

To do so, we have to go back to the mythical Viking *skjaldmó*, those shield-wielding warriors, numbering several hundred, who sometimes fought against the Goths or the Huns, according to the Nordic sagas. One of them, perhaps the most famous, was called Lagertha and had won *Valhalla* several centuries ago, when she suddenly understood that waiting for the great final catastrophe with Odin was only a millenarian decal of Christian nonsense. And that if she wanted to end up in this bland 21st century in the form of electro music, video games, television shows or worse, neo-Nazi fantasies, she might as well go straight back to Kattegat to destroy everything that had made it possible.

Once back in her beloved bay, it was there, last spring, that she was disgusted by this world that is increasingly mediated by technological appendages, where too many beings brandish the screen of their own servitude with delight. Far from any resignation, she undertook once more to “turn the panic of her friends into the camp of the enemy”, as the odious monk who transcribed her legend once told. If she certainly lacked time to understand the new social relations at the origin of all this shit, she needed little to delightfully set fire to the two towers of cables and radars that surrounded her. Not only did these telecommunication structures offend her own sensibility, not only did they block any desirable horizon, but they also concretely provided the enemy with the means of a permanent diffuse control, sparing him many battles.

When she learned a little later what the Anglo-Saxon poet had written in Hamlet about Denmark, Lagertha could not help but smile. Walking along the edge of the waves, she continued to think that if the

whole planet was now affected by the same technological rot that was gradually depriving us of all autonomy, the primitive remedy that she had just used by reflex in Vejby as in Helsingør was still working perfectly...

sans nom
July 31, 2021

Our companion Boris, incarcerated in the Nancy-Maxéville jail since September 2020 for the arson of two relay antennas in Jura during confinement, is currently in an artificial coma in the burn unit of the hospital in Metz. The fire would have started Saturday, August 7 at around 6:30 am in the cell.

The only certainty is that the prison is a system of institutionalized torture, and that the State – from the police to the justice system to the prison – is directly responsible for this situation.

That sadness turns into rage against all authority...

*Friends, accomplices
and companions of Boris,
August 8, 2021*



STORM WARNINGS

*Anarchist bulletin
for the social war*

.....
43-44 – August 15 2021



**| Between oceans,
forests and volcanoes.**

**The radical
Mapuche struggle |**

Carahue is located 60 kilometers north of Temuco, capital of the Araucania region located in the heart of Wallmapu, a “belt of lands” inhabited by Mapuche communities and dominated by the Chilean state. On Friday, July 9, 2021, at approximately 5:00 pm, a group of *weichafé* (Mapuche “warriors”) from the *Lafkenche-Letraru Territorial Resistance Organization*, armed local organizations that are part of the *Coordinadora Arauco-Malleco* (CAM), entered the Santa Ana-Tres Palos estate. The estate is operated by the forestry company *Forestal Mininco*, a subsidiary of the cellulose giant CMPC. The assailants threatened the personnel present, injured a defiant employee and set fire to a minibus, a skidder and a tanker. The carabinieri assigned to guard the site then sounded the alarm. As they retreated, the *weichafé* came across one of their patrols, which opened fire. One *weichafé* was shot in the head and died on the spot. The next day, the CAM claimed its dead *weichafé*: Pablo

Marchant, “Toñito”, 29 years old, ex-student in anthropology who had joined the Mapuche struggle five years earlier.

Since this umpteenth murder in Wallmapu, the region has ignited. According to the Chilean government, more than 150 attacks were carried out in less than three weeks. Sabotage of agro-industrial installations, incendiary attacks against wood convoys, road blockades with shots fired against the forces of order, ambushes against patrols of carabinieri, arson of the properties of estate owners and members of the State, sabotage of energy installations... Some of them are claimed by different radical Mapuche organizations, which issued a common communiqué “*declaring war*” on the companies exploiting the resources of the region and on the Chilean State.

This intensification of the historical conflict in the south of the Chilean territory is happening at the same time that the state is go-

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MAY 2021

6/5, La Ciotat (France). In Bouches-du-Rhône, an act of sabotage was committed on the *Athélia* source station of the electrical network during the night, depriving 15,000 customers of power in La Ciotat and Ceyreste. The Athelia industrial park (300 companies) is home to companies such as *Thales*, *Arpège*, *Trees Télécomm* and the Tier 4 under-water cable managed by the *Interxion* datacenter, whose power was cut off. Repairs to the substation, which also supplies 17 substations in La Ciotat, took five days.

JUNE 2021

1/6, Gap (France). In the Hautes-Alpes, an auditorium transformed into a vaccination center was the object of an incendiary attack. Furniture is piled up, then set on fire, destroying a good part of the building. At the end of July, a communique returns to this attack: "At the time of the sanitary pass, and at the moment when the initially recalcitrant part of the population ends up changing its mind (to present it to the nurse...), in front of the pressure of the government and because it will be impossible to maintain a "normal" life without it, attacking the good progress of the vaccination campaign seems most relevant for those who refuse to accept the forward march of the world." It ends by saying: "More than ever, to those who attack AND who do not want to recreate a world as rotten as the previous one, even if it is less technological. To the others, let them know that

ing through a period of legislative change with its draft of a new constitution designed to calm the insurgent ardor of the 2019-2020 revolt, while taking advantage of the global pandemic to force large sections of society to march in step, and seems to be suddenly undermining the hopes for pacification and assimilation that are driving the political class and its new citizen counterpart that emerged from the conflict.

In the heart of a conflictual territory

"The [indigenous] Chileans did not want to submit to any king. Their proud and valiant spirit could not recognize any domination or lordship. [...] For this same reason, not only did they resist the domination of the Inca, but they never wanted to allow a king, nor a governor, nor even a Justice of their nation. They always made the voice of freedom prevail between them and did not accept any subjection of their natural impatience. That is why each of them follows his own path, or each family or clan follows its own, choosing among them the most worthy or the oldest to govern them. The others then accept him, but without domination, oppression or vassalage."

This is what the Jesuit missionary Diego de Rosales wrote in his *General History of the Kingdom of Chile* in 1674, written in the middle of the war opposing the Mapuche to the Spanish invader. Ahead of the Spanish colonization, the Inca Empire had already tried in vain between 1479 and 1485 to conquer these fiercely autonomous communities in the southwest of the continent, straddling what is now the territory of the Argentine and Chilean states. In 1536, a battle near the confluence of the Ñuble and Itata rivers pitted the Spanish royal expedition led by Diego de Almagro against well-organized Mapuche groups, inaugurating what historiography will call the *Arauco War*: an unremitting conflict, with varying degrees of intensity, pitting the Mapuche communities against various invaders and states until 1883, when resistance collapsed and the region was finally occupied by force.

The distinctive tactics used by the Mapuche fighters consisted not only of deploying a mobility that never ceased to surprise the enemy, but also in systematically razing the cities established by the colonizer to the ground. On September 11, 1541, for example, they set fire to the city of Santiago, and then succeeded in destroying the seven most important cities established by the Spanish Crown in Chile between

| Lagertha's little suggestion |

Built on the northern tip of the Danish island of Seeland, the majestic Elsinore Castle controlled the strait leading to the Baltic Sea for several centuries. While the monument is still the pride of the locals, others are quick to point out with scorn that it is best known outside the island for having been the setting for a famous tragedy, the only thing that is generally remembered is that "*something is rotten in the state of Denmark*". What's more, we can't even count on recent events to contradict the old Shakespearean adage. On the contrary. On June 3, a law was passed in Denmark that allows asylum seekers to leave the country en masse, by subcontracting their "welcome" to third countries outside the European Union while the case is studied (discussions are underway with Egypt, Ethiopia and Rwanda). And isn't it this territory of the old continent that has been a pioneer in imposing a *Corona pass* on the population since April 21, which is compulsory for people over 15 years old in cinemas, stadiums, libraries, bars or even... driving schools and hairdressing salons?

On the other hand, it is also in this Nordic country that a small anonymous suggestion has resurfaced, offered to all rebels who are currently burning to do away with these new freedom-killing measures. A little suggestion that was even repeated twice (in case someone didn't hear it right) about thirty kilometers from Elsinore Castle, precisely affecting *something rotten in the kingdom of Denmark and elsewhere*. It consists of nothing less than disrupting police identity checks as well as those by health QR code carried out by any other lackeys, by *sabotaging the waves that connect smartphones and tablets to their indispensable databases of all kinds*.

