



July 2014 issue 2

AVANTAGE

anarchist correspondence



Editorial

There's no other way. Our trajectories should not consist of running forward with blindfolds on. One has to keep finding the time, space and energy to remain critical towards his or her own activities, one's own projects. Not the criticism that make you fade away into inactivity, compromise and defeatism, only favoring the slow but steady absorption by authoritarian society, but the critique that continuously feels the heartbeat of the struggle. Yes, we are speaking of the critique that allows one to verify that one's acting is still synchronized with the ideas one is nourishing, that allows for perspectives to be deepened and struggle experiences to be fertile ground for further assault on authority. And this also counts for the very modest project of offering a space of international anarchist correspondence.

A third issue then, and therefore, also some questions and doubts. The initial idea of this project was not so much to read through the existing anarchist publications and pick out some significant texts to republish them in *Avalanche*. No, the idea was – and still is – that comrades would contribute words and analyses, ideas and questions, from out of their own context, their own paths, and their own experiences (as several contributions sent by comrades in this issue do) so as to give life to this correspondence and make it a *dangerous* matter. Dangerous, because away from the continuous information bombardment that seems only to promote passivity, away from the theatrical scenes of political representation which has also infected the anarchist movement, away from the very modern obsession with facts and figures, dead material which cannot fertilize the inseparable duo of ideas and dynamite of anarchism. So, asking the inevitable question, is this project still moving towards realizing this initial proposal? We will abstain from answering this question in the columns of this editorial and rather send it, together with this third issue, to all the comrades who see the meaning of a project of international anarchist correspondence.

These last years, uprisings have been taking place in several parts of the world. These insurrections have been breaching the walls of the historical triumph of State and Capital, so eagerly proclaimed after the 'defeat' of subversion in the

seventies. And if it is true that some obstacles of the past didn't show up with the same strength as before (political mediation, party leadership, authoritarian organization), other enemies and obstacles have arisen: from the conservative and counterrevolutionary forces inspired by Islamism in regions in open revolt like Syria to the new fascist ideologies emerging *inside* of the protests. And all this, in a context where dominion has conquered all aspects of human life, poisoning it with the non-ideology of commodities and technology (an ideology which doesn't have to struggle anymore to affirm itself, since it is becoming the essence of wrecked life itself). Some texts in this issue come straightly from very complex situations of revolt and uprising and challenge us to reflect on the anarchist perspective of insurrection. A *difference* then, a remarkable difference, between the times and spaces where we are fighting to break the concrete of social peace, disrupting the daily normality of production, consumption and obedience, trying by all means to keep the ideas of anarchy and freedom alive; and the everyday more palpable and imaginable perspective of insurrection, that is, a destructive movement launching a vast assault on the authoritarian and capitalist society. While these paths are connected, the difference in terms of perspective should encourage us to reflect, and to dare go further, dig deeper, project ourselves into a surely uncertain, unstable future, but rich in potentialities.

Everywhere, there are existing possibilities to break out of the enemy encirclement. The strength and courage to do this has to come from ourselves, but we can also feel a more favorable wind is blowing. It is a wind that cannot be pinned down in strict definitions or numbers, it is more like an *élan*, a fervor, an imaginary that is *different* than the social reproduction of dominion. An imaginary which could become revolutionary and inspire storms not foreseen by power. For sure, these are only some wild thoughts, but then, what would we be able to do without thoughts... and wildness?

Still a few words concerning some discussions going on in many anarchist circles, mainly coming down to the fundamental matter of *how can we attack?* It is beyond doubt that the paths enabling attack never end, never will encounter a final solution or

a recipe to embrace and apply. Attack needs two fundamental things: it needs ideas and it needs means. Why do we fight against this society, where can we hit the structures and people of exploitation and dominion? And then, or rather, simultaneously, where do we find the means to realize these attacks? Not only material, technical and logistical means, but also in terms of constellations of autonomous attack groups based on affinity, of insurrectional projects which enable a path towards ever more destructive and meaningful blows, of refusal to transform attack into a commodity served on the market of opinions, where appearance takes the upper hand on the actual act, of breaking the enclosures of field of struggle, of an internationalist approach. And yes, for this, continuous debate is necessary, even if it is difficult, even if sometimes it might be painful. *“We go forward, with passion, with strength, with pleasure, because we are aware that we have done everything and are ready to do everything for assuring we are going in the right direction. We take great care of study, we give it major attention, and we give our greatest energy to action.”* Those were the words of an anarchist in 1908, encouraging his comrades to not be afraid for effort, both mental and physical.

As to close this editorial, we send our greetings to all the comrades out there, wherever they are, in whatever situation they might be.

July 2014

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Anarquía, periódico anarquista – periodicoanarquia.wordpress.com

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El Surco (Santiago) – periodicoelsurco.wordpress.com

El Sembrador (Cauquenes) – periodicoelsembrador.wordpress.com

El Sol Acrata (Antofagasta) – periodicoelsolacrata.wordpress.com

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Fernweh (München) – fernweh.noblogs.org

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Lucioles (Paris) – luciolesdanslanuit.blogspot.fr

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Subversions (Paris) – subversions@riseup.net

UK

From Here On In (Bristol) – fromhereonin2012.wordpress.com

Canada

Sabotage Media – www.sabotagemedia.anarkhia.org

Websites

Contrainfo – contrainfo.espiv.net

Act for freedom now – actforfree.nostate.net

Tabula Rasa – www.atabularasa.org

Voz como arma – vozcomoarma.noblogs.org

Brèves du désordre – cettesemaine.free.fr/spip



SLEEPLESS NIGHTS AND STARRY SKIES

The World Cup in Brasil and international surges of insurrection

May 2014

The World Cup is not about football. If a country becomes a candidate for organizing this event, it is because football absolves the same function today as the spectacle of the gladiators did in ancient Rome, and because it is a golden opportunity for the managerial State to extend its economic development and political influence by leaps and bounds. The Cup incurs a monstrous cost, however the returns on investment will almost certainly be juicy. Brasil, considered one of the world's major economic powers, is counting on moving up the echelons by organizing the Cup and the Olympic Games.

The World Cup is also a project of power to bridle social tensions and worship the spectacle. For State bodies and economic interests, it is an opportunity to create the conditions to open up new markets, put an end to certain kinds of resistance and achieve a qualitative leap in the occupation of the territory and capitalist exploitation. This is the modern High Mass of the State and Capital, where the arrogance of power is exhibited in the spectacle of the stadiums, the howling masses, screens, live broadcasts and national pride. The granting of the organization of the 2014 World Cup to the Brazilian State has meant an immediate systematic intensification of the management of "social peace." New police units, the Unidades de Polí-

cia Pacificadora (UPP), have emerged, created along the model of the infamous "pacification operations" implanted since 2008 in dozens of tough neighbourhoods and favelas of Rio de Janeiro. The State has regained military control of the neighbourhoods in the name of the war on drug trafficking. According to official figures more than 5,500 people have been killed by police in Rio de Janeiro alone in the space of four years. In neighbourhoods where gangs of traffickers have been hunted down, the paramilitaries are now calling the shots.

But the World Cup obviously does not only have the uniformed side to it. For a sum exceeding 3500 million dollars, stadiums have been built in strategic points of the cities. Favelas have been evicted and razed to the ground to build new middle class neighbourhoods, shopping centres, luxury hotels and beach facilities. The transport axis and motorways have been redeveloped and secured; airports, ports and electricity networks have been built or rebuilt. In Rio de Janeiro 250,000 people have been evicted from their homes to make way for construction projects related to the World Cup 2014 and the 2016 Olympic Games. Brazilian Justice has not concealed its intentions about its plans for the future of all these stadiums most of which will only accommodate a few games: studies are un-

derway to examine how the new stadiums in Manaus, Brasilia, Cuiabá and Natal could be turned into prisons.

