

# COMPLI CITY & SEDITION

*SPECIAL  
PUBLICATION IN  
THE FACE OF THE  
TRIAL AGAINST  
FRANCISCO AND  
MÓNICA / JULY  
2023*

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**PRELIMINARY  
WORDS**

On 18th July 2023 the trial against Mónica and Francisco, who are charged with various explosive attacks, will begin. Power demands decades and decades in prison for the comrades.

Seeking to retrieve and assemble the path that led to today, with these two comrades once again in the dock, we have put together the material you have in your hands.

Through the publication of this one-off edition "Complicity & Sedition" we are giving the picture of the different trials that have taken place over more than ten years with our comrades Mónica and Francisco, placing them both in their broader frame of reference of the evolution of the anarchist context, the advance of social war, confrontation with power and state repression. The "Caso Bombas" trial in 2010, the arrests in Spain in 2013, the recent repressive onslaught in 2020 and the taking of responsibility for the explosive attacks by Francisco, are facts recounted not as mere news, but framed within moments and episodes of the con-

flict against power and part of the recent past of anarchist struggle.

With this material we aim to make Mónica and Francisco's situation more widely known, as they face one of the most brutal trials against anarchist comrades of the last period in Chile – but also one in which responsibility is taken for the attacks they are accused of. We seek to add past experiences to the present arsenal of struggle – in addition to overcoming the frustration and powerlessness caused by the kidnapping of comrades and the incredibly high sentences being sought, a situation that only leads to a sterile victim/hero narrative – for the development and multiplication of the anarchist struggle.

We call for the multiplication of decentralised initiatives and acts in solidarity with Mónica and Francisco.

Solidarity with those who deal blows to power and the powerful!

**-JULY 2023-**

# “CASO BOMBAS” (2010): THE ONSLAUGHT OF THE STATE AGAINST ANARCHIST CONTEXTS

During the early 2000s a series of explosive attacks on various state and capital infrastructures started to occur more and more frequently. Financial institutions, police stations, government offices and churches were some of the places where explosive devices were going off, being subsequently claimed by different groups, mainly anarchist in nature.

The frequency and boldness of the attacks increased, and with it the determination of the state and the police to find culprits for the almost one hundred attacks. The social war began a new cycle with a series of openly anti-authoritarian attacks. More than a hundred explosive attacks were counted over the period of a couple of years.

In this context, a powerful bomb<sup>1</sup> was detonated blocks away from the home of then president Sebastián Piñera, in 2010. The insurrectionary audacity was met with a strong response by Rodrigo Hinzpeter, Minister of the Interior and main ringleader of the repression, devoting himself to reorganise the squad of persecutors against the antagonistic offensive. From that point onwards all the cases for explosive or arson attacks began to be heard exclusively by the Southern Prosecutor's Office, at that time led by a high-profile prosecutor, Alejandro Peña, supposedly an expert in dismantling large drug trafficking clans. Peña's main trademark was managing to secure convictions on criminal conspiracy charges without finding a single gram of drugs. This time with an air of deluded triumphalism, he dubbed himself the “black powder tsar” and promised results in record time.

Alejandro Peña reorganised and recycled different cases and findings (hechos - incidentos?) pertaining to the anarchist movement, incorporating the testimony of a delirious collaborator<sup>2</sup>. The famous prosecutor and his team built up the necessary framework to obtain the arrest warrants in record time and give what appeared to be the definitive coup de grâce, naming it “Operación Salamandra” (Operation Salamander).

On 14th August 2010, several private homes and squatted social centres were raided by the investigative police, managing to arrest 14 people, while two went on the run. And the charges? According to the account of the

1 On June 13th, 2010, the “Comando Insurreccional Andres Soto Pantoja” attacked a branch of Banco Estado (public savings bank) on Avenidas Las Condes # 11550 with a powerful industrial explosive.

2 Gustavo Fuentes Aliaga, close to anarchist circles. After stabbing his ex-partner, is arrested by the police. Seeking to go down for different offences, he begins to collaborate with the police, declaring his alleged participation in explosive attacks, as well as pointing the finger at several people that he thought might be involved.

Prosecutor's Southern Office, the bombings were carried out by an ‘Unlawful Terrorist Association’ composed of two leaders, former Lautarinos<sup>3</sup>, an international financing division, an operational arm and the existence of ‘centres of power’ based in squats, under the public façade of being libraries<sup>4</sup>. The group was said to have carried out 29 explosive attacks.

In outline the case was a kind of rip-off version of the Marini case in Italy.<sup>5</sup> Using charges from the anti-terror law and protected with a handful of faceless witnesses, it succeeds in incarcerating eight comrades [on remand] in the maximum security prison and two in the Women's Correctional Centre. The prosecution petitions for sentences ranging from 20 years to life imprisonment for the comrades.

It was a direct strike against different circles within the anarchist struggle that were starting to grow in strength in the early 2000s. Many of the comrades on trial didn't even know each other, but came from a mix-

3 The main police thesis was based on the fact that leadership was exercised by former members of the Mapu-Lautaro, a Marxist-Leninist urban guerrilla group that operated in the 1980s-90s.

4 Prosecutor Héctor Barros with his best mythomaniacal skills mumbled to the press: “they were saying that the squatted houses were intended to be libraries and the money that they had was to finance themselves. But in these houses there were neither libraries nor books. There were, for instance, posters. For me this is important, because I can tell the judge the theory of their case is that there is a library operating here, but it turns out that we didn't seize books, we seized this”. (“Southern Prosecutor's Office complaints to the judge for Bombas case and warns: ‘all terrorist groups hide behind fronts’”, La Segunda, Friday 6 May, 2011).

5 Prosecutor Antonio Marini in 1996 opens a huge case against more than 60 anarchists in Italy. The so called “Marini Trial” was based on the alleged existence of a “subversive opposition” that had a visible and apparently legal side and an illegal and clandestine one. The trial was a hard blow for Italian anarchism and meant a novelty in terms of the judicial and anti-terrorist contrivance, setting a precedent for future repressive launches.

## 18TH JANUARY 2006. EXPLOSIVE ATTACK AGAINST THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

An explosive device consisting in compressed black powder inside a gas cylinder is installed on the facade of this surveillance agency's building. The action is claimed through pamphlets by the “Fuerzas autonómicas y destructivas León Czolgosczy”

## 21ST DECEMBER 2006. EXPLOSIVE DEVICE AGAINST THE STATE DEFENCE COUNCIL

An explosive device, comprised of black powder compound inside of a gas canister, is placed in the entrance of this institution. The action is claimed by means of leaflets and online by “Tamayo Gavilán”

## 16TH OCTOBER 2007. EXPLOSIVE ATTACK AGAINST CHILECTRA

An explosive device composed of TNT detonated against a branch of the electricity company Chilectra. The attack was claimed with anonymous pamphlets.

## 21ST NOVEMBER 2009. ARSON ATTACK AGAINST “LOS SACRAMENTINOS” CHURCH

An incendiary device is set off at the door of the religious temple. The action is claimed through communiqués by “Célula Rodrigo Orias”.

ture of different circumstances<sup>6</sup> and spaces of struggle. Clearly, the criminal conspiracy / joint enterprise did not exist, let alone a hierarchical group or relations of obedience. The squatted social centres were not a front for a mafia, but actual spaces for self-education and dissemination of the struggle that publicly supported and encouraged every violent attack against power. Internationalist solidarity was not terrorist financing.

Inside prison the comrades issued a series of communiqués, writings, drawings and accounts rejecting the accusations, but reaffirming their political positions. After a few months in prison and a series of mobilisations, including an extended hunger strike<sup>7</sup> that filled the news agenda, allowed the prison gates to open and for the accused to get out, with all of them going into house arrest in the face of doubts about the charges and the evidence presented.

The onslaught of the “Caso Bombas” deeply harmed spaces and the circles in the growing anarchist movement. A number of spaces were evicted and others decided to shut down. In a similar way surveillance was extended to different contexts and generated in turn a whole withdrawal from public activities and certainly a spreading fear of being associated with the case.

It was in an outbreak of solidarity that different realities began to be articulated, from street fighting, demonstrations, open discussions and attacks occurring successively with increasing intensity. The solidarity response that emerged knew to attack institutions linked to the Chilean State in Greece, Italy, Spain, Argentina, Mexico amongst others, in addition to the continuous meetings

6 Since the death in combat of the anarchist Mauricio Morales; the detention of a comrade acting in solidarity with Marcelo and Freddy, prisoners in Argentina for the robbery of a bank in Chile; in the squat scene, the people named by the deluded collaborator Gustavo Fuentes Aliaga; amongst other cases that were not necessarily connected to each other.

7 From February to April 2011, all the “Caso Bombas” prisoners carried out a hunger strike inside the prison for more than 65 days.

and forums for information-sharing. Undoubtedly, the solidarity within the “Caso Bombas” framework meant one step further for anarchist discussion and informal communication across the globe.

As the months went by, the case started to look seriously shaky. The grand persecutor Alejandro Peña withdraws from the prosecutor’s office and straight away gets a job in the government, revealing the pressure from the government to find culprits for the attacks in record time and reward its faithful hit-men. Soon after, the charge of Terrorist Unlawful

Association is dropped. All of the accused are acquitted of this offence, leaving only those who had charges for particular offences, that is: placement of devices and financing of terrorism. In the end, the prosecution decides to bring to trial two comrades under charges for financing of terrorism and three accused of planting explosive devices, including comrades Mónica and Francisco. Set against the former was the charge for the arson attack on the church Los Sacramentinos, while the latter was charged with the attacks on a Chilectra office, the National Intelligence Agency and the Defence Council

The judicial process once again draws the atten-

**14TH AUGUST 2010. ARRESTS WITHIN THE “SALAMANDRA” OPERATION / “BOMBAS” CASE**

Mónica and Francisco together with other 12 comrades are arrested by the Southern Prosecutor’s Office under Alejandro Peña’s orders. The detainees are charged with forming a hierarchical group dedicated to the planting of explosive devices, under the offences of Unlawful Terrorist Association, placement of explosive devices and financing of terrorism. Francisco is charged with the bombing against the ANI, the CDE and Chilectra, while Mónica with the one against the Sacramentinos Church.