The first alarm for the authorities came on

May 25 in the town of Vejby, near the coast of Kattegat, about 50 km north of Copenhagen. There, a fire broke out overnight to a relay antenna and its adjacent building, cutting off all cell phone operators in the area. But that's not all, as the authorities tiptoed to reveal that the burnt-out infrastructure also housed not only an army radar for water surveillance (in this case the Navy), but also several pieces of equipment from the Danish police's encrypted network needed for controls (SINE, *SlikkerhedsNettet*). The investigators, initially cautious, were quickly intrigued by the presence of "*a large hole in the fence at the back of the secure installation*" and immediately cordoned off the area before having it combed by dogs throughout the following day.

The second alarm came on 15 July in the town of Helsingør, located 5 km from Vejby, when a second relay antenna went up in smoke at around 2:30 am. This time again, the fire consumed the cables between the building housing the telecommunication equipment and the antenna itself, before climbing up the latter. The authorities then stated that "*any link with previous fires of a similar nature will also be included in the investigation*", and then again called in the faithful canines (the four-legged ones) to inspect the area.

While the Danish sleuths, admittedly less experienced in the matter than other European colleagues, are now looking into the smoky theory of antennae self-combustion – certainly tired of serving police and sanitary controls or assisting in telecommuting – as well as the fact that it could "*simply be a strange coincidence*", we could venture another hypothesis. And one that is a little more realistic, for heaven's sake!

| Tracking down the enemy |

In 1948 Chicago, life was not easy for her family, let alone for her. Her name was Suvaki Yamaguchi, and she was born on an island in Japan in the late 1930s. In her veins flowed blood of a thousand colors, all of them wrong in the land of the starry banner. The father was Japanese, but of Filipino descent. The mother was a native Cheyenne, and among her forebears were Irish-Scottish Americans. Little Suvaki was therefore the perfect embodiment of being multiracial, with all that this means. Toward the end of World War II, her family was interned in the Manzanar concentration camp in California, at the foot of the Sierra Nevada. If this fate was intended for Americans guilty of not being white and of coming from the land of the rising sun, imagine what was reserved for them!

Once released, the Yamaguchi family moved to the famous Illinois metropolis. For the girl, walking the streets of the western part of the city was an arduous and dangerous undertaking: insults, mockery, threats. In the eyes of many whites (and even blacks) she was just a *Tojo*, named after the Japanese military pilot who launched the attack on Pearl Harbor. What's more, her body was beginning to develop quickly and excessively, too quickly and excessively, forcing her to put on large jackets to hide it. One summer day in 1948, just before her tenth birthday, the young Suvaki was on her way home when she was surrounded by a group of five men, who loaded her into their car. What happened to this half "red-skinned", half "almond-eyed" girl is unfortunately imaginable... They dumped her in an alley like a piece of trash, unconscious and bloodied. Her family filed a complaint and those responsible were identified. But the courts had other things to do than to deal with what had happened to a mixed-blood girl, especially after the judge's paw had been greased, leading the five men to go about their business without a hitch. As if nothing had happened.

But for Suvaki, on the other hand, something had happened – something unacceptable. And if the courts could not do anything about it, then so much the worse for the courts! As a result, young Suvaki began to grow up terribly fast. The adult world first put her in a reformatory and then, at 13, arranged a marriage for her that lasted less than a year. For her part, Suvaki decided that she would never be prey again. She learned martial arts from her father, becoming a green belt in aikido and a black belt in karate. As a rambunctious teenager, she formed a gang called *The Angels* with Italian, Jewish and Polish friends from her neighborhood.

At age 15, she moved to Los Angeles, where she obtained counterfeit papers proving her age, in order to start a new life. She changed her first name to her mother's Cheyenne nickname and kept her first husband's surname. She became a *burlesque* dancer, photo model and actress.

But most of all, *being a wild girl and not a militant pedagogue, she went out to track down the five men who had broken her childhood, and took her revenge before her twenty-fifth birthday*. As she recalled in her memoirs, "I swore to myself that one day, one way or another, I would settle the score with all of them. They never knew who I was until I told them".

A few years after settling her final score, she was cast in a film that would make her famous around the world. She didn't have to strain herself much to play the character of Varla, and even refused to be dubbed. She just had to be herself: Tura Satana, the unforgettable main character of *Faster, pussycat! Kill! Kill!*

Finimondo
July 23, 2021
(Translated from Italian)

1599 and 1604. Faced with the impossibility of conquering the Mapuche territories, the latter decided to open negotiations that led to a series of treaties that were only occasionally respected by both sides, interspersed with periods of confrontation. This permanent hostility, the absence or rejection of institutions capable of establishing an "internal" order in the Mapuche communities as a whole as well as "external" agreements with the colonizing state, and a specific geography less favorable to the growth of a centralizing power, allowed the Mapuche communities to preserve a living autonomy for many centuries.

In 1818, the Republic of Chile finally declared its independence after a long war against the armies of the metropolis, and maintained the same ambivalent relations with the communities of the south of its territory for a few decades. Then, in 1861, the new Chilean State ordered Colonel Saavedra to lead an expedition aiming to definitively pacify these territories during an umpteenth Mapuche revolt, against the increasing number of colonizers who came to seize the land by deception or violence. This will be carried out by a blood-thirsty military force that will succeed, after twenty-two years of campaigning, to break the Mapuche resistance and to destroy the autonomy of their communities. This military component went hand in hand with the development of the territories, the granting of vast tracts of land to Chilean and European settlers, urban expansion, and the construction of road infrastructure in order to facilitate the exploitation of the agricultural and forest resources. For its part, the Argentine state launched a similar campaign to conquer the southern territories on its side of the Andes. Named the "conquest of the desert", it began in 1878 and was concluded in 1885. As in Chile, it was clearly a real genocide: many indigenous communities (Mapuche but not exclusively) were exterminated, and their survivors dispersed or subjugated. On the Chilean side, some figures speak of a population of half a million Mapuche reduced to a few tens of thousands during this "pacification".

Despite this immense trauma, the Mapuche territories continued to be the scene of revolts and uprisings on a regular basis. In 1934, for example, Mapuche peasants from Lonquimay revolted, forming armed insurrectionary groups that marched on Temuco, the capital of Araucania. The government sent an entire regiment, supported by mercenaries from communities sold to the *winka* ("usurper") in order to crush the insurgents. Surrounded by government forces on the Ránquil estate, nearly 500 of them were massacred and

I have no common fight with patriots or reactionaries, even if we obviously have the same targets sometimes. A salute to Boris, and to the others kept in jail for their love of freedom."

14/6, Toulouse (France). In Haute-Garonne, the window of a bailiff's office and that of an adjacent real estate agency are broken in the night. "*Solidarity with the evicted! Long live the squat! Long live the night! Long live vandalism!*" concludes the communiqué.

15/6, Antwerp (Belgium). A van and a small truck of the city services are burned. An adjacent hangar of the city is also touched by the flames, in this *North Park* which was the object of a vast operation of urban redevelopment.

15/6 Pithiviers (France). In the Loiret region of France, several cables of a fiber optic interconnection point are cut during the night. The failure caused chaos for the city's businesses: it was impossible to take credit card payments or receive calls from customers.

16/6, Cologne (Germany). Broken windows and paint thrown at an office of the real estate developer *Engel & Völkers*, claimed in solidarity with the squat Rigaer94 in Berlin.

16/6, Bielefeld (Germany). Broken windows at a real estate office of *Engel & Völkers*, in solidarity with the squat Rigaer 94 and "*against the city of the rich*".

17/6, Toulouse (France). In Haute-Garonne, three vehicles are set on fire in the night: a Tesla, one of the construction company *Socorep*, and one of the telecom network installer (including 5G) *Scopelec*. "We want to stop the spread of this sickening civilization. Let these flames spread and our anarchy with it! Support for B. charged for the cell tower arson" specifies the communique.

17/6, Leipzig (Germany). The entrance to the *Youth Judicial Protection Home* is set on fire with some tires. It is "also an actor in the pacification of the rebellious individuals, in particular the usual juvenile delinquents, like us", specifies the claim.

19/6, Grigny (France). In Essonne, a van and a truck of the municipality go up in smoke in the night. The day before, another vehicle of the local authorities had already known the same fate, in this city where the town hall is developing video surveillance and municipal police.

