes about by disagreement and differences. As anarchist-individualists and anarcho-nihilists we know that everything flows and is unpredictable in life. We don't like to talk quietly when we disagree. We believe that the importance of raising one's voice is rooted in the will to avoid closing oneself up in absolute dogmas and swallowing the hook of intellectual clarifications. There are many pseudo-anarchists having different names who drown in words and live off words. We don't want any relation with these people. We don't like empty words lacking practice. On the contrary we give great importance to words and to the texts that accompany our attacks on the State and its society. For these words are the mirror of our soul, of ourselves, the call to the next battle.

9. In one of your recent communiqués (*Fire and Black Powder*) you deal with the worries that the Chilean comrades of the *Incendiary Anarchist Columns* have expressed regarding the use of revolutionary speeches* (and their populist connotations) in the antagonist struggles of the XXI century. But in spite of your wide considerations we still have some doubts. In particular we think that your proposal of 'correcting' the problem of the 'name' of *revolution* instead of concentrating on the very concept of *Revolution* in the XXI century is insufficient. Do you think that an 'Anarchist Revolution' would be very different from

of action in this country, including us members of the *first stage* of CCF, seemed to ignore these aspects of Power.

But after communicating and exchanging views with other comrades (as we are doing now with you) new challenges to thought and action opened up, and they are deepening the analysis and critique of the new anarchist urban guerrilla and promoting insurrectionist chaos. We believe that we are also contributing to this development with our considerations and projects, like those exposed in texts such as *Fire and Black Powder*, *The Sun Is Still Rising* and this interview. In fact, through this dialogue with the comrades of the *Cospiracion Acrata* we are talking of our anarchist points of view on armed struggle, urban guerrilla and the revolution.

To conclude, we think that a living relation exists between comrades of action, a solid relation which cannot be broken because of contradictions or internal disagreements that arise from time to time. In no case would we prefer a 'sweet' and harmonious unitary model typical of formal anarchist federations. We are not looking for quantitative growth and multitudes, but complicity between comrades. So what we are proposing in the face of differences is to openly put the latter on the table through public dialogue between anarchists of action, dialogue that will be able to develop with the exchange of texts and claims of attack. Our disposition towards this informal dialogue will always be extremely important. Generally speaking, we don't like denunciations, tellings off or the exhausting 'paper war' waged through endless political communiqués. On the contrary, what is worthy to us is that each

zations to take a stand on this subject. Can you explain your conception of anarcho-nihilist tendency and anti-social perspective, and how this relates specifically to the struggle?

We live in a world that is apparently changing while its substance remains the same. The economic crisis and its periods of transition, technological progress with its new "break-throughs" and dominant civilization with its useless consumer goods are part of these apparent changes of the world of power. But its core remains frozen and unchangeable, as it is a living organism that reproduces exploitation and organized boredom. Most revolutionary theories, including some of the anarchist tendencies, concentrate only on the question of economic exploitation exercised by power. In their actions as well as in their theory they make a distinction between 'personal' and 'political', between exploitation and oppression and boredom, between struggle and desires. By focusing only on economy these circles inevitably produce new ideological beliefs and dogmatic science, and replace the capitalist model with a 'revolutionary political programme'.

Owing to the current economic crisis, regressive opinions that claim self-management of the means of production and popular assemblies are increasing within so called anarchist movement in Greece. All this is a response to the plunder of the economic conditions of our lives operated by the State and the bosses. Very few talk about and propose a subversion of the conditions of our existence, and claim liberation in the face of the degradation of our lives. Life is evaluated according to the

dead objects one possesses. So for us the question is not whether or not we are poorer but whether or not we accept continuing to live in a way that immobilizes us.

In spite of all this, we can see many people around us, including workers, the poor, prisoners and immigrants, whose life is conditioned by this world and its civilization as if it were the most precious thing they have. For this reason we nihilist anarchists believe that the main question concerning revolutions is not seizing power but totally destroy Power, Power in human society.

We believe that it is not sufficient to reach an equality centred only on economy, nor is it sufficient to dedicate ourselves to indulgent ideologies that always offer an alibi to the immobility and passivity of the ‘unfortunate people’. Moreover, it is these ‘unfortunate’ and ‘oppressed’ people that vote for their tyrants every 4 years, it is the ‘people’ who consider their bosses role models, it is the ‘people’ who become enthusiastic with the drug of consumerism, it is the ‘people’ who believe in the religion of property, it is the ‘people’ who ask for ‘more police, border guards, prisons...’ It is on the basis of this critique that the anarchist-nihilist tendency and its anti-social perspectives burst in.

