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REVOLT AND CRISIS IN GREECE

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BETWEEN A PRESENT YET TO PASS AND A FUTURE STILL TO COME

Edited by

*Antonis Vradis and Dimitris Dalakoglou*

AK Press & Occupied London  
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*Revolt and Crisis in Greece:  
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# 1

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## INTRODUCTION

*Dimitris Dalakoglou & Antonis Vradis*

You are a child growing up in Greece in the nineties. There is a high likelihood that one of your distant relatives, or even your aunt, your uncle, your grandfather, or your mother or father may be haunted by the memory of a few years in their life from whence no bedtime stories will ever arise. “Exile,” “dictatorship,” “civil war”: these strange words ring about, yet remain lost behind the veil of the untold. Silent grandparents with lingering gazes, voters-for-life of a party that would repeatedly betray them over the course of a lifetime too far along to change its course. These were times past, hidden by the thick screen onto which the capitalist spectacle projected itself. By the mid-2000s, the spectacle had grown to Olympic proportions. The Games were here: development fever, a certain euphoria mixed with longing, the longing to become “Western,” to finally “make it.” For a brief moment in time it actually seemed to happen for some.

And suddenly the screen went blank. December 2008: the month when the country’s divided past returned in full force. The time that followed was an animated reminder that class and political struggle had not been tucked away in museums or history books—and most certainly would not stand to be so any time soon. A sudden awakening. Or was it?

Contradictions, struggles, the ubiquitous feeling that history marches over everyday victories and defeats—the December

revolt was the precise moment when an entire generation awoke to the realisation that the muted stories of the past had always been part of the present.

*Revolt and Crisis in Greece: Between a Present Yet to Pass and a Future Still to Come* is a collective attempt to map the time between the revolt of December 2008 and the crisis that followed. Most of us were children who grew up in Greece in the nineties. Some of us are still there, some are now elsewhere, and some have never even visited. For all of us, however, December is a key point of reference. It may have started out as a territorial reference, but it quickly moved beyond geographical boundaries; it became so much more. We feel that what is being played out in Greece poses some enormous questions that reach far beyond the place itself or the people who live there. We were told that it was “a bad apple,” the first European country to see austerity measures kick in, to see the IMF arrive. But Ireland was quick to follow. Portugal was next in line, then perhaps Spain. The bad apples multiplied, like dominoes of unrest that did not seem to care much about border crossings or planned schedules. Revolts continued to spring up, seemingly out of “nowhere,” at unexpected times. Think of Alexis Grigoropoulos’s assassination in Athens and the days and months that followed. Or Muhamed Bouazizi, the street vendor in Tunisia who simply had enough. He lit himself on fire and set the entire region ablaze. Algeria, Egypt, Bahrain, Libya.... In a circle almost full, the flames of revolt have become visible from Greek shores once again.

Yet questions remain: What gave birth to the revolt on these shores, and what has followed since? Our collective exploration of these questions is divided into three parts. Part One, entitled “The Site: Athens,” is the reader’s landing strip, an introduction that sheds light on the context for these events. Part Two, “The Event: December,” is a reading of the revolt of December 2008 traced through its remnants in the present, designed to illuminate not only what made those events possible, but also what those events made possible in return. The final part is called “Crisis.” To be sure, this is about the global capitalist crisis as grounded and lived within the territory of Greece. But these concluding essays are also about the social antagonist movement’s moment of crisis: even if the colloquial meaning of the word suggests a downfall, in its original (Greek) meaning, it refers to judgement and thinking—which means, in our case, some much-needed self-reflection.

14 The notion of crisis may also imply a moment of rapid change, a moment that marks and reveals an almost instantaneous transition to-

wards something different. What remains an open question and a challenge, then, is to try to make sense of this transition—of how we position ourselves within it as anarchists, as part of the global antagonist movement, as people inspired by the December revolt who nevertheless want to be better prepared for the next Decembers that are sure to come.

#### THERE ARE NO PALM TREES IN ATHENS

When presenting or discussing events that took place in Greece to audiences in other countries, we have sometimes been confronted with what largely feel like awkward questions. “What is it like to live in an anarchist neighbourhood?” has come up often. So too has “Did people still go to work after the December revolt?” This is not radically different than the treatment our global antagonist movement has reserved for movements of armed struggle in distant times and/or places—and so, we felt that the first thing we needed to do was to break away from the mythical image of Greece as a politically exotic “Other.” This is an exoticisation that is both distorting and dis-empowering for the struggles taking place here and now. So be assured, dear reader: there are no palm trees in Athens. That is to say, there is nothing politically exotic, mysterious, or alien about the city. True, if you were to cruise through its avenues there is good a chance you might see the dried-out remnants of a palm tree: one of the scandals of the Olympic Games was the planting of over-priced palm trees across a city where the climate was entirely unsuitable. But this proves our point precisely, that despite its particularities, Athens is yet another European metropolis. And, as all of the contributors to this book imply or explicitly demonstrate, there are no ideal political or cultural conditions for a revolt—it can happen anywhere at the right time.