6/19, Genoa (Italy). Incendiary attack against five data-server cabinets and the 5G relay antenna of the *Erzelli Technology Center*, as well as against the adjacent Terna high voltage tower. The electricity transmission system operator had to cut power in an area. The claim develops a critique of technology by scrutinizing the *National Recovery and Resilience Plan* launched by the Italian government and concludes with "Internationalist combative solidarity with the prisoners of the social war! For anarchy!".

hundreds more were taken prisoner. It is this history of revolts and uprisings that weaves a rich tapestry of resistance to this day, and continues to be a source of inspiration and pride. One could even say that part of the contemporary "Mapuche" identity – which is itself already an abstract, even political creation (within the framework of the project of national liberation struggle) of the diversity and non-homogeneity of different communities and individuals, only quite recently accepted – rests on this memory of permanent revolt that began against the invasions of the armies of the Inca and runs up to the current hostilities against extractivist companies and the Chilean State.

From the Pinochet dictatorship to the democratic regime

During the period of social unrest that preceded Pinochet's 1973 military coup against the Allende regime, various organizations of the revolutionary left came into contact with the lands in the south, particularly with some Mapuche communities that survived at the margins. These organizations carried a rather classical discourse of land distribution in favor of the very impoverished communities, disregarding all the differences characterizing them in order to better assimilate them into the category of "agricultural proletariat". In fact, many Mapuche had already left their lands, which had become too small to provide for their needs, and joined the ranks of the urban proletariat in the large Chilean cities.

In general, while Allende's social-democratic regime did redistribute some land under the auspices of the state, including to Mapuche communities, Pinochet's dictatorship made a habit of offering huge estates to the regime's loyal servants, trampling on their inhabitants (whoever they were). Other friends of the regime, such as French officers, former German Nazis who had relocated to Latin America, international businessmen, high church officials, etc., also received land for their services. Together with the agro-owners, all of them would soon form that particularly vicious ruling stratum of southern Chile, whose contempt, if not hatred, for the Mapuche and the poor in general has remained one of their hallmarks to this day, despite the few layers of "democratism" and "indigenous rights" that have been subsequently added.

From the 1980s onwards, numerous international investments began to flow into Chile as part of an ever more fre-

1. They were mainly militants of the *Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez* (FPMR), the Marxist-Leninist armed wing with a marginal operational military within the Communist Party, and then totally autonomous from 1987. The FPMR carried out hundreds of sabotage actions, attacks and assassinations of political, military and capitalist officials. Its fundamental project to bring down the Pinochet dictatorship was a popular war of national liberation of Chile, carried out by the FPMR and popular militias. They also had former militants of the *Movimiento Izquierda Revolucionaria* (MIR) and the *Movimiento Juvenil Lautaro* (MAPU Lautaro).

2. See *21° Años de la Coordinadora Arauco Malleco: Apuntes para una historia de la CAM*, CAM Political Committee Communiqué, December 2018.

3. While quite a few young people born in Mapuche communities moved to the city to study and find work, others like Matías Catrileo made the opposite journey, carrying with them libertarian experiences and ideas to the heart of the Mapuche conflict.

within them, but they do not have the cult of state domination, of the exploitation of fauna and flora, of the mad race towards an ever more artificial world and towards an ever more assisted life – that of the market of civilization.

On the other hand, it is undeniable that most of the radical Mapuche organizations are part of a project of “national liberation”. If this does not seem to include the construction of any kind of Mapuche state, distinguishing itself quite clearly from other national liberation struggles under the control of political forces seeking to build a new state, this can also lead to certain identitarian barriers, the endorsement of oppression in the name of the recovery of “ancestral traditions”, and even distrust of expressions of critical solidarity (notably anarchist) with the ongoing struggle.

As for the “territoriality” of this struggle, the fact that it is inscribed in and takes place on a precise territory – thus reinforcing the discourse of “liberation” and “reclamation” of lands – certainly constitutes one of its cornerstones. Underlining the limits of such a territorial grounding in a world that neither knows nor tolerates any “outside”, a world that has made the devastation and assimilation of all that is external to it its main trajectory, should not lead one to deny all real potential of territorial autonomy in permanent conflict with the state and capitalist domination. One could even, on the contrary, see this as expressions of a *freedom in action, alive and strong, tied to space-time that is concrete and vulnerable*.

Who knows if anarchists – as some are already doing, in Chile and maybe elsewhere as well – could not only contribute to the Mapuche struggle, through their suggestions of self-organized attacks, their methodologies of sabotage and armed struggles, their incessant criticism of all leaders and hierarchy, but also *learn* something, wel-

come the real experiences of a few decades of struggle in a given territory against capitalist devastation and state domination, *appreciate* territorial autonomy that is not necessarily ours? Not only to be inspired by the tenacity found there, but also by how life and struggle tend to coincide, how each act of war, each attack, each act of sabotage, expresses a whole world, a world that lives – albeit often with difficulty and surrounded by forces that want to destroy it. A world with a horizon other than that of the civilization imposed on us across the four corners of the globe.

•••

netic race to exploit raw materials. Already the world’s largest exporter of copper, the country welcomed large multinationals attracted by neoliberal conditions that were particularly favorable to the exploitation of resources. In the south of Chile, the forestry industry was expanding, while on the Argentina side there was a rush to exploit the minerals of the Andes. With the Chilean transition to a democratic regime that began at the end of the 1980s, the exploitation of these resources did not decrease, but rather accelerated: vast plans for the construction of dams to turn the turbines of hydroelectric power plants were launched and carried out, even pushing the envelope to the point of constructing hundreds of “mini-power plants” scattered all over the territory. On the other hand, the forestry industry continued to ravage the land by planting vast pine and eucalyptus monocultures, drying out the land, pumping water from the water tables and creating real “deserts” devoid of plant diversity. Over time, Chile will also become one of the world’s largest exporters of genetically modified plant seeds.

In 1993, the democratic transition of the Chilean state led to the adoption of an “*Indigenous Law*” aimed at assimilating the different communities into institutions, while making them even more dependent on the national economy. This law was classically in line with the ideology of development and progress, sprinkled with a desire to make them receive the social welfare of modern capitalist society. It also provided for legal representation of the Mapuche at both the national and international levels, which of course generated a whole local bureaucracy reciting the song of the “rights of indigenous peoples” from inside the state, in order to better oppose any radical struggle.

From the 1990s onwards, Mapuche political organizations, in step with the left-wing political parties that had re-emerged on the scene, multiplied the number of political appeals on the one hand, and “symbolic occupations” of traditional lands on the other. Rather than real direct actions, these were basically actions aimed at exerting pressure in order to obtain more favorable results in negotiations with the state, a kind of indigenous unionism. This mechanism gradually generated a whole layer of politicians within the Mapuche communities who were more or less corporate puppets, go-between bureaucrats, and people who know how to maneuver with the State in order to fill their pockets, etc. In other words, a whole political gangrene that sometimes eats away at communi-

20/6, Mont-d’Origny (France). In the Aisne, the landline telephone network is sabotaged in several places: for the first one with pliers against the fiber optics, and for the second one by climbing directly to the poles to cut it. The inhabitants will remain without connection for ten days.

21/6, Hamburg (Germany). Stones thrown against the windows of the company *Eurocommand*, developer of surveillance software, action claimed in solidarity with the squat Rigaer94 and with Lina, incarcerated in Leipzig and accused of having organized attacks against Nazis.

24/6, Eure (France). In Drôme, the power, signalling and fiber cables along the TGV line are set on fire in four different places in an area of 100 square meters. TGV traffic was heavily impacted for several days. According to the SNCF, the damage is very important and the loss due to the sabotage would amount to “*more than one million euros*”.

27/6, Ramonville-Saint-Agne (France). A communique claimed responsibility for the arson attack on the Lespinet transformer station (63kV) at the beginning of June in Haute-Garonne. “*We chose this small transformer station because we had to start somewhere. Because these structures are sensitive nodes of the electrical network. Because electricity appears to us today as the blood of civilization. Because we are prisoners of the human empire. So much so that even when we try to escape by contemplating the stars, satellites chase us. Because it blinds us, and we want to*

extinguish the civilized light."
However, it also states that despite 2 tires filled with gasoline-soaked cloths placed at the ventilators, "The installation is still working, only one transformer out of 3 is a little blackened by the flames and we don't know if it is out of order. [...] We don't know why it didn't work: maybe a quick intervention of the firemen, an insufficient quantity of material to burn or a bad method more generally."

JULY 2021

1/7, Athens (Greece).
Thousands of suns in the night claim responsibility for the arson attack on the Ford dealership in the Gyzi district. At least two vehicles and the facade burned. The target, one of the leading American car manufacturers, was chosen in memory of the revolts after the murder of George Floyd in the United States. "Anarchy or nothing," concluded the claim.

