

# STORM WARNINGS

*Anarchist bulletin  
for the social war*

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# 57-58 – October 15 2022



## | Black-out ? |

Every year, with the arrival of the first frost of the most beautiful season, a seasonal article inevitably returns in the French press: will there be a *generalized blackout* this winter? This traditional question, which used to be mostly rhetorical on both sides of the Quiévrain, now seems to have become a European obsession, with the combination of the maintenance shutdown of many French nuclear reactors, the drop in Russian gas deliveries and the upcoming embargo on its oil (in December for unrefined products, then in February for refined products), and the global rise in energy costs, all against the backdrop of the return of inflation and a euro at its lowest level in 20 years against the dollar. But rest assured, the Europe of the wealthy is still far from such an outcome, unless it is artificially required to do so, as is the case of Ukraine, which has just lost nearly 30% of its power plants in ten days following the latest bombing by the Russian army.

Indeed, in Europe, which is overflowing with hundreds of billions of dollars for its

economic recovery and rearmament plans, quite the opposite of a reduction in its electricity production centers seems to be in the making, with Germany, for example, having just reactivated all of its hundred or so coal- and lignite-based power plants (including the 27 that had previously been suspended in order to meet its carbon emission targets), and also extended the operation of its last three nuclear power plants, which were due to be shut down by the end of 2022.

This grandiose combination of 19th century coal with 20th century nuclear power to feed the devouring requirements of 21st century industry and digital technology is not surprising, since it is no different in France, where the coal-fired power plant in Cordemais (Loire-Atlantique) is now running at full capacity after many exemptions were granted to the Energy-Climate Law that was supposed to limit its operation, and where the old coal-fired power plant in Saint-Avold (Moselle), which closed down for good six months ago, was just restarted in October. And the whole thing has even

25/7, Munich (Germany). Five trucks, five trailers and an excavator of a construction and public works company are burned on a site used as a logistics and storage center for several construction sites in the city, including the installation of optical fiber. 25 reels of fiber optic cable were also burned. The damage amounted to several million euros.

## AUGUST 2022

1/8, Mering (Germany). In Bavaria, an arson in a cable shaft connected to a signal box along the tracks causes severe disruptions to regional and high-speed rail traffic for 48 hours.

3/8, Schrobenhausen (Germany). Three drilling rigs are set on fire in the yard of the *Bauer* company, which is involved in the construction of the *Coastal Gaslink* pipeline in Canada.

3/8, Trento (Italy). A construction site for new military housing in the south of the city is set on fire during the night. *"Against the war between states, against the state and its war on those who still raise their heads, solidarity with Juan, Alfredo and Anna"* concludes the communiqué.

6/8, Mesnil-Amelot (France). A mutiny broke out in the detention center (CRA) around 9:30 pm: about thirty undocumented migrants set fire to mattresses and furniture in two buildings, confronting the cops who had to take refuge in a room while

been compounded by a very recent Franco-German agreement, through which France will supply Germany this winter with up to 5% of its gas reserves (i.e. the power of four nuclear reactors) thanks to the new gas link at Obergailbach (Moselle), in exchange for German coal-fired electricity which will be fed into the French network! And a quick hello to the miners of Australia, South Africa, Colombia and Kazakhstan, who will continue to extract tens of thousands of tons of coal from the earth to supply many other things besides the famous lighting and heating of the blessed citizens of the old continent.

So, if continental electricity production will be gigantic, as it is every winter, with more coal accelerating the ongoing climate catastrophe, one might wonder why many European states are launching their so-called *"energy austerity plans"* one after the other, which include significant population management measures? First, of course, because they can afford it, with the case of the Great Lockdown of 2020 being a shining example for them in the domestication and voluntary servitude of their subjects. Also, because electricity is a continuous flow that cannot be stored on a large scale, the network managers are forced to cap it *willingly or not* during large consumption peaks, by deciding where it should be reduced... or cut off altogether (which is modestly called a *"load shedding"*). However, if the main energy consumers - namely the industrialists - usually commit themselves to reduce their production punctually at the request of the authorities in exchange for tax reductions, the forecasts of this winter's stretched supply have pushed States to already *preventatively* reduce consumption, by opening the market to the compulsory rationing of everyone. This, let's face it, is much less daring than drastically cutting off power to steel mills, cement factories, the arms industry, the chemical and plastics industry, high-speed trains and data centers, which are nevertheless the most greedy in this domain.

And to give just a few examples of these restrictive measures, which go beyond symbolic reductions in window lighting or urban advertising, the German plan includes turning off the heating in the common areas of government offices, reducing it to 12°C where employees carry out *"intense"* physical activity, or cutting off hot water; the initial Italian plan (before the September elections) included closing bars and restaurants at 11 p.m., and shops at 7 p.m; the Swiss plan includes *"on the orders of the authorities, electricity operators can cut off the power for four hours throughout the country every eight hours, including for households"*; and the French plan, in addition to allowing the suspension of recharging hot water tanks controlled remotely by *Linky* meters, also officially includes the

possibility of “two-hour cuts per household, between 8 a.m. and 1 p.m. and between 5:30 p.m. and 8:30 p.m., by neighborhood and in turn.” ..

Well, once we get there, we are faced with a situation that is paradoxical only in appearance. On the one hand, there is a techno-industrial system whose extractivist and energy needs are ever more devouring, and which itself foresees, in the case of France, an increase in electricity needs of 60% between now and 2050, with the gradual phasing out of oil and natural gas coupled with the exponential digitization of all production and consumption (hence the revival of nuclear power announced just about everywhere). In short, a forced electrification of the economy, of which the planned ban on the sale of combustion engine cars throughout Europe is only the icon. On the other hand, there are the inevitable consequences of the slightest strain on an energy market that is still largely dependent on gas and oil, which have caused States to manage this ongoing restructuring of their economy, with its growing dependence on the electricity network, using a method that has already been tried and tested: drawing up lists of first priority “critical sectors” and imposing rationing and cuts on the others, including on the entire population whose herd behavior (same hours of waged servitude, transport and domestic consumption) lends itself particularly well to such measures.

But what about the other side? Well, if we turn our attention to Germany, this summer autonomous groups not only sabotaged the rail convoys of the Lausitz coal mines in order to slow down their production several times, but also stopped the entirety of rail traffic, as in Bavaria on August 1st where the cables of a signal box were deliberately set on fire in Mering, or in Berlin and Herne, where the cutting of fiber optic cables along the tracks sent the whole northern part of the country into disarray in the beginning of October. Cutting off the power and communications to the state’s critical infrastructure ourselves, in our own way and on our own timelines, without waiting for the state to prioritize it while rationing us, is another paradox that is not without appeal. And it has at least the merit of clarifying who is responsible for the current disaster.



waiting for reinforcements. Other detainees went to the roofs to cut the fences and try to escape, unfortunately in vain.

9/8, Osny (France).  
In Val-d’Oise, a prisoner in the disciplinary wing managed to dismantle the door during a telephone visit, before going to the corridor where he destroyed the electrical system, the cameras and the water pipes, causing a flood. Both the disciplinary and segregation wings, located one above the other, are out of order.

9/8, Pouillé/Nalliers (France).  
In Vendée, two mega-basins of agro-industrialists are cut during the night, and the damage is estimated at one million euros. *Gardeners, fishermen and lovers of rivers* specify in a communique that “This is not an attack against the farmers who use them, but against the industrial system which exploits them too”.