So how did the revolt materialise in Athens in the first place? Vaso Makrygianni and Haris Tsavdaroglou’s chapter offers some great insight into these questions. They show how the capitalist development frenzy after WWII shaped the appearance of Greek cities, in particular the capital, where near half of the country’s population lives. They explain how a sizeable hybrid social class of workers and small-scale landlords formed within a few decades. They also explain how these six decades of capitalist urban development created the spatial and material site where the revolt of 2008 was realised. An extensive, day-by-day description of the geographical spread of the revolt in the city of Athens is followed by an exercise comparing December 2008 to the revolts <sup>15</sup> in Buenos Aires, Paris, Los Angeles, and Milan.

In contrast, Christos Filippidis offers a fresh spatial analysis of Athens. He explores the experience of being in the urban jungle (the “polis-jungle,” as he calls it), providing a reminder that cities are primarily produced politically—or, even better, that politics become spatialised and grounded via the practice of urban planning. Filippidis brings us straight up into the heart of the December revolt, revealing the endemic violence of the city. Though the discourse of sovereignty claimed that the violence of the revolt could not possibly belong to a “civilised” or “modern” city, Filippidis shows how Athens, and modern capitalist urbanity overall, is a machine of violence. The polis-jungle is not Athens alone; it speaks to every and any urban experience under the crisis of capitalism.

The first part of the book ends with a chapter on the everyday politics of the polis-jungle as formulated after the December revolt. Here, we wanted to read Athens through the political polarizations forming within it, by looking at the examples of two opposing political tendencies, each fighting to spatially define and materialise their own right to the city. On the one hand, there is a radical reclaiming of space and its transformation through guerilla gardening in a public park, all at the heart of the neighbourhood that gave birth to the 2008 revolt. On the other hand, in a square located just a few kilometres away, neoNazi groups have been trying to establish a “migrant-free zone” since late 2008. The moment of the revolt provided the opportunity, the perfect ignition for these two materialisations of everyday politics to erupt. What is at stake here far exceeds the mundane or the triviality often—but wrongly—associated with the everyday. Claiming a right to urban space becomes a challenge and a question of how to act politically in a city and society as a whole.

#### THE NOT-SO-SECRET LIVES OF DECEMBER

For many distant spectators, the events of December 2008 were a perfect storm in an otherwise clear sky. But the revolt was far from that. Our section on “The Event” opens with a chapter by Christos Giovanopoulos and Dimitris Dalakoglou, which traces the historical conditions that shaped the Greek state’s “enemy within” over the course of the last three decades or so: the genealogy of the 2008 revolt. Beginning with the student movement of 1979–1980, they discuss key youth movements in post-dictatorial Greece and highlight how each contributed to

16 the history of the Greek antagonist movement, noting the particular events that have shaped the collective memory of these youth move-

ments since the end of the dictatorship in 1974. This collective memory is not something abstract: we can feel how tangible it is every time it accumulates, merges with momentary circumstances, and triggers the outpouring of fresh political activity back in the streets. Giovanopoulos and Dalakoglou point out some of the most significant ruptures on the surface of the post-dictatorial political regime, ruptures that were quick to become cracks and lead to the December eruption in return.