2/7, Saarlouis (Germany).
The police issue a wanted notice in order to find the arsonist possibly responsible for several incendiary sabotage actions. The first ones were on May 30, targeting three base stations a few kilometers away. Then, on June 8, two telephone distribution cabinets were attacked in Hülzweiler, and the next day two electric transformer stations in Saarlouis. In total, no less than nine sabotage attacks on critical infrastructure took place in the region within a few weeks. The actions resulted in more or less severe disconnections and power outages.

4/7, Schwalmstadt (Germany).
Five construction machines are sabotaged on the construction site of the A49 freeway, for which the Dannenrod forest has been razed.

ties and the struggle, up until today.

The Mapuche national liberation project and the birth of the CAM

In the mid-1990s, in addition to these symbolic land reclamation actions based on negotiation, other actions began to take place that were more oriented around direct action, such as those carried out by the Juana Millahuel and Pascal Coña communities, in which different groups of struggle emerged. These types of experiences clearly served as combat training for future *weichafé*. In this more turbulent context, some militants of organizations of armed struggle¹ who had fought against the dictatorship and continued during the transition, returned or relocated to the Mapuche lands. They went on to participate in the elaboration of a project of "Mapuche national liberation", which will be the central focus of the most known organization: the *Coordinadora de Comunidades en Conflicto Arauco Malleco* (CAM).

On December 1, 1997, three trucks belonging to a logging company were set on fire on an estate in Lumaco. This action marked such a break with the practices previously employed within the Mapuche communities in struggle that their political organizations thought that the action was carried out by a non-Mapuche armed struggle group. However, it was through this attack that the CAM made itself publicly known, and illustrated, in practice, its project. It affirmed the abandonment of any path to institutional assimilation, calling for the use of "political violence" to conquer and defend the autonomy of the Mapuche communities.

It should be specified here that from the beginning, the project of "Mapuche national liberation" expressed by the CAM did not consist of the construction of a Mapuche State, nor of a centralizing institutional representation of all the communities. Rather, it consists of rebuilding a "Mapuche nation", understood as a cultural and social fabric common to the different communities, of recovering a cosmology linked to societal and spiritual customs constituting a specific (non-productivist and animist) relationship with the fauna and flora, of preserving the Mapuche language (*Mapudungun*) and the worlds it expresses, as well as the complete autonomy of the Mapuche communities. Like this first incendiary sabotage in Lumaco, the CAM project is radically anti-capitalist and anti-develop-

the site and signed ORT *Kulapan* said "Down with capitalist investments in Wallmapu", while referring to the "*weichafé Toño*".

July 27th

Carahue. Around noon, unknown armed people entered the Santa Ana Tres Palos estate where Pablo Marchant was killed. They fired at a patrol of carabineros in a van assigned to the *Control of Public Order* (COP), who were still protecting this logging area. They managed to shoot two of them, one in the arm and the other in the eye (a forestry worker also received some shrapnel).

July 30th

Quilaco. At around 11 pm, near the Quilmes bridge, an attack occurred that left 11 construction machines (trucks, bulldozers, backhoes and gravel crushers) in ashes, belonging to *Serviterra*, a subcontractor of all the big devastating construction sites in the region, specialized in sand and gravel extraction. A banner found at the site read, among other things, "*Down with the forestry companies, Down with Central Rucalhue (a devastating hydroelectric project), Pablo Marchant is present*".

A whole world

"We can recover several lessons for ourselves by looking at the continuous radical Mapuche struggle, elements that we can undoubtedly insert in the insurrectional struggle against any authority. Its rhythm of war is already an example to follow, intensifying and diversifying the struggle, on the one hand against secular dispossession and on the other in response to repressive blows."

Contra Toda Autoridad, No. 4, March 2017

Despite the presence of political logics, despite certain forces that tend towards hegemony within the Mapuche struggle, a

strong tension towards autonomy still animates this conflict. This is perhaps what partly explains its continuity, despite periods of militarization of the territory or moments of negotiations offering a political outcome to try to end the hostilities. Certainly, a considerable number of Mapuche communities have accepted the conditions of the Chilean state over the years, preferring assimilation into the capitalist world over a life of fighting to drive it out of the lands where they live. Today, there are quite a few Mapuche political and social organizations, sometimes chaperoned by NGOs or leftist political organizations, that seem ready to enter, together with part of "Chilean civil society", into the losing dance of the transformation of the Chilean state, which has felt the warm breath on its neck of the diffuse and autonomous 2019 uprising. But on the other hand, the multiplication of attacks, the explosion of initiatives of refusal, blockades, occupations and demonstrations, does not cease to indicate other paths, whose unknown outcome still remains uncertain and open.

At a time when the consequences of the insane advance of the the industrial and technological machine are being felt more and more worldwide, when climate changes induced by industrialization could well inaugurate unheard-of scenarios that risk drastically reconfiguring the foundations of domination, this struggle in a "lost" corner of the world can have a meaning that goes beyond the territory of Wallmapu, where people with ways of life that are antagonistic to capitalism and statism are fighting for every meter of land that has been colonized and exploited by corporations and the state. It is a conflict in which the anti-industrial critique and the refusal of capitalist development succeeds in bringing a world to life, a world of autonomous communities that try to live in and with nature, not on its back. Certainly, these communities are not free of hierarchical structures, nor of oppression

Marchant (“who continues to live through the struggle”), as well as to Mapuche prisoners. According to the spokesperson for the national association of forestry contractors (*Asociación de Contratistas Forestales*), who went to a local newspaper to complain, their direct losses as a result of these kinds of attacks have amounted to nearly \$160 million since 2014...

July 13

Nueva Imperial. Around five o'clock in the morning, on the road to Misión Boroa, armed *weichafés* forcibly remove the residents of a property, laying them on the ground so that they do not intervene, and then set fire to the two adjacent forestry machines used for the extraction of wood pellets: a backhoe and a front-end loader.

July 14

Lumaco. The day after the funeral of Pablo Marchant in Lumaco, attended by hundreds of people, including some armed groups from the CAM, a Carabineros general wanted to publish the figures of the 85 “acts of violence” that had taken place throughout the Mapuche zone since the assassination of Pablo by one of their own, from the evening of Friday, July 9, to Wednesday morning: there were 44 road blockades, 22 attacks with firearms [i.e., shooting at Carabineros patrols or security guards], and 11 incendiary attacks. The latter destroyed 39 vehicles (24 forestry machines, 12 trucks, one minibus and one van): 23 in Cañete, 6 in Lautaron, 4 in Panguipulli, 2 in Nueva Imperial, 1 in Padre Las Casas, 1 Freire, 1 in Victoria and 1 in Carahue, as well as 5 buildings (including the Prosecutor’s holiday house in Cañete and a health center in Pidima on July 10).

July 18

Río Negro. Around 3:00 am a double attack

occurred, leaving 7 construction machines and 1 pick-up in ashes. The first one took place on the estate El Mirador, belonging to the *Forestal Arauco* company, and the second one on the estate Popóen, belonging to the *Forestal Huempeleo* company. A banner found at the scene and signed by the coordinated groups ORT *Kunko-Williche/Millalíkan* said, among other things, “*weichafe Toño, we will always remember you with sabotage against capital. War on the forestry companies*”. The ORT Kalfulicán group was responsible for the second attack.

July 22

Curanilahue. From 8:00 am a coordinated attack of three groups took place, leaving 24 ruins of forestry equipment (machines, construction machinery, biomass transformers and trucks) in the areas of El Tesoro and Bajo Cifuentes. All of them belonged to the company *Bosques Arauco*, one of the main industrial devastators of the forest. This coordinated attack was claimed by a communiqué of *Resistencia Mapuche Lafkenche* (RML). It specified that “*this action was carried out in homage to our weichafé Lemuel Fernández, two years after his death in combat on July 19, 2019 in an action of sabotage in Tirúa*”, while recalling their previous incendiary sabotage of last July 12 in Cañete against 18 forestry machines, which this time was dedicated to Pablo Marchant. The communiqué ends with “*Loggers, hydroelectric companies, estate-owners and yanakonas, get out of Wallmapu*”.

July 24

Freire. At approximately 2:00 a.m., an attack by a dozen masked and armed people took place, leaving 6 pieces of construction equipment (two trucks, two excavators and two loaders) in ashes, belonging to two families of small businessmen of Mapuche origin who are subcontractors of the forestry industry of wood pellets. A banner found at

ment (against the extension of agro-industry, industrial energy infrastructures, mines, etc.) and advocates another relationship to property (more communitarian) than the capitalist one.