13/8, Dijon (France)  
In Côte d’Or, a car is set on fire at about 4 a.m. in front of the city’s central police station.

13/8, Nangis (France)  
In Seine-et-Marne, ten video surveillance masts are cut down with a disc cutter during the summer. In the only arrest of this series, three people will claim to be against CCTV, and will get 6 and 8 months suspended sentences.

16/8, Lausitz (Germany).  
Hooks are hung on overhead lines of the coal conveyor

belt in the Lausitz coal region.  
*"We see the need to broaden our forms of action and to maintain the resistance against the normality of capitalist fossil energy... We welcome lively discussion which continues to make clear the indispensability of sabotage. We thus take a stand in this debate."*

17/8, Cassel (Germany).  
 Two civilian vehicles belonging to the German army are set on fire in the Bad Wilhelmshöhe district. *"It is above all the arms companies that profit from the rearmament and the preparations for war in Europe. This does not make the world safer, on the contrary. Therefore, militarization, rearmament and war preparations in Germany must be fought with determination. For this reason, we have decided to reduce the German army's fleet of cars in Kassel, at least somewhat"*

18/8, Graz (Austria).  
*"We sabotaged the factory of Magna Steyr, supplier of Mercedes in Graz. To do this, we opened the cable shafts next to the railroad tracks leading to the company's site, and then we set them on fire. [...] This action is an encouragement for attacks on the war industry as well as on those responsible for the destruction of the earth."*

21/8, Saint-Martin-lez-Tatinghem (France)  
 In the Pas-de-Calais, an *Orange* and *Free* relay antenna is sabotaged by removing the bolts at the base of the tower legs. Collapsing with the first blow of wind, it was dismantled two days later by the operator. This same antenna had already experienced an identical sabotage in March 2020, and had crashed to the ground three weeks after its

# Amulepe taiñ weichan ! |

## The struggle continues

*In the last year, Mapuche territories have seen a further extension of the conflict with the Chilean state and the capitalist interests implanted in Wallmapu. We will try to give an overview -necessarily incomplete - of recent developments in the radical Mapuche struggle, and its repercussions on the social conflict in Chile.*

### Resurgence of the radical Mapuche struggle

Following the assassination of Pablo Marchant, a member of the *Coordinadora Arauco Malleco*, during an attack on a logging operation in July 2021, attacks and sabotage have increased dramatically in Mapuche territories. In the space of a few weeks, *"150 attacks"* were recorded by the police, while road blockades, clashes during rallies and demonstrations, and above all land occupations continued to punctuate the daily life of the struggle in Wallmapu. The government of President Piñera, the one in charge of taming the social revolt of 2019 that came close to stoking insurrection in the whole of Chile, then dispatched new police reinforcements to the South. Like his predecessors, it is above all with military escalation and brutal repression that Piñera intended to crush the combative winds that have not stopped blowing on Mapuche lands.

However, the mosaic of different organizations and groups in the struggle have taken up the challenge, especially by continuing to carry out unpredictable and diffuse attacks, although the number of armed confrontations and shootouts with the carabineros has been growing during these actions. Faced with the carabineros unit, which is in fact militarized and can count on weapons of war, armored vehicles, aerial support from observation and combat helicopters, surveillance by drones, special units such as the *"GOPE"* and its branches trained in Colombia in the fight against rural and urban guerrillas (described by the Mapuche as the *"commando jungla"*), as well as a solidly organized investigation service (the *"PDI"*), the Mapuche warriors (*weichafe*) seem to have rather rudimentary

weaponry (generally shotguns, rifles, pump-action shotguns and a few assault rifles), largely compensated for by their stealth, speed, asymmetrical conflictuality, knowledge of the terrain and, above all, the support of many autonomous communities in struggle.

The panorama of Mapuche organizations practicing armed struggle, offensive action and sabotage is very heterogeneous, and just as there are real differences in approach between and within the autonomous communities in struggle, such differences are also found in terms of projectual choices and organizational structure between the organizations themselves: the *Coordinadora Arauco Malleco* (CAM) and its autonomous combat groups (*Organos de defensa territorial*, ORT), the *Weichán Auka Mapu* (WAM), the *Liberación Nacional Mapuche* (LNM), the *Resistencia Mapuche Malleco* (RMM), the *Resistencia Mapuche Lafkenche* (RML), and the multitude of more ephemeral or less structured groups. If on the one hand affinities and shared perspectives can bring certain organizations together, on the other hand certain questions form splits that regularly give rise to polemics, distancing and latent animosity - such as attacks on churches as an expression of colonialism, attacks on individuals (other than self-defense against the forces of law and order), or the methods groups have used to oppose the mafia criminality or drug trafficking that thrives in the autonomous communities. However, this diversity also constitutes a kind of necessary safeguard against any hegemonic tendency that might channel the vast array of conflictualities into a single current, which would then become not only easier to repress, but above all would be more inclined to hinder the extension and generalization of the struggle through leader hierarchies or the establishment of a monolithic counter-power that would be in great danger of reproducing the same defects as statist society.

Tempers have occasionally gotten heated and harsh words have been said, and in the past there have been regrettable stories of competition or ugly arguments about the ethnicity or origins of this or that member of another group ("not mapuche enough", "son of the city", "product of a western ideology") used to try to discredit those who sought to explore another path. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the offensive synergy that was unleashed in Wallmapu, especially in reaction to the assassination of Pablo Marchant, shows that there is no need for everyone to sit around the

commissioning.

26/8, Mesnil-Amelot (France)  
In Val-de-Marne, a new riot took place at the detention center (CRA) from 10 pm to 3 am. Six undocumented migrants managed to climb onto the roofs, and two of them were sentenced to 3 and 4 months in prison for "armed gathering".

27/8, Arcueil (France)  
In Val-de-Marne, around 4 am, two cars of the municipal police are set on fire in a closed parking lot of the town hall.

28/8, Alençon (France)  
In Orne, two cars parked in the parking lot of the *Chamber of Agriculture* are set on fire during the night.

28/8, Oudenaarde (Belgium)  
In the parking lot of the arms company *OIP*, a subsidiary of the Israeli multinational *Elbit Systems* which manufactures electro-optical equipment, two Piranha III army armored vehicles are set on fire. A tag "*Shut Elbit Down*" was found on the walls of the company. One is totally destroyed and the second is seriously damaged. The cost of these combat vehicles is 1.5 million dollars each.

29/8, Chagny (France)  
In Ardennes, the 120 meter wind measuring mast installed for the company *Green Energy's* industrial wind turbine project is knocked down during the night, after one of its attachments was cut.

28-31/8, Torcy (France)  
In Saône-et-Loire, seven of the city's fifteen video surveillance cameras are destroyed in a few days, with stones or hammers,

including the one at the municipal police station.

30/8, Athens (Greece).

The *Anti-civilization Cell of Chaos and Total Destruction ELF/FAI* claims the arson of a cell antenna in Paleo Psychiko, notably in solidarity with anarchist prisoners, Mapuche prisoners and "*indigenous populations in struggle against civilization and colonization*": "*Everything is possible... Silence is spreading... Radio silence...*"

31/8, Périgueux (France)

In Dordogne, a young prisoner manages to escape from prison at about 4am, after having spread the bars of the cell and then climbed the big outside wall thanks to metal rods installed during construction work. He had placed a cloth dummy in his bed, and his escape was not discovered until ten hours later.