But ruptures are not caused by social movements alone. The past four decades have also seen structural tears in the political systems of governance—many of which are linked to the neoliberal reconfiguration of the conditions of labour, a process taking place simultaneously all over the planet. In Chapter Six, TPTG (“Children of the Gallery” or, in Greek, “Ta Paidia Tis Gallarias”), an anti-authoritarian communist group from Athens, discuss the December rebellion and the developments in its immediate aftermath as aspects of the crisis of capitalist relations in Greece. TPTG put December in a different perspective, describing the recent neoliberal reconfigurations of the capitalist relation in the country and the extent to which these were linked to the revolt. Taking the global capitalist crisis as a point of departure, they turn their focus back to Greece, highlighting the particularities of the social and political crisis and the ways December made itself felt within them. They go on to describe the class composition of the 2008 revolt, illuminating the ways in which pre-existing class subjectivities were transcended to form an entirely new, spontaneous collective subjectivity in the streets and in occupied spaces. TPTG suggest that the revolt could not have been manipulated by reformist tendencies of the Left, neither could it have been represented in any way by armed struggle groups that emerged around that time, which were little more than a voluntaristic self-perceived vanguard who ignored the political dynamics of the collective actions of the revolting masses of December. Ultimately, TPTG address one of the central questions regarding December, namely: why didn’t the rebellion extend to the places of waged labour? They try to formulate an answer by looking at the limited class composition of the rebellion in terms of the low participation of those workers who can be described either as “non-precarious” or as “workers with a stable job.” Moreover, they try to explain why the minority of “non-precarious” workers who took part in the rebellion, as well as the “precarious” ones, could not extend it to their workplaces. Notwithstanding the limits of the rebellion, after December the state was quick to respond to the latent threat of the overcoming of separations 17 within the proletariat through the enforcement of a whole new series of

repressive measures, as well as through an ideological and physical attack against the marginalised/immigrant/delinquent proletarians who occupy the inner city area of Athens—all of which is an attempt to demonise the reinvented “dangerous classes.”

The landscape is changing beyond recognition: not only by the emergence of new movements in the face of neoliberalism’s charge ahead, but also in terms of the tools these movements take on. Counter-information—that is, the diffusion of information on social struggles from below—has come to the fore as a key tool in the service of radical social movements in Greece. In Chapter Seven, the Metropolitan Sirens (a collective pseudonym for comrades involved in the practice of counter-information in Greece) talk us through the historical evolution of counter-information and its importance in the December events. It is not a coincidence that, shortly after December, MPs, ministers, and journalists attempted to shut down Athens Indymedia. A keystone of counter-information in Greece, the website received over ten million hits between the day of Alexis Grigoropoulos’s assassination and the following one (6–7 December 2008), quickly becoming a central node for communication between those participating in the revolt and the diffusion of news about it. Beyond the internet tools used in December, occupied physical sites (mostly public buildings such as universities, town halls, etc.) also became nodes of counter-information, spreading the word of those who revolted throughout the country and beyond frontiers.

The genealogical approach employed in the first three chapters might suggest it that should have been possible to see the December eruption coming. Yet, still, the revolt was a surprise—not only because it was hard to predict such an enormous and widespread reaction to the assassination of Alexandros, but also because it would have been impossible to even imagine the political implications it would have. Yannis Kallianos begins Chapter Eight by establishing that what happened in December 2008 was unexpected for both those in power and for the social antagonist movement alike. Kallianos then provides an analysis of the actions that took place during the days of December in Athens, the ones that turned the revolt into a historical moment. In other words, Kallianos outlines December as a historical moment, one marking a transition and a certain social and political transformation.

Despite the enormous historical value of December’s events, the lived experience of the revolt itself was multiple and even contradictory. These contradictions and reflections are discussed extensively in the next <sup>18</sup> four chapters by comrades both inside and outside of Greece. Chapter Nine by Hara Kouki is addressed directly to each one of us. It is a reflex-

ive text, critical of our collective self as people who were involved in the revolt, who were active in the antagonist movement before it and who continue to be. As many of our contributors explain, during the revolt people who were already politically active came suddenly into contact with the thousands who took to the streets for the first time. This experience was a unique moment marking life-crisis transitions— or as Hara Kouki describes it: “Your sole reaction was this sense of bewilderment at being together in the streets and an urge to do and write thousands of meaningful things that made no sense.” Still, this sense of bewilderment and this connection between so many people who would not meet in any political project under normal circumstances did not last long. For this reason, a question that quickly emerged after the end of the revolt came into sight, in January 2009, was about the legacies December would leave behind. To a certain extent these legacies were appropriated by the mainstream while stripped of their radical political meaning—both because the systemic forces were already prepared to do so, and also because we as a movement did not manage to organise any follow-up. So, then, what remains of the revolt in the present, Hara Kouki wonders— and has quite a few answers to suggest.