The World Cup is therefore an operation of *social cleansing*. The State and Capital are getting rid of the undesirables, the segments of the population that have become superfluous in commodity circulation and can only become sources of unrest. All the same it would be a mistake to consider this operation an “exception” that democracies legitimize through the World Cup: it is well and truly a restructuring and intensification of social control and exploitation. World Cup or crisis, war or reconstruction, natural disasters or emergencies... power has us dangling from “emergency situations” that are in fact the very core of capitalist and State progress.

The World Cup ceremony opens up every conceivable market. And this does not only concern real estate speculation or the security industry. For months farmers have been reporting that trucks full of cocaine have been coming and going from Colombia to meet the “needs” of the three million tourists expected. Just as happened during the World Cup in South Africa in 2010, prostitution will grow vertiginously. On the construction sites of the stadiums numerous immigrant workers work under particularly hard conditions, the companies flogging them in order to meet deadlines. Not to mention the different power factions in Brasil that are negotiating and entering into agreements with the government: the drug gangs are taking care of the dirty work of expelling people who resist the urbanization programs too much, whereas the paramilitaries are employed by companies to ensure security on construction sites and to crush strikes and protests through blackmail and murder.

But the new order of things is not just this horror. The new order of things is how in June 2013 Brasil was in flames for almost a month. What began as a movement against an increase in the price of bus tickets turned into uncontrolled widespread revolt against power. Since that month of revolt there have been more and more conflicts around the evictions, resistance against austerity plans, protests against police killings, or even antipatriotic disorders such as on the national holiday of 7 September etc., which have degenerated and escaped the control of classical political mediation. Over the past few months a social imagination has been created in Brasil that could set the streets alight again.

* * *

While power and its contenders are trying to stop the wave of uprisings in Syria and the revolts that are infecting more and more areas of the world, drowning them in a pool of blood; while in Greece the population has been oppressed and terrorized to erase the memory of the uprising of December 2008; while in

Ukraine, an uprising of the people sees itself trampled by a macabre game between different fractions of power; while in Egypt, Turkey, Bosnia, Libya, etc.. order seems to be reorganizing and re-establishing itself, the World Cup in Brasil presents itself as an attempt to put the social contradictions that are traversing Latin America in a straight jacket.

Taking different forms according to the various contexts and conditions, a restructuring of Capital and the State is underway everywhere in the world. National boundaries are revealing themselves to be more than ever what they have always been: fences and walls to manage the potential revolt of the disinherited. So it is no coincidence if in the face of the obvious contagion between the various revolts of the past few years – a contagion not so much based on similar conditions, but rather on a new non-mediated imagination of the possibility to rise up, of another life – the State is playing on nationalism and reactionary sentiments: from fascist movements in ascension in the European continent to the revival of patriotism in countries that experienced “the Arab spring”, or the cheap anti-imperialism of former leaders like Chavez, right to the fever for national football teams.

But instead of going into the movements of international reaction further, let us rather look at those of revolt and the possibilities they are opening up. During the revolt of June 2013 in Brasil, the rebels shouted, “*after Greece after Turkey now it is Brasil’s turn!*” The revolts that we have known in recent years have opened the way to putting an end to *here* and *there*. Links between national States on the question of repression have certainly been reinforced at breakneck speed, but that should neither surprise nor frighten us. Given growing social instability and the total intermingling of economies and State systems, one can imagine that when something happens in one place, it could also have consequences *elsewhere*. And this movement is already in act in the imagination, this particularly fertile ground for rebellion. It is now time to introduce this imagination into our projects of struggle and to seize the opportunities that arise.

There is no such thing as a science of insurrection. Many recent examples – from the riots in London in 2011 to the uprisings in the Arab world – show us the unpredictable character of insurrection. The pretexts might even be quite “trivial”. This unpredictability, however, should not push us into a waiting position for the “next one” somewhere in the world; rather it affirms the need for permanent conflictuality, a preparation in ideas and acts. This is the only way we can hope to not find ourselves unprepared at such moments: it matters little where one is on the planet, one can attempt to give qualitative contributions to pushing the revolts in course in a radically emancipatory direction, making them strike the fundamental structures of modern do-

minion and its reproduction, the structures that find themselves *behind* the rows of cops and façades of banks. Emphasis on the unpredictability of insurrection does not mean to say that it fell from the skies. It is fair to say that there may be tensions pointing to increasing opportunities for revolt, but there is no certainty that these will become reality. Conversely, there could be situations or conflicts that give no glimpse of the next outbreak of rebellion at all, yet blow the lid off things. However, the unpredictability of insurrection should not be a serious problem for anarchists who are continuously clashing with authority, it is a serious problem for the State. If we look at the massive investments in control and law enforcement that are being made internationally, it does not appear that the State is completely unaware of this weak point.

Insurrection is a game of unprecedented connections and unanticipated acts. It is not mathematics where numbers provide the final solution. It is not a matter of “external solidarity” applauding the revolt of others. Each context and each moment offers different possibilities and opportunities. Anarchists must give themselves analysis, knowledge and means to go on the offensive and attack.

One should also seek to learn insurrectional experiences, in one’s analyses as well as in one’s practices. Dominion’s time is moving faster and faster, blurring the memory of revolts. Insurrections are not the social revolution and should not be seen as steps in a linear development towards social revolution. Rather they are transient moments of rupture during which time and space escape the grip of power. Given the intensification of repression – the fact that authority is always ready to drown the uprising of the oppressed in blood – and the apparent confusion of the motivations of the many people in contemporary times of rebellion, some shrink from the insurrectionary perspective. And yet. It is precisely insurrection that is breaking the grip of control and repression in a world where mass extermination and organized killing are now the daily routine of State and Capital. It is precisely insurrection that is capable of creating the space for translating rejection and revolt into clearer and more assertive ideas. Fear of the unpredictable and uncontrollable nature of insurrection is not only found on the side of order, but also among the revolutionaries who seek salvation in the repetition of old political recipes: instead of attacking everywhere and all the time, the building of a unified revolutionary movement; instead of insurrection, the gradual development of a “counter-power”; instead of the necessary destruction, the illusion of a progressive change of attitudes. We then see the anarchists taking the role of the moribund left or former insurgents in search of certainties ranting on the “proletariat as historical subject” or starting to read Lenin to find recipes for a “victorious revolution”. Yet recent insurrectional experiences all point to the need to find other roads,

roads that separate themselves radically and permanently from any “political” vision of social war.

The classical revolutionary perspective of self management is dead. It is time to finally take notice and put an end to attempts to revive it in other words and in other forms. No structure of capital or the State can be taken to be used in an emancipatory way; no social category is in essence a carrier of a project of social transformation; no defensive battle will transform itself into a revolutionary offensive. The contemporary paradox lies in the fact that on the one hand, insurrection needs a dream of freedom to give it oxygen to persevere and on the other, its work must necessarily be totally destructive to have any hope of going beyond extinction and crystallization. Insurrection is necessary to open the path to individual and social liberation; and it is the vitamins of utopia that force undreamed of horizons in order to escape from the social prison. It is from the confluence of insurrectionary practice and ideas of freedom that a *contemporary revolutionary perspective* could arise.

The destructive nature of insurrection leads to the destruction of the edifice of the social prison we all live in. It is necessary to study and analyze where its walls, guards, watchtowers are today if we intend to strike them. Modern domination has disseminated structures that enable the reproduction of the social prison everywhere. Think of the ubiquitous technological infrastructures that attach each and every one of us to the role of prisoner without having visible chains as such. Or how capitalist accumulation is basically moving towards *circulation*. In Europe at least, exploitation is no longer concentrated in huge bastions as before, but has spread and decentralized, encompassing every aspect of life. The connections between these aspects are guaranteed by paths, cables, pipelines, railways, underground pipes that represent the veins of dominion. We will certainly not be the last to howl with joy if insurgents set fire to the parliament anywhere in the world, but the anarchists’ contribution to the social war without doubt also consist of pointing to and attacking how and where authority feeds and reproduces itself more specifically.