## SEPTEMBER 2022

3/9, Monchy-Humières (France)

In the Oise region, "*radicalized boars*" claimed responsibility for sabotaging a golf course, where they tore up the grass and damaged the sprinkler systems, leaving behind circled A's and signs such as "*We are nature defending itself*" / "*The golf courses are parasites of the forest - The bourgeois are parasites of society.*"

3/9, Toulouse (France)

In Haute-Garonne, two electric car stations of the same type are set on fire in the Jean Rieux/Cote pavée neighborhood during the night. The communiqué specifies in particular "*One suffocates in the walls of this city, where the mayor is proud of the expulsion of migrant squats. We asphyxiate in the middle of this green capitalism*", ending

same table or under the same chain of collective decision in order to deepen subversive action in quantity and quality. On the contrary, it works much better when everyone relies on their own autonomous means, even when the work involves coordinating and helping one another, and continues to place their own emphasis in the struggle in the context of a broader and shared perspective. And so, the current offensive upsurge of Mapuche groups is based on the firm conviction and shared analysis that in order to fight capitalism and the Chilean state, to advance in the "reconstruction of the Mapuche world" and the defense of the "*itrofil mongen*" [the whole of the living] with the ethical values that follow from it, it was necessary not only to support the land occupations, but also to attack all the concrete expressions of capitalist and state domination that ravage and colonize the territories, in a continuous and diffuse way. Namely, the forestry and extractivist industry, the hydroelectric and energy facilities, and the tourism industry.

## State of emergency

Throughout 2021, across the rest of the country the Chilean state tried to calm the insurrectionary fervor that had weakened economic recovery and laid bare the processes of democratic management by playing the card of a new constitution drafted by citizens. In October in the Mapuche territories the Piñera government ended up once again playing the state of emergency card. In doing so, it intended to reassure the important Chilean business families and their networks of influence and interests, who jealously try to maintain control over a good number of political and economic mechanisms that still govern much of the country's functioning since the Pinochet dictatorship. In fact, the Mapuche territories represent non-negligible economic interests for these entrepreneurs and their international colleagues, interests whose importance may even increase in the coming years, with the explosion in the number of rare metal mining projects, so prized by the new technologies and essential to the great leap forward of the energy transition. It is not for nothing that the Chilean government is inviting the European energy companies that already control the majority of the country's energy production - *Enel* (Italy), *EDF* (France), *Statkraft* (Norway) and *RWE* (Germany) - - to increase their investments in order to increase energy production, which is an essential prerequisite for the expansion of any mining or industrial activity. Several projects for the construction of coal-fired



power plants, photovoltaic plants, hydroelectric dams and wind farms have just been completed or are in the process of being accelerated, some of which have been set up directly in what the Chilean state calls the *Macrozona Sur*, i.e., the Mapuche territories.

On October 12, 2021, three months after the assassination of Pablo Marchant and the subsequent resurgence in offensives, a state of emergency was declared in *Macrozona Sur*, including the provinces of Bío Bío, Arauco, Malleco and Cautín: thousands of soldiers were deployed and assigned to guarding the main roads and protecting logging industry infrastructures, while the supreme command of public order now fell to the military hierarchy. Paramilitary forces, hired by large landowners and logging companies that have long been active in the area, are also coming out of the shadows to supplement law enforcement. In the first few weeks, the state can boast having significantly reduced the number of “violent actions” in some areas, although attacks continue to occur, despite brutal raids by the military and carabineros in the autonomous communities and attempts to cordon off the territory.

In its November 27, 2021 communiqué claiming twenty incendiary attacks since the beginning of 2020, the organization *Liberacion Nacional Mapuche* (LNM) describes this state of emergency “as an act of desperation by the oligarchy and entrepreneurship that have interests in our territories, supported by the servile, corrupt political class which lacks legitimacy. We know that the Armed Forces have been bloody towards their own population and are responsible for our condition as an occupied people. [...] . Today in Wallmapu, they will only aggravate the contradictions and will try to confront our *weichafe*. But they forget that in our steps we are accompanied by the *newen* [strength] of our *ñuke mapu* [mapuche land], and that our greatest strength is to accompany our people with convictions for liberation. By sending the Armed Forces, the State has recognized the triumph of the Mapuche movement by acknowledging that the Chilean rule of law in our territory is hanging by a thread.”

Likewise, it should not be overlooked that while the state of emergency changes the situation on the ground, it is also part of a continuity of militarization that the radical Mapuche movement had already faced for decades. In a

with “*Support for comrade Boris, charged for the arson of a relay antenna.*”

4/9, Berlin (Germany).

The day before an official visit of the Greek minister of tourism Kikilias to the German capital, *autonomous groups* set fire to the car of the Greek ambassador parked in front of his home. “*Our attack is a sign of solidarity with all the resistant neighborhoods of Athens. We support their struggle against police terror and gentrification. Even if our means are modest, our determination to resist and defend ourselves must be stronger than the will of our enemies.*”

6/9, Toulouse (France)

In Haute-Garonne, an electric car charging station is set on fire in the Sept Deniers neighborhood by the *Committee Against Bullshit* (CCFG). In solidarity with anarchist companion Boris, and for “*the markets to dry up rather than the rivers, for the birds to sing and for the governance experts to finally shut up.*”

8/9, Athens, Greece.

In an arson attack on a *Mercedes* dealership, at least four vehicles and the front of the showroom are destroyed. “[...] *One of the problems with people’s worship of cars, cell phones, computers, smart homes, is that technological progress leads to the murder of life and the planet. Civilization, the state and capitalism have made parts of the working class want technology, money, exuberance, power. And we have no hope that this will change. Our hope lies in the rebellious individuals and groups who resist against this shitty world that others have built for us.*”

9/9, Pulnoy (France)

In Meurthe-et-Moselle, the town's golf course is visited in the night, and ends up with four holes blocked with cement, while the green is ransacked with a pickaxe. Large tags with a circled A on the lawn read: "Eat the rich" or "Green washing".

8-10/9, Pyrénées-Orientales  
Internet subscribers are cut off throughout the department as a result of fiber optic sabotage. On three occasions and over several days, the entire internet supply of the department coming from Paris is cut off, then repaired and re-sabotaged elsewhere, while a secondary cable also suffers the same fate.

10/9, Limoges (France)  
In Haute-Vienne, after having lifted some plates located on the sidewalks, unknown persons set fire to the cables near the electric transformers, cutting off the power around 1am to all the video surveillance cameras of the district of La Bastide.

11/9, Saint-Fargeau-Ponthierry (France)  
In Seine-et-Marne around 1h50, a municipal police car goes completely up in smoke in front of its new premises, after a beautiful molotov throw.