To start with anarchist-nihilism unites the political and the individual, reason and feeling, theory and practice, here and now, and renders the barriers that artificially split up our lives invalid. We can’t see the economic crisis as something extraneous to the culture of organized boredom, nor can we see

forced condition of work, now it adapts to reformism and defends the ‘right to work’. We point to this because we think that words such as ‘Anarchy’ and ‘anarchists’ often represent political labels that don’t say anything. To claim to be anarchist is not sufficient, one has also to act as anarchist. With our action we highlight our meanings and contents.

Coming back to your question, we think that it is worth building communication between comrades of action in spite of our differences. It is not only a long distance that divides Mexican neighbourhoods, Greek streets and Russian plains. It is also culture and habits typical of each region, and the different experiences and trajectories that each of us has chosen to become the internal enemy of the State where he/she lives.

The challenge we are undertaking through anarchist coordination networks, such as the FAI/FRI and the *Black International*, is an exhortation to start an open dialogue on positions, proposals and values. This dialogue does not reduce our communication to a typical, formal and predetermined agreement on rules and norms like that of a centralized structure, but encourages disagreement and synthesis, tension and evolution. And all this happens without limiting individual autonomy.

A typical example is offered by our case, the cell of the imprisoned CCF members. By communicating and talking with anarchist comrades on an international level we widened our ideas and critique on a number of subjects that were relatively unknown to us. In the anarchist environment in Greece there is very little attention to a number of questions, for example that of anti-civilization and technological-industrial domination. In particular, until not so long ago some anarchist groups

one another as their common denominator is direct action that moves in the direction shown by the compass of the total destruction of this world.

In this case too, the question you are asking arises frequently: what happens if the comrades are faced with contexts and topics of struggle on which we have a different approach? The case you have described is certainly significant: some Mexican comrades who gave an interview with the press of the regime and the subsequent critique by Chilean comrades. There are many examples of internal contradictions between the comrades who take part in the international anarchist conspiracy. These contradictions often emerge because of the fact that there are different situations in the countries we live in. For example, in Chile there are the Mapuche people with their autonomy, whereas in Greece there's no experience like this. Moreover, each country has its radical legacy, which we want to use, overcome, plunder and/or keep far away.

This becomes obvious as regards a part of anarchism in Greece, which gets messed up with its leftist formation and which actually comes from the left itself. In this way many arguments treated by anarchists and the consequent proposals have often a reformist and leftist way of thinking as their point of reference. For example, in these times of economic crisis one of the most popular anarchist slogans goes: *true terrorism is the necessity of having to find a job, no peace for the bosses*. This slogan represents a leftist mutation of an old anarchist slogan: *true terrorism is wage slavery, no peace for the bosses*. If the old anarchist critique fought against the coercive and

Power as something separate from the passivity of the society that accepts it.

Only by liberating meanings in their wholeness will we liberate ourselves. Far from scientific calculation, enlightened vanguards, analysis centred on economy and revolutionary prophecies on class struggle – which is allegedly ‘coming’ – nihilism places itself in the here and now. With nihilist discussion and critique we are plundering and destroying all residues of hope for a future better world. Because all the ideological romanticisms that put their hope in a future revolution function in a coercive way in the face of the actual destruction of Power here and now. Those who dream about what is to come tomorrow, are today – in the practice – passive spectators of what is happening in their lives and continue not acting. For this reason we say that nihilism is a knife that cuts on both sides. On the one side, it strikes the old world of Power and on the other it decapitates the revolutionary prophecies that announce future utopia and mass revolutions.

Nihilism accelerates the conflict with Power in its totality and places this conflict directly in daily life. It is a way to put all the dominant values of civilization and society in question, in a conceptual and practical way. It is a method that makes Anarchism possible now, regardless of vague hopes and ‘ripe conditions’. It is a firm step that extends our rebellion beyond the narrow limits of the struggle against the State; for the material destruction of the State is only a part of the liberation of our lives. Moreover, through nihilism, we also want to destroy the authoritarian perceptions that are inside us and are poisoning our values and relations.

For this reason, when we strike targets of the system our direct action and our theory are not confined to the question of the State but extend to a wider and more complex critique, which also concerns society and its values. Of course when we refer to the concept of society we don't mean the totality of people but the socially acknowledged majority behaviour that supports and strengthens the civilization of Power. We are talking about public opinion, statistics, mass culture, alienated multitudes, silence, pacification, immobility and indifference that characterize contemporary people, voluntarily slaves.

