

The Sun Still Rises

"The guerrilla has finally escaped the pages of books dealing with decades past and taken to the streets with ferocity. Because the urban guerrilla doesn't offer utopian freedom. She allows access to immediate freedom. Accordingly, each person begins to define herself and liberate herself from society's passivity."



**Conspiracy of Cells of Fire:
Imprisoned Members Cell**

May 2011



Due to the frequent transfers of Conspiracy of Cells of Fire prisoners, a post office box has been set up for those wishing to communicate with them: **Post Box 51076, TK 14510 Nea, Kifissia, Athens, Greece** (Each section on its own line) If you use this address, USE THE ADDRESS ONLY. DO NOT WRITE THE NAMES OF SPECIFIC COMRADES ON THE OUTSIDE ENVELOPE. There is also an e-mail address: **sinomosiapf@yahoo.gr**

Much appreciation to the comrades of *Boubouras / Act For Freedom Now!* for their translation efforts and to all the others who translate the words of our comrades in other parts of the globe.

Cover: Picture of the Athens Law Court after the explosion of a device placed by the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire, 30 December 2010.

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The offices of Rabobank burning in Utrecht after an attack by the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire (Dutch Cell), July 2010 (above). In the photo below a Wal-Mart shopping centre burns in Veracruz as part of a wide-spread inter-metropolitan arson barrage by the Conspiracy Cells of Fire – Mexico / Informal Anarchist Federation, 26 October 2011. "To spread the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire, you only need gasoline, matches, and the desire to fight for total liberation."



CHRONOLOGY OF ATTACKS BY THE FIRST WAVE CONSPIRACY CELLS OF FIRE

The facts of the anarchist urban guerrilla group **Conspiracy of Cells of Fire**'s operational record were culled from police and media reports, as well as libertarian websites. This pamphlet was originally published in Greece and a chronology of actions claimed by the anarchist group was put together by comrades in solidarity to go alongside the text by the imprisoned members of the **Conspiracy of Cells of Fire (CCF)**. Here we replicate this chronology to give those who are unfamiliar a more contextualised understanding of the **Conspiracy of Cells of Fire**, their actions and their trajectory.

In Greece, anarchists have constituted themselves as a social force through their continued aggression against domination, with a practice of carrying out attacks that has forged strong revolutionary individuals, agile affinity-based groups and a combative presence. Unlike many parts of the world, Greek comrades have thrived not on liberal and leftist activism, or subcultural identity politics and academic navel-gazing, but on continual conflict with the State and Capitalism, creating a genuine *anarchist movement*. The decision to go on the attack against domination is not what is unique about the **Conspiracy of Cells**

of Fire and the new nihilist urban guerrillas. Unlike most Greek anarchists, the comrades of **Synomosia Pyrinon tis Fotias (Conspiracy of Cells of Fire)**, claimed actions under the same group name, with the aim of creating a consistency of action and discourse as well as organisational continuity. Whilst bearing in mind the differences in perspective, they were similar to other Greek anarchist armed groups like **Epanastatikos Agonas (Revolutionary Struggle)** and **Secta ton Epanastaton (Sect of Revolutionaries)** in this aspect, in that they each created a distinct visible revolutionary entity.

The **CCF** promote urban guerrilla warfare and revolutionary terror against the oppressors, and view themselves as part of a third pole in Greek anarchism – anti-social, individualist and nihilistic – rather than either leftist or social insurrectionist. In this they are among many of the new generation of revolutionary Greek youth, the generation of the December uprising of 2008.

A huge storm of revolt raged through the streets of Greece in December 2008. After the 15 year-old **Alexis Grigoropoulos** was murdered in cold blood by a cop, riots spread throughout the whole country for several weeks. Hundreds of corporate and government targets were attacked, plundered and set on fire. Although it was anarchists and anti-authoritarians who took the lead in this storm during the first week after the murder, it spread itself fast and many people got involved in this revolt against miserable living conditions, against the authorities and against the hopelessness offered by this world to the exploited and oppressed. But the revolt didn't cease at the end of 2008, neither did it start on the day of the

*"It's an astonishing moment when the attack on the world order is set in motion. Even at the very beginning—which was almost imperceptible—we already knew that very soon, no matter what happened, nothing would be the same as before. It's a charge that starts slowly, quickens its pace, passes the point of no return, and irrevocably detonates what once seemed impregnable—so solid and protected, yet nevertheless destined to fall, demolished by strife and disorder. . . . On this path of ours, many were killed or arrested, and some are still in enemy hands. Others strayed from the battle or were wounded, never to appear again. Still others lacked courage and retreated. **But I must say that our group never wavered, even when it had to face the very heart of destruction.**"*

– **Conspiracy of Cells of Fire :**

Gerasimos Tsakalos
Olga Economidou
Haris Hatzimichelakis
Christos Tsakalos
Giorgos Nikolopoulos
Michalis Nikolopoulos
Damiano Bolano
Panayiotis Argyrou
Giorgos Polydoros



its own history of struggle. This significant continuation will surely connect the dots on the map of rebellion, sweeping them toward the final destination of revolution.

6. The Epilogue Has Yet to Be Written

Through our actions, we are propagating a revolution that touches us directly, while also contributing to the destruction of this bourgeois society. The goal is not just to tear down the idols of power, but to completely overturn current ideas about material pleasure and the hopes behind it.

We know our quest connects us to many other people around the world, and via this pamphlet we want to send them our warmest regards: the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire in the Netherlands; the FAI in Italy; the Práxedis G. Guerrero Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution and the ELF/ALF in Mexico; the ELF in Russia; the anarchists in Bristol, Argentina, and Turkey; the **Autonome Gruppen** in Germany; the **September 8 Vengeance Commando** in Chile; the comrades in Switzerland, Poland, **Spain**, and **London**; and **everyone we've left out, wherever the rejection of this world is in bloom.**

This text has no epilogue, because praxis will always continue to nourish and transform itself. We're just making a quick stop, concluding with a few words someone once said:

murder. The attacks against the structures of State and Capital went on and spread to several smaller towns in Greece.

Between September 2009 and March 2011 numerous individuals from the anarchist movement in Greece were arrested in connection with the campaign of insurrectionary attacks carried out by the **CCF** against the dominator system. Nine individuals amongst the arrested have taken responsibility for being members of the **Conspiracy of Cells of Fire** and continue to form an active group in struggle inside prison: **Gerasimos Tsakalos, Panayiotis Argyrou, Haris Hatzimichelakis, Michalis Nikolopoulos, Giorgos Nikolopoulos, Olga Economidou, Damiano Bolano, Christos Tsakalos, and Giorgos Polydoros.**

In May 2011 the imprisoned members of the **Conspiracy of Cells of Fire** released '*The Sun Still Rises*' which outlines their trajectory and their active proposal for a revolutionary war, a violent flux of insurrectionary transformation in which the individual can permanently break out of Society's suffocating passivity, an existential struggle in which the revolutionary minority creates new values in the ashes of present mediocrity. Writing from prison, following his arrest on 1 November (2011), **Gerasimos Tsakalos** said of the general population: "*Of this total mass, we must through our speech and our action strike at the characteristics of submission that dominate it, so as to create the minorities that will deny the values of the dominant culture through Revolutionary Conscience and Ethics. Only through dignity, pride and honour can we reach the theoretical rigour in choices of action. Self-organisation, solidarity and*

rage arm our desires. The practical theory of the destruction of the existent in all its forms, should become the means that will unite minority subgroups towards a Revolutionary perspective. [...] we do not seek the diffusion of our words and our actions using as a spearhead only the ugliness of the economic situation, something that could be simply a transitional phase of capitalism itself, but we emphasize the ongoing existential poverty, which is a permanent consequence of this world. We promote a transition to a more total critique and attack on the poverty of communication, artificial feelings, the lack of dignity, the small and big expressions of dominating social relations, the lack of desire to risk seeking and the fear of rupture for a freer life. [...] Regardless of whether or not there is a prospect of direct mass conflict within the system, we live and act for now. For the satisfaction of our Ego and for the individual materialisation of our desires that are collectivised through the infrastructures of diffused revolutionary guerrilla war.”