13/9, Toulouse (France)  
In Haute-Garonne, a van of *Scopelec*, a company that installs fiber optics and connects cell phone antennas, goes up in smoke under the gaze of crows and the moon. The attack is dedicated to "Boris who, after being locked up in the cages of the state, continues to suffer the repression of the judicial and medical authorities" and in solidarity "with anarchist prisoners."

communiqué released the same month, the *Weichan Auku Mapu* (WAM) say that they understand "*this new framework as a reinforcement of the existing political-military force, that the Chilean State has put at the disposal of the economic power so that it can protect its capitalist interests in historical Wallmapu. Especially at a time when the Mapuche resistance has forced forestry companies, latifundists, hydroelectric companies and other capitalist expressions to leave the territory. This increase in repression is a response to the growth of the Mapuche people in resistance, a growth that is reflected in the increase in unmediated land reclamation, the increase in the capacity for self-defense in the territories, the appearance of new expressions and organizations that carry out sabotage, and the strengthening of Mapuche life in the communities. This reality is the result of the continuity of the Mapuche struggle and resistance for more or less 30 years.*"

President Piñera's government subsequently extended the state of emergency no less than six consecutive times. In an assessment in early January 2022 of the first 100 days of this measure, he boasted of nearly 56,700 inspections of people and vehicles, and 140 incarcerations (many of them for "illegal carrying of weapons"), bringing the number of "rural violence incidents" down by 44%. However, despite the tightened and militarized control, arson attacks continued in the four impacted provinces from the first days after its introduction, both against logging operations and against the estates of latifundists. And even outside of these areas, as in Concepción, where a group of masked people entered the university grounds, held the guards at bay with gunfire, then set fire to the premises of the *Faculty of Forestry Sciences* and left a banner against the militarization of Wallmapu, with a circled A. At the beginning of November, several attacks were launched against the cellulose industry. First, shots were fired at shuttles belonging to the logging and paper producer *Arauco*, which were transporting workers to the MAPA construction site, the largest expansion of its cellulose factory. Then near Victoria, in Malleco province, the *Weichan Auku Mapu* (WAM) derailed a train loaded with cellulose and then set fire to it, destroying several cars and the locomotive. In December, in addition to a number of actions of sabotage of logging machinery carried out by organizations or autonomous groups, *weichafe* carried out a few other major arson raids. And so, the WAM claimed, by means of banners or small leaflets left at the scene, attacks in Tolten (Cautín) against a logging subcon-



tractor from *Arauco*, in Carahué (Cautín) against the logging company *Agrifor*, in Lanco against two agro-industrial companies, and then again in Tolten when a convoy was intercepted, each time leaving numerous machines and structures in ashes. The *Resistencia Mapuche Lafkenche* (RML) also carried out major raids: in Lebu (*Arauco*), a double incendiary attack targeted an *Arauco* operation involving the destruction of about fifteen machines and trucks, and the following day in Curanilahue (*Arauco*), where about ten logging machines and ten trucks of the same company were intercepted and burned during an ambush. Finally in Lincuyín, around the lake Lanalhue (*Arauco*), an incendiary attack targeted about thirty buildings related to tourism, between bungalows and secondary residences located in a radius of 10 kilometers.

## Elections

At the end of December 2021, the presidential elections brought to the head of the Chilean state a brand new politician, Gabriel Boric, born of the left-wing citizen opposition. While the right-wing was quietly preparing for any possibility in the face of the specter of “the return of a new Allende”, the Chilean and international left was celebrating this electoral victory, which was supposed to mark the beginning of a “social state” in a Chile that is finally reaching the rank of an industrialized country that can count on inclusion, and is managed by non-oligarchic democratic processes compatible with modern markets and the digital age. But those in the Mapuche radical struggle have no illusions.

Throughout 2021, those in the Mapuche radical struggle have already criticized outright the participation of politicians and self-declared representatives of the “Mapuche civil society” in the new constitutional process that is supposed to guarantee more rights for indigenous people, as demonstrated by a communiqué signed at the end of August by the *Mapuche Communities of Malleco in Resistance*. It states that “*the participation of the Mapuche people in the Constitutional Convention of the State of Chile is irresponsible and inconsistent with the history and future of the Mapuche people*”, and that “*the political work that it develops only deepens the mechanisms of domestication, creating a political and institutional subordination to the State of Chile that will irreversibly affect the possibilities of the political demand for territorial and institutional independence of the Mapuche people*”.

13/9, Montgibaud (France)  
In Corrèze, a mast of wind measurement that is 84 meters high intended for a project of industrial wind turbines crashes to the ground, after its cables were deliberately cut.

14/9, Metz (France)  
In Moselle, after the beginning of a riot in the administrative detention center (CRA), twelve undocumented migrants manage to escape around 9 pm. They managed to do so by breaking through the security gates, then by walking along an access road to get out of the CRA and reach, by climbing a fence, the gendarmes' field from where they found an exit.

18/9, Barcelona (Spain).  
Arson attack against a 5G antenna near Montjuïc park. *Some anarchists claim responsibility for the attack and send “a warm hug to Toby Shone, Boris, Ivan and all those who keep anarchy alive.”*

18/9, Gers  
The *Fall Group (Feu Anarchiste Informel Inévitable)* announces that they have ransacked several cell antennas in solidarity with anarchists Ivan and Alfredo, as well as “*all of our anarchist comrades who are incarcerated or on the run.*”

22/9, Commercy (France)  
In Meuse, the private vehicle of Michaël Barrois, the owner of the architecture and planning office *Archilor*, is set on fire in the night by *Les Mirabelles de Lorraine*. This architect is the winner of the tender to construct the permanent buildings for the housing of the gendarmes who protect the

future nuclear waste disposal site at Bure.

23/9, Quillan (France)

In the Aude region of France, the fiber optic cable running along the TER tracks is sabotaged, cutting off internet and cell phone service in several local villages, as well as the bank payment terminals of their businesses.

23/9, Entrelacs (France).

In Savoie, a 5G antenna of the operator *Free* is set on fire around 2:30 am. Last June, the backhoe on the construction site had already gone up in smoke.

24/9, Toulouse (France)

In Haute-Garonne, the windows of two LCL banks are tagged and smashed with hammers during the night in solidarity with Boris. *"Against the anguish of the end of the month, a few blows in the face of the war profiteers. Against the anguish of the end of the world, some blows against those who finance it"* says the communiqué.

24/9, Athens (Greece).

A third anarchist demonstration since August, gathering several thousand people, against the construction of a metro station in the central square of Exarchia ends with clashes accompanied by molotovs in the streets of the district.

25/9, Athens (Greece).

Anarchists claim the arson of a vehicle of the telecommunications company OTE: *"We fight in the here and now and we attack all state and capitalist targets"*.

During his victorious campaign, President Boric promised that he would break with the historical continuity of the oppression of the Mapuche people and the dispossession of their lands, but those who had been confronting the Chilean state for decades with sabotage and occupations within the Wallmapu itself were not fooled by his speeches. He had been praised by the leftist intelligentsia, always wistful about the failure of *"societal transformation"* without the clash of arms promised by their icon Allende, and always ready to support the first Latin American politician to come along claiming to *"represent the people"*, *"come from below"*, *"fight the extractivist multinationals"* or *"put an end to the injustices caused by unbridled neoliberalism"*. Following the elections, the *Resistencia Mapuche Lafkenche* (RML) summarized its position as follows: *"In the face of the peace talks that this false democracy seeks to impose, we affirm that we will not give up our tralkas [guns]. As long as the logging companies and gravel pits continue to devastate our territory, as long as the tourist companies continue to make a profit from our resources, and as long as the jails in the south continue to be filled with Mapuche, the weichan will not stop. Not with Piñera, not with Boric."*

The *Coordinadora Arauco Malleco* (CAM) does not mince their words either, in a communiqué from late December 2021, which is worth excerpting at length: *"In the current atmosphere in which voices arise that seek to bring our autonomy within an institutional and paternalistic framework, we respond to that new hippie, progressive and benevolent left that today celebrates the advent of a social-democratic government or, to be more precise, a center-left government, that the Mapuche people have their own political-military structuring that dates back to before the formation of the Chilean state. This structuring is expressed through the koyang [assembly], the weichan and the presence of our ancestral authorities such as the machi, the lonko, the werken, the weichafe; roles that are maintained within our movement, without external ideologies, and that actively participate in the processes of reconstruction and national liberation towards kizügunewün [self-determination]. [...] We believe that while the forms of power and domination may change, they remain basically the same structures that we have been fighting against for a long time; therefore, no one will teach us how to deal with them; it is our history of struggle, it is our successes and mistakes, it is the word of our cultural authorities that have honed us as a people in resistance and that motivate us to continue to fight against the expressions*

of capitalism in Wallmapu.