**21ST FEBRUARY - 26TH APRIL 2011. HUNGER STRIKE BY PRISONERS FOR “CASO BOMBAS”**

Mónica, Francisco and the rest of the comrades who remain in prison start a hunger strike in rejection of the trial against them, generating widespread national and international solidarity.

**3RD MAY 2011. MONICA RELEASED FROM PRISON**

The comrade Mónica manages to get out of prison, going into house arrest while awaiting the trial.

**THE WALLS THEY BUILD AND THE ELECTRONIC EYES THEY INSTALL, TO MONITOR US AND IMPRISON THOSE WHO DO NOT FOLLOW THE BEHAVIORAL GUIDELINES OF A WAGE SLAVE, HAVE NEVER**

**MANAGED NOR WILL THEY MANAGE TO STOP THE TRANSGRESSIVE AGGRESSION AGAINST THIS CRIMINAL BOURGEOIS SYSTEM, FOUNDED ON EXPLOITATION, DEATH AND PREDATION. ENVIRONMENTAL.**

**AUTONOMOUS AND DESTRUCTIVE FORCES LEÓN CZOLGOSZ**

**5TH MAY 2011. FRANCISCO RELEASED FROM PRISON**

Francisco gets out of prison and goes into house arrest while awaiting trial.



**4TH OCTOBER 2011.  
TERRORIST  
ASSOCIATION  
CHARGE DROPPED**

All those prosecuted are acquitted for the offence of terrorist conspiracy / joint enterprise. Francisco, Mónica and three other comrades continue to be prosecuted for the offences of planting explosive devices and financing of terrorism.

tion of the press, generating again a wide political debate at the national level. The prosecution insisted with its assertions that these were indeed the real culprits, and so does not skimp on witnesses and expert witnesses in the course of the trial, bringing on a parade of intelligence police and specialised teams. After seven months of daily hearings, it became evident the countless aberrations and ruses used to build the case, by both police and prosecution. The trial culminated in the total acquittal of all the defendants.

The total crumbling and collapse of the case became an earthquake for the judicial power and a defeat for the pride of the persecutors who, during the arrests, bragged to the press as if betting on the winning number, but ended up paying the costs of the

whole proceedings.

Different parties and public figures used the case to bash the right-wing government, while others used it as a springboard for their law careers. The evaluation of this period has been a continuous debate within anarchist circles, where for the first time a major repressive wave had had to be confronted. The internationalist links, the holding onto irreducible political positions, first-hand knowledge of the repression and the media exposure were just some of the experiences that began to be acquired, as previously most of the arrests of anarchists had been cases connected to the struggle in the streets, with "simpler" trials. Mónica and Francisco experienced this as their first repressive case, this time of a collective nature.

*"THE STATE OPPRESSES IN EVERY SENSE. THROUGH ITS REPRESSIVE FORCE, ITS EDUCATION AND SCHOOLING SYSTEM, AND ABOVE ALL THROUGH ITS COMPLICITY WITH CAPITAL: WITH THE MODERN SLAVE-OWNERS, WHO ENRICH THEMSELVES AND EXPLOIT HUMAN BEINGS AND DESTROY THE ENVIRONMENT, WITH ITS TOTAL APPROVAL."*

TAMAYO GAVILÁN

**28TH NOVEMBER 2011-JUNE 2012.  
"CASO BOMBAS" TRIAL**

An extensive trial against the 5 comrades takes place amidst great media expectation. For Mónica the prosecution is asking 10 years in prison, while against Francisco it requests 15 years.

## SPAIN (2013): ONE MASTER IN HEAVEN IS ENOUGH FOR THERE TO BE A THOUSAND ON EARTH

The Catholic tradition in the archaic and rancid kingdom of Spain raised the 'Virgen del Pilar' as the patron saint of the various repressive bodies, among them the hitmen of the Guardia Civil. Declared as queen of "Hispanidad", her worship is nothing but the adoration of colonial brutality and the massacre of all the indigenous peoples in that tragic European

invasion. The temple of that divinity, the "Basílica del Pilar" in the city of Zaragoza, was continuously visited by Franco and was the stage of multiple tributes to repression and its repressors.

The sepulchral passivity of that religious temple remained relatively intact for the last few years, until, on 2nd October 2013, a home-made bomb composed of black powder compressed inside a gas canister, activated by a clockwork system, was placed inside the religious temple in broad daylight. A series of phone calls to the press and local media alerted of an imminent explosion.

**1ST JUNE 2012. ACQUITTAL OF ALL THE  
DEFENDANTS**

In a major defeat for the prosecution, the trial ends with an acquittal for all the defendants. The case becomes a national debate and is labelled as "the biggest defeat of the Public Prosecutor's Office since the beginning of the reform of criminal proceedings".

Around 13:00 the detonation shattered a couple of pews inside the church, as well as sending shrapnel in different directions and causing minor injuries to a parishioner.

Some time later, the motivations and logic of the attack were clarified. The "Comando Insurreccional Mateo Morral" claimed responsibility for the attack, the same group some time back had carried out a foiled attack on the Alameda cathedral in Madrid. This time, the anarchist group stated after the Zaragoza attack: "This action is intended to warn its attendees that fascist symbols such as this one are not and will never be safe places".

Although in Spain the exercise of anarchist political violence has been a continuum for more than a century, in recent years the methodology of explosive attacks from anarchist contexts has been rather intermittent. The recent attacks on churches break this dynamic and have a strong media impact.

There was no shortage of fear-mongers who quickly began to spit out words on the internet, taking away any revolutionary potential from the attack and even the possibility of an attack itself, pointing at it as a false flag and alleging the police had a hand in the attack. "Wouldn't it be logical to attack the king himself, as Morral did? To carry out an act like this can have quite significant repressive consequences, so why risk doing something like this? Why risking to do something like this in a place like that when there are countless other places that are much more representative of capital, the State and the monarchy itself – since they are so interested in it? [...] The writing in the communiqué seems to be the work of a secondary school pupil [...] In conclusion, either this is the work of a group of real idiots, brainless and illiterate, or it is a false flag by the book."

**2012. JOURNEY TO SPAIN**

Travelling without major problems, Mónica and Francisco decide to move to Spain.

The director of the national police Ignacio Coidó said about the attacks: "Anarchist terrorism has taken hold in our country and there is a risk that attacks such as the one on the Basílica del Pilar could be repeated. It is

a priority for the the police.” Within the many investigations carried out by the Spanish police, the collaboration of the Chilean repression was evident. At the beginning of November the National Intelligence Agency (ANI) gave a series of reports, pointing out that Mónica and Francisco had travelled to Spain at the end of 2012, as well as sending photographs and profiles. The director of the ANI himself, Gonzalo Yuseff, travels over exclusively to discuss this issue with the Spanish repressive forces.

On 13th November 2013 the police carried out a series of raids on arresting 5 comrades, among them Mónica and Francisco who were accused of belonging to a terrorist organisation, damage and injury for the the planting of the explosive device in the Basilica del Pilar. Mónica and Francisco are remanded in custody, while the rest manage to be released with the charge of “collaboration with terrorist organisation”, which after some time is withdrawn.

**AUTHORITY, THE BASIC PRINCIPLE OF SOCIETY, EXERCISES ITS DOMINION THROUGH VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS; THE CHURCH IS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT BECAUSE OF ITS HISTORICAL COMPLICITY WITH THE CAPITAL-STATE, BEING IN CHARGE OF CEMENTING AND PERPETUATING THE CURRENT STATE OF PATRIARCHAL AND HETERONORMATIVE OPPRESSION.**

**COMANDO INSURRECCIONAL MATEO MORRAL**

The arrests of Mónica and Francisco had a strong impact both in the Chilean press and institutional politics itself, unleashing a series of declarations and all sorts of comments about the previous “Bombas” case, even going so far as to talk of reopening the previous and buried proceedings.

The police creates a fanciful organisation chart by coming up with artificial connections and mishmashes. On the one hand, the *Comando Insurreccional Mateo Morral*, which has carried out explosive attacks against religious temples in Spain. On the other, the existence of the FAI-FRI (Informal Anarchist Federation – International Revolutionary Front), informal organisation at international level and a call out for each action group to join and collaborate in a debate, without necessarily knowing each other. And on the other hand, the existence of the GACs (Coordinated Anarchist Groups), a coordination of different anarchist collectives and circles in Spain, dedicated to agitation, organising activities, launching campaigns, propaganda, etc.

The police plot depicts the *Comando Mateo Morral* as being part of the GAC, which in turn are supposed to be the Iberian branch of the FAI/FRI. The truth is that neither the *Comando Mateo Morral* had become part of the FAI-FRI, nor the GAC had relationship whatsoever with the *Comando M.M.*, even less with the FAI-FRI.

Mónica and Francisco had actively participated in different anarchist spaces and initiatives since they came to live in Barcelona, forging endearing networks of comradeship and friendship that were immediately expressed after the high-profile arrests and when in front of the harshness of the Spanish prison regime.

The comrades were classified under F.I.E.S., which stands for “*Fichero Interno de Especial Seguimiento*” (internal file of special monitoring), Level 3. That is, under a special regime for all prisoners accused for armed gangs, terrorism, or ETA part taking. Under this regime, they were transferred to different prisons in the country, applying a methodology of dispersal and distancing, so that comrades in solidarity had to travel more than 20 hours to visit them for a couple of minutes in a phone booth.

The regime provided for eight 5-minute phone calls per week, two letters a week, under supervision and with restrictions, plus one 40-minute visit per week in a phone booth.

After more than a year of dispersion and transfers to different prisons, the comrades managed to be transferred together to the same prison – in the penitentiary centre of Villabona – establishing visits between them with some regularity.

From prison and despite all the restrictions imposed, the comrades manage to raise their voices, publish reflections and participate in different debates and discussions of the international anarchist

**2ND OCTOBER 2013. ATTACK AGAINST THE “BASILICA DEL PILAR” IN ZARAGOZA**

A powerful detonation occurs inside the renowned Spanish religious temple. The action is claimed by the “*Comando Insurreccional Mateo Morral*”.