The **Conspiracy of Cells of Fire**, inside and out of prison, used the State's trials as flash points from which to renew and launch a world-wide insurrectionary project – the **Informal Anarchist Federation / International Revolutionary Front**. Numerous individuals around the world responded to the **CCF's** call and fire signals went up from Mexico to Italy, Russia to the UK, Chile to Indonesia. A new international of anarchist action “*becomes flesh by bleeding and drawing blood*”, as the **FAI** cell ‘**Sisters in Arms of the Mauricio Morales Nucleus**’ put it in a March 2011 communique for the letter bomb which seriously injured **Lieutenant colonel Alessandro**

prevent “damage” to anything other than the target of the sabotage will definitely arouse our suspicion, given the likelihood that they will have been hatched by the state.

Returning to our proposal, “anonymity” with regard to personal contact will reinforce the closed nature of the autonomous cells, making it more difficult for the police to “compromise” them. Even the arrest of one entire cell that forms part of the new Conspiracy wouldn't lead the persecuting authorities to the other cells, thereby avoiding the well-known domino effects that took place in our time.

In the past, the fact that that we **first-phase comrades** may not have been involved in certain incidents never stopped us from publicly expressing our support or our critique, and the same applies to the present if new comrades choose to use the organization's name. Without needing to know one another, through the communiqués that accompany attacks we can begin an open debate on reflections and problems that, even if viewed through different lenses, are certainly focused on the same direction: revolution.

Consequently, we first-phase comrades are now assuming responsibility for the discourse we generate inside prison by signing as the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire, followed by our names.

The new “Conspiracy” will maintain and safeguard its customary independence, writing

demonstrated by the **Italian FAI comrades**—as an engine of propulsion.

From this point on, any comrade who agrees (obviously without having to identify herself) with these three key points of the **informal agreement** we are proposing **can—if she wants—use the name Conspiracy of Cells of Fire in connection with the autonomous cell she is part of**. Just like the **Dutch comrades** who, without us knowing one another personally but within the framework of consistency between discourse and practice, attacked the infrastructure of domination (arson and cyber attacks against Rabobank) and claimed responsibility as the **Conspiracy of Cells of Fire (Dutch Cell)**.

We feel that a **network of such cells, devoid of centralized structure**, will be capable of far exceeding the limits of individual plans while exploring the real possibilities of **revolutionary coordination among autonomous minority structures**. These structures—without knowing one another personally—will in turn be able to organize **arson and bombing campaigns throughout Greece, but also on an international level, communicating through their claims of responsibility**.

Since we live in suspicious times, we should clarify something. Actions claimed using the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire name that aren't consistent with any of the points we've laid out and don't take the necessary precautions to

Albamonte, chief of general staff of the Ruspoli barracks (Livorno, Italy) of the **Parachutist Brigade Commando** (which serves in Afghanistan). Amongst the many actions which gave flesh to this new black international were the following: a parcel bomb to the Greek Embassy in Rome, Italy, by a **FAI** cell, which was defused on 27 December (2010); the 30 December bombing of the Greek Embassy in Buenos Aires, Argentina; an arson barrage between 12 and 13 January (2011) in Thessaloniki, Greece, by '**Informal Anarchist Federation – Cell of Revolutionary Solidarity**' targeting a politician's office, offices of the union of retired police, two cop cars and a car of the diplomatic corps; the 15 and 16 January arson barrage in Athens of a bank, local PASOK (Greek political party) offices, security vehicles, a cops personal motorbike by '**Wolves of Solidarity**'; the arson by '**International Revolutionary Network – Deviant Behaviors for the Spread of Revolutionary Terrorism – Cell of Anarchic Action**' of vehicles of the National Electricity Company, UPS delivery company, police and a military equipment firm; the arson of construction vehicles and equipment by the **Earth Liberation Front** in Coacalco and the bombing of a HSBC bank in Ecatepec, 15 January, Mexico; the arson of a security vehicle in Bristol, UK on 15 January; the petrol bomb attack on a power company offices by '**Informal Cells of Insurrection**' and an attack with fireworks on the facade of a shopping centre by '**Öfke (Anger)**', on 16 January, in Istanbul, Turkey; the arson attack on a Barclays Bank in London and the arson of two vehicles of British Telecom in Bristol, on 17 January; the arson of the Federal Criminal Court in Bellinzona, Switzerland on

17 January; graffiti on the KB Bank in Slask, Poland, on 17 January; the pair of explosive letters to the Chilean embassy in Mexico City from the **'Autonomous Cells of the Immediate Revolution – Praxedis G. Guererro'** that led to its evacuation on 23 January; the arson of an armoured money transfer vehicle in Hania, Crete, on 23 January; the attack with stun bombs on the prefecture of the military police in Puerto Montt, Chile, on 29 January; the bombing with a device made from butane gas canisters and petrol of a police station in Coacalco, Mexico, on 5 February by **'Earth Liberation Front – Informal Anarchist Federation/Global Network'**; the bombings of the BBVA, BCI and BancoEstado banks in Chile on 11 February by **'December 8 Commando, Supporters of the Informal Anarchist Federation's call for International Coordination'**; the arson of bulldozers in Khimki Forest, Russia on 19 February; the arson of the skyscraper of Rabobank in Utrecht, Netherlands, by the **'Conspiracy Cells of Fire : Dutch Cell'**.

As expected, the State's judicial puppetry sentenced the proud young members of the **Conspiracy of Cells of Fire** to many decades in prison. The struggle, of course, was far from over. On the evening of 12 December, 2011 five members of the **CCF** and imprisoned underground figure **P. Vlastos** attempted to escape from Korydallos prison. The jail break failed but the comrades took several guards hostage and used the opportunity to make a statement (which **Giorgos Nikolopoulos** read out over telephone to the media in a live broadcast) that declared they would not negotiate with the police, but wanted to publicize the horrible conditions in Korydallos

revolutionary subject in a revolution that always speaks in the first person to ultimately build a genuine collective "we."

The third key point of agreement in our proposal regarding the formation of a new Conspiracy is international revolutionary solidarity. In truth, our desire to apply all of ourselves to creating moments of attack on the world order may cost some of us our lives, with many of us winding up in prison. "We" doesn't refer to the Conspiracy or any other organization. It refers to every insurgent, whether they are part of a guerrilla group or taking action individually on their path to freedom. As the first phase of the Conspiracy, our desire and our proposal to every new cell is that the full force of revolutionary solidarity be expressed—a solidarity that cries out through texts, armed actions, attacks, and sabotage to reach the ears of persecuted and imprisoned comrades, no matter how far away they may be.

The solidarity we're talking about doesn't require those showing solidarity to express absolute political identification with the accused. It is simply a shared acknowledgment that we are on the same side of the barricades and that we recognize one another in the struggle, like another knife stuck in power's gut. We therefore also propose support for the **Informal Anarchist Federation/International Revolutionary Front**, so that it can function—as

plays an active role.” —**Costas Pappas, *No Going Back***

The enemy can be found in every mouth that speaks the language of domination. It is not exclusive to one or another race or social class. **It doesn't just consist of rulers and the whole potbellied suit-and-tie dictatorship. It is also the proletarian who aspires to be a boss, the oppressed whose mouth spits nationalist poison, the immigrant who glorifies life in western civilization but behaves like a little dictator among his own people, the prisoner who rats out others to the guards, every mentality that welcomes power, and every conscience that tolerates it.**

We don't believe in an ideology of victimization in which the State takes all the blame. The great empires weren't just built on oppression. They were also built on the consent of the applauding masses in the timeless Roman arenas of every dictator. To us, the revolutionary subject is each one who liberates herself from the obligations of the present, questions the dominant order of things, and takes part in the criminal quest for freedom.