Chapter Ten offers plentiful imagery from December: the barricades, the “carpet” of broken glass and stones in the streets, buzzing assemblies, hooded teenagers, older activists, burnt-out shops resembling archetypal caves by the morning after, collectively-cooked looted food, and insurgents sleeping in occupations, mass demos and clashes in the streets of Athens. Kirilov knows well the difficulties of talking about the revolt. Our own memories of the event betray us, and sometimes words are simply insufficient, even for those who can use language exceptionally well. What matters is not just what we articulate but also the stories of the revolt that remain untold. This in turn makes it even more difficult to put concrete thoughts on the revolt together without omitting parts of the picture that would be crucial for the author. Kirilov reminds us that “an explanation of insurrection demands a very different method of inquiry: a militant research that does not simply interpret and analyse reality, but modifies it.”

How was the reality of the revolt experienced outside Greece? We asked two comrades from North America, to write about their experience. Their reply, that “Nothing happened,” is a letter to friends in Greece that discusses their effort to interpret the events in the country while encountering the brutality of Canadian police apparatus at the same time. They talk about their faith in our common ideas and the 19 joy derived from the events in Greece—but, at the same time, confess

an apparently unavoidable depression and rage from the lack of such situations and activities in their own local setting. Soula M., a recipient of the Canadian letter, offers a reply: despite differences between those who experienced the revolt directly and those who witnessed it from afar, the mixture of feelings in the present is, if anything, quite similar. We all feel fear, faith and rage. Neither December nor the social antagonist movement in Greece are nearly as perfect as they may seem to some. The bottom line for her is that what matters for all of us (all those who experienced the revolt directly or indirectly, all who read these lines right now) is what we make of December and of our feelings about it. These two, the event and our feelings, are interwoven—and it is this interconnection that will bring about the Decembers we have yet to live.

### CRISES

After the fury, the rage, and the joy of December, Greece entered the trajectory of crisis proper. The crisis had, of course, been looming before December and it was experienced by some of the most vulnerable parts of society—like the young proletariat—as TPTG makes clear, and yet it was not until 2010 that the state would officially admit that the wave of capitalist crisis had reached the shores of Greece, and acknowledge the massive accumulation of debt that marked capitalist consumption across Europe as a whole. Christos Lynteris discusses the economic crisis as an eventual substitution, in a way engaging with Yannis Kallianos who opened the discussion several pages before by seeing an event in the December 2008 revolt. In Chapter Thirteen, Lynteris deconstructs the medico-juridical origin of the notion of “crisis,” suggesting that it may be seen as a moment of truth, a moment when lengthier processes show their “real” substance. He expands this deconstruction to the political arena, explaining how crises are read as events that not only arise as a culmination, but which also define how entire processes will evolve, since they are—ostensibly— a moment of action and conflict. Regardless of whether the revolt was a genuinely course-changing event, the problem here is that in this moment of crisis that has followed, there is no single political tendency (Left, Right, or even anarchist) that is not going through a political crisis of its own—and none of them seem able to offer any viable alternatives as a result.

In Chapter Fourteen Yiannis Kaplanis comes in to talk about the economic crisis on a tangible level. He writes about the economics of the sovereign debt crisis in Greece and describes how a country

with an astonishing level of economic growth only saw this benefit very few. The economic data he presents shows how most people received a much worse deal even during the years of the “Greek miracle.” This supposed economic “miracle” was based on credit expansion, the construction of public works, and the real estate boom, rather than well-planned developmental policies that would be for the benefit of the wider social strata. As a result, precarious forms of employment and job polarisation were on the rise, particularly for younger people and women. And so came the moment of December, after approximately a decade of long-drawn-out crisis experienced by the most vulnerable strata. Kaplanis contextualises this eruption within the framework of the ongoing crisis. What is more, this economy that excludes the many and benefits the few was not interrupted by the revolt; it lived on, leading to the eruption of the sovereign debt crisis, which, in turn, led to an even worse reconfiguration for the poorer strata—whose numbers were dramatically increasing all the while.

In Chapter Fifteen, David Graeber reminds us that no debt can exist without another party benefiting from it. One person’s debt is another person’s surplus—or, in other words, the surplus of other countries is intertwined with the Greek debt. Graeber shows that, historically, debt came before the invention of money, but suggests that monetary economy is directly linked to the existence of debt. Various political powers throughout history have managed to control the system of debt with a level of regulation that did not allow debt to spiral out of control. It is only in the current system of late capitalism that the control over debt has become so weak. In light of his historical analysis, Graeber proposes that this current politico-economic system has reached its limit: “the utter moral bankruptcy of this system... has been revealed to all,” he suggests, and we are now inevitably in transition toward another form. As Graeber concludes, the trajectory of this transition will depend, among other things, upon the choices made by the antagonist movement and wider social fractions—and these will most definitely include the choice of approach toward debt itself.