*The colonial power that subjugated us more than a century ago is following the same logic today... We call on our rebellious Mapuche people to continue resisting and claiming political violence as a legitimate instrument of our struggle, no matter who is in power and who preserves the model of capitalist accumulation and its colonial scaffolding. To slow down the destruction of Wallmapu, to create the basis for definitive emancipation by multiplying sabotage and intensifying territorial control in order to liberate the territories from the winka power [colonialist usurper]. We will not erase the costs of this new autonomist spirit from our collective memory: it is paid with political persecution and fallen weichafe, animated by a vast feeling of commitment to our people. Let's not be lulled by false promises and fall into the short term and petty vision of the pseudo-left."*

After Gabriel Boric's inauguration as president of Chile on March 11, 2022 (greeted by several arson attacks on logging trucks near Temuco in Cautín province and in Traiguén in Malleco province), the militarized state of emergency effectively ended in *Macrozona Sur*. On the other hand, it should be noted that the new government has not hesitated to maintain it in the north of the country, on the border with Bolivia and Peru, where it had been established under Piñera to fight against the arrival of poor migrants, mainly from Venezuela, and against the "delinquents" who ambush merchandise convoys, posing a threat to mining infrastructure (especially gold and copper mines, regularly looted by "bandits").

On the Mapuche side, in an attempt to calm the conflict with a symbolic gesture, the new Minister of the Interior Iskía Siches had the bad idea of traveling as early as March 15 to the community of Temucuicui (Araucanía region), to meet with the father of Camilo Catrillanca, a young peasant who was shot in the head in November 2018 by the carabineros *Special Operations Group* (GOPE). There she was greeted by residents who opened fire on her car and cut down trees to block her delegation, while a burned car blocked a bridge near a banner saying, "Izkiá Siches, as long as there are Mapuche political prisoners, there will be no dialogue. For Kamilo Katrillanca and all those who have fallen in battle. In Wallmapu, we will not accept any bribe from a murderous state. Latifundists and loggers out. Basta militarization. Resistencia Mapuche." Izkiá Siches then had to turn back and carry this public humiliation

25/9, Cologne (Germany).

Two airport shuttles, parked in the Poll district, are set on fire.

27/9, Villers-les-Pots (France)

In Côte-d'Or, an "act of vandalism" against train signaling brought all rail traffic to a halt on the Dijon-Besançon TER line.

## OCTOBER 2022

3/10, Paignton (England).

In the Devon area, a 5G antenna is burned down during the night.

6/10, Athens (Greece).

The *incendiary committee* sets an ambush with molotovs against a convoy of riot police buses. One of them is seriously damaged. "Let fear change sides", concludes their communiqué.

8/10, Herne/Berlin (Germany).

Fiber optic cables of the GSM-R (*Global System for Mobile Communications-Rail*) radio network of the trains, which are used for communication with the drivers but also more generally as a "central interface between the trains and the control infrastructure", are cut at two different locations along the tracks: in Herne (between Dortmund and Essen) and in Berlin. The sabotage led in particular to the interruption of connections between Berlin and parts of the west and north of the country. The Berlin-Amsterdam connection was also suspended.

8/10, Toulouse (France).

In Haute-Garonne, three vehicles belonging to the city hall go up in smoke around 3:30 am: a van, a flatbed truck and a car. A tag "Nike la ZFE" (Low

Emission Zone) is found on the spot.

10/10, Thouars (France).

In the Deux-Sèvres region, among the many vehicle fires that shake the city, a municipal police car goes up in smoke around 6:30 a.m., damaging the city hall in front of which it was parked.

11/10, Leipzig (Germany).

Incendiary devices are found on the property of the *Telekom* company: the first one under a truck and another one near a cell antenna.

11/10, Blagnac (France).

In Haute-Garonne, the sabotage of a *Free* fiber optic cable at the level of an access ramp to the A621 freeway cuts the internet in the whole department of Gers and beyond for 48 hours.

15/10, Oissel (France).

In Seine-Maritime, nine undocumented migrants locked up in the detention center (CRA) manage to escape around 10 pm, by breaking a wall near a window frame, then sneaking through a small compartment, normally housing a roller shutter.

18/10, Cannet (France).

In Alpes-Maritimes, the window of the Communist Party office is smashed in the middle of the night.

of the Chilean state in her name, which is no small thing, because this 36-year-old surgeon, now Minister of the Interior, was supposed to embody all the progressivism of the new government in charge of definitively eliminating the Mapuche question through a mix of repression and integration, based on plurinationality, economic autonomy and the election of indigenous authorities, land redemption operations with compensation to the latifundists, and new regulations for logging operators.

In response to the new government's attempts at appeasement and assimilation, the actions not only continued to strike at the extractivist industry, as in the attacks carried out by the CAM's ORTs in March and April 2022, but also began to spread to neighboring regions. On February 15, for example, there was a massive arson attack on a logging operation in Mariquina (Los Ríos), where masked assailants overpowered three workers at gunpoint and then set fire to nineteen trucks, several pieces of logging equipment and stocks of fertilizer, leaving behind a leaflet referring to the Mapuche struggle. This was an important attack, which would lead to others in the following months.

### The strategy of appeasement fails

On April 28, President Boric's attempts to bank on the rapid integration of some Mapuche leaders were dealt a particularly hard blow when a group of 40 *weichafe* from the *Resistencia Mapuche Lavkenche* (RML) launched an early morning attack on several logging companies in the municipality of Los Álamos in the Bío Bío region: thirty-three dump trucks, backhoes, front-end loaders and other vans were delivered to the flames in less than three hours, while the two access roads to the companies were blocked either by burning trucks moved there or by barricades of felled trees. In its communiqué, the RML specified that "*the reasons for this attack respond to the damage that the company Tramsa, directed by Juan Ramirez, has caused to the Trongol River, whose waters have been encroached upon for years by its capitalist machinery, destroying the flora and fauna of this area of Nahuelbuta, irreversibly affecting the lives of the Mapuche and poor rural Chileans who live there. To attack this subcontractor is to attack Forestal Arauco of the Angelinni group, whose company participates in this extractivist supply chain. Tramsa has always participated in the interests of this forestry company, building roads for its operations for years, destroying our mapu. It has dried up the tributaries of the rivers, changing*

*the course of their waters, killing the itrofil mongen mapuche and the lives of the people who depend on the Tringol River. We made it clear to the winka government of Boric that capitalist development is not compatible with the lives of the Mapuche. That the logging companies have had their day in Wallmapu, because we will continue to push them out. That the rivers are free, as are the Mapuche.*" Around the same date, *Liberacion Nacional Mapuche* also carried out three other incendiary actions in three different places in the Wallmapu, against machinery belonging to a latifundist, against trucks from Arauco and machinery from the *Venturelli* logging company.