As the **first phase of the Conspiracy**, we have no interest in representing anyone, and we don't take action in the name of any class or as defenders of "oppressed society." The subject is us, because each rebel is a

prisoner. In a statement they released later, the imprisoned members of the **Conspiracy of Cells of Fire** declared: *"If the work of jailers and judges is to lock the prisons' doors, ours is to unlock and violate them. Even though we failed to release our bodies, we released our existence even for a few moments, occupying a space in prison. This sense is unique, and we do not regret anything."*

The fight goes on. Below is a chronology of actions between early 2008 and early 2011 carried out by individuals who used the name '**Conspiracy of Cells of Fire**' to bring consistency and memory to their insurrectionary project.

January 21, 2008: The **Conspiracy of Cells of Fire** announce themselves with a barrage of attacks on 12 targets in Athens and Thessaloniki. Banks, car dealerships and **PPC**, a state-run power company, are some of the targets hit by the incendiary devices made from camping gas canisters. *"We selected to strike the bank subsidiaries because they constitute the symbols-tools of exploitation and of the economic empire. In parallel, the banks are the modern day corporations that accredit with loaned dreams, the consumers, so that they would glamourise voluntarily their misery and their economic state of captivity. We attacked the PPC corporation as a response to the dozens of assassinations of workers that died in its workplace-prisons because of the lack of security measures, as well as for the deadly*

*effects (such as cancer) that appear at the zones around its power plants. We set on fire the dealerships of luxurious cars that form prestigious symbols of authority inside the commodity fetishist frenzy that has taken over the metropolis. We do not respect the law-abiding citizens' wet dreams for a fast car in expense of the slow suicide offered by the modern life style. The revolutionary character of an economic-capitalist targets arson isn't found only in its physical destruction but also in the illegality of the action itself. In the decision to attack. In this combatant situation, there are also losses. Accordingly, we dedicate last night's attacks in Thessaloniki and Athens to the imprisoned anarchist **V. Botzatzis** who is accused for 3 arson attacks against 3 targets, as well as to the 3 fugitive comrades accused under the same case, and that chose the way of a proud escape, rather than to give themselves in. We don't forget any imprisoned comrade. We will be back soon..."*

February 21, 2008: The **CCF** make their second appearance with a barrage of attacks on 15 targets (including 8 banks) in Athens, Thessaloniki and consolidate their presence now as a stable and coherent collective that promotes the destruction of power and society. Among its targets is the political office of former **Associate Justice Minister Papaligouras**. An unknown person phone called a TV station claiming the gas canister arson attack on Papaligouras' office was in solidarity to the anti-authoritarian **Giorgos Voutsis-Vogiatzis**, in pre-

The fact that we engage in **struggle against the state** doesn't mean we blind ourselves to the diffuse complex of power that administers contemporary interpersonal relationships. Antiauthoritarian discourse frequently alters and generalizes a concept like the state, relieving the rest of the people who constitute society of their responsibility. In doing so, it creates a sterilized viewpoint that treats entire social sectors as revolutionary subjects, whether called proletariat or oppressed, without revealing the individual responsibility each one of us assumes in the enslavement of our lives.

"The state is not a fortress. You won't find any door that leads you to some kind of machine or engine that can be turned off by throwing a switch. The state is not a monster you can kill with a stake through the heart. It's something quite different. We could compare it to a system: a network comprising thousands of machines and switches. This network doesn't impose itself on society from above. It spreads throughout society from within. It even extends to the sphere of private life, reaching into and touching our emotions at a cellular level. It molds conscience and is molded by it. It connects and unites society, which in turn nourishes and sanctifies it in a continuous exchange of values and standards. In this game, there are no spectators. Each one of us

infrastructure. Without any hierarchization of methods of violence, comrades can choose from rocks to Kalashnikovs. However, direct action on its own is just another entry on the police blotter, so it should be accompanied by a **corresponding communiqué** from the given cell or individual claiming responsibility and explaining the reasons behind the attack, thus spreading revolutionary discourse. The pen and the pistol are made from the same metal. **Here, let's note that the Conspiracy of the period that is now over never dismissed any incendiary method in its arsenal.** It would be disingenuous of us if some young comrade thought that using the name of a **new "Conspiracy"** was conditioned by the use of supposedly superior methods (e.g., explosives). **The new urban guerrilla warfare depends much less on operational methods than it does on our decision to attack power.**

The second key point of agreement is to wage war against the state while simultaneously engaging in a pointed critique of society. Since we are revolutionary anarchists, we don't just talk about the misfortune caused by power and the ruling oligarchy. We also exercise a more comprehensive critique of the way in which the oppressed accept and propagate the promises of happiness and consumerism offered by their bosses.

trial imprisonment since the armed bank robbery at Gizi, and promised the attacks will continue. *"Every day the same landscape, tired faces, eyes dejected, anxious time and our dignity checking its time-card in the bosses clock. That's why we arm the old ways and invent new ones in order to escape the captivity of work. We propose a total attack against the existence and the morality of work. Looting of commodities and money from the temples of consumption and profit, torching economic targets, sabotaging the normal circulation of production, self-organised workplace ruptures and attacks..."*

March 18-20, 2008: The **CCF** hold a series of arson attacks in Athens-Thessaloniki which they call a 3-day festival of fire. At least 10 targets including banks, private security companies, police vans and banks are delivered to the flames. *"The police state constitutes an irrefutable reality. Mobilizing the dogma of security (insecurity) it intensifies its repressive action, penetrating every level of the social tissue and tearing it into pieces. The*



Photo of incendiary barrage of February 21.

Panopticon is utilized in every expression of the older and the new forms of surveillance and the industry of fear is set for good. Cameras, cops, juries, municipal cops and security patrols safeguard this new complex net of captivity."



Destruction from the 'festival of fire'.

April 4, 2008: The **CCF** hits Italian interests in Athens-Thessaloniki including **the Italian delegations** cars and branches of **Benetton** in solidarity to the persecuted and imprisoned anarchists in Italy in the case of **FAI (Informal Anarchist Federation)**. *"The Italian comrades of F.A.I. form a federation through its offensive actions, as the one of 21/12/2003 setting of explosive devices outside the house of the president of E.U. at the time -- Romano Prodi, or of the 3/3/2005, with their triple bomb attack outside Carabinieri (Paramilitary Police) barracks, at Genoa and Milan, claiming: '...We consider it essential that every person that isn't tamed by the*

over. The Conspiracy will not remain disarmed. It will continue to be a valid commitment in prison, as well as an open proposal to the antagonistic sector of the metropolis.

The **Conspiracy of Cells of Fire** proved itself as a **network of cells**, just like its name suggests. Right now, we're not attempting to go over its operational record. We simply want to clarify its political perspective.

We feel that **committing to a new Conspiracy** most closely approaches the essence of the word, **so we are opening up that possibility by making a proposal** for a new Conspiracy comprising a diffuse, invisible network of cells that have no reason to meet in person, yet through their actions and discourse recognize one another as comrades in the same **political crime: the subversion of Law and Order. This Conspiracy would consist of individuals and cells that take action, whether autonomous or coordinated (through call-outs and communiqués), without needing to agree on every single position and specific reference point (e.g., nihilism, individualism). Instead, they would connect on the basis of mutual aid focused on three key points.**

The first point we are proposing in this informal debate is agreement on the choice of direct action using any means capable of damaging enemy

person begins to define herself and liberate herself from **society's passivity**.