**13TH NOVEMBER 2013. ARREST OF MONICA AND FRANCISCO.**

The comrades are arrested, charged with the recent explosive attack. Both are imprisoned under solitary confinement and dispersed in different prisons in Spain.

**MARCH 2016. TRIAL AND CONVICTION IN SPAIN**

After prosecutors request 44 years in prison for the crimes of terrorist organisation, conspiracy, injury and terrorist damage, Mónica and Francisco are eventually sentenced to 12 years for injury and terrorist damage.

**DECEMBER 2016. SENTENCE REDUCED**

Through a succession of appeals the sentence is lowered to four and a half years in prison, due to reassessment of the charges of terrorist damage and terrorist injuries. In view of this new conviction, the procedure for extradition begins.

movement. It was in the text “In the face of repression...Not everything goes” where they rejected any possibility of requesting the king’s pardon, which generated strong debates, criticisms and reflections within the anarchist movement in Spain.

Internationalist solidarity was again expressed in practical gestures around the globe. Attacks, arsons, forums and posters were carried out in different countries and using different languages, so expressing across hundreds of kilometres the situation of the comrades in Spain, showing that anarchist internationalism is alive in the 21st century.

### **MARCH 2017. THE COMRADES RETURN TO CHILE.**

Amidst media expectation both comrades return to Chile without any restrictive measures and begin to participate and reintegrate in different aspects of the anarchist movement.

On the other side, the repression saw in these arrests the perfect scenario for launching continuous and successive repressive operations under that imaginative scheme FAI-FRI/GAC/Comando Mateo Morral. Thanks to this equation, dozens of comrades were imprisoned, who, after a few months, managed to return to the streets. The aim of all these repressive strategies was not to find the culprits or those responsible for some of the attacks, but to strike at the most combative and active anarchist circles, using as pretext a non-existent organisation that mixed three completely different situations. This is how the possession of the book “Against Democracy”, published by the GAC, became irrefutable proof. It was in this way that the possession of the book “Against Democracy”, published by the GAC, became irrefutable evidence to place several people on remand.

In March 2016, the trial against Mónica and Francisco began in an armoured courtroom of the “Audiencia Nacional” (the central national criminal court), a special court for terrorist crimes. The authorities requested 44 years in prison for each of them.

In an express trial of 3 days, evidence was shown and witnesses were interrogated, but it was the statement of the comrades that stood out. Upholding their political positions, but refusing to be linked to the attack, they both faced the judicial circus with dignity, ending their respective statements with the cry “Death to the state and long live anarchy!”

The court sentenced them to 12 years in prison each, 5 years for terrorist injuries and 7 years for damages with a terrorist intent. Both were acquitted of “membership of a terrorist organisation” and “conspiracy”.

### **25TH JULY 2019. ATTACK AGAINST RODRIGO HINZPETER AND 54TH POLICE STATION**

Two parcel bombs are delivered to the 54th police station in Huechuraba and to the office of former Home Secretary, Rodrigo Hinzpeter. The package against the police station does explode, leaving eight policemen wounded, while the package addressed to Hinzpeter is successfully deactivated. The action is claimed by “Seditious Accomplices / Vengeance Fraction”.

In 2017, after three years in prison already, the sentence was reduced to four and a half years for each of them, after reclassification of the offences of terrorist injury and damage. It is in this way that under an agreement between the countries and taking into account that their sentence was less than 6 years, the comrades were extradited to Chilean territory.

In the midst of gigantic media expectation at the airport, amongst cameras and microphones, the comrades made it to Chile in March 2017. In spite of the continuous repressive stalking and surveillance, it was not much of an issue for the comrades to manage to integrate into the different facets of the anarchist circles in the territory under the Chilean state.

## **ASSAULT ON THE POWERFUL AND THE REPRESSORS**

On 24th July 2019, two parcels were received in a Chilean post office – a particular two added to the enormous amount of shipments that the company handles on a daily basis. The two packages manage to go through the monotonous route of any other delivery without arousing any suspicion. Very different to what happened the next day.

### **27TH FEBRUARY 2020. ATTACK ON THE TANICA BUILDING**

A double explosive attack detonates in the gardens of the Tanica building, in the heart of the rich neighbourhood. The attack takes place in parallel with the revolt unleashing in various cities in Chile. The action is claimed by “Armed Affinities in Revolt”.

At 12.45 p.m. on Thursday 25th June, a package addressed to Major Manuel Guzmán arrived at the 54th police station of Huechuraba. The police personnel, after accepting the delivery, hands it to the addressee, who takes it to his office. When he opens it, a loud flash is accompanied by a loud bang that shakes and shatters part of the office.

A device composed of black powder inside the package detonated, wounding 8 police workers to varying degrees. Within minutes, the police station was filled with ambulances, fire brigades and soon after a number of different press vehicles.

de and soon after a number of different press vehicles.

Amidst the chaos and police helicopters landing on the streets to transport the wounded, the government tried to give a quick show of support. The President Sebastián Piñera himself went to the hospital but before entering he got a call informing him of the existence of a second explosive package, this time addressed to his former Home Secretary, Rodrigo Hinzpeter. During Piñera’s first term in office (2010-2014), Hinzpeter stood out as the government’s hard-liner, launching a series of repressive measures that earned him widespread hatred from much of the population.

Piñera with his current Home Secretary, Andrés Chadwick, remained in the car gathering information about this imminent second attack. Journalists awaiting the arrival of the president began to crowd outside the hospital. For minutes, no one could contact Hinzpeter, nor was it clear where the package was. Had he opened it? Had he taken it to his car? Had he taken it home with him?

At 10:30 a.m. the same day, a package mana-

ged to get into an exclusive building in Las Condes borough. After passing through x-rays and successive security checks, it climbs to the 16th floor where the offices of the giant company Quiñenco are located. After a being quickly received, the package is left on the desk of Hinzpeter himself, who, following a hectic morning at work, simply did not have time to open it. He had come back from Europe a few days ago and that day he was holding meetings with Francisco Perez Mackenna, general manager of Quiñenco, Óscar Hasbún, general manager of the Compañía Sudamericana de Vapores, as well as with other big businessmen, while he remained a few metres away. Hinzpeter said: "In fact, at some point I thought about opening it, but by some fortuitous and providential circumstance I got distracted and forgot that I was going to open it".

It got to lunch time and Hinzpeter decided to open the post after the meal, so he decided to switch off his mobile phone and go downstairs to a restaurant.

The various government officials were exhausting every possible avenue to contact their former collaborator, and the public prosecutor's office and the police had the same mission; meanwhile the GOPE travelled at full speed to evacuate the Quiñenco building. Eventually, the closeness of political and economic power did its part and, through mutual friendships, they managed to warn Hinzpeter of the existence of a suspicious package in his office linked to the detonation at the police station. GOPE officers managed to neutralise the second device to then take it to their offices for a rigorous analysis.

Outside the medical centre where the wounded policemen were, Piñera and his advisors felt relieved after having confirmation that Hinzpeter was well. After visiting the wounded policemen, in one of his characteristic impulses, the president held an improvised press conference on the stairs of the building. There, with his face still showing shock, he informed reporters of the existence of a second shipment addressed to an individual, without revealing any further information.

The police and the prosecutor's office reported to the press that the devices were not similar to any used in a previous attack in Chile, and with a level of complexity, technology and elaboration that made them stable and very difficult to go off before they were opened. While the one at the police station contained explosive powder, the one intended for Hinzpeter contained dynamite, a powerful industrial explosive.

In successive interviews the former Home Secretary spoke about this attack and the series of threats he received while in charge of the repression: "Here the feeling is much more horrific, because, to make an analogy, the threat is like someone telling you that they are going to shoot you, whereas here the feeling is that you've been shot. The bullet went out and, due to some fortuitous circumstance – a slip for example – it didn't reach me.

**18TH JULY 2023. START OF THE TRIAL AGAINST THE COMRADES**

After almost 3 years on remand, the prosecution is requesting 30 years for Mónica and 129 for Francisco, the trial against them has begun.

So, it's a much more moving, disturbing and incomprehensible human experience. Much more difficult to digest than a threat that says "I'm going to shoot you". As I said, here the person pulled the trigger and was ready to kill me, with a bomb that, according to the press report, would not only have

killed me but also those who work with me."

On his side Joaquín Lavín, mayor of Las Condes and a notorious member of Opus Dei, stated the reasons that thwarted the attack: "A product of chance, of luck, or – for those of us who believe in God – Providence".

**24TH JULY 2020. ARREST OF MONICA AND FRANCISCO**

In a series of raids, the comrades are arrested after a long investigation. Only Francisco is charged for the explosive mailings, while both are accused as perpetrators for the Tanica attack.

The following day, Piñera held a meeting in his private dining room with the highest representatives of the repressive forces demanding to work urgently and to form specialised teams to find the perpetrators. Within hours he also went to the affected police station to observe the damage in the office and then give another press conference, emphasising the need to approve the reforms to the anti-terrorism law. In front of the journalists, the president already made the remark that would make him famous during the revolt,

**22ND MARCH - 10TH MAY 2021. HUNGER STRIKE**

Hunger strike in different prisons by anarchist and subversive prisoners for the repeal of Decree Law 321 and for the release of Marcelo Villarroel. Mónica and Francisco take active part in this mobilisation from the prisons.

of the attack: "Let's remember that we have an enemy in front of us who is not only cruel and implacable but who knows the protocols, who adapts to the protocols, so more than ever in the face of this powerful and implacable enemy we must work together".

A couple of days later, both actions were claimed within the framework of the "Operation for the expansion of hostilities to the executioners" by "*Cómplices Seditiosos/Fracción por la Venganza*". In the text of the claim, they strongly criticise indiscriminate attacks, stating: "We took all necessary security measures to ensure that the devices exploded only in the hands of those targeted by our action. Our enemies are clear, we are not interested in and do not seek to harm or hurt just anyone. While we know that we are all part of the functioning of domination, we recognise that there are degrees of responsibility and the recipients of our explosive deliveries play a determining role in both the management and accumulation of capital and in state control and repression."