Chapters Thirteen to Fifteen put the Greek crisis in context, whether historically (Graeber), economically (Kaplanis), or philosophically (Lynteris). Then, in Chapter Sixteen, TPTG attempt to place the Greek crisis in a global context. Here, they demystify the “debt crisis” by showing that it is the most recent expression of a protracted crisis of capitalist social relations, i.e. an exploitability crisis of labour power and a legitimacy crisis of the capitalist state and its institutions through a his 21 torical class analysis both on a global level and on Greece’s national lev-

el. TPTG suggest that the so-called “‘debt crisis’ is intended to become a productive crisis: a driver of primitive accumulation, dispossession, and proletarianization, a linchpin for the terrorizing, the disciplining, and the more effective exploitation of the proletariat through the curbing of class conflicts, proletarian desires, and expectations.” They go on to demonstrate all the measures of “shock therapy” applied to the proletariat in Greece until approximately September 2010 and the response of the working class up until then. The article concludes with remarks on the limitations of the current means of struggle in the fight against these attacks and the working class’s relatively disproportionate reaction to the profound attacks against it.

Chapter Seventeen begins a subsection of critical discussion on the crisis of the social antagonist movement, exploring its practices and discourses in face of the wider economic and social crisis. For Christos Boukalas, the jumping off point is the murder of three bank workers on 5 May 2010 during the demonstration against the IMF/EU/ECB loan—one of the largest demonstrations Athens had seen in recent times. Identifying the event as a watershed moment for the anarchist movement, Boukalas looks back at its causes, and forward to its impact. He tries to find out what went wrong politically and ideologically, and how some fractions of the antagonist movement ended up causing what would lead to a tragic event in the midst of one of the most important demonstrations in recent Greek history. He traces its main source to the construction of a fetishised “revolutionary” socio-political identity, an identity that positions its bearer as separate from, and against, society. The political and ideological fallacies of these tendencies have profound impact on the entire anarchist movement. Boukalas tries to assess it by discussing the numerous anarchist reactions to the 5 May events. He sees the events as a rare occasion when the movement would be forced to undertake some critical evaluation of its attitudes and practices. His study of anarchist responses to the events seems to indicate that even this opportunity went begging.

In Chapter Eighteen, Alex Trocchi attempts a wider theoretical critique of our collective self as anarchists, insurrectionists, or other tendencies of the antagonist movement. In an age of crisis, and given the epochal apogee we lived during December’s revolt, the question is not how to achieve insurrection but rather how to sustain it. Trocchi suggests that we need an outright change in our theory. Starting with the example of the revolt in Greece and the situations that followed,

22 Trocchi’s point is that for the insurrection to succeed we must perceive and do things far beyond the clichés of the anti-globalisation movement

and other “protest” movements in the past few decades. One problem is the lack of a well-developed theory, which leads not only to identity-based politics and fetishising the insurrection itself, but to the trapping of anarchists within the regime of social war as enforced by late capitalism. As Trocchi puts it: “The insurrectionary question should change from ‘How do we increase the intensity of the attack?’ to ‘How can the number of people involved in the attack increase?’” He ends by calling for the development of a new insurrectionist metaphysics, first of all amongst insurrectionists themselves. Revolts, as he concludes, have many more sympathisers than we may think. The question is how not to separate ourselves from them.

#### AN EXCEPTION NO LONGER

For many years we have grown accustomed to treating nearly everything coming out of Greece as somewhat mythical, or at least exceptional. Take its geography for example: the country is European, we are told, yet it is somewhat Oriental; it lies in the southern end of the Balkan peninsula yet it’s in the West. Or politically: here is a European Union member-state whose laws resemble the bureaucracy of the Ottoman Empire, its finances edge closer to a “developing” country than the EU “core,” and so on. And, let us not forget of course, the perceived strength of its anarchist and social antagonist movement in general: “They riot so often, and there are thousands of them in the streets”; “Well, that’s just Greece.” Here we have the peculiar Greek state, then, a state that has been perceived as—quite literally—a State of Exception, a territory in which all sorts of peculiarities, diversions, and anomalies can prevail. A haven on the edge of the Western world where social and class antagonism is still alive and kicking, a dissenting singularity standing as a reminder of the consensual veil falling over the political realm elsewhere. In his famous definition, Carl Schmitt reads sovereignty as the power to decide on the state of exception (1985: 5). The Greek territory had long ago joined the club of romanticised, faraway places in an imaginary realm decided upon and dictated by sovereignty itself: Chiapas, Buenos Aires, South Central, the French banlieues, Exarcheia.... Perceived as ultimate sites of anomaly, these were distant places (no matter how geographically close, in fact, you might happen to be to them), places supposedly playing host to struggles neoliberal sovereignty would never allow within its geographical core.