There is now noise everywhere—the marvelous noise of widespread destruction—as well as the requisite revolutionary discourse to follow bombings against targets that serve domination. A determined armada of anarchist groups is setting fire to tranquility in the middle of the night, groups with names that reflect the “menu” they offer the system (in Athens: Deviant Behavior for the Spread of Revolutionary Terrorism, Warriors from the Abyss/Terrorist Complicity, Revolutionary Conscience Combatants, Lambros Foundas Guerrilla Formation; in Thessaloniki: Chaos Warriors, Attacking Solidarity Cell, Arson Attack Cell, Schemers for Nighttime Disorder, Fire to the Borders Cell, Combative Conscience Cell, Revolutionary Solidarity Cell, etc.). Many of these groups are also experimenting with **a new international liberatory project** as accomplices in the alliance known as the **International Revolutionary Front / Informal Anarchist Federation**.

Those of us who have taken responsibility as members of the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire are not intimidated by the dozens of years in prison the courts have in store for us. To begin with, we are creating an **active collective inside prison**.

We know that, for us, the opening phase of the struggle has been completed. However, we also know that nothing is

fake prosperity that democracy provides, must express his/her rage with his/her action and by every means, we will keep on intruding your dreams, your economic interests and your peace. It won't take you much time to understand the consequences of your indifference.' (abstract of a **F.A.I.** communique) *In this tough route they selected, there were also losses. Arrest warrants, imprisonments, judicial farces. In the last few years, the Italian state has attacked brutally the insurrectional part of the Italian anarchists. Apart from perennial captivities, certain other comrades such as **Massari, Rosa, Fantazzini**, aren't accompanying us anymore in this dangerous route to the wild rebellion, since they were murdered by the Italian state. But neither is death able to erase the rage from the eyes of the insurgents. The cells of **F.A.I.** and not only them, strike back and attempt to create a condition of omnipresent conflict, where there is no place for compromise. In its declaration, **F.A.I.** mentions: 'Strike and destroy the responsible for the repression and exploitation. Strike and destroy the prisons, the banks, the court-houses, the barracks...' Accomplices in the crime of direct revolutionary action, we seek, through our attacks, to form a range of dislocation of the uneventful social peace. To commit the crime of ending the silence, to overcome the postponements and the hesitations, to live beyond the laws that enslave and the conventions that shoot in the back. And the only precise way to*

achieve this, is to participate in the revolutionary war, declared since the beginning."

May 30, 2008: The **CCF** makes a barrage of 11 attacks in Athens and Thessaloniki, hitting targets such as banks, car dealerships and political party offices. They released a communiqué entitled '*Why We Set Your Night on Fire*': "*We are those that cannot fit in your shiny building's world, with its neon lights, the disgusting social conformity, fast cars, commercial centers, surveillance and control cameras, police forces of occupation in the metropolis. But, above all, we cannot fit in the blankness of this void life where even the thoughts, the emotions and the gestures follow the rules of this devious guidance and submission of our (or the market's) desires. This also explains why you want to suite us in the prisons you build, to punish all those that defy your commands. We cannot fit in there either...*" Claimed in solidarity with imprisoned anarchist combatants **M. Tsourapas**, **Ch. Kontorevithakis**, and **V. Botzatzis**.

June 12, 2008: The **CCF** carry out 9 attacks on various sponsors of the **Greek National Team**, seizing the opportunity offered by current events (EURO 2008) to organize attacks against both these commercialists and against society's falsified ideal of patriotism. "*The tame crowds are more than willing to overlook the misery of their everyday life and turn for a few days into a mixture of phony smiles, and getting into goofy*

comrades from a guerrilla group engage in regular above-ground interaction—participating in movement meetings and processes, taking part in debates, and creating projects with others that address shared concerns—then **the hermetic nature of the guerrilla group** should clearly be protected from open ears and big mouths. **Therefore, it's general attitude also must be one of discretion in order to circumvent the deafening exaggerations that can turn it into a "magnet" for bastards from antiterrorist squads and the police.** Taking a page from our own self-critique, we must mention the fact that many of us behaved completely opposite to the above, which—along with the viciousness of certain conduct originating within the anarchist milieu—"guided" a number of police operations right to us. In any case, self-critique lays down solid ground from which to develop oneself and offer explanations, but the current text isn't appropriate for that. We'll return to it in the future.

5. The First Phase of the Conspiracy and the Proposal for the "New Conspiracy"

The guerrilla has finally escaped the pages of books dealing with decades past and taken to the streets with ferocity. Because the urban guerrilla doesn't offer utopian freedom. She allows access to immediate freedom. Accordingly, each

honed—like a sharp knife—for the war that finally abolishes every form of work that enriches the bosses while impoverishing our dignity.

We feel the same way about **voluntarily “disappearing” to go underground**. The fetishization of illegalism doesn't inspire us. We want everyone to act in accordance with their needs and desires. Each choice naturally has its own qualities and virtues as well as its disadvantages. It's true that when a group voluntarily chooses to go underground (“disappearance” from the environment of family and friends, false papers, etc.), that certainly shields them from the eyes of the enemy. But at the same time, their social connection to the wider radical milieu is cut, and to a certain point they lose a sense of interaction. Of course, the same doesn't apply when there are objective reasons for going underground (arrest warrants, a price on one's head), in which case **clandestinity is the attacking refuge** of those caught in the crosshairs of the law. This creates a parallel need for the existence of **support infrastructure**, both among guerrilla groups themselves as well as within the wider antiauthoritarian milieu, **that will “cover” the tracks of wanted comrades**. Prerequisites would be a certain **complicity** and **discretion**, which concepts are frequently seen as “outdated” but in our opinion should once again be launched piercingly into battle. If

celebrations. The mass stupefaction media bombard us with thousands of advertisements promoting a national sheep conscience alongside mass consumption - the necessary parameter of every commodity fiesta. The role of multinational corporation sponsors is more than obvious, both in promoting their own merchandise as much as national unity, creating a harmony of capitalist profiteering and implantation/revival of our hateful national identity. This is why we attacked you, we did it in the past, and we'll be doing it in the future. Your fiesta is full of bright lights and numerous smiles, national rag-flags, torpor spectacle and diffused nonsense. Our own celebrations are during the night, when the shiny lights give their place to the thick darkness of delinquency and become the gasoline for the fire, the movement, the destruction. Because national unity is for the frightened, we shall never compromise with any state and any nation. Our only country is the Revolution, Violent and Subversive in its steps, bound to annihilate your old world.”

July 1, 2008: Conspiracy Cells of Fire – ‘Night-time Patrols’ attack the police escort of the President of the Republic.

9-10 July, 2008: Autonomous cells of the **CCF ‘Night-time Patrols’** and **‘Chaotic Action’** destroy police vehicles and diplomatic cars of the Moroccan embassy. *“We dedicate this hit to the Anarchist Comrades **M. Tsourapas** and **Chr.**”*

Kontorevithakis who are since Friday 11/7 facing a jury for the attack against a Municipal Police car, claiming responsibility for their choices.”