For their part, the truckers' and loggers' unions naturally increased the pressure on the government, demanding the return of the state of emergency to act vigorously against "*rural terrorism*", deploying measures to guarantee the security of the roads and the transport of goods. Seeing the about-face in the government's strategy, the CAM then issued a clear call to the different components of the Mapuche movement, coming out of a trawün [meeting] bringing together all its autonomous combat groups: "*Let's prepare our forces, let's organize armed resistance for autonomy. Territory and autonomy for the Mapuche nation.*" Finally, in mid-May 2022, President Boric issued a decree establishing what would be called an "*intermediate state of emergency*," once again authorizing the army to support the police in securing the roads throughout the Araucania region.

The Mapuche response did not wait long. The same day, the *Resistencia Mapuche Lafkenche* (RML) claimed responsibility for the attack carried out a few days earlier in Tirúan against a Carabineros barracks by a "*column of 40 weichafe*", who "*simultaneously set fire to the Hotel Curef, located 20 meters from this police station*". The RML also warned the government that "*no aggression*

*will go unanswered*". In fact, the day before, another carabinieri barracks had been attacked, this time by a group of 50 *encapuchados*, who managed to free two prisoners and steal hundreds of rounds of ammunition. At the end of May, the Chamber of Deputies approved, in addition to this "*intermediate state of emergency*" (extended to the present day), a bill classifying all Mapuche struggle organizations (CAM, WAM, RML, LNM, RMM) as "*illegal terrorist associations*", while asking President Boric to give instructions for the judiciary to crack down accordingly. Then, with the same momentum, and employing the left's classic carrot-and-stick approach, the Boric government was able to launch its famous "*Plan Buen Vivir*" ("Good Life Plan") with much fanfare.

For several years now, many left-wing governments have instrumentalized the expression "*sumak kawsay*" from the *Quechua* language, notably in Ecuador and Bolivia, in order to support their programs of the assimilation of indigenous populations, while pursuing an economic policy that ravages their territories, mainly linked to the extraction of raw materials. Not surprisingly, Boric has adopted this concept in Chilean style through his "*Plan Buen Vivir*", whose official objective is to "*advance an agenda of recognition and dialogue with indigenous peoples*", highlighting "*the Chilean state's century-old debt to the Mapuche people*". In concrete terms, this plan foresees a very partial restitution of land, the creation of a Ministry of Indigenous Affairs and territorial parliaments with limited autonomy, or considerable investments in public infrastructure in the Mapuche territories (such as the "*Connectivity Plan for Indigenous Peoples*" carried out by the main telecommunications operator in Chile, which foresees the deployment of fiber optics throughout *Macrozona Sur*). The last part of this "*good life*" promulgated by the State is, of course, the "*fight against insecurity*", carried out by both the police and the armed forces in



the framework of the intermediate state of emergency, which includes “*rural violence*”, “*drug trafficking*”, “*wood theft*” and “*criminal organizations*”.

With slightly different emphases and veneer, the new government continues the same policy that the Chilean state has been applying for decades in the Mapuche territories: colonial pacification of the unyielding through militarization, and the co-optation/integration of the rest of the population into its world. Not surprisingly, a growing number of conflicts and sabotages have developed against small entrepreneurs of Mapuche origin, hired as subcontractors by large forestry companies such as *Mininco/CPMC* and *Arauco*, or against leaders of Mapuche communities striving for integration into the Chilean state and the capitalist economy. An emblematic example could be provided by the case of Santos Reinao, a Mapuche politician who under the guise of community rhetoric, has been serving since 2018 as a subcontractor to *Mininco* in the operation of several logging estates, hiring Mapuche *comuneros* and spreading the condemnation of radical groups.

On May 24, 2022, a particularly contentious action related to Reinao took place when assailants ambushed and shot at one of his company’s convoys on the way to a logging operation near Lumaco (Malleco), fatally hitting a Mapuche worker. His death was used excessively by the Chilean state and its Mapuche satellites, in order to discredit the radical struggle in Wallmapu. And while CAM has publicly reiterated its strategic and ethical choice never to target “*Mapuche workers*” or “*poor people*” in general, while denouncing Mapuche entrepreneurs such as Reinao (regularly referred to as *yanaconas* - “traitors”- in the claims of sabotage by CAM and other organizations), instrumental declarations of condemnation continued to pour in, just like those issued by several Mapuche poli-

ticians the previous month. In April, in the wake of an upsurge in incendiary sabotage, the leaders of eleven Mapuche communities located around Lake Lleu Lleu (Arauco) declared that they had “*expelled*” the “*go-betweens*” of “*armed movements such as CAM or RML that persist in harassing and stigmatizing our leaders through their communications on social networks and graffiti. Their ideological interest is more western than close to the Mapuche culture, making them believe that those who are not with them are against them*”, before continuing their text in a despicable way, saying that “*in our territory, these are tiny groups that are composed in large part by people who do not belong to the territory and there are even winka among them coming from other cities or regions of the country. We remind the winka who come from cities like Concepción or Santiago to infiltrate Mapuche territory, that the mere act of taking up arms does not convert them into weichafe, much less Mapuche.*”

### **One year after the assassination of Pablo Marchant**

At the end of June 2022, several Mapuche prisoners launched a coordinated hunger strike in several Chilean prisons, giving rise to a vast mobilization in the Mapuche territories to support the prisoners’ demands, but more broadly to take back the initiative in the face of yet another extension of the state of emergency which the government had stopped even bothering to describe as such, and the incessant repression. Numerous demonstrations, rallies and blockades followed one another, while being reinforced by a crescendo of incendiary actions which culminated with the anniversary of the death of Pablo Marchant at the beginning of July.

On this date, the CAM claimed different attacks carried out by its territorial resistance organs (ORT): “*extractivism and*



*militarization in Wallmapu will not change under the pseudo-left government of Gabriel Boric, nor with a new Constitution... We call for the strengthening of the Territorial Resistance Organs-ORTs and other expressions of resistance from the perspective of the weichan without giving in to the crumbs offered by the new folkloric institutionality of multicultural indigeneity, which is also being promoted by the big logging companies and others to assimilate parts of our population. .. Although we have experienced the consequences of colonialism and the capitalist system in our territory, its dynamics are continental and global, which unites us in resistance with other revolutionary expressions outside of the historical Wallmapu.”* The communiqué then concludes by summarizing the attacks carried out in this period around the anniversary of the assassination of Pablo Marchant: the ORT *Pablo Marchant* attacked a logging operation in *Mininco* near Carahué (Cautín), confronting the special forces assigned to guard it, and destroyed 4 trucks, 8 pieces of machinery and 3 construction shacks; the ORT *Mangil Wenu* destroyed a shed and three vehicles of the logging contractor *Cortessi* near Traiguen (Malleco); the ORT *Kallfulikan* attacked a logging operation near Mafil (Valdivia, Los Ríos region) and destroyed 6 construction machines, 2 trucks, 1 van and 2 shacks; the ORT *Txenka Marimán* attacked the *Mininco* logging operation in Galvarino (Cautín) and destroyed 4 trucks, 2 construction machines and a van; and lastly, the ORT *Pelontraru* intercepted a timber transport truck near the *Mininco* logging operation in Lumaco (Malleco).