But destruction is not enough. Deed and thought must go hand in hand. We cannot hope to pull down the walls of the social prison if we are not already trying to look beyond the walls towards unknown horizons, no matter how difficult. *You can’t think freely in the shadow a church*. That’s true. But the church is not just a building, it is the realization of social relations and dominant ideologies. It is in *desiring* what these relations and ideologies don’t offer, what they erase from the imagination, whose *very possibility to be thought* is suppressed, that we will find ourselves at daggers drawn with the existent. We have no need for yet another programme to planify the transformation of the world, nor

alternative experiences that would plant the seeds of anarchy of tomorrow. No! What we lack is the projection of ourselves into a completely other environment, dreams. Only leaving behind us the realism that claims a new coat of paint for our cells, longer walks, more activities ... can we hope to start dreaming again, give words to our desires, these essential words to express and communicate a revolutionary perspective. The world gives a glimpse of what can be done, *we must do what cannot be done*. Find an anarchist ethical tension towards what surrounds us again, the spearhead of our struggle for freedom. Not let anti-authority degenerate into a political posture, but make it burn as something that animates us daily, something that intoxicates us with desires, uncontrollable in thought as in deed. Continue starting from the individual, to the autonomous individuality capable of reflecting, dreaming and acting, always and everywhere, during moments of social unrest and bloody reaction, against the winds and tides of conformity and strategic evaluations. The heart of such an impetuous anarchism is also the nucleus of future revolutionary perspectives.

* * *

Nobody has any doubts any more. Nor does the State. The World Cup in Brasil will not go ahead smoothly, just as all the social cleansing projects in the countries of the Amazon have come up against unexpected resistance that will not let itself be disarmed easily. The Brazilian government has allowed itself to announce that it will mobilize 160,000 police and military to maintain order during the high mass, reinforced by

tens of thousands of private security guards in training all over the world at this very moment. Each State is accentuating its propaganda for its national team and preparing for the massive influx of tourists and foreign exchange, the other side of the capitalist war. They are preparing us for a global tribute to power and the crushing of revolt.

The World Cup is materializing in a number of fields which are all possible avenues of attack. In the neighbourhoods of the Brazilian cities, it is taking the form of the militarised urban cleansing carried out by international construction companies, architects of-fices from all over and the mastodons of technology. National emblems will flood the streets, commercial sponsors will bombard the whole planet with advertisements, the media will ensure live programmes of the spectacle of alienation. Security companies and consultancies are hammering on the gates of the authorities with modern models of anti-insurgency combat in the necropoli, while a tight mesh of communication technologies permits diversified control. The machinery of the World Cup is made up of countless cogs that are closely connected and interdependent: it's for everyone, all over the world, to consider what wheels are likely to disrupt and paralyse the machinery.

“Nãõ vai ter Copa.” Many rebels in Brasil are preparing to transform the World Cup into a nightmare for the State and a torch of insurrection for lovers of freedom. This torch should not only burn in Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paolo or Porto Alegre, let's seize the opportunity to illuminate the darkness of dominion everywhere.

In many cities in Brasil, demonstrations, blockades, riots and attacks spread with the starting of the World Cup.

In numerous countries and regions across the world, solidarity actions and attacks have been realised: incendiary attack against the Uruguayan Football Association in Montevideo; arsons against company vehicles (like Bosch, providing security infrastructure to the World Cup) in Berlin and an attack against the Brazilian embassy in that same city; wild demos on the streets like in Besançon (France), Zurich (Swiss) and Hamburg (Germany); attacks targeting architects or shops collaborating with the World Cup like in Hamburg; incendiary sabotage of 7 mobile phone antennae around Bristol (UK); and probably many others.

INTERNATIONAL CALL FOR SABOTAGE AND DIRECT ACTION AGAINST THE WORLD CUP

International Solidarity Cell To Win or Die For Anarchy - May 2014

On June 12, 2014 begins the world football cup in Brazil, a sporting event which businesspeople, politicians, journalists and sympathizers eagerly await, some because of greed, others because of nationalist exacerbation, a World Cup that has the highest budget ever invested in history (over 600,000 million dollars, and the account is not even closed yet...).

However, beyond the colourful atmosphere, the dances, the carnival, the "cheerfulness", the reality is different:

In Carioca (Rio de Janeiro), the repressive forces that are commanded by the evil born Dilma Rousseff and trained by US counter-terrorist brigades, namely the army, the police or the ironically named Pacifying Police Unit (UPP), led by the militiamen Alexandre Braga and Ezequiel Oliveira de Mendonça, are implementing a policy of extermination against the marginal population, concentrating their attacks in the favelas and the poorest zones of this region. An extermination that is far from diminishing, since the deployment of military police, orchestrated by the chief of police Tarcísio Andreas Jansen and the colonel Marcelo Rocha, has further increased as the inauguration ceremony approaches.

In cities like São Paulo alone, nearly 70,000 families have been displaced during the constructions for the World Cup preparations, while in Rio de Janeiro approximately 40,000 homes have faced the same fate.

The Brazilian State, showing off its progressive and assistentialist reputation, has offered an amount of money to some of the evicted (obviously none of them was from the bourgeois neighbourhoods, since the latter were not affected one bit) which is far from enough to recover their original dwelling, thus spitting on the residents' dignity, and thinking that money can cover for all the bloodshed.

And when we talk of bloodshed, there have been hundreds of wounded and dozens of dead in Brazil over the past few months.

We cannot fail to mention the repugnant activity of the State, which is assassinating in the most cowardly way children who survive on the streets, in order to receive an estimated 600,000 tourists that will arrive in the country, offering them in turn the hundreds of bodies of women and girls subjected to prostitution.

These postcards, perhaps unknown to many, are the

currency in South America; hence our rage is born of the most sincere hatred, the limited covering of basic needs, the daily submissions and the constant humiliations; hence our rage is not out of boredom or revolutionary pose but is necessary and urgent, and clearly, beautifully violent...

As anarchists, we cannot remain indifferent to so much misery, so much pain, so much torture and so much death.

Those responsible for these atrocities do not go hiding; they are the sponsors, the multinationals, the society itself that tolerates and encourages this tournament with its passivity and servility.

Of the former, we are able to find offices and representatives in various parts of the globe...; next, all we have to do is adjust the sights and shoot.

From the latter, we do not expect or ask anything, so we call ourselves to act, the anarchist combatants in various regions, the refractories of this filthy order, and the subversives who understand that the only way is direct and real confrontation.

For consequence and coherence, in rebellion and action.

For this reason, this statement is not intended to be a mere repudiation, but a clear incitement to conspiracy, sabotage and attack against all the instruments of the system of domination that aims to domesticate us, and specifically in this case, this shitty World Cup.

So for our part, at the kickoff, we made an anonymous call to the JJ8011 flight of the TAM Airlines from Buenos Aires destined for São Paulo, warning of an explosive device with the aim of sabotaging the normal flow of tourists who arrive in the region dominated by the Brazilian government, either unaware of what is taking place over there or complicit through their apathy.

IF NOT YOU, WHO? IF NOT NOW, WHEN?

Active solidarity with comrades in revolt across Brazil!

Vengeance for those injured, imprisoned and killed by the State!

There will not be a World Cup!



HAMBURG : A CAGE CALLED CITY

Contribution from Hamburg (Germany) - July 2014

We want to take a look at the city of authorities. A look, from the outside and beneath the surface. Not only to analyze the situation in Hamburg, but also because we think that this situation is comparable to other places in the world and that our questions are the same, despite the different contexts.