15 July, 2008: The **CCF** initiative called **'Convention for the memory of Emil Henry'** ignites the Thessaloniki offices of the local branch of **Nea Dimokratia** (New Democracy, the centre-right party then in power). The claim expresses solidarity with imprisoned anarchists **G. Voutsis-Vogiatzis, G. Dimitrakis, V. Botzatzis, M. Tsourapas, Ch. Kontorevithakis** and the six clandestine anarchists on the run from Greek police. *"The offensive actions do not come to play the game of politic currents, reminding the dominants the political cost of keeping revolutionaries in captivity. The offensive actions ARE THE BET WE WAGE for the transport of the revolutionary life to HERE and NOW, our date with history, the restless sleep of those responsible (through their neutrality as well) for the colonization of our lives. We have begun. And we will keep looking for partners in crime..."*

9 August, 2008: The cell **'Breath of Terror'** ignites the National Electricity Company offices in Peristeri, Athens. *"We set the moments, the time, we shape the conditions, throwing the dice of Nihilism eradicating the established 'values' of this rotten world, celebrating their inversion."*

4 September, 2008: After the arrests of anarchists **P. Georgiadis, V. Hrisohoidis** and **V.**

capitalist beast—the banks—with the goal being individual liberation from the eight-hour blackmail of wage-slavery on the one hand, and collective appropriation of and direct access to money for infrastructural needs and revolutionary projects on the other.

We are exiting the scene of urban guerrilla warfare's past ethical fixations, which rarely took a public position on the issue of revolutionary bank robbery. We feel that there is now plenty of new urban guerrilla discourse and practice that opposes—in a clearly attacking way—the bosses' work ethic as well as the predatory banking machinery, **proposing armed expropriation as a liberatory act, and obviously not as a way to get rich.**

Nevertheless, we don't consider the expropriation of banks to be a prerequisite for someone's participation in the new guerrilla war. **There is one revolution, but there are thousands of ways in which one can take revolutionary action.** Other comrades might choose to carry out collective expropriations from the temples of consumerism (supermarkets, shopping malls) in order to individually recover what's been "stolen" and use those things to meet each person's material needs, thereby avoiding having to say "good morning" to a boss or take orders from some superior. Still others might participate in grassroots unions, keeping their conscience

conservative fossils of dogmatism and habit that act as parasites within the anarchist milieu, wanting only to control young comrades, sabotage them, and prevent them from creating their own autonomous evolutionary path through the revolutionary process.

We believe that the concept of the **anarchist urban guerrilla** isn't a separate identity one assumes only while engaging in armed attack. Rather, we feel it's a matter of **merging each person's private and public life** in the context of total liberation. **We aren't anarchists only when we throw a Molotov at a riot police van, carry out expropriations, or plant an explosive device. We're also anarchists when we talk to our friends, take care of our comrades, have fun, and fall in love.**

We aren't enlisted soldiers whose duty is revolution. We are guerrillas of pleasure who view the connection between rebellion and life as a prerequisite for taking action. We don't believe in any "correct line" to follow. During the past two years, for example, new urban guerrilla groups frequently posed the issue of robberies and expropriations from the banking machinery as yet another attack on the system. Their communiqués and claims of responsibility are powerful propaganda for **the rejection of work via holdups and robberies directed at the belly of the**

Paleokostas for the kidnapping of the industrialist **G. Mylonas**, the **CCF** cell '**Asymmetric Threat**' places an incendiary device at the entrance of his company offices on the 7th floor of an apartment building in Thessaloniki. *"Negators of a mediocre society and a miserable life we are offered, we take the first step to the offensive. We make it clear for **Mylonas**, and those like him, that everyone that maintains this world of servants and their bosses that are the keystones of the empire, despite their apparent fortification, remain fragile."*

13 September, 2008: 'Asymmetric Threat' attack police cruisers with Molotov cocktails and gas canister bombs at the **Dimokratias square police station**, torching vehicles and machinery of the Police and causing damage to the police station. *"The days pass so indifferently. They seem*



Photo from the 13 September attack on Dimokratias square police station.

*like rings of an endless chain of burden and compromise. Work-home, home-work. We live constantly kept hostage. Hostages of the law, the employers, slave to the lowered eyes and the submissive affirmations. We don't want to be forgotten working a whole life for the bosses. We don't care for workers rights and unpaid over-work. We don't stand for better slavery conditions. We are determined to escape from work camps at any cost. Better to live an hour as a wolf than a life as a sheep. Too often what we say resounds like an echo in a total void. But there are some rare moments of beauty and rebellion when some comrades together with disobedient wolves, send us back a rebellious signal. Two months ago, an armed companionship kidnapped the president of the northern Greek industrialists, **G. Mylonas**, demanding ransom to let him 'free'. The reasons were pretty apparent. Every day in our work, our time is kidnapped, our mood, our creativity, our desire, our freedom too. Some people decided to strike back and become active instead of being victims. Thus, a gang of disobediens chose to 'kidnap' a real kidnapper. The selection of the industrialist **G. Mylonas** couldn't be random. President of NGI, a millionaire with a modern profile and bad aesthetics. [...] On the decision we took to attack every law, order, silence and neutrality we chose last night to set afire the police station of Dodekanisou street., sending fraternal salutations to the comrade revolutionary **P. Georgiadis** and a signal of solidarity to his*

begins nor ends within the context of the group. The group is the means to revolution, not an end in itself. Because when the means become their own raison d'être, "diseases" begin to appear, like **vanguardism**, the **armed party**, and **exclusive orthodox truth**. Through the **Conspiracy of Cells of Fire**, we say what we believe in, who we are, and what tendency we represent, but in no way do we say that someone has to precisely follow some so-called correct line or participate in our group in order to be recognized as a comrade.

Thus, we ourselves have also taken part in processes apart from the **Conspiracy**, like joining **coordinated action networks**, attending assemblies, participating in marches and demonstrations, supporting attacks and acts of sabotage, putting up posters, and painting slogans. But we never thought one thing was superior to another. **That's because the polymorphism of revolutionary war consists of an open and permanent commitment that has nothing to do with fetishized spectacle (embracing armed struggle as the only thing that matters) or accusatory fixations (insisting on the quantitative characteristic of "massiveness" as the criterion for revolutionary authenticity).** On the contrary, we position ourselves as enemies directly against the "polymorphism" of café gossip, speeches in university auditoriums, leadership roles, followers, and all those

the publication of practical guides like those released by some German comrades, which contain a number of different ways to make explosive devices.

Additionally, our actions never involved fixed, immutable roles. Without resorting to the cyclical rotation of tasks, which recall compulsory work hours, all the comrades took advantage of a common foundation that allowed them to be able to execute any task at any time during an attack. The process of improving your ability to use materials and techniques is naturally a continual process of self-education. Along those lines, we want to emphasize how crucial it is to simultaneously develop a group's operational capacity as well as its revolutionary viewpoint. At no point should the level of sterile operational capacity intensify without a corresponding intensification of thought and discourse, and the same obviously holds true for the converse. **We had no central committee to designate roles. There were only particular tasks within a specific plan—positions that changed according to the desires of the comrades who took part.**

4. Guerrillas for Life

We've always felt that an organization doesn't necessarily have to be exclusive to the comrades who are part of it. Our action neither

*comrades and friends **V. Hrisohoidis, V. Paleokostas** and **G. Haralambidis**. Nothing has ended yet, and you know we are serious. You'll soon hear more of us."*



Photo from 25-26 September arsons

25-26 September, 2008: The **CCF** hits 9 targets in Athens and a tax office in Thessaloniki is delivered to the flames. *"We set ourselves practically on the side of those that decided to take their fate into their own hands and select their lives. Those that without second thought, dug out the axe of war and with rage grabbed everything that belongs to them. Those that decided to get out of the waiting lounge of their lives and dared to act. We are on the side of everyone that selects their escape from the barracks of existential poverty and mere survival. Insurrection finds a base only in individual choice and consciousness, in the determination to no longer wait for anyone and for anything, to attack here and now everything that*