**DECEMBER 2021: FRANCISCO TAKES RESPONSIBILITY AND CLAIMS THE ACTIONS**

Francisco makes a political/legal statement taking responsibility for the parcel bombings and the attack on Tanica.

They justify both objectives by recalling Hinzpeter's repressive work in striking Mapuche communities, anarchist circles, students mobilisations, as well as his role in crushing the uprisings in Freirina and Aysen. About the 54th police station, they point out its responsibility in the murder of the anarchist comrade Claudia

López in September 1998.

The text takes up the controversy that has been unleashed in other countries over the use of explosive parcels as a method of attack. During the struggle against the FIES in Spain there were several attacks with parcel bombs, which led to a heated debate on the subject. Closer in time, the FAI carried out a series of explosive shipments against diplomatic delegations that were strongly challenged by another action group in Greece.

This time *Cómplices Sediciosos/Fracción por la Venganza* recalls the lineage behind this method, being within the trail of those attacks which used explosive deliveries by anarchists in the 1920s in the USA, connected with the publication *Cronaca Sovversiva* and Luigi Galeani. The text also recalls the explosive package sent in May 1928 by anarchists to the prison where Simon Radowitzky was being tortured. As well as the attacks carried out by the FAI in Italy and the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire in Greece, during the 1990s-2000s.

The text ends by framing their action within a specific strand of anarchism and understanding of conflict: "We respond by means of violent anarchist action that is framed within and a contribution to the new urban guerrilla. (...) We move away from the formal structures in combat in order to take into our hands, united in affinity, the pleasure of the attack".

After the thwarted attack, the Quiñenco company decided to hire a number of intelligence and security consultancies, notable amongst which is the Spanish company Alto Analytics. After the outbreak of the the revolt of 2019, the company issued a report of more than 100 pages to the Quiñenco group, with surveillance of social media and elaborating theses that allegedly explained the strength of the revolt. According to the Big Data re-

port, it was possible to ascertain the existence of foreign interference in the uprising, in addition to the central role of K-pop as the source of inspiration for the successive episodes of unrest.

In early December 2019, Hinzpeter realised that the report contained information that the government ought to use to try to explain and crush the revolt, mainly about the alleged foreign influence. After arranging a meeting at the National Intelligence Agency's offices, the report was provided to intelligence, armed forces and government personnel who gathered together with Hinzpeter to analyse the revolt that was sweeping Chilean state.

Days later, Gonzalo Blumel, Home Secretary, told the press in a triumphant tone that they now had "extraordinarily sophisticated information" which he would hand over to the prosecutor's office in order to investigate the revolt is planned, presented as a foreign plan to undermine Chilean institutions. The idea was to lend legitimacy to the government's words and actions, which were once again facing a "powerful and implacable enemy", this time represented by the thousands of people who were setting up barricades and attacking symbols of the state/capital all over the country, allegedly commanded by foreign underground forces.

The Big Data report was one more proof of the close link between business world and the political sphere, as well as the need to find some conspiratorial explanation for the uprising. On the other hand, after its content was leaked, sarcastic references to the K-pop took off, with open mockery of those who tried to theorise the rage that was beginning to burn in every corner. When fear grips the ruling class, they strike blindly and desperately. The Big Data Report was proof of this that went down in history.

## **"THE POLICE & PRISON SOCIETY IS A REALITY. ANY ACTION AGAINST IT IS COMPLETELY VALID."**

***ANY POLICE STATION IS A VALID TARGET. THEIR UNIFORMS ARE STILL PROWLING EVERY CORNER OF THE CITY STAINED WITH BLOOD, GUARDING OUR ENEMIES USING THUGGERY AGAINST ANYONE WHO STEPS OUT OF***

***THIS MINEFIELD OF PROHIBITIONS THEY HAVE TRANSFORMED THE WORLD INTO. IT IS PRECISELY IN THE POLICE STATIONS WHERE THE EXECUTIONERS UNLEASH THE ORGY OF TORMENT AND BEATINGS AGAINST THE DETAINEES. WE SEE THEM APPEAR WITH ABSURD BRAVADO, MILITARILY OCCUPYING SPACES OF CURRENT CONFRONTATION***

***SUCH AS HIGH SCHOOLS. THEY ALREADY TRY TO DO SO IN TOWNS OR IN THE SETTING OF STREET CLASHES, TAKING REFUGE IN THEIR LAWS. BUT THE DESIRE FOR FREEDOM OVERFLOWS WITH FIRE ANY OBEDIENCE TO AUTHORITY AND ITS ORDER.***





# HITTING THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF THE RICH

In October 2019 a revolt, without precedent in recent decades, rocks the Chilean state. From protests against the increase of the subway fare it quickly turned into a general questioning of order and the system which simply overflowed. Confrontations, permanent and simultaneous attacks on symbols of the State and Capital began to happen day after day. The streets and stores burned, while the confrontation with the police went on for months.

The political class, in its desperation, announced a “Peace Agreement” and tried to channel and institutionalize the discontent by proposing the creation of a new constitution, as an appeasing mechanism. The strategy to defuse the revolt did not fully achieve its goal. The streets continued with demonstrations; at times the riots increased in intensity despite the summer and the holidays. The traditional summer events were replaced by fires and hoodies. During January, sixty-nine police stations were attacked, while in February the figure reached eighty, to finally continue in March with seventy-nine police stations attacked.

The arrival of March<sup>1</sup> was eagerly awaited by the insurgents. The return to classes and work became the precise opportunity to further intensify the revolt and shatter the promises of a return to normality. The destructive energy was only stopped in its tracks with the arrival of a global pandemic.

During the last days of February, the classic summer event of the Viña Festival threatened to be suspended after continuous clashes with repression, the vandalization of the Hotel O’Higgins and the burning of cars in its vicinity. In Santiago, various demonstrations by ultra-right-wing groups began to sweep the wealthy neighborhoods seeking to defend the shattered order tooth and nail. In the Vitacura district (*comuna*), hundreds of people took to the streets to support the police and their maimings, defend order and reject any expression of revolt. It is precisely in this context that the Tánica Building, located in the same district, received an unexpected visit on the last days of February 2020.

The Tánica Building, with its completely innovative and striking architecture, is located on Santa Maria Avenue, with more than 12 thousand square meters, a courtyard, an artificial lagoon and an investment of more than 100 million dollars. The building, located a few blocks from El Mercurio and the private home of former Minister of the Interior Andres Chadwick, was built by the Schiess family’s Transoceánica business conglomerate, a business group founded by the Schiess patriarch when he was fleeing Germany after the loss of World War II. The business group was known for diversifying its investments to include banks, leisure, and property development.<sup>2</sup>

On the morning of February 27th, a man wearing a coat, scarf, glasses and hat and carrying a bag manages to enter this building without any problem and go to the inner courtyard. In a swift maneuver he leaves an object under a concrete seat and then heads for the rubbish bin a few meters away. Before long he is already leaving the building without any problems.

1 Far from those who claim that the revolt was brought to a halt on November 14th 2019 by the peace agreement, we find its continuity and intensification in March 2020 with 79 police stations attacked, the burning of a water cannon and the murder of Cristian Valdebenito right in the center of Santiago.

2 They control the Hanga Roa, Cottage de Uruguay and Alto Atacama hotels, the Teatro del Lago and Agua Mineral Puyehue. They also hold stakes in Sudamericana de Vapores, Marinsa, Copec and Cencosud. He is a partner in KidZania, Antarctic Dream, Banco Internacional, Kross beer, Framberry, Oleotop, Puerto Muelles de Penco and the Dunalastair schools, among many other businesses.

At 10:00 a.m., a phone call surprises Café Kant, located inside the building. A recorded message gives a warning about the planting of a bomb.

The person who answers takes it as a joke; for months the threats to the rich neighborhood had been continuous, the atmosphere was still tense and it was just attributed it to a joke in bad taste. At the same time, the police and Radio Cooperativa would have received similar calls.

At 12:00 the electrical circuit of the clock connected to a pressure cooker filled with black powder switches off, producing a huge detonation underneath the concrete chair. Alerted by the situation, Tánica employees begin to assess what is happening, when at 12:30 there is a second detonation of a fire extinguisher filled with black powder located in the rubbish bin.

With the arrival of various specialised police teams comes the southern metropolitan public prosecutor, who, after reviewing the cameras, only has to say: “The person appears to be in disguise, trying to avoid being easily identified”. The Undersecretary of the Interior, Juan Francisco Galli, condemned the events, denying the obvious: “I believe it has nothing to do with the crisis”. Soon after, the claim of the attack categorically refutes the spokesman. “Armed Affinities in Revolt” assume responsibility for the act, naming the attack as an “expansion of revolt” before explaining the dynamics of the dual attack.

“The two devices were programmed half an hour apart so that the first one would shake the normality of the bourgeois neighborhood and the second one, of considerable power, would explode at the moment when the cowardly rapists from GOPE were on the scene, hoping that it would blow up as close as possible to at least one of them.

The attack was not understood as an act of support to the revolt, nor as an exercise by professionals external to the conflict. The attack was understood as part of the revolt itself: “This action is intended to intensify this irruption. It is the continuation of the avalanche of hatred and revenge that struck the powerful in the first weeks of the revolt and that seeks to instill fear among those who live at the expense of the misery of others. The direct complicity between big business and the forces of repression is another aspect of power that has been made evident during these months of revolt, where the former have provided financing and support via infrastructure which has not been able to restrain the insurgents – such as the concrete walls installed by the troop of uniformed rapists in the Alameda to safeguard the monument and the Church. In turn, it is not via meticulous analysis that we have been able to verify the protection given to the bourgeois neighborhoods from the military to the police (*carabineros*). Protection that today has once again been usurped. You, the businessmen and representatives, know perfectly well what we are saying. In every embrace you give one another in your ridiculous marches and processions, in the offices and barracks where you plan the mutilations, murders and rapes, you forge that unholy alliance that today desperately seeks to extinguish the wildfire of revolt. This dual explosive attack takes aim at both sides of that rotten complicity; to rupture, even if just for an instant, with the comfortable conservative life of the wealthy and to inflict damage on agents of repression with the destructive surprise”.