A strange thing happened after December 2008. From that moment on—that is, from that moment of absolute diversion from normal-

ity, of the ultimate exception—the Greek case was no longer exceptional. It would seem as if people across so many boundaries finally responded to Walter Benjamin’s call for a real state of emergency (1942), a state of exception brought about by the oppressed, not their oppressors.

Sure enough, this was not just Greece anymore. So, then, was the Greek revolt a prelude to a European version of this global crisis? Or was it the last few words of the preceding chapter? By now, the question of what happened first matters little. More significant than the sequence of events is the occurrence of the events themselves. Blending in with global struggles, the moment of revolt was no longer a near-fantasy in a far-away place. And by being the first area in the Eurozone to ground the crisis so firmly, Greece was entering a global condition, therefore abandoning any exceptionality of its own for good.

A feeling of *déjà vu*, anyone? The U.S. government-backed military dictatorship of 1967–1974 was a crucial and failed experiment to determine whether Latin American-style military dictatorships could flourish on European soil. This time around, the same territory would once again host an experimental mode of governance in which powers are shifted away and above the level of national territory. Of course to us, as anarchists and anti-authoritarians, the distance from which orders come would not matter so much (more important is the fact that they are still coming!). But the landing of the IMF/EU/ECB “troika” in Athens as a key player in the everyday operations of the state is an experiment with repercussions reaching way beyond the ground on which we stand. What happens on Greek territory in the coming months and years may prove to be absolutely crucial. With the eyes of so many of our comrades in the social antagonist movement turned there during and after the December revolt, any perceived failure to halt the IMF’s charge ahead could be incredibly demoralising. Yet in the face of this crisis, some of our comrades in the antagonist movement have been quick to dismiss our chances of victory in any possible way. One of the 20th century’s major capitalist crises led to Fascism, then Nazism, as the argument goes, and thus there is supposedly a good chance that history will repeat itself. Of course history is never truly repeated and the outbreak of Nazism as a refuge of a previous capitalist crisis cannot act as any sort of indicator for its repetition.

Something new is about to be born. We live in a period that is not at all distant from its immediate past and is yet so alien, so monstrous. The gruesomeness of the monster lies precisely in its not-quite-human form of life: it resembles something human, but it is not quite the same. In this sense, our times are monstrous, but not for the first time. At

the twilight of the rise of Fascism, Antonio Gramsci predicted from his prison cell: “The old world is dying away, and the new world struggles to come forth: now is the time of monsters” (Gramsci 1971). He was insightful enough to see that the world was changing and, even behind prison bars, he could feel the spectre of Fascism hanging in the air.

Yet take heart, for not all periods of transition create monsters. If they did, we might very well give up struggling and resign ourselves to the idea that history will continue to jump from one monstrosity to the next, even more appalling one. We remember Gramsci, but we also must remember what a “monster” is to begin with: it is a hybrid living being—usually part human, part animal. The fear it induces in humans is precisely due to its resemblance to them.

Instead of a conclusion, then, we want to close with the notion of hybridity as a metaphor for our time and place. The monster is the quintessential hybrid, a combination of life forms, human and bestial. Our own, collective position is also a hybrid one. As political subjects and as writers, all of us contributing to this collection stand simultaneously inside and outside the geographical boundaries of the Greek state and, of course, we stand between two points in time— between a present and a future, a fleeting moment, a moment that gives birth to monstrosities and the enormous potentialities contained in them. This is not a purely negative moment; living in these in-between times is not a threat, it is a potentiality. Breaking down the boundaries of present and future, we must read this relationship, following Giorgio Agamben, as one between the outside and the inside: “the outside is not another space that resides beyond a determinate space,” he says, “but rather, it is the passage, the exteriority that gives it access in a word, it is its face” (2007: 68). Let’s take this as a metaphor for the present and the future: the future is not another time entirely outside our present; it is the exterior of the present, its façade—what gives it access, what allows us simultaneously to understand the limits of the present and to sense the move to the future. We are at that precise moment, dancing on that façade: A time when struggling for the way in which this transition will happen is more crucial than it has been for a long, long while. Wherever we are, we must quickly erect our antagonist social structures, as barricades ensuring this can happen on our own terms. For this transition, the place is here and the time is now.