As nihilist anarchists we hate both the hand that holds the whip and the back that endures it and passively accepts flagellation without reacting. We dismantle and destroy all the values of civilization, annihilate the dictatorship of economy by making it void, make the cities of the masses and their authoritarian urbanism crumble, attack the plunder of nature and animal exploitation, hamper dogmatic positions and refuse the religion of the scientists. Only constant and merciless destruction-creation makes life worth living. The constant nihilist questioning, through texts, bullets and explosives, attack organized boredom, the offspring of the dominant culture of "identity".

Through Anarchy we create a constantly changing world, a totally different world, a world where tension finds its duration after going through intellectual and emotional explosions, a world where new relations are being forged as old traditions and burdens are disappearing. But once they are considered concrete reality, the new values brought about by anarcho-ni-

cause they had openly criticized the government. A few months ago something happened, which clearly explains what I've just said: two journalists who were preparing a report on government corruption were brutally stripped and murdered in a park. We think that contexts also depend on the different forms of repression due to the social and economic situation of a specific region, the attitude of the population and their will to face authority, etc. Do you think that the analysis of local context is important when realizing our international coordination?

We are struggling in a point between two worlds, the one we don't accept and another one that doesn't exist yet. We are bringing chaos to the society of organized Order. Our movements are being constantly watched by thousands of cameras and stored as data in the hard-disks of police computers. Our feelings are continuously being corrupted by some new consumerist idol: entertainment is commercialized unabated in the multi-ambient places of mass spectacle, our thoughts are substituted with an endless flow of censored information sold by the mass media.

As anarchists of action we want to use dynamite and totally destroy all that imprisons us and keeps us prisoners of the civilization of Power. Our words and actions are far from the legal paths and leave traces of fire wherever the anarchist urban guerrilla passes through, a passage that constitutes the international crossroads of anarchist rebellion and where comrades who speak different languages, have different experiences and come from distant places are communicating with

from getting information concerning the time when a device can be defused or the way we get approach or leave the area of the target. There are many things that don't required militaristic expertise but only the will to carry out an action. Each one can work out the way of doing it. There are also dozens of general ideas capable of strengthening the experiment of the FAI, countless ideas we haven't mentioned here or which we have still to discover. This text is not a handbook for attacks and sabotage but an invitation to open a dangerous dialogue, a dialogue that wants to reduce the civilization of Power to ruins.

8. What are the specific contexts of the different groups of action within the Conspiracy of the Cells of Fire? We are discussing this topic in Mexico because of various questions that have emerged following some events. For example, in Mexico some comrades of groups of action have recently conceded interviews with the capitalist press and provoked a critique from comrades of other regions, such as Chile. We all know that the means of capitalist alienation are our enemy all over the world, but we also recognize that contexts vary from area to area. We've seen how the Chilean press worked side by side with the State, by filming comrades, shadowing them and spying on their private lives. They also contemptibly exploited the ill-fated death of comrade Mauricio Morales. In Mexico as well as in the rest of the world the means of mass alienation are accomplices of the State but there are also a few exceptions, including those represented by some journalists who have been killed by the State or its paramilitary lackeys because they had covered some subversive groups or be-

hilism in a very critical moment, will have to explode and destroy themselves, thus creating new agitation and new perspectives.

Anything that is old and firm must be destroyed. We promote the beauty and passion of the moment when something completely new begins. We avoid cowardice and the certitude that we are investing our energies in things that might be proclaimed eternal truths. The strongest memories are those that provoke change, not those that remain entrapped in the habitude of time and in the traps of Power. Reason and emotion melt together and then are written again behind the endless rebellions of Anarchy. Only the living and the mortal are alive and worthwhile. For this reason we affirm that nihilism is the will of anarchist creation and destruction. A dance of the senses and emotions performed by insurrectionist practices, a dance that never ends...

4. How did the other groups of anarchist action react to your anarcho-nihilist position in Greece?

In order to answer this question we think it is necessary to provide a short summary, a sort of 'mapping' of the anarchist current in Greece. The Greek anarchist current appeared as an autonomous political tendency in the 1980s and its points of reference were the Exarchia neighbourhood in Athens, punk music, anti-political attitudes and aesthetics, anti-fascism, etc.

But as for the formation and/or elaboration of a clearly anarchist perception, things were a bit confused. With the excep-

tion of some publishing houses and a few specific projects, ideological confusion generally reigned in anarchist circles. This confusion continues to be palpably parasitic and is still anchored within the anarchist current. We are going to explain what it is about: a good part of the anarchists in Greece behaved as if they were the illegitimate children of the extra-parliamentary left and its ideologies. This anarchist current never got rid of the residues of the leftist tradition and it still ridiculously keeps these residues within itself. The use of slogans, the mentality and the very topics it adopts are very often close to the ridiculousness and beliefs typical of the left.