The group indicated its intention to go beyond street violence: “We think we can go further by multiplying the armed and selective attacks against our enemies, against power in all its forms, being part of this massive and generalized whirlwind through urban guerrilla actions, preparing ourselves in practice to face the intensification of repression”.

As has been the case with recent attacks, there was no shortage of voices pointing to the possibility of a false flag attack or a frame up to “justify” repression or “delegitimize”

the struggle in the streets. The group points out: “For the stupid social war opinionologists who label this action as a frame up, know that their opinions only reinforce the State by invalidating and disregarding the potential and scope of the new urban guerrilla offensive”.

A few days later, President Piñera called an emergency meeting in response to the recent attack, bringing together the Minister of the Interior, Gonzalo Blumel, and the Undersecretary for Crime Prevention, Katherine Martorell. In this meeting they also planned the arsenal of repression to confront the dreaded month of March: new police vehicles, total impunity for their officers, feeding the democratic illusion and its votes. In the end, it was a completely unexpected event that ended up containing the whirlwind that had seemed unstoppable.

**WE SEEK TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE MULTIFORM CONFRONTATION WITH POWER. TO THOSE WHO MAKE MOLOTOV COCKTAILS, PLAN ATTACKS, PREPARE BARRICADES AND BLOCKADES, BUILD EXPLOSIVES, CHECK UPCOMING OBJECTIVES, DEDICATE TIME AND IMAGINATION TO NEW ATTACKS AGAINST THE DOMAIN. THE CALL IS TO EXTEND AND EVALUATE THE SCOPE OF OUR OFFENSIVE INCURSIONS.**

**LET'S EXPAND OUR ATTACK LIMITS:  
WE CAN ALWAYS GO FOR MORE.**

**AFINIDADES ARMADAS EN REVUELTA**

## IN THE FACE OF JUSTICE

Early in the morning of July 24th 2020, following an elaborate police deployment, Mónica Caballero and Francisco Solar were arrested in their respective homes. Once again the comrades were marked by the State as its enemies. The media were feasting on the news and quickly began to broadcast their faces, announcing the reasons for their arrest: this time Francisco is accused of sending explosive parcels to former Minister of the Interior Rodrigo Hinzpeter and the 54th police station of Huechuraba (an action that took place on July 24th 2019, claimed by “Cómplices Sediciosos/Facción para la Venganza”), while both are accused of the double explosive attack against the Tánica Building in the Vitacura district (*comuna*) (an action that took place in full revolt, on February 27th 2020, claimed by “Afinidades Armadas en Revuelta”)

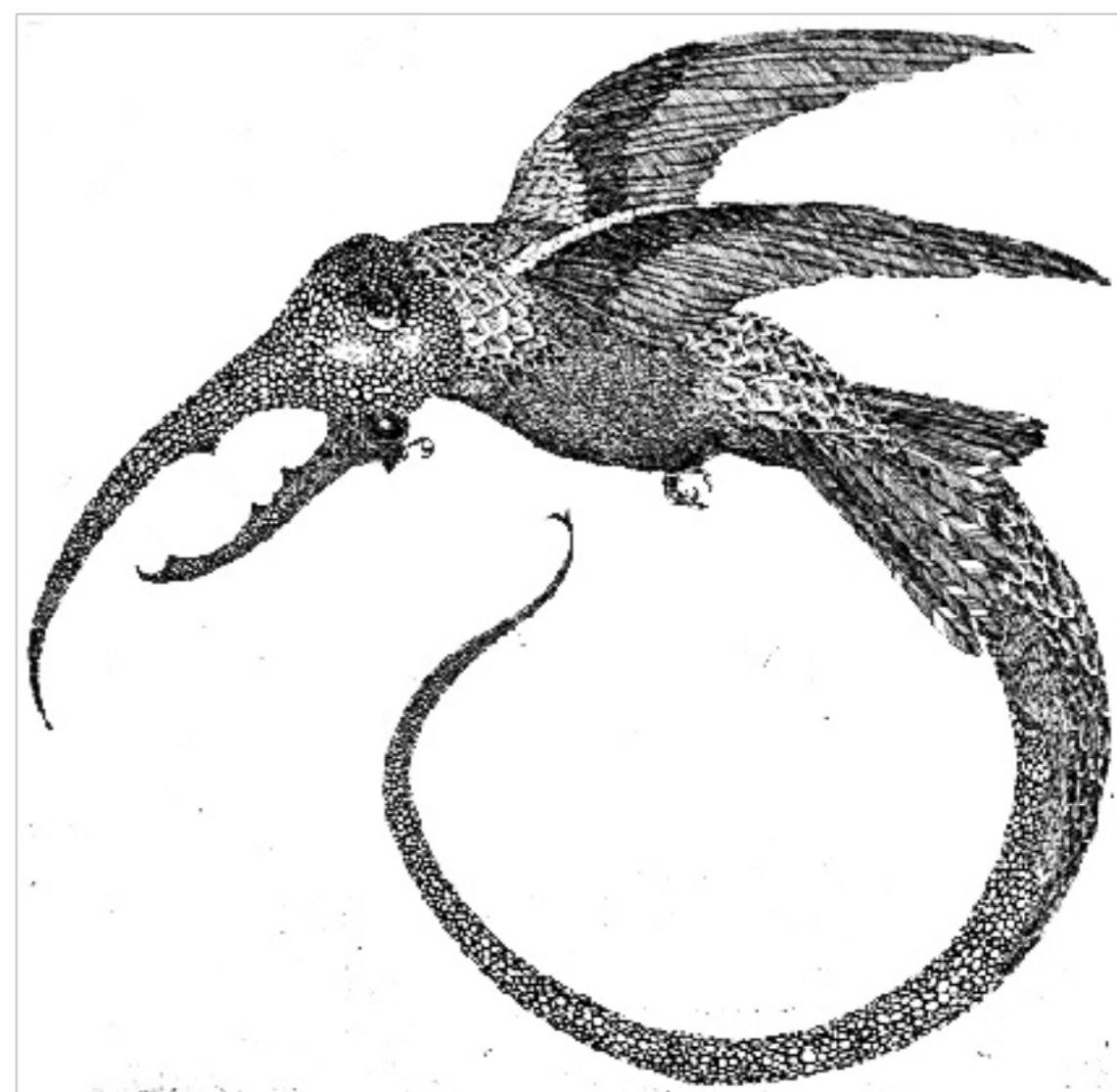
That same day, both were formally charged for these acts in the 11th Court of Guarantee, Santiago (11° Juzgado de Garantía de Santiago). As was to be expected, the investigation and indictment were submitted by the Southern Prosecutor's Office (Fiscalía Sur) (who have become the specialised persecutors of all explosive attacks in recent years in the Metropolitan Region). Claudio Orellana stood as the prosecutor in charge who had been entrusted with the mission of making the comrades pay with prison for these explosive attacks – and at the same time of settling accounts after the disgraced role he had played in the Caso Bombas case, where all the accused, including Mónica and Francisco, had been acquitted. This extensive hearing (more than 8 hours long) would be broadcast live on the court service website and after a tedious and obsessive evidence hearing the judge in charge agreed to grant the pre-trial detention requested by the prosecution, issuing six months for the investigation of the case.

During this prosecution, legal teams representing Rodrigo Hinzpeter, Correos de Chile, the Ministry of the Interior, Tánica Building, the municipalities of Vitacura and El Bosque, and Carabineros de Chile (the Chilean police) also took part as private prosecutors. Without a doubt, this shows that they were trying to make it a particularly high-impact case and prosecution, like a collective vendetta where everybody wants a piece. All the private claimants complied with the requirements and charges of the prosecution, except for the prosecution of Tánica and the Municipality of Vitacura who also invoked the anti-terrorist law. Days later, in a radio interview with Prosecutor Orellana, he was asked why the anti-terrorist law had not been applied in this case. In a clear and succinct manner he responded that it was easier to convict under the arms control law given the toughening of this law, than to seek his convictions under the other more exceptional law, since it was legally complex to prove the terrorist intentionality of the acts. This reveals the strategy currently used by prosecutors in these cases. On August 10th 2022, more than two years after the beginning of her trial and after a series of extensions to the

investigation deadlines, the case was closed. This led to the final arraignment in which the prosecution requests **30 years** of imprisonment for Mónica, charging her with two counts of planting explosive devices. Against Francisco the prosecutors are seeking **129 years** in prison for the mailing of two explosive parcels, three attempted homicides, injuries, identity fraud, damages, as well as the planting of two explosive devices.

Once the investigation was closed, on March 14th 2023, the preliminary hearing for the trial began, a pre-trial hearing whose primary purpose was to discuss the relevance of the evidence to be considered and submitted for the trial itself. Although this stage of the process had been expected to be more extensive, it was finalised after only a week. This shows the severity of the court in charge of these evaluations, submitting as valid practically all the evidence presented by the prosecutor Orellana. It is worth noting that one of the important points discussed was the consideration of the trial in Spain where both were convicted of planting an explosive device in the Basilica del Pilar in Zaragoza. This fact was introduced as evidence for discussion in the trial, which strictly speaking is a legal aberration since it corresponds to a different jurisprudence and should not be considered as a precedent for the current trial. To summarise, the prosecution will come to trial with more than 100 witnesses, 50 expert witnesses and more than 400 pieces of evidence, between the documentation and other types of evidence.

After this preparatory hearing, the trial date was set for May 19th 2023, but at the request of the defense it was rescheduled for July 18th 2023.