Hamburg is one the most rich and biggest german cities and has about 2 millions official residents. With such a population its clear that this doesn't mean generalized wealth, but that this city consists of hundreds of worlds, existing parallel.

Hamburg is widely (in)famous for its' conservative politics and urban sellout on a lot of levels. There is a long and remarkable tradition of building projects and the aggressive destruction and restructuring of whole neighborhoods without any respect for the social structures these projects affect. The socio-political climate in the city is shaped by a cold pragmatism that shows clearly the interest of those in power.

The look at the politics of a city – that describes itself more as a brand than a social context – can offer us moments and questions with the potential of becoming social conflicts.

The potential weaknesses of the cage.

To look at the city as a cage we are trapped in opens up a perspective from which we can see, where we can interrupt and sabotage the predicted order. The possibility to open up spaces, that are not supposed to be there, that give us chances to break out. Let's see the city as a miniature model of this world. We see the places, that are there for the different social groups, that are opened for one group and closed for and cleaned from another. We see the cables and lines, the flows of energy, money, the public transport, that move the workforce from a to b. We see the spectacle, that keeps us distracted from what we're not supposed to see and feel. We see it everywhere, sometimes more

obvious, sometimes less: the order and its guards.

Uniformed or not, armed or as social workers or teachers. As authoritarian institutions. As concrete and barbed wire.

For us to be able to breath, a social revolt is necessary!

The city's system of power-structures and authorities might be complex and interwoven but its central and decentralized places, those more and less direct responsible for the misery of everybody's life can be named and attacked. The question is just where to begin.

In the last 18 months, there where at least 36 attacks on politicians of different political parties in Hamburg. Private houses, cars, offices. Paint, bricks, fire, sometimes everything together. It is clear that we're longing for a situation, in which the governing and controlling of our lives becomes a damn inconvenient thing and they have to take responsibility for what they do on a daily basis. They are talking about „no-go-areas“ for politicians – but we don't just want them out of the neighborhoods we live in – we want them out of our lives!

Hamburg is democratic, through and through!

If it pacifies the situation or benefits the image, Hamburg can be a really liberal and “modern” place. On the other side, you have political hardliners, that keep the cage nice and clean.

If we look at last years tensions and the current situation you have to see, that this doesn't always work without problems. The rising unrest in the streets between June 2013 and January 2014, linked to conflicts around the „Danger Zones“ (temporary zones, where the police can control people without reasons...even more than they already do) or the repression against refugees didn't leave those who oppose the authorities unaffected. The experiences of uncontrolled moments in the streets left traces that are visible in a rising culture of wild, spontaneous resistance that doesn't need an official frame, leaders or political spokespersons.

Often you could see groups of people strolling through the streets, sometimes masses, sometimes just a few. Sometimes with banners, sometimes just chanting, clapping, sometimes attacking and always one step ahead of the cops.

It became obvious, that this development leads to a problem for the police. With the absence of announced places, official structures, timelines and homogenous methods, a lot of their strategies end in nowhere. We should keep in mind, that this will not last forever. They will change their methods, they will try to find ways.

The biggest threats of their most powerful weapon, Democracy, are conversion and assimilation. Politics, if parliamentary or not, will always try to profit from the assimilation of conflicts. We need to create a climate of clear words and deeds, that don't leave any doubt. Whoever gets involved in political mediation will play after their rules and steps up on a stage, on which they dictate the order.

Even if things cooled down a bit the last half a year - we can see, for example with the riots in the night of June 6th, that nothing is over. As anarchists, we will continue to be present, sometimes more sometimes less visible, with all we have, our ideas in words and deeds, in the streets.

**Lets destroy the cage they're keeping us in and take back our lives!
For anarchy and subversion!**

Incomplete chronology of subversive moments and deeds in the last months in Hamburg

04.05. Colour and stones against an office of the SPD (socialdemocratic party of Germany – ruling in Hamburg) in the district of Altona.

06.05. Attack with colour and stones against the swedish honorary- consulate in Hamburg as an action against the elections and in solidarity with the rebels in sweden.

10.05. Around 20 masked individuals attack the home of hamburgs mayor Olaf Scholz aswell as the cops installed infront of the house for his protection. Colour, stones and fireworks damaged the house, the station of the cops aswell as their cars. For the withdrawal they left caltrops.

21.05. Stones and colour against the SPD office in Harburg district.

03.06. Colour against the SPD office in Niendorf district.

05.06. Colour against the SPD office in St. Pauli distict.

06.06. After the brutal attacks by cops on a protest held by refugees from Lampedusa and their supporters, which took place on Thursday, June 5th at the Hamburger Rathausmarkt — hundreds of people took to the streets of St. Pauli. A big unauthorized demonstration with up to 1,000 participants started by 8pm at Neue Pferdemarkt and went over Schanzenviertel's main street, the Schulterblatt. Slogans against the State and borders have been sprayed on walls of houses, banks and shops, there was firework and it was loud. After the cops stopped the demonstration the crowd dispersed and came together again at different times and places. Partly, there were several demonstrations at the same time.

The local office of the social-democratic party (SPD) in St. Pauli got attacked; furthermore, the entrance of the home of Hamburg's senator of justice in the Brigittenstraße was destroyed. People built many barricades and the cops got attacked. These are only a few impressions of this night. The cops didn't manage to control the situation. It was pleasant to see that many took own initiative and were well prepared. No borders! No states!

For many uncontrolled summer nights!

As it could be read tonight on a freshly painted wall in St. Pauli: "For social revolt!"

12.06. Attack of "VANDALOS" against the home of the architect Volkwin Margin, who planned stadiums for the football – worldcup in Brasil and other shit. Slogans like "Fuck FIFA!" were spraypainted, flyers were distributed and fireworks lit up.

20.06. Against the spectacle of domination! Spontaneous demonstration against the football-worldcup and attack against Adidas. In the evening 30-40 people spontaneous and unauthorised gathered and held a demonstration in the Schanzen district to show their hate against the FIFA, the states and its servants aswell as their solidarity with the rebels in Brasil. The Adidas store in Schulterblatt was attacked with stones and colour. Before the cops arrived the people dispersed. This short moment showed that we can take the streets we just have to do it.



SOME THOUGHTS ON THE UKRAINIAN REVOLUTION

Letter from an Ukrainian anarchist - July 2014

[Here's a letter from an anarchist friend (he's in Kiev). It's supposed to be a reply to Crimethinc's recent article on the Ukrainian revolution and to everyone who so eagerly claims Ukrainian revolution to be a right-wing only affair. - Note by 325.nostate.net]

Comrades!

I'm writing to you from Ukraine. I participated a lot in Maidan riots and different anarchist initiatives during that time and want to make several comments that I find to be important for a better understanding of events. In general I agree with your hypothesis', but I want to emphasize several details which will make the picture not so dark.

To start with, nationalists and fascists took over the forefront of the confrontations only in the media image of Maidan. They have no real control over activities of protesters, but they controlled the scene of Maidan and the fascination of the mainstream medias.

Fascists from "Right Sector" and other organizations had a control only over their members. And it is very remarkable to emphasize that their organizational structures hadn't been very hierarchical. Groups among them were decentralized.

Some of their members had a really vague understand-

ing of far-right values and had supported them only because they were the "most radical" force. Dmytro Jarosh, the leader of "Right Sector", was rather a media person, the speaker of "Right Sector", then actual Fuhrer. Now "Right Sector" almost has disappeared from public discourse. When the new authorities killed Oleksandr Muzychko, a commander of "Right Sector" in the Western regions of Ukraine, and several other provocations had happened, they disintegrated into a fictional "monstrous fascism" in Russian propaganda.