Often these “anarchists” coexist and collaborate with sectors of the left, in both workers’ struggles (independent unions) and local protests (neighbourhood committees, popular assemblies, etc). So, on the occasion of trials against imprisoned comrades a series of leftist “characters” and intellectuals in solidarity (even including some members of parliament) turn up as witnesses for the defence in order to offer extenuating ideological circumstances to the defendants. We of the *Conspiracy of the Cells of Fire* are one of the few exceptions, as during our trial we didn’t accept alibis such as the ‘extenuating circumstances’ of leftist defence. We are not looking for leftist defenders but only for accomplices, i.e. anarchists of action.

It is not by chance that the development and trajectory of a sector of the Greek antiauthoritarian current has frequent contacts with leftwing people (anti-American attitudes/anti-imperialism, workers’ autonomy, independent unions, direct democracy, popular assemblies, initiatives in neighbourhoods, etc). At the same time the ideology of victimization (State

Similarly, there are particular topics a FAI cell can choose autonomously, without this choice implying an international coordination. Furthermore, as we have already said, the FAI never renounces to the individual or group autonomy of those who take part in the cells of this coordination, quite the opposite this autonomy is supported and encouraged.

At the same time, we have to highlight the fact that with their attacks the comrades of the FAI don’t know borders or homelands that could limit their action. So, having the flexibility of our movement as a goal, it is likely that in some unpredictable moment, taking the enemy by surprise, some comrades travel to another country to strike a specific target. This gives us the advantage of moving in an invisible manner as we pass unnoticed as ‘tourists’ and don’t raise police ‘suspicion’. And we make the ‘element of surprise’ possible during the period of strong repression in a given State (with arrests and imprisonment of anarchist comrades) because the persistence of our attack reminds the enemy that the war continues.

Obviously such a project assumes that the cell planning an attack on unfamiliar territory has enough experience and knows how to move. In addition, we consider particularly useful the internet publication of handbooks that transmit the experience of the struggle and also knowledge on the means we use to spread Anarchy. We need publications that describe the repressive operations and frame-ups of the State and the police, but also publications that teach us and explain us the methods to get hold of, fabricate and use timer explosive devices, weapons, etc. Of course attention must be paid to prevent the police

of the FAI/FRI can choose and propose a specific topic from where to start a campaign of actions, and then publish their considerations on the web. Some comrades, for example, will choose to inflame the struggle against earth and animal exploitation and plan actions against the tyranny of the ‘meat industry’, deforestation, etc. After making their considerations on the subject public, they can instigate other comrades of action, no matter whether or not they are participants in the FAI/FRI, to contributing to this campaign with their own attacks in a reciprocal dialogue that becomes concrete in action. In this way they will be able to cause the most damage possible in a series of subsequent attacks and sabotage against the chosen targets, thus creating an informal international coordination. The claims don’t necessarily need to be in line with the initial positions of the cell that instigated the development of the campaign. Certainly there will be divergence and/or disagreement, but the friction will make us reach horizons of reflection and we will multiply free moments and spaces opposed to the system we live in.

The third tactic for spreading chaos and Anarchy is represented by the calls for international solidarity with the arrested anarchists, launched on the eve of a trial or as a direct demonstration of complicity with those who are not in the streets lit by fire because they are in prison. As someone wrote in a very effective way: *‘those who forget about our comrades who are imprisoned for carrying out anarchist action, will end up forgetting about anarchist action itself.’* Moreover, as we have always stressed, solidarity between anarchists of action is not only made of words but also of action.

frame-ups against *innocent fighters*, beatings and stabbings by fascists on *pacifist demonstrators*, etc) conceals itself – sometimes openly – within anarchist circles. In this way the not so inspiring image is created of an anarchist environment placed in a position of permanent defence. By the way, it is true that the State has fabricated political frame-ups on a number of occasions, and it is also true that fascists stab people. But this is just half the truth. The other half is that at this very moment we are here in prison as anarchists of action who proudly took responsibility for their participation in the new urban guerrilla, and this happened without police “frame-ups” being orchestrated. We’ve sent enough fascists to hospital so far, while their hideouts have been set on fire, destroyed or blown up with dynamite on many occasions.