# TAKING RESPONSIBILITY

*Extract from the judicial declaration of anarchist comrade Francisco Solar in December 2021, where he takes responsibility for sending explosive packages*

**“I DID NOT STOP THINKING THAT THE MOST APPROPRIATE WAY TO FIGHT AGAINST AN OVERPOWERING SYSTEM BASED ON AUTHORITY AND PREDATION IS THROUGH VIOLENT REVOLUTIONARY ACTION. ONLY FROM THIS IS IT POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE MOMENTS OF DESTABILIZATION THAT, EVEN IF THEY ARE FLEETING INSTANTS, REVEAL THE VULNERABILITY OF POWER.”**

**“INDISCRIMINATE ATTACKS HAVE NEVER BEEN PART OF ANARCHIST PRACTICE; OUR OBJECTIVES ARE CLEARLY DEFINED AND AIMED AT THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR OPPRESSION AND REPRESSION. “**

**“THE INTENTION OF THIS ACTION, TO RESPOND BOTH TO THE AGGRESSIONS OF THE POLICE AND TO THAT OF A FORMER MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR, REMEMBERED FOR HIS REPRESSIVE ROLE AND TODAY MANAGER OF AN ECONOMIC GROUP THAT OWNS PRACTICALLY ALL OF CHILE, WAS COMPLETELY FULFILLED.”**

**“MARCH WAS LOOMING AS A KEY MONTH WHERE MANY THINGS COULD HAPPEN, AMONG THEM EVEN THE RESIGNATION OF PIÑERA. IT WAS IN THIS CONTEXT THAT I DECIDED TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE REVOLT WITH THE PLACEMENT OF TWO EXPLOSIVE DEVICES.”**

**“FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLT I WAS PART OF THE DIFFERENT MOBILIZATIONS THAT TOOK PLACE EVERY DAY AND I COULD SEE, METRES AWAY FROM ME, HOW THE YOUNG PEOPLE FELL BLOODIED BY BULLETS AND TEAR GAS CANISTERS FIRED BY THE CARABINEROS. IT WAS FOR THIS REASON THAT THE REVOLT IDENTIFIED THE CARABINEROS AS ONE OF ITS MAIN ENEMIES, THEREFORE, AN ATTACK AGAINST THEM WAS ESSENTIAL AND COMPLETELY JUSTIFIED.”**

# PRISON IS NOT THE END OF ANYTHING

When it has been decided to travel the paths of confrontation against the existent, when anarchism becomes flesh through an offensive practice against the prevailing authoritarianism, when it is accepted that revolutionary violence is an absolutely necessary and valid response to the monopoly of violence exercised by the State – prison, as a punitive tool that seeks to lock up and break down all those who rise up against the order of the powerful, is also a reality and an always latent possibility.

Everything possible should always be done to seek to avoid repressive blows and prison, but at the same time we must have the clarity that it is always a possible consequence. With this lucidity, prison should not necessarily be the tragic end of a path of struggle or a parenthesis that suspends the insurrectionary will. Prison can be lived from a place of intransigence; it can be traversed as anarchists and revolutionaries; it can become another trench of struggle, obviously understanding that this way of confronting prison will always be conditioned by the limitations and restrictions that are inherent to those walls and bars. In keeping with this perspective, in these three years of imprisonment since their last arrest, Mónica and Francisco have turned the reality of prison into a new context of struggle.

As anarchists they have oriented themselves from a place of constant tension with the prison machinery and its jailers. They have sought to position themselves from what is their own intransigent place, which beyond seeking to differentiate themselves from the rest of the prison population, is related to positioning themselves and making themselves visible from the continuity of a trajectory of anarchist struggle.

Without a doubt, rebelling against prison and its everyday abuses has been an inevitable constant for both comrades, which is a part or an extension of their political definition and praxis. But above all, the place where the affirmation that prison must become another trench of confrontation has acquired meaning and consistency for them is in the constant search for an active connection with contexts of anarchic solidarity, always from a place of horizontality and insurrectional affinity. This has been expressed mainly through their contributions to the reflections and debates within the ‘acrata world’, as much from the analysis of current situations as their proposals for action, not to mention their constant words of solidarity and support for different initiatives or towards other comrades in struggle, whether nearby or from other territories.

**“WE ARE APPROACHING DIFFICULT DAYS AND THE OUTLOOK AHEAD IS COMPLEX. WE WILL ONCE AGAIN BE SITTING ON THE BENCH OF THE ACCUSED FOR THE ACTIONS WE ARE BEING CHARGED FOR AND FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE IDEAS AND PRACTICES THAT ARE ANTAGONISTIC TO DOMINATION THAT WE HAVE ALWAYS UPHELD, NO MATTER HOW MANY YEARS WE RISK BEING SENTENCED TO. (...) WE ARE PROUD OF THE ROAD WE HAVE CHOSEN AND TRAVELED, WITHOUT LEAVING ASIDE THE INDISPENSABLE SELF-CRITICISM THAT ALLOWS US TO GROW. MAY OUR MISTAKES SERVE OTHERS WHO ARE PASSIONATE AND LOVE THE BEAUTIFUL MOMENTS OF CONFRONTATION AGAINST POWER, WHICH ARE WHERE WE FEEL MOST ALIVE.”**

In the same vein, it is fundamental to mention the communiqués they have written in this period, jointly or as individuals, which on top of being an important ingredient for debate and the practical task of anarchy, are also channels of communication that allow connections to be made between reflections and proposals from different comrades and in different territorial realities of struggle. Likewise, their contributions to different anarchist publications have been fundamental, such as introductory notes to books or articles for journal and zines. Among the latter we can mention their anti-prison writings that have nourished the anarchist journal “Tinta de Fuga” and the constant collaboration that Francisco has had, both before and during his imprisonment, with the international anarchist journal “Kalinov Most”, which is published in several countries and in different languages.

To live prison as an extension of anarchic practical coherence, in the case of Mónica and Francisco, is also reflected in the complicity and the ways of coordinating that they have formed with other prisoners who move through prison from an anarchic, subversive and intransigent position. From this perspective we must understand, for example, the participation of both as part of a group of imprisoned comrades named “anarchist and subversive prisoners”<sup>1</sup> with whom they have developed a political strategy to confront prison collectively based on common codes and trajectories. From this coordination, they have come up with a series of joint communiqués, and as a group they carried out a hunger strike that began on March 22, 2021, which lasted more than 50 days. Through this they demanded the repeal of the amendments to ‘Decree Law’ 321 and the freedom of Marcelo Villarroel. The solidarity, communication and complicity of both comrades with prisoners of the social war has also materialized with other like-minded comrades who are currently in prison, as for example with the comrades of the “Susarón” case or the comrades of the “Gendarmería” case.

The fact that in this period of imprisonment they both made prison a new setting of struggle, responds to a long history of political and subversive imprisonment that from different historical contexts and from different tactics and realities has been inherent to the reality and struggle inside the prisons of this territory. Without a doubt, the current setting has its own particularities, but it is in this context where Mónica and Francisco have decided to face prison proudly and actively: as anarchists and with coherence.

<sup>1</sup> This space of collective affinity is currently formed by comrades Marcelo Villarroel, Juan Aliste Vega, Joaquín García, in addition to Mónica and Francisco.

# SPEAKING ONCE MORE ABOUT SOLIDARITY

Faced with the trial of comrades Mónica and Francisco it is natural and imperative to speak of solidarity. How could we not? To a large extent, this publication was born out of and inspired precisely by a solidarity campaign with them. There is no doubt that solidarity has not ceased to be a recurring theme when we speak of comrades in prison.

On countless occasions we appeal, call and agitate out of and for solidarity. On many occasions we also return to the same point in slogans and phrases to conclude texts or debates.

On this occasion we look again at the concept, perhaps without necessarily expecting any new approach, but it is essential to draw some lines on solidarity, because it is precisely in this dimension that our paths have crossed on more than one occasion. With those behind bars, and also those on the outside in solidarity with other comrades in prison. Repeating the critique of victimhood? Blaming those who do not get involved? These could be some ways of dealing with the subject with greater or lesser success. But this time we want to highlight and collectivize some issues arising from this specific case and how they have come about.

At this moment, the prosecution is tidying up its papers, piling up its charges and oiling the wheels of justice. They will once again seek exceptional sentences and to bury the comrades in prison. This is the third time they have confronted the judicial system and a request of 130 years shows very clearly the inclination of power. How many lives will have to be lived to fulfill the dreams of the persecutors?

Once the comrades had been identified and arrested, power played its cards and

made its intentions very clear. For our part? The reactions (if any) have been varied: "There is not much we can do, the sentence is already written", "Good lawyers are urgently needed", "But if it was them, there is no way to defend them" or "We can only add their names to the list of prisoners to be in solidarity with", are just some of the positions put forward with greater or lesser conviction. To be honest, it is not uncommon for a sense of powerlessness or even frustration to flood any conversation about this case. "Third time's the charm," others will say. Perhaps after a flash of rage or sudden anger, the topic will descend into that dismal certainty that not much more can be done.

Up against this reality, *solidarity* is in motion, and it seems this is a concept we can use, perhaps our chance to get out of the dead end, to retake the initiative and not sit and wait for the blows. But from what place can we understand solidarity? How can we see it? How useful can it be in practice? Solidarity is clearly not a unique and exclusive attribute of the anarchist milieu. Throughout history, different groups and subversive circles have taken it into their hands and made their own imprint.