The real danger for anarchists was presented by "C14" neonazi group – youth militants from Svoboda party. They have almost no political hegemony and support from other protesters (Svoboda party tremendously lost their support as the result of their opportunistic policies during the uprising). They know Kiev antifascists and anarchists by face, because we had confronted a lot of them before Maidan. This group was not so big (100-200 people), but well-organized and better equipped. We couldn't form an anarchist "hundred-unit", because of their pressure. And during the defense of the Occupied Ministry of Education they were the biggest threat for us.

I talked with decades of other militant protesters and usually they discuss anarchism with great interest. Most of them didn't believe in any parties and fought, as they used to say, "against the police, authorities and corruption".

Personally, I consider the fantastic self-organization and solidarity among the protesters as the manifestation of practical “folk anarchism”. Although it was badly comprehended.

Due to the consequences of Maidan and considering the demands of the protesters, the political impact of the upheaval is not nationalistic, but liberal. The dominant part of protesters talk about a “better state (welfare state) with bureaucracy which is not corrupt, police which take care of our security and an army which will protect us from invaders, etc.”. The new president of Ukraine in his last speech promised that he will decentralize all authorities and give more rights and resources to local communities. And I’m afraid that smart ‘soft policies’ might repress the protest atmosphere for another decade. At the same time, it doesn’t seem that political elites understand this. They keep being corrupt and vote for brutal neo-liberal reforms.

The majority of people have decided to give credit to the new authorities. The degree of radicalism has fallen down. People think that they can achieve compromises with them and usually use tactics of picketing and other legal forms of protest. The efficiency of those tactics is not so big, so I hope it provokes people to become more radical.

And I think that national rhetoric about Maidan was superficial. The Ukrainian flag and the slogan “Slava Ukraini” (Honor of Ukraine) lost in some sense their state symbolism. During that time they were symbols of riots. Although after the beginning of the war, a strong reaction among the society has started. There was a shock, people didn’t know what to do about the Russian army in Crimea, so they gave credit to the army and the new authorities (right-centrist and neo-liberal parties in parliament). Today, common patriotism and nationalism displays itself as Russophobia and support of the Ukrainian army in the war, but not in support of the authorities and a strong state. There was a moment before the election of the new president when people believed that somehow Poroshenko would bring the stability back. That’s how most of them justified why they voted for him. But it seems to me that officials keep losing their support day after day.

Second, in fact, there were no “hundred-person fighting units with a strict hierarchy of command”. Self-defense forces consisted of approximately 40 hundred-units in Maidan. And only a dozen of them were nationalist or fascist.

Others have been united by regional (for instance, Lviv hundred) or community (Afghanistan veterans hundred) principle. Also there were not only “militant” hundred-units that took the brand “hundred”. For instance “Art hundred” which used to make decisions by consensus (they were strongly influenced by anarchists). I consider even more prominent that during the clashes on Grushevskogo street and Instytutska street, the real force who fought the police consisted of thousands of

autonomous groups. From 2 to 10 friends used to fighting with police without any organizational membership. I personally participated in clashes just in a group of my friends who were not anarchists! (I didn’t participate in an affinity group during that time and all of my anarchist comrades were away at that time). Moreover, hundreds-units didn’t have 100 persons in them. Before clashes on Instytutska street, most of the “hundreds” have 20-40 people in. People just used to leave their hundreds after they got bored. There was a funny moment in the occupied Ministry of Education (the defense of that place were held mostly by anarchists). Two guys that joined us said “we left our hundred, they do nothing, and it seems to us that guarding of this place is more exciting). The constitution of militant protesters was very dynamic and not unified.

Third, after the clashes on Instytutska street, finally Maidan spread to all neighborhoods in Kiev and then to most of the cities and even villages in Ukraine.

People self-organized into local self-defense forces to fight the police and “titushkas” (pro-government militants). We (anarchists) understood the necessity of decentralization and spreading the protest to all parts of the city and the country, but due to the lack of experience of direct action, we haven’t brought an impulse to this tactic. People intuitively came to this after the government had blocked the subway which paralyzed the transport system in Kiev. Unprecedented violence on Instytutska street was so terrifying that it pushed forward schoolboys with wooden and metal sticks from villages in central Ukraine to stop buses with “titushkas”.

These local self-defense forces are more or less active until today. For example, they fight against property developers. I think that tactic of bringing disasters to quiet neighborhoods and blocking transport and other infrastructures in the cities might be fruitful in further uprisings.

To sum up, I think far-right organization are likely to capitalize on the uprising which is fertile for anarchism, but they have to evolve and adapt to that new ground. They have to make a serious effort to stay there. They just can’t fully absorb protest from below.

So I think this situation is not so bad for anarchists. I encourage anarchist groups to take a part in a heart of uprisings, proposing not only more radical forms of direct action but drawing a truly radical political perspective. The best places for agitation of people are barricades. Also we have to provoke radical changes. We have to open new sides of what is permitted. First Molotov cocktails in the history of independent Ukraine was very different. For example, today cops and politicians are not untouchable anymore in Ukraine. What is next? We have to take out a prohibition from private property. We don’t have to wait until the creation of a “big workers movement” as my syndicalist comrades do, or seek for mainstream media attention, or ap-

proval by liberal friends (as many of us did), we have to fight the state and the reactionaries now.

The attention of Ukrainian society has been turned to war on the East. The most remarkable phenomenon there are voluntary battalions. The most famous called "Donbas". The commanders of it call themselves as the "network of patriots". On several videos he demonstrated more or less a critical, but liberal position. Also, there is a battalion Azov, which consist of neonazis (although the mainstream tell nothing about their ideology). Other battalions don't have any political impact. I can't tell you a lot about the state of affairs in the East, because I haven't been there. I take my information from open and usually mainstream medias. In case if you have some doubts about pro-Russian side of the conflict, their leaders are, for sure, far-right. Usually their rhetoric is full of Russian imperialism and chauvinism, racism, homophobia and religious fundamentalism. Their anti-fascism is fake. It is just a product of Soviet mythology about the Second World War. For sure, there might be some people who think that they fight for their freedom, against real fascism and not for Putin, but they are not presented in political discourse.

Several anarchists have joined voluntary battalions. I don't think that it was best decision, but I can understand them. The lack of any activities and visible perspectives in Kiev combined with a true wish of resistance forces them to go to the war. I don't believe that they will become nationalists or something like this, I'm sure they work out-and-out to agitate soldiers and explain to them what is anarchism.

Probably, their new experience will be very useful for comrades who have stayed at home soon.

It's hard to predict the end of the story. But there is no reason for despair. New authorities are loosing their legitimacy. Also, there are lots of issues in the army.

Bad living conditions in soldier's camps and a stupid administration which brings death creates a fugitive atmosphere in the army. The rising prices, economic cuts and the recession can bring a new major crisis in Ukraine. I believe that for anarchists, the only acceptable perspective is the second wave of revolution. There is no other way than revolution in all our region. Ukrainian anarchists have to inspire Russian and Belarussian comrades to rise up. Only together we will be able to overthrow capitalism in our region and the world.

Solidarity with anarchist Aleksandr Kolchenko

Aleksandr Kolchenko was detained in Crimea on the 17th of May 2014 on suspicion of participation in a "terrorist group," preparation of a terrorist attack, and arson.

He is suspected of having participated in a "terrorist group" which planned explosions near the eternal fire memorial and the Lenin monument in Simferopol on the 8th and 9th of May, and of having sabotaged railway tracks and electricity lines. Kolchenko is also suspected of having carried out two arson attacks: against the headquarters of the Russian Unity-party and Russian Community of Crimea on the 14th of April, and the office of the United Russia party in Simferopol on the 18th of April. He has since been transferred to Moscow and is being kept in the Lefortovo remand prison. The case is run by the FSB, the former KGB.