We acknowledge that the logic of victimization and denunciation, being one of the bastard ideologies of the left, is often used to gain people’s sympathy. As a consequence, some prefer to continuously defend themselves, whereas we believe that the best form of defence is attack. In this way many spearheads of Anarchy –which actually gave rise to the war against this world – are absent within the Greek anarchist current. For example, the practices of the refusal of earth and animal exploitation, the concept of anti-civilization and the anarchist critique of technology currently concern only a minority in the anarchist “movement”, which becomes even more a minority when faced with the passage from theory to practice.

As concerns the anarchist incendiary tendency, quite often a good part of the latter seems to assume, consciously or uncon-

sciously, a position of Marxist vanguard. In their communiqués they recycle the same things, claiming they are speaking on *behalf of the people* or the oppressed or the exploited.

Specifically, given the current economic and social crisis the anarchist social tendency and its components place their illusions in an alleged *awakening of the masses* with the same certitude displayed by Christians when they talk about the heaven promised by their god.

These circles of social anarchism are ‘anarchist’ only in theory, whereas in practice they participate in weak meetings lacking energy and convert anarchy into a reformist and alternative proposal, as they are more worried about obtaining social consensus than they are of making the attack real. Many of them are more concerned about creating an alternative nursery or some self-managed kitchen than they are with attacking the system of dominion in a thousand possible ways. In this way, they reconcile with the fear of repression and consider themselves as being in a position of resistance and defence; at the same time as they claim that anarchist violence must be synchronized with the pride of the “*great awakening of the masses*”.

In a conscious and demonstrative way, we are turning our back on this kind of illusion, the same that often conceals the cowardice of their supporters. We don’t even give a minute of our life in the hope that the multitude will suddenly become aware and wake up! If the oppressed are not ready to raise the hatchet, this is a problem of the oppressed. We have battle in our

man expression we know very well that they cannot be reached relying on words alone. Nothing essential can be built on loquacity and intellectualism. Our hands must cherish fire, our faces must be covered with hoods and our bullets must slip sweetly into our magazines ready to hit our enemies.

Today the FAI can realize dozens of attacks and organize other international campaigns thus liberating moments, souls and actions. Many forms proposed by the FAI have already been put into action with successful attacks on the forces of order. Recently, for example, ‘Amigxs de la Tierra/FAI’ claimed the responsibility for dozens of incendiary attacks carried out in Buenos Aires between December and January. This means that a cell of the FAI can start attacking by surprise, and then take responsibility for this once the series of actions has been completed. So it can take responsibility for a series of action through a unique claim that explains the meaning of the attacks in the context of the struggle against Power. This tactic of a unique claim offers the possibilities to act in an ‘invisible’ way: in fact, if the first attack is claimed the police will be able to understand immediately that dozens of incendiary attacks were part of the same organized plan of attack, whereas in this way the confusion helps materialize the work of the fire. A claim does not allow attacks to get lost in vagueness or to be distorted by the cowardice of the police. On the contrary, they remain recorded as direct and organized attacks on the civilization of Power.

Another strategy adopted by the FAI when carrying out acts of sabotage is that of using propaganda in order to prepare the conditions for the attack. After discussions, one or more cells

that continuously evolve and are not controlled by any guiding centre. There exist hundreds of ways for making the FAI function and for strengthening the perspectives of the *International Revolutionary Front (FRI)*. Any form of Power coming from parliaments and political leaders' offices, any way that Power uses to speak, entertain, order and smile from TV screens – with their news bulletins and advertisements bought by the culture of consumerism, which has now failed because of the economic crisis and which end up poisoning all our relations (friendship, love and relations between comrades) – are condemned to receive the merciless attack of the FAI in any corner of the world.

Those who want Anarchy must attack first things first, especially the relations that worship the idols of Power and speak the language of its civilization. That is why we say that Anarchy lives in the heart of human relations and transforms itself continuously, in an endless process of liberation, without limits or rules. For this reason we cultivate a strong critique of all the obsolete forms and contents that put the world into question. Proletarians, class struggle, communism and syndicalism are part of the reconciliation. Not even the economic crisis can be interpreted by the anarchists of action using the same language of figures, statistics and the unemployment rate.

Economy is first of all a social relation. If we want to attack the economic crisis we have first to turn it into a crisis of values. To strike the civilization that put money on above everything as if it was the absolute regulator of our lives. At the same time, when we look for new and liberated areas of hu-

hearts and we have left the point where a step back was still possible.