*represses us. There is no other way besides the revolution, the violent rupture, to destroy the universal chains of exploitation and repression. And only through the hurricanes of this revolutionary war, will we seek our accomplices to come out of the shadows of apathy, the revolutionaries that arise from the masses of exploitation and repression. [...] The coordinated attacks against nine targets in Athens and a tax office in Thessaloniki was realised as one more sign of Solidarity to the comrade **Polykarpos Georgiadis** and to **Vaggelis Hrisohoidis, Vassilis Paleokostas** and **Giorgos Haralambidis**, accused for the case of the industrialist **Mylonas'** kidnapping in June. Finally, we dedicate this yesterday's attack to the prisoner-in-struggle **Vaggelis Pallis**, as a minimum response of our offensive mood against the generalised world of prisons."*

27 September, 2008: Strip clubs are set on fire by the cell of **CCF 'Anarchist Individuals'** in broad daylight: *"the trading of naked human flesh, sex is reduced to a commodity. [...] In a world that destroys our every pleasure, the only real pleasure lies in the destruction of this old world."*

29 September, 2008: 'Anarchist Individuals' attack **The National Bank** in Athens with an incendiary device. *"Oppression is often connected to the cop's club and the prison bars. A part of these less obvious mechanisms of democracy is*

relatively simple to obtain and prepare, allowing them to spread and be used by anyone who decides to move toward the new urban guerrilla warfare. **These include gasoline, jerry cans, camping gas canisters, and candles that can easily be obtained at a supermarket, but also improvised timing mechanisms that—after the appropriate "research" in technical manuals and guides available on the Internet, plus a little innovative imagination—anyone is capable of fabricating.**

We certainly aren't forgetting that, while "everyone does everything," each person also has their own separate abilities and personal inclinations, and it would be a mistake to gloss over those differences. With desire and mutual understanding as our guide, each of us undertook to do what we felt most capable of. For example, if someone was a good driver or a skillful thief, or perhaps had a knack for writing, that didn't mean their creative abilities would be suppressed in the name of some false collective homogeneity. **It was up to each comrade to offer their abilities and methodologies to the other comrades without making a "sacrifice" of their own participation**, and it was even better if that happened in the broadest possible way, going beyond the narrow context of the collective and facilitating access by the entirety of the antiauthoritarian current—for example, through

separate initiative, then the comrades involved in that separate initiative were responsible for writing it.

The same process held for our Thessaloniki comrades, and when we collaborated as the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire : Athens-Thessaloniki , comrades from both cities coordinated those actions based on principles of mutual aid and comradeship.

3. "Everyone Does Everything"

Of course, we're well aware of the dangers lurking within each collective project that aspires to call itself antiauthoritarian—the appearance of informal hegemony and the reproduction of corrupt behavior, of which we are enemies. We feel that the purpose of power is to divide. **To eliminate the possibility of the emergence of any informal hierarchy within our group, we struck directly at the heart of specialization and roles as soon as they surfaced. We said: "Everyone does everything." Everyone can learn and devise ways to steal cars and motorcycles, fabricate license plates, forge ID cards and official documents, expropriate goods and money, target-shoot, and use firearms and explosives.**

Therefore, it was and continues to be important to us that the means and methods we use for our actions be straightforward and

responsible for safeguarding social peace with an even stronger ally of oppression, but less visible, - the consent of the exploited. The banks could be burnt, cops could be beaten, bosses kidnapped... But how can we attack this consent? Surely not by preaching to the exploited with a complex analysis on the capitalist system and dominion, since to understand your role and open space to think further on it, a primal rebellion is inevitable and necessary. Encouraging this rebellion, making clear in actions that dominion-authority doesn't rest on theoretical terms found only in academic debates, but is constituted of structures and people whom you can attack everywhere and always, is the only possibility to break apart consent and destroy this social cemetery that is called society." Action dedicated to **G. Voutsis-Vogiatzis** " Who had his pre-trial imprisonment prolonged the previous week."

7 October, 2008: Two cells each burn two ATMs respectively at branches of the **National Bank** in Thessaloniki. These are the '**Knights of the Flaming Bank**' and '**Coalition of Raging Egos**'! The following communiqué discusses the refusal of work as a revolutionary option, and is claimed in solidarity with **Giorgos Voutsis-Vogiatzis** arrested after the armed robbery of a bank in that area three years previously. *"By robbing a bank, gaining back your time from the frustrating timetables, setting everyday life free of temporal and economic blackmail, you re-appropriate in essence, your own life. In spite of all this, a battle doesn't win a war, a robbery doesn't bring down*

the economy and an arson doesn't magically erase all the banks of the world, and quit similarly a comrade's arrest doesn't end the revolutionary struggle..."

29 October, 2008: The cell '**Revolutionary Army**' places an incendiary device inside the **Military Court** of Rouf, opening a hole in the barbed wire fence under the noses of the army. It is only the prelude to a comprehensive attack against the army. According to '*Eleftherotipia*' newspaper the '**Conspiracy of Cells of Fire - Revolutionary Army**' phoned the paper and claimed responsibility for the attack in solidarity with anarchist **Giannis Dimitrakis**, who was facing a military court on October 13.

2-4 November 2008: The **CCF** carry out a barrage of 9 arson attacks in Athens and Thessaloniki, aimed at navy jeeps and vans, associations of retired officers, companies which work with the army and the political office of then **Defense Minister Vangelis Meimarakis**. "*From the NATO bases on European ground, to the 'pacification' interventions in the Middle East, the army has the role of an essential force to maintain and expand the economic interests of the Western states. To feed the machinery of war and the war industry it is needed to keep social peace inside the metropolises of the Western states. War and peace, two different faces, two different expressions of the capitalist dominion.*"

3 December, 2008: The cell '**International Solidarity**' puts an incendiary device at **the Agence France-Presse** in Athens in solidarity to

and mapped; the approach to and withdrawal from the target was laid out (avoiding cameras and police checkpoints), including alternate routes in case something unexpected happened, and of course keeping in mind the eventuality of a confrontation with the pigs. There were also support groups, "hideouts," ways of asking for help, etc. (In a future manual, we will analyze and explain our experiences, which are related to how we perceive what is going on while an attack is being carried out.)

During the third phase (which was never far removed from the initial proposal about target selection), we worked on the text of the communiqué. When a topic was suggested (for example, attacking the police), the comrade who made the proposal argued for its content. Then a discussion began, during which each person fleshed out the concept, expressed disagreements, pointed out problems, and offered other ways to approach the topic. As soon as the debate finished, no matter how many meetings were needed to finish it, the collective brought together the central themes of all the meetings and shaped the main axes around which the communiqué would be written. The writing of a communiqué on a specific topic was usually shared out among those who wanted the responsibility, and after it was written, we got together to read it and make corrections, additions, and final touches. If the communiqué was connected to a

opinions; figure out how to recognize our mistakes; understand the concept of shaping something together; become conscious of the need for strategy; and—most important of all—**create relationships not in the name of some “professional” revolutionary goal, but based on friendship, true comradeship, and real solidarity.**

We love what we do because it contains our entire essence. **Therefore, the “Conspiracy” isn’t just all of us together, it’s also each one of us apart.** Even in cases when there wasn’t collective agreement on a particular action, we didn’t resort to “begging” from the prevailing democratic majority. Instead, the minority of comrades who insisted on carrying out the attack took the autonomous initiative to move forward with their choice. That happened in parallel with the rest of the collective, which supported them at specific times if necessary, naturally playing a part in our overall organization.