However, it must also be emphasized that this autonomy is not synonymous with the absence of any authority (communal, familial or religious), and that the experiences of the Mapuche community are in this sense not an “indigenous version” of libertarian self-management, nor do they claim to be. Even if they are societal forms that do not advocate the conquest of other communities, that do not aspire to establish domination over others, that maintain a different relationship with nature, that do not aim at unlimited material growth but rather at a “sustainable self-sufficiency”, this does not prevent that, as in any societal structure, individuals who do not fit into certain frameworks or who cannot accept certain forms of social hierarchy find themselves in conflict. But perhaps it would be necessary here, without ever justifying or relativizing oppression, to wonder whether the freedom that we desire as the foundation and only reference point in the action of human beings does not also imply changing an imaginary that is perhaps too universalist towards an imaginary that is more open to diversity (founded not on coercion and domination, but on autonomy and freedom). In short, this is a vast debate, but what we want to emphasize here is that it is perhaps possible to conceive of the struggle against the state and capital as it is being waged today in Wallmapu as a real and undeniable expression of freedom, even if it is obviously not an expression of anarchy and is equally complicated by political mechanisms borrowed from leftism, from a trust in leaders that is detrimental to autonomy, or from the logic of political alliances, etc.

To return to the project of “Mapuche national liberation”, the CAM has mainly built it around the conquest and defense of the autonomy of the communities as well as so-called “territorial control”. That is to say, not only limiting and countering the influence and interference of the Chilean state and its institutions, or those of the capitalist economy and its companies within the communities, but also developing alternative autonomous structures (for health, education, conflict resolution,...) and supporting any kind of cultural activity that deepens and reconquers the Mapuche cosmology. All of this includes a direct conflict with everything that stands in

5/7 Notre-Dame-des-Landes (France).

In Loire-Atlantique, *spirits* sabotage the future building of the *École des Tritons* on the former ZAD by sawing off its main beams before setting it on fire, not before having lacerated the tents and building structures on site. In a long claim, they detail the process of monopolization of the struggle, and of the life that it underlies, by the opportunists who rushed to normalize the zone, before specifying in particular: “*Their museum-style ecology is a lie. Some of the liberated lives have learned more among the hedges and groves of the zone than will ever be taught on the self-built benches of their school. The real learning spaces, they have condemned. Your school, like everything else, is just another cog in the wheel of making the world in your image. [...] We dedicate this action to all the people who have suffered from the noxious and repressive logic imposed by the CMDO and its world.*”

5/7, Berlin (Germany).

A van of the real estate developer Vonovia goes up in smoke. “*Against the city of the rich*”, concludes the claim in solidarity with the occupation of Riga94 in Berlin.

6/7, Pau (France).

In Bearn, the fiber optic cables of eight *Orange* cabinets are cut in a few days, cutting off Internet access to more than 600 subscribers. A woman in her thirties is arrested, who would have acted out of revenge after being fired by a subcontractor of the same *Orange*.

7/7, Fumay (France).

In the Ardennes, the office of the bailiffs *Borgniet, Dupré and Daver*, is burned during the night. The

fire destroyed a good part of the building.

8/7, Villejuif (France).
In the Val-de-Marne, the company *Vinci's* office container had its facade blown up. Some passers-by suppose that "it has to do with the implication of Vinci in the construction of CRA and prisons".

8/7, Creil (France).
In Oise, a building dedicated to the management of the water of the *Suez* group is burned. The archives, the computer servers... are destroyed by fire. New municipal video surveillance cameras, which had been the object of mortar fire earlier in the day, had just been installed in the building.

11/7 Leipzig, Germany.
Arson attack against vehicles of the *Deutsche Post* in the parking lot of the company, often targeted for the logistic services it provides to the German army. Two vehicles were completely destroyed, others damaged. The attack took place on the eve of a demonstration against the enlargement of the cargo airport, where *Deutsche Post* has set up a large distribution center.

13/7, Athens (Greece).
The *Maurico Morales Cell* of the *Direct Action Cells* claimed responsibility for several incendiary attacks that took place in June: against the home of police officer Harambalos Kalogiros in Ilion, against two vans of the transport company ACS in Kipseli ("which fired a sick employee in March 2020"), against a vehicle of the company Intracom in Zografou ("a multinational company specializing in the fields of IT, complex construction projects [such as wind farms] and defense electronics").

the way of this autonomy, that is, a violent and unmediated struggle against the forestry and agro-industrial companies, the energy companies, the estate owners, etc. At the tactical level, this has resulted, on the one hand, in a long series of incendiary attacks on the installations of the forestry, agro-industrial and energy companies, and at the same time, in land occupations.

From 2002 onwards, faced with the escalation of direct actions carried out by groups close to the CAM, but also by more and more Mapuche communities who declared themselves "communities in conflict", the Chilean State launched a vast counter-insurgency campaign, called "Paciencia". It was in this context that a CAM sympathizer, Alex Lemún (17 years old), was assassinated by carabinieri during an action recovering land from the forestry company Mininco in November 2002 in Ercilla. This assassination was followed by a repressive operation during which a dozen CAM leaders were arrested and charged under the anti-terrorist law. The Mapuche territories were then militarized with an increase in the presence of police and paramilitary forces such as the "Commando Hernán Trizano", which began to launch a "dirty war" with kidnappings and assassinations. The evictions from occupied lands intensified, and more and more Mapuche comuneros (community residents) were subjected to legal proceedings, arrests and imprisonment. At the same time, using the carrot and stick technique, the Chilean state tried to seduce some communities with assimilation and support projects, social plans, development projects and investments by private companies, as well as negotiations over disputed lands in exchange for renouncing violence and resistance. In order to isolate the "intransigents" and the communities in struggle, the state also established "red zones" where access was controlled or even prohibited (for non-inhabitants), subject to militarized surveillance.

In this period, although it carried a project that was intended to unite, the CAM was not the only expression of the Mapuche struggle, as is also the case today. There was already a vast heterogeneity not only at the general level of the struggle (with "communities in conflict" rubbing shoulders with others leaning towards a little more institutionalization, or certain Mapuche political organizations advocating for cultural inclusion and professing self-victimising discourses, etc.), but also within the most radical sectors. This has repeatedly led to conflicts, distancing and splits between the CAM and

pared to the previous year.

In this increasingly tense context and with a great heterogeneity of clandestine organizations, groups and communities, the *weichafé* Pablo Marchant was killed by a carabiniere on July 9 during an attack on a logging site of *Mininco*. The very next day, the Mapuche territories were set ablaze. In less than a week, the forces of order counted 44 road blockades, 22 attacks with firearms (shootings against carabineros patrols or security guards) and 11 incendiary attacks in which 39 vehicles and forestry machines were destroyed, as well as 5 buildings. Three weeks later, the carabinieri spokesman reported "150 attacks" since the death of Pablo Marchant. The following recent chronology does not claim to be exhaustive, but rather seeks to illustrate the intensity of the conflict and its diversity, which does not seem to fall under the control of political centralization.

July 10

Vilcún. Around 4:30 a.m., three dump trucks, a backhoe, a front-end loader and two containers from a wood pellet extraction company went up in smoke on the Quintrilpe forestry farm. A small leaflet found at the scene and signed *Liberación Nacional Mapuche* (LNM) said "*weichafé Pablo Marchant, in the armed struggle we give justice*".
Victoria. Around 6:00 p.m., barricades were erected on the highway that connects the south to the north of the country for more than 3,000 kilometers (Ruta 5). A truck belonging to the *Embotelladora Andina/Coca-Cola* company was intercepted by about 50 demonstrators, and the driver was forced out after having put the vehicle across the lanes, before it was set alight.
Cañete. In the area of Peleco, the holiday house that the prosecutor Luis Morales had kept since his transfer in 2019 after fifteen years there is reduced to ashes, while a message referring to the murder of Pablo was

tagged on its wall.