To all reformist circles and tendencies that still exist within the Greek anarchist current, the appearance of the *Conspiracy of the Cells of Fire* at first provoked a serious headache. The actions and words of the Conspiracy – and its constant attacks and the cynicism that characterizes our nihilist and anti-social point of view – disturb the habits and traditions of the passive anarchists. They eliminate all obstacles and reveal the justifications invoking 'the necessity of a mass movement in order to make anarchist insurrection possible' for what they really are. We say that the time is now and the place is right here, wherever we are. We don't put off until tomorrow something that we can do today. A decisive and minority group of anarchists of action is a thousand times more effective than the lack of determination of a cowardly and submissive multitude of oppressed. We have no reason to wait for anyone. That is why the 'formal' and 'official' groups are launching strong critiques against us. At first they tried to discredit and isolate the emergence of the Conspiracy and our communiqués. Similarly the emerging of countless groups of the new Anarchy alarmed and worried the passive anarchists. Very quickly the polemics against us turned into an avalanche of slander.

The climax of this polemic between us and 'official' anarchism came with the events of May 5 2011. The burning of a bank and the deaths of three of its employees were attributed to the anarcho-nihilist and anti-social tendency represented by the Conspiracy. And all this happened when the first stage of the

Conspiracy had already gone underground as most members had pending 'arrest warrants' issued by the authorities. In other words, a good part of 'official' anarchism not only failed to express solidarity with the comrades with arrest warrants, they also accused us of being the perpetrators of the unfortunate incident of the death of the three bank employees. Needless to say, the situation hasn't changed following our imprisonment. The solidarity of the 'old' anarchist circles with the imprisoned members of the CCF is almost inexistent. On the other hand, however, there is the minority tendency of the new Anarchy that keeps the flame of anarchist struggle and solidarity alive.

When the new urban guerrilla started to form, the Conspiracy was creating an informal network of collaboration between anarchists of action. All of a sudden a wave of incendiary attacks took place, so that this or that other cell was giving its fire to the night on a daily basis, burning banks, car showrooms, security vans, cameras, etc.

In 2009 some 5 or 6 groups which identified with the new Anarchy come together in order to strike targets representing the dogma of "citizen security". The CCF also took part in these actions by placing explosive devices in two police stations, one in Athens and the other in Thessaloniki. At the same time, solidarity greetings, references and even extracts of texts of other groups of the same tendency appeared in many claims of attacks carried out by the new urban guerrilla. Unfortunately, after the first arrests in Halandri (including that of a CCF member), this tendency weakened and withdrew as many peo-

living laboratory of anarchist rebellion, created by all anarchist cells or individualities scattered all over the world. It is a possibility that contains a thousand possibilities of attack and escape from the prison of civilization we live in. This experience of informal organization started its voyage a few years ago in Italy and today it represents the international conspiracy of the anarchists of action, which managed to spread all over the world. An invisible network of cells scattered over the metropolis of the planet, which passes through the geographical prison of borders thanks to their actions. Thousands and thousands of litres of petrol and kilograms of explosive feed the meanings of our practice (and vice-versa), thus creating a relation between the comrades who support the FAI/FRI.

In this way the debris created by an explosion in Mexico and the smoke of a fire in Buenos Aires reach our cells in Greece and warm the frozen steppes of Russia, and end up in the prisons of Indonesia, where our brothers Eat and Billy of the Indonesia FAI are being held hostage.

Unlike many experiences of organization of the past, the FAI has abandoned any possibility of reconciliation. It is an instant that comes from the future of an anarchist world lived in the present. One of its basic principles is the creation of a framework of attack, decentralized and informal, which at the same time assures the autonomy of each person who takes part in it. Unlike 'armed' vanguards and 'armed parties' of the past, the FAI/FRI despises centralized structures and scorns the rigid language of unique 'revolutionary truth'. It is an expression of a whole series of forms and signs of conflicts and positions

myth of ‘experts in violence’. That is why we often maintain that a discussion on the opportunity to claim an attack is just part of a wider debate that does not end but begins with this topic. To conclude, let us quote a passage that expresses clearly what we feel: *It is not worth reading anything written by theoreticians who don’t live a rebel life. And the activists who fail to accompany their acts with words mutilate and self-censor their acts, they impoverish them.*

Theory and practice are concepts that cut like a sharp knife when melting together in a concrete way.

7. In Mexico as well as in other parts of the world new cells that identify with the project of the *Informal Anarchist Federation (FAI)* have been emerging for some months. In addition to this, other nuclei and groups that already existed are claiming to be active participants of the FAI’s call. This represents an increase of the potential of anarchist action on an international level and highlights how, 8 years after it started, the FAI is keeping itself alive and has succeeded in expanding outside Europe too. What’s your opinion on this constant response to the FAI’s call and how do you think it can keep on growing and function in an informal way? Do you envisage the necessity for new proposals or reconsiderations on what is already there in order to undertake new local and international campaigns?