That’s why a number of communiqués were signed by groups (Nihilist Faction, Breath of Terror Commando, Terrorist Guerrilla Unit) that arose out of each separate initiative. During the second phase, after reaching agreement, whether as the entire collective or as a separate initiative, we planned the attack. Each one of us contributed our knowledge; information was culled from newspapers, magazines, and the Internet; the area where the action was to take place was reconnoitered

those arrested in the French village of **Tarnac** accused of sabotage of rail lines. *“... We send our revolutionary greetings to the French comrades that selected to attack the network of the high speed trains, sabotaging the routes of everyday hurry and anxiety, of a determined pre-set life imposed by bio-authority on its subjects.”*

New Years 2009: The **CCF** hits 14 targets in Athens and Thessaloniki dedicated to anarchist **Alexandros Grigoropoulos** murdered on December 6 by uniformed pig **Epaminondas Korkoneas**. The murder of 15-year old **Alexi** in the anarchist stronghold of the Athens neighbourhood Exarcheia sparked wide-spread insurrection through-out Greece, with large-scale rioting lasting for weeks, which authorities called the worst rioting seen in the country since the transition from the Junta to democracy in 1974. The murder and the uprising also was a catalyst for increased anarchist direct action and self-organisation around the world, with anarchists and anti-authoritarians in many parts of the globe carrying out solidarity attacks and organising combative demonstrations which clashed with local police. *“Instead of dirges, the monologue, we have begun to hear everywhere: Revenge, Assault, War.”*

11-12 February, 2009: The **CCF** carry out 17 arsons of targets all related to the case of the urban guerrilla group **November 17** in Athens and Thessaloniki. Some targets were political, law and counter-terrorist offices.

9 April, 2009: Incendiary devices with timers are placed in the **Metropolis** in Athens, **Aghia Triada Cathedral** in Piraeus, the church of **Hagia Sophia** in Thessaloniki, and the church of **St. Demetrios**, the patron church of Thessaloniki. These attacks, on Easter, are a social challenge to Christianity, an attack on religion itself and what it represents. It is also a new level of sophistication of the organization to try new techniques and methods of action. *"Religion is a mechanism of power that plays a particularly devious role in subjugating people."*

14-19 May, 2009: At least five conspiratorial groups in Thessaloniki, Kavala, and Athens form a coordinated initiative called "**Cooperation of Arsonists – Operation Safety**" and target anything related to the institution, doctrine and structure of the security forces. Cops personal vehicles, security shops, partnerships with the police, are all delivered to fire. The **CCF** participates in the "**Cooperative of Arsonists**" by placing explosive devices at police stations in Athens and Thessaloniki. A big bet has been won through the successful coordination of the attacks and their diffusion to such an extent, and in their communiqué the **CCF** call for an escalated urban guerrilla war.

10 July, 2009: The **CCF** puts a bomb in the back of the house of former **Deputy of the Interior Panagiotis Chinofotis**, under the nose of a guard unit.

22 July, 2009: The **CCF** puts an explosive device at the **Chilean consulate**, but it is neutralized by

and obligations. However, words acquire the meanings given by the people who use them. **As the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire, we stormed into battle over the meaning of revolutionary anarchist organization.**

2. The Path from Spark to Flame

From the very beginning, we rejected the idea of a centralist model and chose to start from the basis of individual initiatives that wanted to collectivize. **What emerged during organizational meetings were issues of coherence, consistency, individual and collective responsibility, and direct action as a means of transforming our words into deeds.** At group meetings, each comrade had the opportunity to propose a plan of attack, thereby opening up a debate on planning, timing, political analysis, and operational problems posed by a given target's location. During these discussions, there was no guarantee that we would reach agreement. Opposing arguments sometimes developed into a powerful dialectic, especially regarding the **strategy and prioritization of timing**, and quite often there was more than one proposal, so we then had to choose which we were going to select and which we were going to keep in "storage" to be refined in the future. It was a process that allowed us to open our minds; broaden our horizons; learn from one another's different experiences; vigorously defend our

Along the way, we assumed a critical stance toward the past, but we never went out of our way to be hostile. We are anarchy's misfits, born from its potent moments and gaping voids. Additionally, the goal of critique and self-critique is not to put an end to something, but just the opposite: it's an aspiration to evolve something. The fact that we're not going to elaborate a corresponding critical review right now doesn't mean we're afraid to recognize our mistakes. Rather, it's because that kind of examination is better served by distance and cool nerves than by impulse.

During no phase of our brief, intense history did we lose our collective memory of the anarchist milieu we come from. We also feel we discovered something we have in common with comrades who began the struggle before us, engaged in their own battles, were arrested and imprisoned, but never lowered their heads. We discovered the unrepentant passion for revolution that connects histories and realities of struggle from different decades in a shared context of individual and collective liberation.

In that context, we forged our own alphabet. Speaking the language of direct action, we openly raised the issue of creating organized infrastructure. As anarchists, we often distance ourselves from the concept of organization because we equate it with hierarchy, roles, specialization, "you must,"

cops. The action is done in solidarity with Chilean anarchist prisoners and in honour to **Mauricio Morales**, a anarchist combatant in Chile who died on May 22, 2009 during an operation. *"Every attack from Chile to Greece and from Italy to Argentina is an act of memory..."*

2 September, 2009: The **CCF** place an explosive device at the rear of the **Ministry of Macedonia-Thrace** in Thessaloniki.

23 September, 2009: The **CCF** blow up the house of a candidate, then **PASOK MP Loucka Katseli** in Kolonaki.



Photo from attack on election rally

2 October, 2009: A device explodes in the street 50 meters from the platform where the then Greek **Prime Minister Costas Karamanlis** was to do his election speech. The communiqué from the

'Conspiracy Cells of Fire – Nihilist Faction'

declares solidarity with **Alfredo M. Bonanno** and **Christos Stratigopoulos**, then imprisoned and charged with a bank robbery in Trikala, and also 4 arrested comrades in Halandri, Athens, who were captured on 24 September 2009 by the anti-terrorist unit. These 4 comrades are charged with "membership of the **Conspiracy of Cells of Fire**", "possession of explosives" and "terrorism" – the "Halandri" case that would result in arrest warrants being put out for many of those whose fingerprints were found in the supposed "terrorist safe house", but which was in reality the family home of comrade **Haris Hatzimichelakis** (who would later declare with pride to be a member of the **CCF**).

*"After the last events took place, the comrades who hit **Loucka Katseli** proposed reconsidering the action plan. Because we believe that the reality of prison which surrounds us is not the result of a unitarian and compact leadership which delegates orders and runs the institutions; but that it is a social factory of behaviours, culture, tradition and customs, we want to attack every domain of this factory which produces everything we hate. At this moment we consider the plan to attack the houses of 5 or 6 politicians to be quite poor. It did not have the dynamic that we wanted to develop. We wanted to do something which could break the supposed limits and the alibi of the 'innocent' society which denies its responsibility by attributing to itself the role of the eternal victim. But victims do not cheer to their murderers, they don't press charges against those who resist against tyrants, they don't support their oppressors, they don't pine away in their fake cells. Because victims simply don't have a choice. But the people of the current*

THE SUN STILL RISES

"Knowledge chooses its project, each project is new and chooses its moments, each moment is new, but simultaneously emerges from the memory of all the moments that existed before." —**The Interior of the Absolute**

1. The Beginning

The **Conspiracy of Cells of Fire Revolutionary Organization** didn't begin its activity from out of nowhere. It wasn't as if a straight line had cut through space and time. It was a future crying out from the past. **The Conspiracy comprised a collective synthesis, connecting the backgrounds and viewpoints of all who participated in it and drawing valuable conclusions from past experiences of subversive projects and attacks we took part in.**

It represented our desire to take a step further, not to climb some ladder of informal hierarchy that fetishizes violence and its methods, but to simply advance, move forward, and explore new perspectives, making the shift from a "bunch of friends" to an organization, from the sporadic to the consistent, from the spontaneous to the strategic.

their texts, we consider that they initiate powerful bases for the opening of a revolutionary dialogue through action, but also proposals of co-ordination. We send therefore the most powerful **revolutionary greeting** to the comrades revolutionaries in all the world with the belief that our voices and action can meet and coordinate our total attack against power. **The sabotages in Turkey and the attacks of the informal cells of insurrection, the attacks in Chile, the letters with bullets in Madrid and Barcelona, the paint bombs on the Greek embassy in Austria, the arson of courts in Switzerland, the acts of solidarity in Poland, in Bristol, in London, but also in other places- heart of the capitalistic civilization - (sources of counter-information culmine, viva la anarquia, act for freedom, 325, saf.a.espiv e.t.c.) fill us with strength and courage in order to continue.** And not only, but also in order to commit through our participation in the **Informal Anarchist Federation – International Revolutionary Front** that the quiet days are over for ever.”