In a brief review of some certainly paradigmatic positions on the subject, we can observe the positions taken

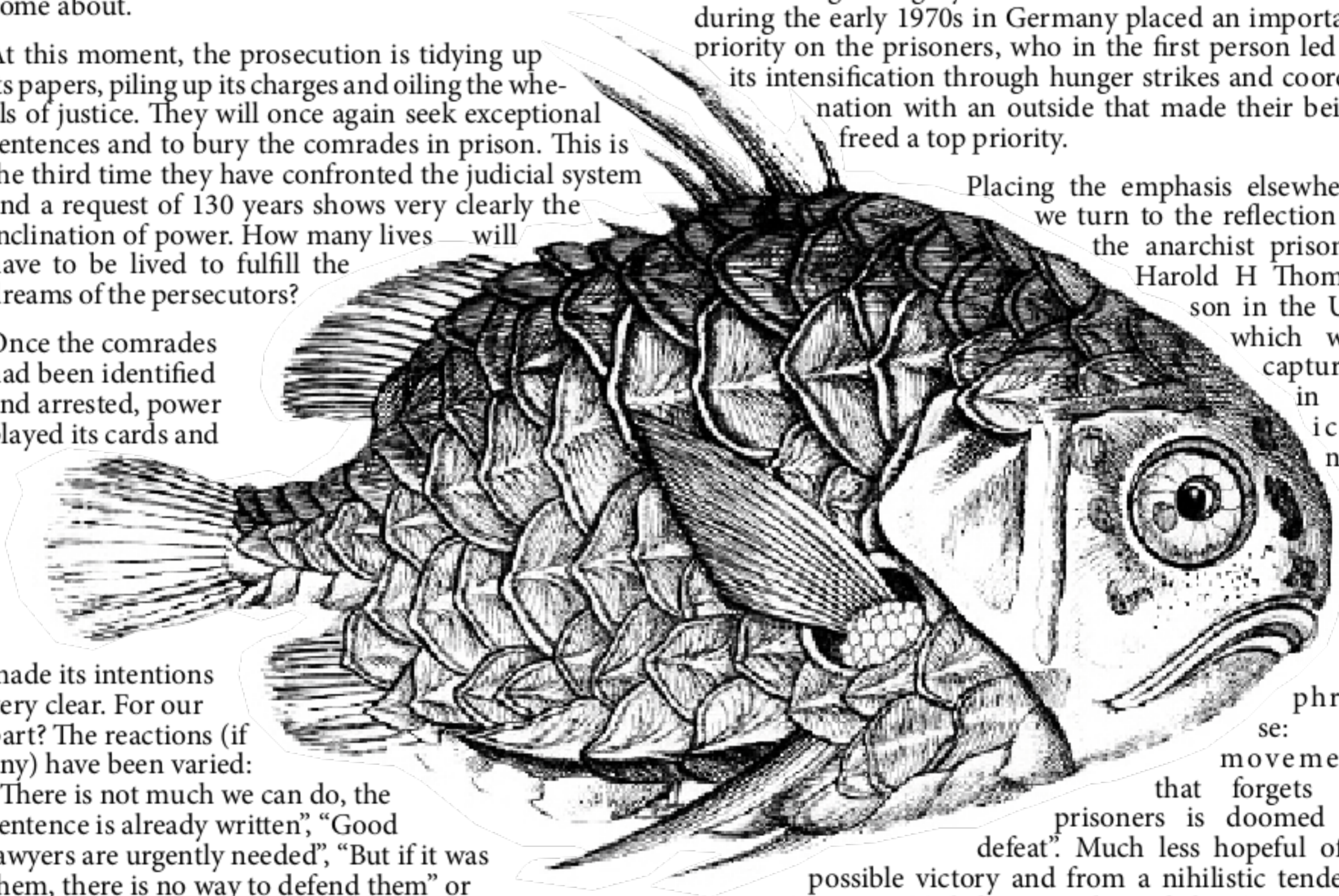
by Action Directe. From 1977 to 1987, an armed group coming out of Autonomia carried out a series of actions against the French State-Capital. The State responded by imprisoning many of its members, notably Jean-Marc Rouillan, Nathalie Ménigon and Georges Cipriani, who were sentenced to life imprisonment in a brutal regime of solitary confinement.

While the group was in operation during the 1980s, they maintained a particular position on solidarity: the best way to stand beside the comrades in prison is to continue and deepen their struggle. "Society already provides us with social workers and priests, revolutionaries must occupy themselves with other things"<sup>1</sup>, they stated, with a clear criticism of the repression-solidarity dynamic, in order to instead devote energies and strength to deepen the armed struggle. Elsewhere, we find the RAF (Red Army Faction), a German guerrilla group with a tendency rather close to Maoism, which devoted great efforts to rescue the first generation prisoners. The most important actions and much of their energy were devoted to getting their founding members out of prison, who faced the harshness of extermination-isolation that ultimately killed them. The growing dynamics of conflict and social war during the early 1970s in Germany placed an important priority on the prisoners, who in the first person led to its intensification through hunger strikes and coordination with an outside that made their being freed a top priority.

Placing the emphasis elsewhere, we turn to the reflection of the anarchist prisoner Harold H Thompson in the US, which was captured in an iconic

phrase: "A movement that forgets its prisoners is doomed to defeat". Much less hopeful of a possible victory and from a nihilistic tendency, Gerasimo Tsakalos, member of the Conspiracy of the Cells of Fire, from the Greek prisons noted "He who forgets the captives of war, ends up forgetting the war itself", which had its adaptation in the Chilean revolt with "Whoever forgets the prisoners forgets the struggle". With all its nuances, the sense is the same: The reality of prison is intimately connected to the reality of the struggle in the street, and an indispensable way to continue the struggle is by supporting comrades in prison.

Here it is not a question of taking one or the other position in an exclusive way, but to open and continue the questions around: What kind of relations do we develop towards (or from) the prisons? In light of this, it is necessary to face an unquestionable reality: prison and its dynamics perpetuate forms of support based on assistance. From the prison, the greatest support for survival is found in the outside networks, on different levels (material, emotional and political, to name only a few).



1 Kalinov Most N°1 October 2017

Parcels, clothes, money, visits - these are elements that are organised from the outside. Prison punishes not only the incarcerated, but also their environment, and in the case of anarchist and subversive prisoners this is no exception.

In the knowledge of this reality, keeping a concrete solidarity towards those inside and at the same time avoiding assistentialism, becomes a major challenge. If we add to this the possible legal costs, the issue becomes one of continuous economic necessity that could easily use up all efforts and drown any revolutionary potential.

Developing anarchic solidarity doesn't only mean adding an adjective to the word, but building its own definition. Practices such as horizontality, affinity and informality need to be transferred to the dynamics of solidarity, as much in terms of supporting prisoners as in terms of offensive perspectives.

Solidarity campaigns in search of support would appear to create a dilemma where the only way for someone to relate is through formal membership or disengagement. The challenge is to overcome the role of passive or active spectator, so as to collectively take on the reality of prison in order to actively incorporate it into the struggle, not from a 'rearguard' position or a sense of guilty obligation. We cannot contribute to pigeonholing the prisoner into

such a role imposed by power, as if they could only speak/act/propose on intra-prison issues. Within this same challenge, we place the opening of spaces for discussion between both sides of the wall. Discussions, reflections and participation in initiatives have managed to shatter the roles of spectators or subjects waiting to receive solidarity. The development and building of proposals between prisoners or between prisoners and the outside world, go beyond the anti-prison struggle as the only horizon, according it a revolutionary projectuality. Prison becomes a circumstantial territory from which to participate.

Anarchic solidarity knows how to tear down myths, monuments and idols, establishing in practice that prison is not the end of a path of struggle, but its continuation. But it also moves away from the idea of sacrifice as a value. Transforming the prison into another arena of struggle where experiences flow on both sides of the wall, makes us think of feedback loops where the outside gets to know the prison rhythm and the inside does not lose the rhythm of the street. Understanding the judicial onslaughts, trials and sentences in the same way as one would see the offensives by power in the street, compels us to overcome any hint of resignation and explore all possibilities to transform them into moments and cycles of sharpening the conflict. Transmitting experiences and revindicating action allows us to retake the initiative on our side and strengthen our positions.

***“WE FEEL PART OF A LONG ROAD OF STRUGGLES AGAINST DOMINATION, A HISTORICAL ROAD THAT CHANGES ACCORDING TO THE DIFFERENT SCENARIOS OF CONFLICT. MANY YEARS AGO WE DECIDED TO WALK ALONG ANARCHY’S PATHS OF NEGATION, UNDERSTANDING IT AS A CONSTANT TENSION THAT IN ITS CONSTRUCTIVE/DESTRUCTIVE DIALECTIC DOES NOT POSE ITSELF AS AN ABSOLUTE TRUTH NOR AS A PLACE OF ARRIVAL. OUR LIFE IS NOT DISSOCIATED FROM OUR ENORMOUS DESIRE TO LIVE AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR IDEAS, WE TAKE THIS UP WITH ALL THE CONTRADICTIONS IT ENTAILS, AS WELL AS ITS CONSEQUENCES. IN THESE LETTERS WE ARE ONCE AGAIN INTERESTED IN EXALTING AND ENCOURAGING ATTACK AGAINST EVERY EXPRESSION OF POWER. WE ARE EMPHATIC IN AFFIRMING THAT WE UNDERSTAND ACTS OF REVENGE AND SABOTAGE AS AN URGENT NECESSITY, WHOSE MULTIPLICATION AND PROPAGATION UNDENIABLY STRENGTHENS THE SPACES AND ANARCHIST POSITIONS OF COMBAT. WE BELIEVE THAT OUR WAGER MUST NECESSARILY BE FOR THE QUALIFICATION OF THE CONFLICT, TO LEAVE THE SPACES OF COMFORT TO BROADEN PERSPECTIVES AND HIT WHERE IT HURTS MOST. (...) EVERY ATTACK ON POWER FROM AN ANTI-AUTHORITARIAN PERSPECTIVE IS VALID FOR US.”***

**WORDS OF MONICA & FRANCISCO AFTER TWO YEARS IN PRISON. JULY 2022**

Translation: Act For Freedom Now!

# ON THE NEED AND VALIDITY OF AN ANARCHIC INSURRECTIONARY PRAXIS

Beyond the legal implications and discussions that will be part of the trial that Francisco and Mónica will face from July 18, and without ceasing to be attentive to the outcomes of this trial since we know that exemplary punishments will be sought with hefty prison sentences, it is also a decisive moment for us from our political and combative place as anarchists to address a necessary reflection on the offensive and insurrectional anti-authoritarian practice, a reflection that must be situated and made flesh in the context of an ongoing social war. The acts for which they will be prosecuted and tried – which in a concrete and clear way we could define as attacks on the powerful and repressors – must be considered as actions that are part of a long history of offensive anarchism, that which at different historical moments and in different settings and territories has demonstrated that in the face of the State's monopoly of violence and in response to the suffocating reality of a social order erected by oppressors and the owners of this world, the use of political violence is and will always be absolutely valid and necessary. From this boldness and clarity, different anarchist revolutionary wills – both from the individual insurrectionary initiative and from the offensive coordination on the basis of affinity – have written with black powder and fire the record of a history of confrontation with the existent in which the black anarchist imprint has left its stamp.