Our name is our heart. Today our heart has a name and one of its segments is called *Informal Anarchist Federation (FAI)/International Revolutionary Front (FRI)*. The FAI/FRI is a

ple got scared and moved towards the safer and stagnant waters of traditional anarchism. What is really encouraging is that while we are writing these lines, the anarcho-nihilist/anti-social tendency is rising up again as new comrades have decided to put the ridiculous “paleontological anarchy” behind them and become anarchists of action. New groups and cells are appearing continuously, and they go on the attack and give strength to the proposal of the *Informal Anarchist Federation* and the *International Revolutionary Front (FAI/FRI)*. At the same time the second stage of the Conspiracy of the Cells of Fire has begun, with new cells that are setting fire to and lighting up the calm nights of the metropolis.

5. Do you think that specific campaigns are useful, for example the struggle against prison or against some specific project of capitalism?

To start with, we are going to use a sentence that contains all the significance of anarchist permanent insurrection: “*Neither victory nor defeat is important, but only the beautiful shining of our eyes in combat.*” Anarchist war on the daily life of the State and the social machinery has nothing to do with accounting, which ‘adds’ and ‘detracts’ losses and gains. What really counts is the strength we feel every time we don’t bow our heads, every time we destroy the false idols of civilization, every time our eyes meet those of our comrades along illegal paths, every time that our hands set fire to the symbols of Power. In those moments we don’t ask ourselves: ‘Will we win? Will we lose?’ In those moments we just fight.

Besides this, since we are talking about war, it is necessary to organize ourselves and set up the strategy of our attack. In the face of Power and its ideology of order, which is based on army, police, courts, prisons, spectacle, money and the silence of its subjects, we want our attacks to be the arena that obstructs the clogs of the social machinery. In order for this to happen we have to communicate, co-ordinate ourselves, make plans and attack first. This doesn't mean that we are fulfilling some 'sacred revolutionary duty' having the liberation of 'the oppressed' as its goal. We are simply taking our lives back into our own hands and we don't accept living as slaves of the empire of Power. We know that Power is not a monster made of ice that will easily fall with a well-aimed blow to its heart. Today Power is scattered over society and lives in the hearts and minds of its subjects. Using specific campaigns as a strategy (for example against the prison system or the plunder of the earth and of animals) we can easily cause a short circuit to the normal functioning of society.

For example, a campaign against prison that includes posters and leaflets against prison, sabotage and arson against the companies that build prisons and/or get rich with their management, letters to imprisoned anarchists, attacks on jailers and prison governors, explosive attacks on judges in solidarity with anarchist prisoners, would unquestionably be a strong campaign that would cause cracks in the prison walls. This kind of mobilization can strike the prison regime and create unpredictable situations inside the prison, and even help the comrades who want to escape.

indispensable to talk about our practices because we believe that no attack can speak by itself.

There are several tendencies within anarchist circuits that speak the same language of fire and attack, but they often want to express different meanings. For example, we think that to burn a bank without a claim loses a part of its potential because of this self-censorship, which gives rise to infinite interpretations and confused conclusions. If the incendiaries come from social anarchism probably they want to express their anger against the capitalist system with their attack, and at the same time they want to express solidarity with social sectors oppressed by the dictatorship of the banks. But if the incendiaries are anarchist-individualist or anarcho-nihilists, then a bank in flames, besides representing an attack on the banking system, also represents a demonstration of hostility towards the multitude of subjects who thoughtfully support the power that money has on our lives with their silence. Moreover, the dictatorship of the banks was built on the desires of the masses of consumers, on their will to have more property, do more shopping and materialize more illusions.

For these reasons we believe that claims are important. A claim doesn't necessarily express the 'enlightened truth' of an elitist vanguard, on the contrary it is a way of communicating by the comrades who charge their words with fire. There is no separation between the perpetrators of an attack and those who read the claim because a claim is not just a bunch of words written on paper but an instigation to the struggle, an instigation addressed to everybody, one which destroys roles and the

new forms according to the action it wants to carry out. Comrades involved in this kind of organization are not ‘enrolled members’ but continue to maintain their autonomy and individuality. Informal organization promotes concepts such as individual initiative, open dialogue and disagreement, collectivization of the desires that are arming themselves in order to become practice. Informal anarchist organization moves incessantly and keeps itself extraneous to revolutionary dogmas and truths, as immobility is an enemy of freedom. Furthermore, stagnant water only produces putrefaction and poisoning. With this spirit and values the CCF was born, organized itself and continues to exist. It is no vanguard or specialized group, but a spark which – we would like the same to happen with FAI/FRI – will expand like flames until the entire world and its civilization is set on fire.