July 11

Panguipulli. Around one o'clock in the morning, on the Santa Rosalía logging site, three forestry machines and a pick-up truck of the *Forestal Arauco* company burned down after the guard had been neutralized with a blunt weapon. The attack was claimed by a short message left at the scene, signed *Liberación Nacional Mapuche* (LNM) and saying: "*Forestry companies get out! Pablo Marchant lives in the weichan [struggle].*"

July 12

Ercilla. Around 6:00 am, in the area of Piedima, a few dozen masked and armed people unexpectedly cut the Ruta 5 with a small barricade of burning tires, forcing a first truck to stop, and the following ones to stop. They then forced the drivers out of their trucks by will or force (three unwilling drivers were injured), and then drenched gasoline on the first six commercial vehicles for more than a hundred meters: a container truck, three tankers (from a company in Puerto Montt that was transporting salmon), a logging truck (transporting wood), and a pickup truck were destroyed. The attack was claimed by the *Resistencia Mapuche Malleco* (RMM), which stated with a banner left at the scene: "*Pablo Marchant, in your memory we will avenge your fall against Forestal [...Mininco], bullets and fire against the police.*"

Cañete. Around 9:30 am, in the sector of Paso Los Negros on the El Hualle logging site, a dozen *weichafés* with weapons neutralized the personnel in the middle of work on the zone, then arson no less than sixteen machines of forestry construction and trucks working for *Forestal Arauco*. A leaflet found at the site and signed *Resistencia Mapuche Lavkenche* (RML) also made direct reference to the assassination of Pablo

that elections for the congress that would draft the new constitution would be held in May. Some of the Mapuche political representatives had already declared themselves in favour of a new constitution, so they prepared to participate in the process, hoping to gain a greater say. On the other hand, the communities in struggle and radical organizations firmly rejected the constitution process, arguing that it could only lead to assimilation rather than autonomy, and that it would change nothing about the ongoing devastation of the southern lands. This is one of the explanations for what President Piñera would describe from February 2021 as an “irrational wave of violence”, with the multiplication of armed incursions into forest estates while the vacation homes of local and non-local prominent people were systematically attacked and burned (during the Chilean summer of 2020-2021, more than fifty homes and vacation cabins were burned).

Beginning on February 10, 2021, during incendiary attacks within a few hours of each other on the roads of Cañete, Contulmo and Tirúa, *weichafé* intercepted and burned 12 trucks of forestry companies and 4 vans, and didn't neglect to destroy an electrical substation, which caused power outages in the area. During interventions on the roadsides and on the estates, *weichafé* are increasingly using firearms. Several carabinieri and guards were injured, but also workers who tried to defend the tools of the forestry exploitation, or estate-owners who tried to chase the *weichafé* with guns.

On May 6, 2021, less than a week before the elections for the constitutional congress, eight incendiary attacks were carried out in the same way in less than 6 hours, from noon to 6 pm, against 26 vehicles of all types (transport trucks, vans, carriers, skidders) of the forestry industry, on the P90 road that leads from Lumaco to Tirúa, on the estates of Los Laureles, on the road to Rilún, in

Rilún itself and in Pichi Pellahuén, exploited by the CMPC company. Amidst the cries of various state lackeys who are asking for either the reinstatement of a state of siege in the area or the intervention of the army to protect the loggers – especially because a carabiniere who came to stop the attacks was shot in his bullet-proof vest – this large-scale attack by *Weichán Auka Mapu* (WAM) is unambiguous: “*Freedom for Mapuche political prisoners and those of the revolt. Down with the logging industry, gravel pits, estate-owners, hydroelectric dams. Down with the yanacónas [a derogatory term for “traitors”, i.e. Mapuche working for the forestry industry or the state]. Marichiweu*”. This last word, the battle cry of the Mapuche struggle, means “*Ten and a thousand times we will win*”. On the following May 10, five more machines were set on fire and destroyed on the R-444 road between Los Sauces and Lumaco. On May 21, 11 logging machines were set on fire in Teodoro Schmidt by masked and armed people in two localities of a logging operation. The attack will be claimed by the ORT *Lafkenche*. That same day, in the territory of the municipality of Victoria, armed people evicted a couple of homeowners from their house and then burned it down. Three days later, on May 24, *weichafé* ambushed the R-35 road near Collipulli. As a carabinieri patrol passed by, they opened fire. One cop died on the spot.

Wallmapu burns after the murder of Pablo Marchant

Throughout the month of June 2021, armed incursions into forest estates continued unabated, as well as attacks on the homes of prominent people, such as the Archbishop of Concepción's vacation home in Contulmo. In the first half of the year, the number of arrests exceeded 300, according to government figures, and the carabinieri claimed to have seized no less than 320 firearms in Mapuche areas, while being faced with double the number of attacks com-

ing to certain communities or other groups, concerning both the tactics of struggle and the substance of the Mapuche resistance project. It has to be said that from a distance and with situations that are often very linked to specific local issues, inside a movement of struggle that itself advocates heterogeneity and autonomy as ethical values to regularly reject the more centralizing tendencies (the CAM also paid the price when it tended to centralize the resistance), it is impossible for us to sketch a complete picture of the divergences and debates that have and are going on in the radical expressions of the struggle. Divergences which, in our opinion, are not points of weakness, but often signs of a vitality tending towards more autonomy.

The radicalization of the conflict from 2008 onwards

In a few years, this militarization has led some communities to declare themselves “in conflict” by choice or by force, increasing the number of centers of struggle and sabotage actions. In order to face an anti-terrorist repression targeting the sabotage groups, developed by the police forces together with the Chilean intelligence services, many *comuneros* were also gradually forced underground, and the CAM itself had to resign itself to this, which implied, according to its own words, considerable operational setbacks². It then took several years to re-adapt their organization to the conditions of a rather rigorous clandestinity and to a strict compartmentalization.

On January 3, 2008, the community in conflict Lleupeco de Vilcún, occupied lands of the Santa Margarita estate, property of Jorge Luchsinger. As on many other occasions, *weichafé* from the CAM joined the *comuneros* and *comuneras* to carry out the action together. As this was a traditional land claim, the area had been under police protection for some time, and it was during the occupation that a carabinieri killed the *weichafé* Matías Catrileo. Catrileo was born into a middle-class family (his father was of Mapuche origin) and was close to the anarchist circles of the Chilean capital before deciding to join the struggle in the south of the country within the CAM. Following his assassination, the arson of lands exploited by forestry companies multiplied, as did the attacks on their machines. In the cities themselves, demonstrations also turned into very violent confrontations. In Santiago and elsewhere, numerous incendiary and explosive attacks against state and capitalist targets, claimed by an-

7/13, Fort-de-France, France. A few hours after the President announced the health pass for the whole territory, and with return to the state of emergency the next day for the French colonies of Reunion and Martinique, with curfew and return of nightly attestations, demonstrations took place to defy it in the capital Fort-de-France. On Saturday 17 July, one of them was prolonged in clashes with the police all night long; jewelers looted, police station smashed, cars and the EDF agency set on fire, and an attempt was made to set fire to the courthouse...

13/7, Boulogne-sur-mer (France). In Pas-de-Calais, the fiber optic cables of a telecom cabinet are severed, cutting Internet access for at least ten days in the Beauraupaire district.

13/7, Lachapelle-sous-Aubenas (France). In Ardèche, the RTE electrical substation was the object of an incendiary attack during the night. According to the national company, the attack would not have caused any power outage.

14/7, France. On the eve and night of the national holiday, 673 cars were set on fire. Clashes with the police took place all over the country. Mortar shots were fired at the cops (Paris), stones were thrown at the police station (Pontault-Combault, 77), ambushes were set up (Combs-la-Ville, 77), buses were set on fire (Saint-Nazaire, 44, and Bron, 69), molotov and mortar attacks were made on the police station (Nice, 06).

15/7, Grenoble (France). In Isère, a boom truck of the telecom company *Scopelec* was

set on fire during the night. "A little boom against this company which participates in the extension of technological control by installing telecom networks (optical fiber, 5G etc.). The introduction of a health pass is one more stone for the construction of "smart cities", surveillance and tracking". The communique ends by sending its "solidarity with Boris locked up for the arson of two relay antennas!".

16/7, Versailles (France). In Yvelines, the entrance door of the office of the deputy LREM of the city is smashed during the night.

17/7, Paris (France). A van of Enedis is burned. "The enemies of authority increasingly feel the need to attack the electricity distribution network, an indispensable element of this society," states *Without faith, nor law, nor pass* in the claim, which concludes by sending "a thought for all the people who fight against authority, exploitation and the devastation of nature."

18/7, Volos (Greece). The Direct Action Cell *Vassilis Maggos* claims responsibility for the incendiary attack on the transformers of the electrical substation of the AGET cement factory (subsidiary of *LafargeHolcim*) inside the site. "The AGET factory is a scourge for the city of Volos". The claim concludes, "And even if we never win, we will always fight!"