Aleksandr is an anarchist and antifascist who has participated in student and environmental actions in Crimea. He has been part of campaigns against tuition fees and supported workers' rights protests. He was under constant Nazi attack for his antifascist ideas. One incident took place after a film screening about murdered antifascist journalist Anastasiya Baburova, where he was attacked by thirty Nazis using knives. In this context, claims by the Russian authorities that Aleksandr is part of the nationalist "Right Sector" are ridiculous, and he is denying these claims.

As lawyers of the accused are subject to a gag order, we have limited information on the charges. We know that Aleksandr has admitted to being present at the location of the arsons, but he denies terrorist charges, which carry a 20-year maximum prison sentence. There is no reason to believe that he has implicated anyone else.

Aleksandr Kolchenko is claimed to be part of a bigger group protesting against the Russian invasion of Crimea by organising direct actions. A famous film director, Oleg Sentsov has also been detained under the same suspicion, as well as two others who are now collaborating with the Russian authorities. All of them are claimed to be part of the Right sector (a Ukrainian ultra-right organisation).

The whole case should be considered to be part of the Russian campaign to take over Crimea, which includes repression against anyone who doesn't comply with the new authority.

An international week of actions for the arrested will take place from July 15 to July 22.

For more information and very needed financial support, contact the *Anarchist Black Cross of Moscow*: abc-msk@riseup.net.



No TELEVISION, NO PHONE, NO RADIO FOR THE VOTERS

Hors Service - Belgium - July 2014

The day before the European and national elections. 24th of May 2014. The circus of opinions and the incessant bombardment of lies and promises is coming to an end. The voter is getting ready to do his duty as a citizen. He is complaining, that's beyond doubt. He is complaining that politicians don't have ideas anymore, that they are all the same, that they are one big mafia. But still he goes to the ballot box. But still he will choose his master and give his approval that everything may continue as before. And so he becomes an accomplice of the politicians. And so he becomes also the enemy of those who reject this whole circus, who refuses to still have masters or bosses, left or right, corrupted or "honest". He becomes our enemy, the enemy of those who fell in love with freedom.

The day before the elections. During the night, in Wavre, an huge transmission tower antenna of the French public television and radio RTBF is put on fire. The arson provokes a total black out of several radio stations, some digital television broadcasts are disrupted. In the province of Brabant Wallon and in the south of Brussels, the whole mobile phone and mobile internet network of the company Base is down, because the tower antenna also functioned as a knot between tens or even hundreds of mobile phone antennae. Elsewhere, in Veltem-Beisem close to the city of Leuven, in Flemish Brabant, another transmission antenna is hit, this time belonging to the Flemish public television and radio VRT, also arson. There, some radio stations are disrupted. So, on the night before the elections, on the day of the elections, hundreds of

thousands of people were for once sheltered from the data bombardment, of the frenzy of modern communication which is nothing but alienation, of the mind control the powerful are realizing through their apparatuses of propaganda.

The day of the elections, we were all supposed to be listening to the voice of the master, reaching us through the internet, the television and the radio. We were supposed to speak all day long about the results of the elections. But maybe, thanks to these sabotage acts, some might have spoken about something different, who knows. Sabotage provokes a rupture, a crack in the normality. Something which wasn't supposed to happen. Something abnormal. It's not strange then to see the administrator of the RTBF declaring that "*When a media is attacked, it is bad for everyone. I think somebody wanted to send a disgusting signal.*" Disgusting? For who? Disgusting is the word we would rather reserve for the elections circus, for the world in which we are living, for the spectacle by which power assures itself of the assent of its subjects by presenting it as a "choice". Disgusting are the media who brainwash, the journalists who transmit the voice of power and legitimize all atrocities committed in the name of power, from war to total poisoning of the environment and the murders by the cops. Disgusting is that we are living in a time where the communication means are omnipresent, but where nobody any longer knows how to communicate, to dialogue, to discuss, to reflect, because everybody is repeating what the machines and the screens are saying to them.

The anarchists are enemies of all authority, be it statist, capitalist or patriarchal. They are for freedom and against slavery. But they are not stupid. They know that authority is not only the politicians, the capitalists and the leaders. It is also those who obey, those who consent to be exploited, and those who follow orders. Even if we will never put on the same level those who exert and those who undergo authority, those who possess the industries and those who are being exploited in the factories, those who wear the uniform and those who are forced to respect them, we will not stop saying that the only way to emancipate is to start to fight, is to break the cohabitation between masters and slaves.

We are probably many asking ourselves. How come that after centuries of oppression and exploitation, the capitalist system and the state power still seem in good health? Why haven't they been eradicated from the surface of the earth, thrown into the gutter like all rot? Many attempts were made, attempts of insurrection and social revolution. But today, we have to acknowledge the fact that domination has managed to include a vast majority of the exploited themselves. Through the fetishism of consumption, generalized numbness, the decentralization and thus the spread of power to all spheres of human life, capital and state seem, for the moment, to manage to block off any horizon other than the reproduction of the existent. This reproduction, the social reproduction of domination, is probably the principal target of the revolutionary intervention today. If sometimes riots may erupt, a discontent may express itself in the streets, virulent reac-

tions may happen against yet another crime of power, the question is to aim further, deeper, more fundamental: it is about targeting what is supposed to guarantee "the normal way of things".

To return to the sabotages of the transmission antennae of the RTBF and the VRT, we believe they provide some important indications concerning the struggle methods to use and the possible domains of intervention. If the technological world is instilling permanently, 24h/24, resignation and acceptance of our "place" in society, the place of sheep who consume, work and obey; this world depends also of very numerous structures, spread out all around us, and which are quite easy to attack. And no military force or tight surveillance could ever protected them efficiently.

To provoke a short circuit in the daily life of numbness and exploitation means to crack the layer of concrete which is crushing us all. No waiting for a magical moment where "the people" will take conscience of their situation and take out on the streets; waiting only plays the game of domination, which day after day is building and consolidating, as well on a material level (new prisons, new police stations, new industries, new control networks) as on a mental level (brainwashing, deleting of the very idea of revolt, reduction of life to commodity). From out of the cracks the rebels will know how to provoke, another horizon might arise, a horizon of freedom and social revolution.

//Hors Service, anarchist paper, n° 45, Brussels//



THE QUESTION OF DIGNITY

Letter from Nikos Romanos - Greece - May 2014

“And one day I will tell you how much I loved you, but you will have to find me personally.

Like the executioner I watered the roses of compassion in their sleep I, an ill man by belief, a genius of misery (who blew his brains out once for a better era) and maybe our tears go further than dreams.

As it got dark I had to find all my innocence again in order for the stars to be there on time.

And usually we kill the present with fear or guilt but mostly with dreams.”

Tasos Livaditis

The purpose of this text is to build bridges of communication with all comrades who maintain the choice of destruction, to give life to my thoughts and contemplations which through these lines travel and meet with people like me who believe that only through continuous struggle can we win back our lives on our own terms.

A continuous struggle expressed in a thousand different ways directed to one cause.

With enraged voices and clashes in the protests, pen and paper on which are written dangerous thoughts, discussions and confidences with which life relations are built, weapons, bombs and fire which avenge a whole world that threw us into the void.

A desperate journey of freedom with comrades, the stubbornness and “craziness” of all those who decided to risk and walk against the possibilities, conquering their own fate.

In this journey, the individuality is the core around which the liberatory struggle is structured, being the spiritual base upon which radical intentions are collectivized, it must decline the logics of authenticity and be left in the storm of great internal transformations which are externalized through development into action.

Knowing that we are infested by the remnants of a sick world the internal clashes taking place in the wild journey of our lives are battles against the daily pulsations we receive living in hostile environments.

Our contempt for conventions we are made to make in order to survive, the mental anguish of lurking dead-ends, the war against fear, the harsh realization that in the end the world of struggle is not as “clean” as it may want to appear.