In early August, the organization *Weichan Auku Mapu* (WAM) also claimed a long series of attacks in solidarity with the Mapuche prisoners’ hunger strike: June 30, Lumaco (Malleco), an attack was carried out on a *Mininco* logging operation, three construction machines and a logging van

destroyed; July 2, Cañete (Arauco), the arson of four cottages belonging to the former prefect of the PDI; July 12, La Unión (Ranco, Los Ríos region), 8 logging trucks of *Transportes Salgado* were set on fire; July 12, Arauco, an attack on a wind farm destroying the control center and two storage buildings; July 12, Contulmo (Arauco), the arson of two cottages of the former mayor Lebrecht; July 13, Los Huapes (Auraco), arson of a logging van and armed attack against a logging work site; July 29, Liquiñe (Valdivia), attack against the agro-industrial operation *Las Vertientes*, four cottages, a chapel, a shed and a wood storage building burned; August 7, Vilcun (Cautín), arson of two excavators of a logging company; August 7, Capitán Pastene (Malleco), armed attack against the police station; August 7, Puren (Malleco), arson of a logging truck of the *Amaza* company; August 9, Paredones (Cardenal Caro, O’Higgins region), arson of 2 skidders and a logging guard van; August 11, Cañete (Arauco), destruction of 2 *Hualpen* buses, service provider of the MAPA project of the *Arauco* company; August 16, Arauco, 300 meters from the *Horcones* wood pulp factory, operated by *Arauco*, an attack destroying 3 trucks, 5 vans, 5 logging machines and an *Antumapu* logging company car; August 16, Curanilahue (Arauco), arson of 2 trucks and an excavator of the *Center* logistics company.

On August 31, the Mapuche prisoners ended their hunger strike after their demands were partially fulfilled (change of prison regulations and geographic proximity). In a joint communiqué, they specified: “*We consider our mobilization a victory, achieved with the help of our mobilized people and their different expressions of resistance, together with the weichafe who struck capital, and also with the support of individuals in solidarity from different territories. They were added to our own effort to use our bodies as weapons of struggle, and we managed to force the hand of the gendarmerie and the*

*Chilean State, partially achieving our objectives."*

## **Repressive blows and political instability**

In response to the new escalation in July and August, marked by a great wave of incendiary actions, including in regions which were previously "spared", and with echoes of solidarity and offensives in the rest of Chile (such as the incendiary sabotage of a significant antenna near the capital of Santiago, claimed by the anarchist *Black Forest Cell*, in solidarity with the Mapuche struggle and the struggles against the devastation of nature, or the explosive attack on the *Belasco* construction company in Santiago, claimed by the *Action Group July 6/New Subversion*, which also makes reference to the Mapuche radical struggle), the Chilean state launched a new repressive operation. This time, it decided to target the *werken* ("spokespeople") of the CAM, Hector Llaitul, who had been giving talks and making declarations calling for the intensification of the struggle and for not giving in to Boric's assimilation policy.

Hector Llaitul, historical figure of the CAM and former member of the communist armed organization fighting against Pinochet's dictatorship *Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez* (FPMR), was arrested on August 24 following a charge filed by the government of Sebastián Piñera in 2020 which the government of Gabriel Boric opportunistically decided to activate, for "*belonging to a criminal organization*", participation in several attacks on logging operations and especially for "*theft and reselling of wood*". This last accusation, repeated over and over again by all the media and repressive forces, aims to present the different expressions of the Mapuche armed resistance as ordinary wood dealers whose criminal activity is aimed at personal enrichment, or as bosses who commission actions in order

to get rid of their competitors, etc. etc.

While communities in struggle were holding solidarity meetings, the ORT *Pelontrarú* attacked a logging operation in Capitan Pastene (Malleco) on August 26, burning down 12 pieces of logging equipment, just two days after Llaitul was arrested. The next day, the ORT *Anganamum* destroyed two machines in a eucalyptus logging operation in Chol Chol (Cautín). Then, during an ambush carried out the following day in the surroundings of Tucapel eight trucks and logging machines were burned with a banner in solidarity with Llaitul left on the spot. In many places in Wallmapu, *encapuchados* also erected burning barricades on the roads to express their solidarity with CAM and the "*Mapuche political prisoners*", and on August 31, the *Resistencia Mapuche Lafkenche* (RML) destroyed the large property of a family of latifundists in the vicinity of Contulmo (Arauco), an attack in which three armed security guards were shot and wounded by *weichafe*.

A week after Llaitul's arrest, the PDI launched a new operation, this time leading to the arrest of three other Mapuche, including Ernesto Llaitul, the son of the imprisoned CAM *werken*. They were incarcerated and accused of participation in two incendiary raids against logging operations, and of double attempted homicide for shootouts with security guards during these actions. In response to these repressive operations, the CAM declared in a communiqué that "*we understand the recent incarceration of our spokesman Hector Llaitul and our weichafe Ernesto Llaitul, Ricardo Delgado Reinao and Estaban Henríquez, as an act of the political persecution that has been weighing for many years on the Mapuche who have asserted the weichan with dignity, the only way to face this racist and colonialist State, which has never stopped using the same strategy against our people: persecution, death and incarceration.*"

At the national level, while doing their utmost to resolve the Mapuche question on its own terms - with a “*state of intermediate emergency*”, a law against Mapuche “*terrorist associations*” and a techno-industrial “*good life*” - the Boric government was waiting for its first crowning achievement, which was to come with the referendum of September 4, 2022: the replacement of the old Pinochet Constitution. This project, strongly supported by the entirety of the left after the 2019 uprising was crushed, was in fact the institutional tombstone of the uprising. Yet, on that day, not only did 61% of voters (considering that voting is mandatory and that voter participation was 85%) reject this famous new “*most progressive Constitution in the world*”, but the government also received a new gift from subversives on the very morning of the referendum: in Hualqui (Concepcion, Bio Bio region), anonymous assailants placed four explosive charges on a pylon of the *Transelec* company’s Hualqui-Lagunillas high-voltage line, which collapsed to the ground, while two others were seriously damaged by its fall. According to the Chilean investigators, three charges did their job while a fourth one burned out, and the explosive used was a high density dynamite used in mining. At the scene, a banner signed *Resistencia Urbana Autónoma* (RUA) read: “*Let’s launch sabotage against extractivist projects in the territory / Those who forget the prisoners forget the struggle / Freedom (with a circle A) for Víctor Llanquileo [a Mapuche prisoner on a dry hunger strike] and all Mapuche, anarchist, subversive and uprising prisoners*”.

For the new Chilean president Boric, the failure of his beloved referendum on a new Constitution, despite the fact that it was supported by the whole of civil society which constituted his citizenist base, represents a danger to his political survival. This does not fail to motivate him to move

ever closer to the Chilean right, which ceaselessly demands harsher measures to re-establish order in Wallmapu and to protect the interests of extractivist companies. In addition, since this autumn in the Chilean capital, but also in other cities, high school protests (from which the 2019 uprising initially started) are beginning to gain strength with numerous demonstrations, but also incendiary “*salidas*” to block the streets, confront the forces of law and order and burn public transport buses. Mobilizations that not only oppose the Boric government, seeking to revive an anti-capitalist and anti-authoritarian dynamic, but also explicitly show solidarity with the Mapuche struggle.