18/7, Genoa (Italy). *Anarchists for the destruction of the existent* claim the arson of two relay antennas. "The flames that we released last night, to burn these two appendages of domination, we want to dedicate to Carlo [Giuliani, murdered by the police during the

archists, mapuche or autonomous anti-capitalists, alluded to the death of the *weichafé*, whose path underlined the intensification of exchanges between anarchists, autonomous anti-capitalists and the mapuche³. In the capital, an unknown man also shot at an engineer-manager responsible for a hydroelectric dam in Wallmapu as he was leaving his home: both in the south and in the Chilean cities, the Mapuche conflict was clearly expanding. A few months after the assassination of Matías Catrileo, a second Mapuche anarchist, Johnny Cariqueo Yañez, died in the outskirts of Pudahuel in Santiago, this time as a result of a beating by the police, which again led to numerous revenge attacks in the capital and elsewhere.

Within the CAM, Catrileo's death and the subsequent expansion of the conflict generated wide-ranging debates about the viability of the tactics advocated for up to that point, always ending up revolving mainly around the question of "mass action", that is, land reclamation supported by sabotage actions. These "mass" occupations, for example, exposed participants to fierce repression, which could become more deadly as the ongoing conflict escalated. Faced with the increasingly armed reactions of the landlords and the carabinieri, there was neither the preparation nor the necessary weapons within the communities to respond in a large-scale way. Therefore, while continuing these "mass actions", the CAM opted for the creation of specific groups, called *Órganos de Resistencia Territorial* (ORT). Dedicated to the physical, mental and military preparation of the *weichafé* in order to become the nuclei of an armed guerrilla, the ORTs were conceived from the outset as autonomous entities in terms of logistics and initiative-taking, although they were of course linked to the general project of the CAM. This autonomy and compartmentalization was also intended to provide additional protection against state intelligence and repression. It can also be emphasized that the ORTs and other groups generally have rather rudimentary weaponry, consisting mainly of shotguns and pistols, and even homemade rifles, and that it is only very recently that assault rifles have appeared during sabotage actions. Similarly, there have been few actions involving the use of explosives, and these have been carried out in recent years to target energy or telecommunications infrastructures.

From 2009 onwards, the ORTs of the CAM were able to increase the number and quality of attacks on the struc-

current efforts are not sufficient and have not produced good results". This vote comes in a context of militarization of Mapuche territories, especially after the death of a truck driver in February 2020, when *weichafé* set fire to his truck near the municipality of Victoria. At the same time, the government intended to respond to the growing unrest that accompanied the hunger strike of the *machi* [healer] Celestino Córdova, on strike with seven other Mapuche prisoners against his conviction in the 2013 murder trial of the Luchsinger-Mackay couple. In support of them, Mapuche demonstrators occupied town halls, attacks on logging companies increase, and sabotage actions and ambushes by the ORT and WAM spread throughout much of the Mapuche areas. A new group, called *Resistencia Mapuche Lafkenche* (RML), also carried out more complex guerrilla actions, such as the attempted sabotage of the strategic Lleu Lleu highway bridge (interruption of traffic by armed fighters, followed by the explosion of a car filled with explosives), shoot-outs with the special forces of the Carabineros, and the destruction of radio antennas and transmitters with explosives. At the end of July, a few days after the vote, the derailment of a freight train marked another step in the struggle: the saboteurs had cut a rail and then removed the sleepers, and also shot at the train.

The government's announcement of additional troops added fuel to an already tense situation, particularly because of the various states of siege and emergency declared by the government under the pretext of the pandemic. The powerful employers' organization of road transport organized strikes against insecurity in the south, and in September 2020 reached an agreement to strengthen the protection of truck convoys. In October 2020, a national referendum was held, which had been postponed several times, on whether or not to introduce a new constitution, which was presented as the political outcome of the 2019-2020 revolt. This referendum question also divided the Mapuche conflict, which is still torn between a definitive and radical break with the State and assimilation-inclusion within it as an "indigenous people" with additional guarantees and rights. However, the weeks before and after the referendum remained intense, with an increasing number of armed *weichafé* entering the logging estates to burn machines and trucks, ambushing trucks along the roads, and shooting at carabinieri.

Then, in early 2021, the Chilean state finally announced

15/8, Brioude (France). In Haute-Loire, the two entrance doors of the *Aquabulle* center are broken, and the two shelves installed inside to control the swimmers' health pass are destroyed. The tag "It passes, therefore it breaks" is found on the facade.

Giannis Pretenteris, infamous for his diatribes against anarchists, immigrants, the poor... The attack was carried out "in solidarity with the political prisoners in Greek jails. A sign of solidarity with the unrepentant revolutionaries in the jails of Chile and Italy."

4/8, Roubaix (France).
In the North, at about half past midnight, two molotovs are thrown against the windows of the National Police School.

6/8, Toulouse (France).
In Haute-Garonne, the premises of the Order of Nurses are targeted: about thirty stone impacts and several tags including "No to the pass" and "Long live the strike". The same night, the windows of the temporary employment agency *Aile Médicale* received several hammer blows, notably against the health pass.

8/8, Carqueiranne (France).
In the Var, three municipal police cars parked in front of the station have their windshields smashed out, their mirrors broken and their tires punctured in the night.

11/8 Paimpol (France).
In Côtes-d'Armor, unknown persons broke into the town hall during the night and ransacked the municipal office, rendering it completely unusable.

12/8, Saint-Sauvant (France).
In the Vienne region, a large excavator of the company *2 Sévrienne Service* is set on fire during the night. It was used for excavations prior to the construction of one of the quarantine reservoirs for industrial agriculture, a project that has been contested for years in the region.

er hand, militarized the carabinieri to the extreme, conducting a kind of covert war that is unspoken in order not to offend international sensitivities, and above all, not to frighten investors.

On November 14, 2018, it was *comunero* Camilo Catrillanca, active in his community in the Mapuche resistance, who was murdered in Temucucui with a bullet in the back of the neck by this *commando Jungla*. In response, the situation quickly escalated: huge demonstrations of Mapuche and others in solidarity turned into riots in Santiago and other Chilean cities. In the capital alone, there were no less than a hundred road blockades. On the Mapuche lands, radical groups multiplied attacks and sabotage actions. But this time, many incendiary actions were also undertaken "outside" the main organizations of struggle, which is also a result of the growing autonomy of the ORT within the CAM, as well as of the multiplication of different groups and mini-organizations within the communities in struggle. The incendiary rage targeted everything that represents the Chilean state and capitalist investment, including community centers, schools, vacation homes, bank branches... In the city, incendiary and explosive attacks, claimed by anarchists in solidarity with the Mapuche resistance, target state and capitalist institutions.

While the conflict in Wallmapu is punctuated by a persistent continuity of sabotage and attacks, it is in October 2019 that the social situation exploded throughout Chile, giving rise to an uncontrollable revolt that lasted for months. In the Mapuche areas, the revolt that shook the Chilean cities also spread, with occupations, demonstrations and clashes in all the main urban centers of Wallmapu. However, it took a few more weeks before the Mapuche struggle groups decided to join the battle, once again multiplying the attacks. Several of these attacks were carried out with explosives against infrastructure, such as the attack in Contulmo against a high-voltage pylon.

Between assimilation and radical resistance

July 2020. In the midst of a health state of emergency, the Chilean parliament approved a resolution to "increase the presence of law enforcement and security forces [in Araucania] in order to curb terrorist acts and to disrupt the criminal gangs behind these acts, given that

tures of the logging and hydroelectric companies, as well as on the homes and properties of the estate owners located on the territories disputed by the communities. The continuity of their actions, combined with a process of "territorial control" exercised by the communities in conflict who occupied the land in a more sustainable way (building houses, organizing agriculture or cattle raising, etc.), began to seriously destabilize the structures of state and capitalist domination in several areas of Wallmapu.

Faced with this offensive, the state response was once again swift, this time with militarized squads raiding communities in conflict, not only in the areas of Arauco and Malleco, but also in Ercilla, Collipulli, Vilcún and the outskirts of Temuco, in order to "dismantle guerrilla schools" and "hotbeds of rural terrorism". By the end of 2009, 80% of the CAM's leaders were behind bars, and part of the struggle would now focus on the liberation of the "Mapuche political prisoners", while the incessant repression continued to provoke wide-ranging debates within the Mapuche struggle, as well as within the CAM itself. Bitter conflicts broke out, distances were taken and splits occurred.