To name just a few actions: Gaetano Bresci's attack that took the life of the King of Italy Humbert I by a gunshot in 1900; the assassination of the US President in 1901 by the Polish-born anarchist Leon Czolgosz; or already in more recent times a series of explosive and incendiary sabotages in the fight against the 'TAV' (High Speed Train) in the north of Italy and the 3 shots in the leg that Alfredo Cospito accurately fired against the nuclear businessman Rodolfo Adinolfi, are testimonies and parts of the same historical anarchist offensive trajectory, which must always supply and qualify the actions of tomorrow.

Talking about anarchic insurrectionalism also implies addressing the criticisms that surround this perspective of action. On many occasions the most frequent and virulent criticisms come from the world of anarchism itself, with the understanding that the richness and particularity of anarchism lies precisely in the fact that it has not been built from orthodox principles and rigid dogmatic frames, but rather has allowed the encounter (and disagreement) between different anti-authoritarian views and tactics. Before addressing these criticisms, it is necessary to clarify some essential aspects of insurrectionalism.

It may seem obvious, although not therefore irrelevant to mention, the fact that the idea and call to insurrection is not exclusive to anarchism. Different revolutionary tendencies of the left – Marxists, Leninists, Maoists – have advocated an insurrectionary uprising as a necessary prelude to achieve socialism. Likewise, insurrection understood as a popular uprising has been present in the history of social struggle, as occurred, for example, in the Paris Commune. The inclusion of this concept by anarchism has to do with a proposal of anarchist revolutionary action; an insurrectional tendency that is based on informality and affinity, and where attack and revolutionary violence have a protagonist, but not exclusive role.

Within this continuity of offensive practice in the history of anarchism mentioned in previous paragraphs, insurrectionalism must be understood as a rather contempo-

rary tactical reconceptualization, but one that is closely tied to other moments of proposals and definitions of the exercise of anarchic violence. Propaganda of the deed, anarchist individualism, illegalism, anti-organizational anarchism, are some of the experiences and perspectives that nourish all insurrectionalist practice.

While it is true that this concept within anarchism began to be coined in Italy in the 1980s from the strategic reflections of a series of comrades in those years, among whom Alfredo Bonanno is most identified with this proposal, it is also true that currently this tendency transcends and overflows that initial proposal, since there is also a combative anarchism that has made a practical and tactical critique of the delimitation of attacks exclusively within the framework of "intermediary struggles" as Bonanno's insurrectionalism puts it,<sup>1</sup> thus broadening the meaning and possibilities of actions.

Beyond any adjective, we must reveal the place that offensive conflictuality based on informally organised affinity groups continues to hold within anarchism today. We must also understand that above revolutionary teleological discourses, anarchism of praxis continues to be a permanent contribution in the struggle against a system of domination, unequivocally provoking a tension in the here and now, the deplorable arena of the existent.

A proposal of action such as the insurrectional one that breaks with the outdated ideas of the construction of a revolutionary process based on a strategic program that must necessarily be based on organizational structures, circumscribed exclusively in the class struggle and oriented towards the construction of a "popular power", has generated many antibodies with the acerbic criticisms of those who are unable to assimilate a revolutionary rupturist proposal based on the complexity of what it means to stand up radically against power and authoritarianism, where individual freedom remains axiomatic over organizational machines.

Among these critics we can mention those who have tried to label insurrectionalism as an "ideology"<sup>2</sup> blaming it for being an obstacle to the reconstruction of the revolutionary proletarian movement. We feel that in these brief paragraphs it has become clear why the epithet of ideology has no place. In the framework of a historical practice of anarchism, insurrectionalism comes to catalyze a tactic that redeems the informal and free organization between individuals based on their affinity and that orients their revolutionary undertakings on the basis of their particular realities and possibilities.

Along the path of anarchism there are constantly calls be-

1 After the experience of "the years of lead" in Italy in the 70s and given the need to revitalize anarchist revolutionary practices, in the 80s the proposal of an "Insurrectional Anarchism" began to take shape by Italian comrades, among whom we can mention Alfredo M. Bonanno and Constantino Cavalleri. One of the core aspects of this proposal for anarchist action, in addition to the informality based on affinity groups, was the search for anarchic incidence in the "intermediate struggles", that is, taking anarchist actions and attacks to specific social conflicts. An emblematic practical example of this tactic was the anarchist presence in the fight against the construction of the TAV (high-speed train) in the Susa Valley in northern Italy."

2 Questioning that is reflected, for example, in the book "Critique of Insurrectionalist Ideology" published in 2012 and signed by "Internationalist Proletarians"

ing made for the construction of a strong organization. In the name of urgency for an integration into the masses by means of strategies based on a unique and unifying program, anti-authoritarian insurrectional tendencies are disqualified, referring to them as merely voluntary responses motivated by self-indulgent logics and lacking a concrete proposal in strategic terms.

Looking at the present and also from a diachronic analysis we see that above all the self-serving militancy in anarchism is found precisely in those who walk blindly towards a project of anarchist society via a programmatic path, since they travel in an almost mechanical and devoted way towards a horizon that does not allow us to face the present in a decisive way.

Structural violence; capitalist devastation; patriarchy; the oppression of authoritarianism, social inequalities, are part of an everyday for which we must take responsibility.

The response to this reality from within conflictuality and the anarchic offensive becomes an imperative that far from any type of voluntarism is a proposal for action that reclaims a here and now under the certainty that over the long-term strategic effects, they are blows that give tension to the present and generate the cracks necessary for a tomorrow.

It is from this place that we affirm with conviction and certainty that the blows and attacks against the powerful and repressors are absolutely valid and necessary; that the insurrectional tendencies in anarchism are and have been a constituent part of the movement since its origins; and that for all this we embrace and strongly support Mónica and Francisco since their trajectories and their actions are part of an anarchic whole that is absolutely current.

**“TODAY POWER IS FASHIONABLY DRESSED, PUTS ON THE OUTFITS OF FEMINISM AND SEXUAL DISSIDENCE, AND WHY WOULDN'T IT? IF EVERYONE HAS A PLACE IN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, EVERYONE CAN BE REPRESENTED IN ITS INSTITUTIONS, EVERYONE CAN HAVE THE SAME CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS. THE POWERFUL CAN TAKE ON THESE OR OTHER GARB IN ORDER TO PERPETUATE THEMSELVES IN POWER, JUST AS THEY CAN RAISE VARIOUS INITIATIVES TO IMPROVE THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF WOMEN AND SEXUAL DISSIDENTS, BUT THE EXERCISE OF POWER AND THEREFORE STATE DOMINATION WILL NOT END. CHANGES IN THE WAY IN WHICH THE POWERFUL “HUMANIZE” SUBJUGATION, OR CREATE A SOFTER REPRESSIVE APPARATUS, OR PROCLAIM MORE INCLUSIVE LAWS FOR DIFFERENT COLLECTIVES, SHOULD NOT BE PART OF THE STRUGGLES OF THOSE WHO REALLY WANT THE RADICAL DESTRUCTION OF ALL FORMS OF OPPRESSION. FOR SOMETHING TO CHANGE RADICALLY, WE ALL HAVE TO ACT WITHOUT DELEGATES, WITHOUT INTERMEDIARIES, WITHOUT WAITING. TODAY THOSE WHO DO NOT WAIT FOR OTHERS TO BREAK THEIR CHAINS, THOSE WHO HERE AND NOW WANT TO DESTROY PATRIARCHY, ARE TAKING TO THE STREETS.”**

*Extracts from Mónica's communique  
“The struggle against the State is part of  
the struggle against patriarchy” March 2022*

**“HOW CAN WE ACHIEVE MOMENTS OF FREEDOM, EVEN IF THEY ARE JUST BRIEF AND SPORADIC? WHAT ARE THOSE INSTANTS IN WHICH WE FEEL WHAT LIMITS AND RESTRICTS US LOSE WEIGHT AND MEANING? THE ANSWERS CAN BE MULTIPLE, DEPENDING ON THE INTERESTS OF EACH INDIVIDUAL, OF HOW THEY UNDERSTAND AND PLACE THEMSELVES IN THIS WORLD. MAYBE SOME FEEL FREE ALREADY AND THESE QUESTIONS ARE NOT NEEDED, THEY ARE UNNECESSARY SINCE THEY WOULD BE UNFAMILIAR TO THE TENTACLES OF POWER. THOSE OF US WHO DON'T HAVE THESE KINDS OF DELUSIONS KNOW THAT THE MERE EXISTENCE OF THE STATE PLACES US IN A SITUATION OF OPPRESSION, A SITUATION WHICH WE NEED TO ATTACK AND COMBAT IF OUR HORIZON IS FREEDOM. IT CAN'T BE ANY OTHER WAY. AND IT'S IN THAT OPTION OF ATTACKING WHERE WE FIND TRUE MOMENTS OF FREEDOM. SINCE WE DECIDE TO FACE THIS WORLD AND PLACE OURSELVES AS ITS ENEMIES WE BEGIN OBSERVING OUR SURROUNDINGS DIFFERENTLY, WE START VISUALIZING OBJECTIVES AND ITS WEAK POINTS, WE BEGIN OBSERVING THE BEST WAY TO ATTACK POWER, AND WE BEGIN TO POSITION OURSELVES IN THE OFFENSIVE. ULTIMATELY, WE BEGIN TO SOMEHOW APPROPRIATE OUR LIVES! IN THE MAKING OF COMPLICITIES, IN CONSPIRACY AND IN ACTION WE TAKE LINKS OFF OUR CHAINS, WE EXPERIMENT, EVEN IF FLEETING, SMALL MOMENTS OF FREEDOM.”**

**WORDS FROM FRANCISCO A MONTH INTO HIS IMPRISONMENT. AUGUST 2020**

Quotations on this page:  
Translated by Act For Freedom Now!