Because anarchists are neither soldiers that sacrifice themselves for a cause, nor the gatekeepers of an alleged subjective truth imposed as the only objective one.

Away from me! oh revolutionary marketers and formula-tors of the toughest, “meanest”, and most revolutionary!

A few words concerning the new prosecutions

A while ago I was called to appear before the inquisitors MOKAS-NIKOLOPOULOS in order to testify for a new case based on the findings from houses the cops raided following our arrests.

This case concerns our participation in incendiary attacks and bank robberies based on “matched” DNA and alleged recognitions by bank employees. As for me I am not accused of any of the bank robberies but only of the incendiary attacks by FAI-FIRES on the Horizon, FAI-UNIT FIRE to the GALLEYS, FLAMING SHADOWS and MILITANT MINORITY.

At the same time, based on a fingerprint of mine on a beer bottle in the house producing new prosecutions in HALANDRI, a new indictment is formulated against me and I am detained (since I did not appear before the interrogators to testify) for a 4th time [1] for the three bomb attacks of the CCF (KATSELI, HINOFOTIS, MACEDO-

nia and Thrace ministry).

In recent years the Greek state has inaugurated a new repressive tactic against anarchist hostages. It dissects the cases, always formulating new indictments in order to secure the most and longest convictions it can from each case so that they prolong our stay in prison to the maximum. Besides, right now we are held with triple, quadruple and up to six detentions [2]. Thus, on one hand lengthy imprisonment without trial is applied in practice, overcoming past legal obstacles, and on the other our penal extermination is being prepared with dozens of years of prison from each case. It is precisely on this fact, that is to say, the toughening of penal repression that it is important to insist on our anarchist practices, avoiding the trap of claiming our rights and our legal obligations towards the State. Furthermore, as in any anarchist action, the value of choice clashes with the consequences, opening anti-institutional ruptures in the social machine.

An important exception is when possibilities of immediate liberation erupt, where strategic artifices towards the enemy overcome the political defeat of a lengthy political defeatism.

The state sees that despite our captivity we are not willing to raise the white flag, nor to round up our intentions and continue to support and promote the violent attack against it inside and outside the walls, without a trace of remorse. Therefore, based on this decision of ours, it continues its repressive attack, adjusting the means it uses. From the hunt by the anti-terrorist forces and the cops, to the anti-terrorist persecutions, the thousands of pages of indictments, the special courtrooms and soon the special conditions of incarceration. From the police to the upgraded penal oppression.

State repression, that is to say its choice to spread fear in any possible way, gains ground only when it is up against apathy and resignation. These are the choices that are afforded to the cowardly and stupid allies of the authoritarian complex.

This is why capitalist society feeds with its bloodsucking values, the unable, the avaricious and the hypocritical, drowning in the confusion and narcissism of the modern world.

This is exactly why we reaffirm the intensity of the struggle through which free emotions are born and human relations relieved (to the degree possible) from the dominant culture.

Thus I believe that even as hostages we must not stop producing aggressive anarchist resonance, discrediting the judicial parodies, communicating our thoughts promoting the anarchist solidarity expressed by the comrades outside the walls.

The repression will only win if we resign from the battle against the authoritarian complex.

Besides we are not seeking a path of discreet disengagement from the war against authority, if we desired something like that the only thing sure is that the State, seeking our "rehabilitation", would happily offer it to us. The only thing we seek are ways out of the

spot of each battle. In order to continue inexorably the struggle against the social system.

Beyond the political conclusions of each one, the only sure thing is that any comrade's desire to actively get involved in the anarchist struggle, should study the mistakes made and they should be a step ahead of the enemy, planning their next moves very carefully and precisely. Avoiding as much as possible hasty moves without however going into inactivity. Because those who find themselves in the belly of Leviathan and desire to hold on steadfastly to their values must spit blood in order to make it open its mouth.

The only thing certain is that the era of State tolerance has ended.

Responsibility claim – Speaking with actions...

Returning to the specific matter of the text, concerning the new prosecutions and my summons. My attitude towards the interrogators was, is and will be the same and unchanged. I refuse to open a dialogue with the judicial mafia, I refuse to apologize to my executioners. An attitude that spits in the face of the authority of their suits and insists that the struggle through the bonds of captivity continues.

Their repression will always find our revolutionized consciences an obstacle, our insurrection will conquer the fear, chaos and anarchy are inevitable.

I take political responsibility for my participation in the anarchist incendiary groups FAI-Fires on the Horizon, FAI-Unit Fire to the Galleys, and Militant Minority.

The aim of these specific anarchist groups was to contribute to the spreading of revolutionary violence and show that there can be action even with the most simple means accessible to anyone. As long as there is will and intention to attack your oppressors.

A responsibility claim is for me a way to continue to speak with actions through the bonds of captivity, to defend anarchist incendiary action as an inseparable part of the multiform struggle and to give life again to texts written in spaces wanted by law and order, together with beautiful plans and much hope. Texts which for me carry a piece of myself from my path in anarchist clandestinity and which I consider worthy of defending politically in the present condition.

Besides that however, the choice of political responsibility has also some political aims of considerable importance.

First of all its aim is to raise a protective wall around comrades and loved ones blocking the vengeful spreading of persecutions for participation in the above groups on the pretext that the case remains unsolved. Something that has happened to a degree since many of my comrades are included as accused for participation in these groups.

Therefore, specifically and beyond the political responsibility of my participation I also take penal responsibility for the incendiary attacks, based on

which an indictment has been formed, on the municipal police station of Kypseli, the investment company Trastor and the house of ex minister of Economy and National Defence Giannos Papandoniou.

With a simple study of the evidence in the indictment it is obvious that these specific actions were carried out by only one individual.

The videos as well as the testimonies of all witnesses in each of these cases refer to one individual, which is me, something that proves my claim.

Just as I take responsibility for the above attacks, I clarify that I did not participate in the arson of the vehicle of the ETHEL bus company or the incendiary attacks carried out by the Flaming Shadows.

The reason I am publicly speaking about this is that I believe that it is important to reveal the way the police authorities are using this new form of repression through DNA in order to incriminate comrades – captive and not – creating an industry of prosecutions based on the authenticity of scientific-looking objectivity of DNA. It is obvious that my public refusal has nothing to do with avoiding criminal responsibilities since its happening simultaneously with my responsibility claim for attacks against power.

My target is to create a clean legacy, in order to show the way that cops plant their magic scientific seed so they can pursue anarchists as long as the police knows their identity and wants to target them. With blatant examples the conviction of comrades Tasos Theofilou [3] and Babis Tsilianidis [4], but also the prosecution against wanted comrade Nikos Maziotis [5] for a bank robbery. In conclusion, answering in advance to an eventual critique that disagrees with a responsibility claim, maintaining that in this way you are playing the game of the cops by entering the process of answering for every prosecution. I have to say that one of the reasons for a responsibility claim is to hit back at trumped up prosecutions, taking at the same time responsibility for actions apportioned to me and which I am prepared to defend.

For the actions that happened...

The action of FAI-Fires on the Horizon began with sabotage on tram lines in solidarity with the then hunger strikes taking place in the prisons and continued with incendiary attacks on State and capitalist targets, always in solidarity with hostage anarchists.

The action of FAI-Unit Fire to the Galleys consists of one incendiary attempt on a company which was a minimal reply to the isolation imposed on anarchist Socratis Tzifkas because he refused to cooperate during a cavity search in Diavata prisons.

The action of Militant Minority exclusively targeted the individual property of enemies of freedom. My aim was to show that the enemy lies not only in the representations of power, but has a name and address, attacking people who with their choices are on the side of counter-revolution and showing that with sim-

ple and accessible means you can return a piece of the terror we receive, to their homes. Militant Minority aimed at the houses and vehicles of politicians (Maria Kaltsa, Giannos Papandoniou,) journalists, in cooperation with comrades from the Circles of Offenders [6], (Giorgos Economeas, Petros Karsiotis, Antonis Liaros, Christos Konstas, Antonis Skylakos) and a fascist that participated in pogroms against immigrants. The fires it lit were always in complicity with all hostage anarchists, wanting to melt the ice of incarceration and warm their hearts.