Splits and autonomy of struggle

In 2010, the Chilean state eventually proposed a "space for dialogue" to which it invited all Mapuche political organizations, including the CAM. The aim was clearly to put an end to hostilities in exchange for crumbs, such as the granting of a very relative local autonomy. Weakened, some of the CAM's leaders began to open the possibility of negotiating with the government. This openness to dialogue with the enemy within the CAM led to further major splits. Opposed to such an opening, in 2010 some recalcitrant members created the *Weichán Auka Mapu* ("Rebel Territory Struggle", WAM), a Mapuche guerrilla organization that has developed a significant and widespread capacity to strike against many expressions of domination (including attacks on churches, Protestant temples and schools, practices that the CAM has not failed to describe as "counterproductive"). Unlike the CAM, which saw itself as a coordination of organic groups, WAM saw itself as an "alliance" of different groups, and so there was a growing anarchist influence within it, thanks to the presence of libertarian companions in its action groups.

GB in Genoa in 2001] and to all the rebels and revolutionaries who have died, throughout the world, fighting for freedom, equality and social justice. [...] For the Black International!"

20/7, Osnabrück (Germany)
A radio antenna is burned down on the site of the administrative complex housing the police station and the tax center.

20/7, Pozzallo (Italy).
During an incendiary revolt of migrants locked in the European Union *Hotspot*, the main building was destroyed. 36 migrants managed to escape, 7 of whom were recaptured fairly quickly.

21/7 Kleinbremen & Sibbesee (Germany).
In the village of Kleinbremen (Porta Westfalica), the car of Julia Czaja, head of the *Artgemeinschaft*, a neo-Nazi pagan organization, was set on fire in front of her home. In the village of Sibbesee (Lower Saxony), the home of neo-Nazi Oliver Bode was attacked with fire and paint. Bode is a member of the extreme right-wing association *Nordwelt*, which actively distributes the propaganda of the *Artgemeinschaft*. In Germany, more and more neo-Nazis are trying to settle in the small villages of the German countryside and build up a far-right association, tinged with communitarianism, ecology and conservatism.

22/7, Creuse (France).
The press reports several cases of sabotage of forestry machines. At the beginning of the month, a harvester was damaged in Saint-Junien-La-Brègère, then a harvester was burned in Saint-

Pardoux-Morterolles. In several villages in the area, tags "Assassins of the forest" have appeared on construction site signs and communal buildings. Since the beginning of the year, the forestry operator *Lafaye* (Bugeat) has been targeted twice by sabotage of their equipment in the forest. Other operators have also had their machines tagged or their windows broken,...

22/7, Barcelonnette (France). In the Alps, the greens 1, 7 and 8 of the Bois Chenu golf course are ravaged by shovels.

22/7, Bern (Switzerland). A vehicle of the company *Contrafeu*, a subsidiary of *Securitas*, is set on fire. "*Securitas profits from its involvement in surveillance, control and violence against refugees who are detained or forcibly 'housed' in federal camps, asylum centers and prisons for people who are to be deported, such as the Bässlergut camp in Basel. [...] For a world without borders and without prisons!*"

23/7, Saint-Lys (France). In Haute-Garonne, around 10 am, the parking lot of the transport company *Verdié* is burned. Ten buses dedicated to school transport go up in flames and are completely destroyed, three others are damaged.

26/7, Rome (Italy). Two cars of guards of the women's section of the Rebibbia prison are set on fire with a molotov.

7/26, Narbonne (France). In the Aude region, around 11pm, a fire destroyed the cables along the railroad between Narbonne and Nissan-lez-Enserune. The flames also damaged a technical room. Hundreds of trains were

In 2011, another organization was created, called Resistencia Mapuche Malleco (RMM), exclusively dedicated to armed struggle, but which does not seem to have a defined organic structure. The organization became known for tearing down high-voltage pylons with electric saws, a "new" practice within the Wallmapu struggle. On the other side of the Andes, in the territory dominated by the Argentine state, the organization Resistencia Ancestral Mapuche (RAM) was born, closer to the CAM project.

In 2013, to commemorate the fifth anniversary of Catrileo's assassination, an attack was carried out by a group of weichafé against the villa of the Luchsinger-Mackay landowning couple (the Luchsinger estate-owning family has a long history of usurping Mapuche lands). Upon their arrival, Luchsinger immediately came outside and opened fire. The assailants push him back and then set fire to the house, where the couple died in the fire. While this attack was not claimed by any existing organization, it clearly marked an escalation in hostilities. During these years, other "types" of less common actions also began to spread under the impetus of different ORTs, different organizations (WAM and RMM) and other more ephemeral or less structured Mapuche radical groups. These include armed attacks on carabinieri, ambushes of timber convoys and their subsequent destruction by fire, attacks on the homes of estate-owners or managers, the burning of churches, schools or town halls, as well as sabotage against energy infrastructures such as pylons or telecommunications antennas in the area. This did not prevent attacks on logging company machinery from continuing, many of which were not specifically claimed, where the attackers were often content to leave a simple banner or leaflets on the spot with a few slogans. From time to time, organizations such as CAM or WAM issued a single communiqué claiming all the actions carried out by their groups over a period of time. It should also be noted that other actions, including road blockades, but also rallies and demonstrations, take place almost daily in some parts of Wallmapu during the "hot" periods.

While the ORTs continued to flourish and organize a permanent harassment of capitalist companies, CAM focused on the issue of Mapuche political prisoners during those years, and lost influence to other Mapuche radical groups, especially because of its distancing from

certain practices (such as church arsons or attacks on individuals) and as a result of conflicts with some communities in struggle.

It was not until January 2017 that the CAM resumed claiming responsibility for an arson attack on logging company trucks, followed by a second attack a few months later on a convoy of the *Trans-Cavaleri* company in which 19 trucks and 9 timber ramps were destroyed on the road between Temuco and Lautaro. During the year 2017, however, it was the WAM that showed greater vitality and claimed several attacks and ambushes. In September, the Chilean state launched a repressive operation called "*Huracán*", which led to the arrest of eight well-known members of the Mapuche resistance. The trial ended up being a failure and was denounced as a typical set-up devised by the Chilean intelligence services. In Argentina, the year was marked by the assassination of the anarchist Santiago Maldonado in August. This companion participated in the road blockades that the Mapuche community in struggle *Pu Lof* de Cushamen was leading, when he was kidnapped by policemen and then murdered. His body was not found until October, near the place where he had been kidnapped. His disappearance and death gave rise to significant mobilizations (many of which were based on narratives of victimization and human rights to denounce "an abuse" while concealing that Santiago was an anarchist companion) and confrontations.

From another attempt at pacification to the 2019 revolt

A few months after his inauguration in 2018, Chile's new president, Sebastián Piñera, presented the "*Plan Impulso Araucanía*", the third government project in less than a decade to attempt to pacify Mapuche lands. He invited representatives of Mapuche social and political organizations to the negotiating table, excluding radicals like the CAM. While negotiations were taking place in Santiago with the reasonable representatives of the struggle, a new squadron of carabinieri was deployed in the south. Having received training in counter-guerrilla tactics in Colombia, this squadron, which the Mapuche quickly named "*comando Jungla*" after its Colombian counterpart, represented a further escalation in the militarization of Mapuche areas. If the different Chilean governments have always denied having deployed the army in Mapuche areas against civilians, they have, on the oth-

affected, including a total halt to regional traffic between Toulouse and Montpellier, as well as major disruptions to traffic from Paris and Marseille to Barcelona or Toulouse.

26/7, Paris (France). Three molotovs were thrown against the façade and entrance of the Cuban embassy. For weeks, protests and mobilizations against the regime have been taking place in this country.

28/7, Grande-Synthe (France). In the North of France, unknown people broke into the workshops of the municipal services during the night, and then set fire to this 2700 m² building. All the city's maintenance equipment and about 30 vehicles went up in smoke.

29/7, Mesnil-Amelot (France). After a first escape (one person), then a second (two people), undocumented migrants locked up in the CRA of Seine-et-Marne revolt. They attacked the police, started some fires and climbed onto the roofs of this prison for migrants.

31/7, Altena (Germany). In an underground parking lot at the bottom of a building housing the police station, two police vehicles are set on fire during the night. The next day, a police van assigned to the same police station and parked on the street suffers the same fate.

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1/8, Athens (Greece). The *Insurgent Violence Cell of the Direct Action Cells* claimed responsibility for the attack on the front gate of the house of journalist/television presenter