Nothing is over, everything continues!

society, they do have choices and by consequence responsibilities. Maybe we are all living – ourselves and the society – the same shit, but let’s not forget that the prisoners and guards who live in the same prison are not allies. We feel the same way about this society in which nothing sparkles and the disgusting cowardliness reigns. So it didn’t take long for this idea to be born. We chose to hit an election meeting, a meeting where the dull mass of garbage-on-feet hurries to get out on the street and cheer their leaders. The choice for a meeting of Nea Demokratia was purely aesthetic. We couldn’t stand the spectacle of the fat idiot **Karamanlis** boasting about a non-existent success against revolutionary terrorism. We want to remind him that a big mouth serves no-one.”

End of October 2009: The **CCF** places a bomb targeting former **Education Minister Marietta Giannakou**. The communiqué supported some recent student protests in the form of squatting and vandalism of school buildings.

13 November, 2009: One day after the examination by investigators of those accused of being members of the **Conspiracy of Cells of Fire**, the organization places an explosive device at the entrance of the house of Left-wing intellectual **Mimis Androulakis**. The intellectual had been amongst those media commentators, after the arrests in Halandri, whose bullshit public opinions and taunting had angered the **CCF**. *“Those who speak of unjustifiable revolutionary violence are those who justify the violence in detention centers,*

prisons, jobs, schools and the army. They are those who explicitly declare every time that 'things used to be different in the past'... The ease that left-wing intellectuals talk about the old 'fair' violence during the period of Resistance [WW II] and the anti-dictatorship struggle is due to the fact that only they have the privilege of democracy to have their voices heard. The reason is simple. They are the same people that renounce all kinds of revolutionary violence today, while they have the profile of a fake 'militant' past."



Aftermath of the bombing of the National Bank

Mid December 2009: The **CCF** puts a powerful explosive device on the ground floor offices of the **National Bank** causing major damage. The action is claimed in solidarity with anarchist prisoner **Gabriel Pombo da Silva** in Germany.

*dignified **P. Giannou** and to the brilliant criminal minority who do not bow their heads and walk with dignity as their guide, we chose and decided to strike the Administrative Courthouse of the judicial mafia."*

2 February, 2011: Greek police defused a letter bomb addressed to the **Minister of Justice, Harris Kastanidis**. A claim by **Informal Anarchist Federation / Conspiracy of Cells of Fire** states: "*The real defeat in a war is not captivity in the hands of the enemy, but capitulation, loss of conscience, surrender, penitence, statements of loyalty. Because that is where the game of power is played, in the moral decline and depreciation of its dissident opponents. It wants to force rebels to bend, to kneel, to conciliate to make clear that 'every struggle is lost, all resistance is useless'. **However the only fight that is lost is the one that never began.** [...] As a minimal expression of solidarity to the struggle of the imprisoned members of Conspiracy of Cells of Fire and the dignified comrades we sent an **incendiary package** to Justice Minister Harris Kastanidis who is **responsible** for the refusal of one of the two requirements of our comrades for the recording of the transcript of the trial. [...] Finally we declare that from now the **Illegal Sector of the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire will also participate in the International Revolutionary Front – Informal Anarchist Federation.** The explosive expression of solidarity at international level for the trial of C.C.F. and also the publications that put organizations such as the **FLT-FLA** (Mexico) and Praxedis G. Guerrero in*



Fuck the law: a photo of the Athens Law Court

30 December, 2010: A powerful explosive device blasts the **Athens Law Court**, turning the region into a war-shattered landscape. The bomb was placed on a motorcycle, which is placed near the front of the building. The communiqué, coming a short while before the first trials of those accused of being members of the **CCF**, contains a direct warning to judges that their lives will be put in risk. *"Wanting to coordinate theory with practice, and to send our Respect, Faith and Friendship to our brothers **P. Argirou, G. Tsakalos** and **H. Hadjimihelakis** of the prisoners cell of **C.C.F.**, to anarchist revolutionary **P. Massouras**, anarchist **K. Karakatsani**, the anti-authoritarian-arsonist **G. Skouloudis** and the **4 wanted comrades** who are prosecuted for the same case, the honest and authentic anarchist fighter **G. Dimitrakis**, the*

Early January 2010: The **CCF** bombs the courtyard of the **Greek Parliament**. Damage is caused to the famous statue of the 'Unknown Soldier' and the windows of the Parliament.



The gutted interior of the Golden Dawn offices

20-22 March 2010: A bombing campaign hits over a period of 30 hours three objectives: the offices of **Golden Dawn** (a Greek fascist party) who were on the fifth floor of an apartment building behind Omonia Square, the **detention facility at Petrou Ralli**, and the home of Pakistani immigrant "community leader" **Ikmpol Anwar**. In the first two cases powerful explosives were placed, and the third used on black powder because it was a populated area. The communiqué laid out the **CCF**'s view on the issue of migrants, and fascist

paramilitary organizations, and the role of immigrants in Greek society. Also it emphasised looking at an individual's conscience and action, rather than ethnicity or nationality (like fascists do) or based on class (like the Left).

Mid May 2010: Two powerful explosions in Athens (one outside **Korydallos prison**) and Thessaloniki (the **Law Court**, which is flushed out after a warning before the bomb shatters almost the entire building). The **CCF** claims responsibility for the two attacks with a communiqué explaining the choice of targets, and also with a text examining the burning of the Marfin bank in central Athens during a demonstration in which three bank workers were killed, calling for a non-vanguardist "revolutionary militarism" and the careful organisation of any attack undertaken, to avoid unintended casualties.



Defused parcel-bomb sent as part of campaign

November, 2010: A major campaign of international revolutionary solidarity is initiated by the **CCF** sending incendiary packages to foreign embassies in Greece, but also to foreign leaders

abroad, causing chaos and turmoil in international law enforcement authorities. On November 1 anarchist comrades **Gerasimos Tsakalos** and **Panayiotis Argyrou** are arrested in Athens while attempting to mail letter bombs to embassies. Over a two and a half week period, the **CCF** is responsible for more letter-bombs with a manifesto (25/11/10) for militant anarchy and a rebellious new urban guerrilla struggle of the anti-social tendency and which also addresses the cohesion of society, the economic crisis and social polarization, anarcho-nihilism and revolutionary terrorism, political responsibility, and finally solidarity and support for rebel groups and rebel prisoners at the international level. The 14 letter-bombs went to the following recipients: the embassies of **Belgium, Mexico, Chile, Germany, France, Switzerland, Bulgaria, Russia** and **German Chancellor Angela Merkel**, the **Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi**, the **French President Nicolas Sarkozy**, the **European court**, the **Director of Euro-just**, and the head of **Euro-pol**. Also, the communiqué is accompanied by a call out for international solidarity around the January 17, 2011 trial of **CCF** members, stating: *"In our decision to promote a battle to the end, WE CALL in Greece, Europe, Chile, Argentina, Mexico and to the whole world to the comrades and guerrilla formations to send their attacking signals to the judges and the Greek authorities, as well as a greeting of solidarity to the hostages of the new urban guerrilla warfare. Let this trial become another reason for action in the Revolutionary War."*