If the Chilean state’s arrest of Hector Llaitul was probably an attempt to undermine the CAM and “decapitate” the radical Mapuche resistance, the numerous actions of retaliation in the Mapuche territories and elsewhere suggest that the confrontation will soon escalate. The possible spread of sabotage aimed at critical infrastructures such as cell antennas, the electrical network or the railway network; the ongoing multiplication of sabotage aimed at extractivist industries not only in Wallmapu, but also in other parts of Chile; the extension of Mapuche attacks to other regions; the rise of armed confrontations between *weichafe* and the forces of order; and finally the renewal of wild and offensive demonstrations in the streets of Chilean cities should not be able to reassure the defenders of domination.

As for drawing a provisional conclusion, we could use the words from a publication published at the beginning of the year about this struggle: “*The radical Mapuche struggle inspires us because of its continuity, its categorical rejection of all state interference, its relentless fight against exploitation and capitalist plundering, and its choice of direct action against extractivism and the*

*devastation of the land and the living. In a "lost" corner of the world, people with ways of living that are antagonistic to capitalism and statism are fighting to keep or regain every meter of land that has been taken over and exploited by corporations and the state. At a time when the consequences of the frenzied advance of the industrial and technological machine are increasingly felt worldwide, when climatic changes caused by industrialization could set into motion unprecedented scenarios which risk drastically reconfiguring the foundations of domination, this struggle could have implications well beyond the territory of Wallmapu.*

*[...] In these times – marked by both the militarization of Wallmapu under a state of emergency and the intractable relentlessness of those confronting the forces of state and capitalist domination – the weaving of links of solidarity between here and there is meaningful, between the struggle that the weichafe, the Mapuche warriors, don't shy away from and the modest battles here that anarchists and other rebels seek to wage against the industrial nightmare and the state behemoth. A solidarity that does not seek to erase differences, that does not require anyone to put aside their particularity, their standards, their ethics, but that seeks a complicity in action, in the direct and unmediated attack against what devastates the land and suffocates freedom."*\*



*\* Between oceans, forests and volcanoes. The radical Mapuche struggle, March 2022, La Souterraine editions, 56 pg.*



## | Zines, books & journals |

**War Against War.** *Anarchist and Internationalist Perspectives*, n°2, June 2022, 44 p.

Those who hope to find an exhaustive review of this new issue of *War Against War* will not find it here, since we have chosen to focus on only two of its texts. But let us clarify that this collection contains a wider selection of anarchist texts against and on the war published between March and June, some of which were taken from French publications (like the paper journal *anarchie!*) and others translated from Italian, German or English. And so it is a considerable effort, since it aims to bring together texts of analysis and agitation from various contexts, against the backdrop of the war in Ukraine and the strengthening of the war industry.

Upon reading it, something strange quickly jumped out at us: to reflect (*sure!*), to analyze (*of course!*), to inform (*why not?*), to map the arms industry (*let's go!*), to chronicle the attacks (*this can be inspiring!*), but ultimately... Yes, ultimately, what is the *internationalist perspective* that all these texts, lined up one after another, intend to bring out as a whole? Is it sufficient to juxtapose anarchist texts from different countries in order for something else to magically emerge, other than the fleeting satisfaction of having read some shared ideas, or on the other hand, anger against clichés that have been abhorred for a long time? Because if we really want to grab the bull by the horns for the elaboration of anarchist perspectives in relation to the war, the least we can say is that we are not convinced by this eclectic choice of texts that are supposed to contribute to it.

On this question, as on others, some people may think that as long as we are anarchists and more or less against all aspects of the existent (although...), that that's enough to unite us in shared struggles off the bat, without needing to worry about the *hows* (with all that this implies in terms of objectives, methods and organization) or about our *whys*. And to tell the truth, since the *hows* are not very present in *War Against War*, it is the cohabitation of *whys* in a balancing act that quickly caused us problems. The confrontation between texts can be stimulating and lead to further elaborations when they implicitly propose informal organization in order to strike blows against the war industry here and now. On the other hand, we do not see any potential to elaborate an "*anarchist and internationalist perspective*" from texts that feature the cadaver of "*our class*" as their structural premise, a premise blatantly concerned with "*the global class struggle*" and its inevitable political subjects like "*the bourgeoisie this*" or "*the proletariat that*". And all the more so when these ghosts are not anecdotal, but literally form the theoretical basis of two of the longest texts in this collection.

Under the explicit title of "*No war, but the class war...*", the North American authors of the first text (pp. 22-27) begin by directly championing the positions of a revolutionary who was fiercely statist, electoralist and even anti-anarchist, before spouting their own mantra on the war in Ukraine, namely that the objective of the anarchists should be "*to advance the global class struggle*" (ah well, if you want perspective...). It goes without saying that in an anti-authoritari-

an analysis intrinsically connecting modern wars and States, this is anything but a reference point against war, including the First World War, with its invocation of the likes of Rosa Luxembourg who defended all the collaboration of her dear Party with statist management and which aimed to conquer the state to make use of it. As for the terrible “*to advance...*”, the question that concerns us more in this matter is that the progressive integration of the “*proletarians*” has led them to such a degree of complicity in domination that they have ended up constituting the best guarantee of the continuity of the system. And let’s not go in to this imagining that a sum of all individual will would be at the heart of a kind of grand global mechanical movement placed above us, which would then do the work in our place anyway.

Then comes the second text cut from the same cloth, this time translated from Italian (pp. 28-33), made up of a combination of “*our class*”, “*bosses*”, “*stratification*” and “*enemy*”, of course of the “*class*”, “*proletariat*” and other “*national bourgeoisie*”. A text which, when it is not saying stupidities while completely ignoring the economic restructuring in progress around technology and energy, i.e. “*it will be the rearmament for war and the construction of luxury products which will push forward capitalist development in the next decades*”... could only conclude as follows: “*It is necessary to reaffirm with force our class and internationalist position: to transform the war between the bosses into a war against the bosses*” (oooh, what another beautiful contemporary perspective that is...). Basically, in this text, it’s as if domination was reduced to the sole question of “*class*”, and that wars were fought *abstractly* by a few evil “*bosses*” who manipulate the good “*proletarians*” who only suffer. However, it is not very difficult to see that these wars are also very *concretely* implemented by these same “*proletarians*”, some of whom manufacture weapons of mass

destruction for the state, or massacre each other in the name of lofty ideals *that are also theirs*, like the nation or religion. But then, it’s probably simpler if we keep it to a “*war between the bosses*”.

Ultimately, even if these two analytical texts certainly reflect the heterogeneous spirit intended by *War Against War*, which still can’t be reduced entirely to them (another text translated from German explores, for example, more practical dimensions), they nevertheless seem to us to be indicative an old shortcoming of the anarchist movement that does not date from today.

On the one hand, we have *War Against War*’s recurrent inability to escape the reductive framework inherited from Marxism when it comes to “thinking about the world”, and in particular when issues as vast as war or techno-industrial disasters come knocking at our doors. On the other hand, there’s its lack of perspective that we mentioned at the beginning of this review (in this case, in terms of acting against the war), which is moreover due to its “*internationalist*” dimensions. And if no collection or instrument of this kind can achieve this on its own, and if we all remain more or less empty-handed in front of these immense challenges, it is in any case not by taking the moldy corpse of Father Marx and his heirs out of the old cupboards that we will succeed in taking them up. On the contrary...

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