In recent times the argument on whether or not it is convenient to issue communiqués to claim attacks on dominion is being frequently debated. Those who are for the abolition of communiqués state that rebel practices speak for themselves and therefore they don’t need further explanations. The ‘*right choice of targets and means*’ are enough, a concept which they have highlighted, because combative actions don’t need any claim. We of the CCF think the opposite. We believe that practice without theory is incomplete and invalid. Even if we choose the target of a combative action and the most adequate means of attack carefully, also taking care of the smallest details, we want our actions always to be accompanied by our voice. Particularly today, in an era of chatter and news, advertisement, notifications, orders and prohibitions, we think it is

Obviously, such campaigns are part of the permanent anarchist insurrection and promote its spreading. But at the same time a guerrilla anarchist organization or some anarchist individuals that choose the strategy of ‘campaigns’ have to be careful not to fall in the trap of specialization. We believe that we anarchists of action can strike the thousand faces of Power through attack. We don’t focus on one direction or one subject alone (for example, the antifascist struggle), which limits our action and political content. This would mean to ignore other aspects of Power. We are antifascists because we are anarchists. This means that we attack fascists and also banks, ministries, police stations, religion and the State. We are saying this because in Greece there are groups and assemblies that are only concerned with antifascism. As a matter of fact, these groups very rarely face fascists directly, nor do they carry out actions in solidarity with anarchist prisoners or attack the symbols of Power.

In this way, approximation and analysis that focuses on one topic alone often end up in immobility, with the result that theory is downgraded and people are incapable of looking beyond their narrow limits. Another example that stands out in Greece are some infrastructures that only organize campaigns against prison. These groups tend to idealize prisoners, consider them antiauthoritarian subjects and ignore the fact that the prison population involves a mixture of contradictory behaviour and attitudes. Clearly, we find ourselves on the opposite side of many prisoners, who are racist, religious fanatics, submissive, sexist, etc, and therefore don’t deserve any solidarity but only contempt and hostility.

It is one thing when an anarchist guerrilla group or some anarchist individuals decide to undertake a campaign focussed on a precise topic (for example against prison, the destruction of nature or fascism) for a specific length of time, it is another thing altogether when a nucleus is committed with only one specific subject, whatever it might be, and they don't care about the development of the rest of the war we have waged on authoritarian society. Only the totality of widespread attack can bring about the destruction of the system that is suffocating us. The totality of combative action includes three crucial points, which we exposed in our proposal for an expansion of the FAI/FRI: *direct action*, *anti-social critique* and *international solidarity*.

6. A debate about 'anarchist informality' is going on at the moment. On the one hand there are those who support classic or traditional anarchism and criticize informal organizations, and they argue that the latter are not the right way to organize oneself as a specific project is needed instead. On the other hand there are insurrectionist 'teachers' who seem to support mass organization from an individual perspective, arguing that the concept of informality has been misunderstood and ended up in alleged 'vanguards' or specialized groups, and they openly blame nuclei such as CCF, FAI, GARI-PGG, ITS, etc. These people think it is not the case to issue communiqués as the latter end up becoming specialized or 'enlightened' texts. As CCF prisoners of war, what's your opinion on informality? What is anarchist informality for you? Do you think it is important to claim actions? Why?

For us the fact of defining ourselves anarchist is not an ideological manifesto accompanied by the usual philosophical chatter. Anarchy is permanent war on Power. And in this war the simple intention of destroying the State and its civilization is not sufficient. We need to communicate our desires, organize our negation, plan our attacks and trace the lines of our chaotic strategy in order to spread disorder and Anarchy. That's why we need direct action groups that incite conflict against Power here and now, without waiting for the masses to become aware in the unforeseeable future. One only lives once and it is worth living with all one's passion.

However, concepts of organization and that of the group often remind us of hierarchical models of organization having leaders, members, followers, peripheral elements and predictable roles, just as Power does. As a consequence, revolutionary Marxist organizations produce hierarchical culture within themselves. They simply substitute old idols of Power with their own idols. When we maintain that we need to organize ourselves we do it in an anarchist way and strike all forms of hierarchical structures, we destroy their axioms, roles and divisions. An informal anarchist organization is a living experiment of human relations without leaders, members or followers. We hate rules and the 'we must' appeals typical of leaders and we condemn the concept of duty. All this reduces the battle for liberation to an 'Anarchist handbook' and leads us to more constraint. That's why we support and promote anarchist informality as a way of organizing oneself.

An informal anarchist organization flows like water and takes