Logically, responsibility claims also reflect a part of my perceptions and their course towards new paths of subversive thought.

I believe that the action of these specific incendiary groups contributed to the unstoppable course of anarchist insurrection. Incendiary attacks are an inseparable part of the struggle because they are easy to carry out by new comrades, keep the fire of belligerent hostilities burning and contribute to the spreading of anarchist violence. They add their own pebbles to the continuation of the anarchist urban guerilla and cause trouble to the smooth running of the system.

Of course arsons must occur in relation with all the expressions of anarchist violence (bomb attacks, political executions, violent mass clashes, raiding excursions), in order to create a common uncontrollable and dangerous front for action, which sets the total destruction of the existent as its only limit.

My insurrection against the constant crime of authoritarian civilization on our lives, did not begin with, neither was it limited to, the activity of the above groups. Stagnation is condemned to die by the world of speed. Evolution means critical thought, ideological unfettering from all dogmas, continuous action, experimentation, creation and destruction.

The only commitment around which the most absolute of decisions is unravelled is non other than the struggle for the anarchist revolution until the dawn of our era, until the end.

Closing the part concerning the responsibility claim, it is important to mention the mistake I made by leaving the USB stick in the house I lived in and not destroying it in time. Believing naively that the bad moment won't come immediately and postponing for tomorrow what I could do immediately.

This is my position concerning the new cycle of prosecutions against us.

“The struggles for liberation are different paths, which converge in one battle. A fire of warm emotions burns in the gut. In the coercive movement of this era, which runs with great speed, the mesh of oppression – repression becomes unrelentingly smothering. But their weapons, their therapies are fear.”

Adriano Antonacci

Scattered thoughts surrounding the belligerence of today...

Closing this text I would like to comment on some things concerning the current status quo. Therefore I am looking for words to successfully describe the main characteristics of this monstrosity. Total social control of bodies and minds. Economic crisis, techno-scientific plague, police and military operations, clashes of geo-political interests, diplomatic incidents, generalized unrest, raw violence, diffused confusion and mass disorientation.

We are at a critical point of the historical zeitgeist, many analyses have been publicized about the way in which the state is restructuring and fortifying at all levels, as well as the tendency of capitalism to spread its militarization beyond the exploited territories of the third world to the interior of the metropolises, in this way responding to the political instability which is spreading rapidly.

Besides the different words and the deviation of some points of view there is a coercion of perceptions concerning the severity of our times.

The problem is that even so we are unable to rise to the occasions and challenges of this time and remain trapped in perceptions that feed the cycle of inactivity and introversion.

Personally I believe that it is necessary for us to organize through networks and fronts of action which will be coordinated based on minimal political agreements promoting campaigns of multiform action against the spearheads of modern tyranny and answering commensurately to the repressive attacks. By abolishing the bureaucracy of central organization we arm our initiatives and we coil or create fronts for action where we see it necessary. Whether it concerns current matters. (i.e. C type prisons) or thematics of the wider anarchist struggle (i.e. antifascism).

In the attempt to break the circle of self-reference we must try to connect all the fires lit against civilization, from militant protests, assemblies and clashes up to armed attacks, a revolutionary attempt for the spreading of militant anarchy. Because what unites us is more than what divides us and since our aim is none other than the full frontal attack on the system, all attempts that are carried out independently of political tension must connect under the vision of absolute freedom.

This of course does not retract our critique on incidents, it simply confirms that when critique is combined with dynamic interventions it is more effective because it aims at the spread of revolutionary thought to those who diverge from the dominant dogmas and are seeking ways of clashing with the existent.

Placing thus the prospect of connecting our desires in unions of free individualities that collectivize heading towards the chaotic paths of creative destruction.

In this attempt we must politically clash with the hysterical reactions of the reformist wing of the anarchist movement that rushes to sign legitimacy certificates to

the State. Remembering the political competitiveness of the most intense condemnation from the parliamentary parties after each armed revolutionary action.

We have seen written by "anarchist" spaces, phrases such as terrorists and murderers, reproducing the language and arguments of power. It seems that it is not only power that is terrorized but also the reformist wing of the anarchist movement that fears maybe "their shops will be flooded". It seems that all these prefer the role of the eternal victim, a political masochism that is aroused by taking photos of beaten faces and stabbed bodies from the attacks of the fascists and cops.

To conclude, multiform struggle means struggle by all means, nothing more, nothing less. Whoever is not shocked by the thousands of suicides of the economic war in times of "peace", the drowned immigrants at the sea borders, the torn bodies of the people caught up in the expansion wars of the capitalist superpowers, the animals that are skinned alive inside the multinational industries, the murderous violence of the police, by everything happening in this system, and is shocked – for example – by the bodies of two fascists, that is their problem. The revolution is a constant war for a slave-less life which despite whatever temporary retreats, does not stop fighting and opening ways for our small and big raids. It is not pleasant strolls under the influence of alcohol in order to be obsequious to an invisible ghost called capitalist society.

Besides, there are many student magicians of political deceit, more skilled and with more gifts.

The above also has the aim of showing that opposing poles between new and old anarchy is false and the only real current question is either with the revolutionaries who fight or with the charlatans of conventionalism.

Anarchy therefore that fights is separated from this perversion and transfers its rage to every corner of the world. The rage expressed in the forceful voices in a solidarity protest, the fire that torches the temples of money and symbols of wealth, the personal attacks on State officials and their armed dogs, the ruins left behind by a mechanism that exploded at one of the bases of the ruling class.

We continue all together, free, wanted and hostages, the struggle for the destruction of capitalist society. Signals of solidarity, insurrection and love

To all the comrades and friends of the Network of Fighter Prisoners.

To the Italian anarchists for the upcoming week of international solidarity (16-24 May)

To anarchist fighter Claudio Lavazza, Monica Caballero and Francisco Solar.

The comrades from the security case and to Tamara Sol. To unrepentant saboteur Marco Camenich.

To every imprisoned anarchist at every corner of the world who I unwillingly forgot.

With my mind on all the anarchists on the run.

Strength to all those who arm their refusal against the system.

Honour for ever to Sebastian Oversluij who fell while fighting during a bank robbery.

Honour for ever to all those who died in the revolutionary war.

Long Live Anarchy!

P.S.

“What I do not have is a white shirt. What I do not have is a secret in the bank. What I do not have is your guns, so I can conquer the sky, so I can win the sun. What I do not have is to come out clean.

What I do not have is what I do not lack. What I do not have is your words so I can conquer the sky, so I can win the sun. What I do not have is a clock that goes forward, so I can go faster than time and be at a distance. What I do not have is a rusty train to take me back to where I began. What I do not have is a gold tooth. What I do not have is a nice dinner.

What I do not have is a large field to run faster than melancholy.

What I do not have is my hands on your body. What I do not have is an address in my pocket. What I do not have is you by my side.

What I do not have is to fool you in the game.

What I do not have is a white shirt. What I do not have is to come out clean. What I do not have is your guns, so I can conquer the sky, so I can win the sun. what I do not have is...”

- Fabrizio de Andre “What I do not have”

Dedicated to Italian anarchist Adriano Antonacci who is accused of incendiary attacks against techno-science and the rape of nature and will soon be tried via video link.

*May 2014
Nikos Romanos*

Notes

[1] Preventive detentions as followed :

- the 1st for the double bank robbery in Velvedo, Kozani
- the 2nd for the case of the houses in Volos and Kallithea
- the 3th for the incendiary attacks and the findings from the raids of the cops in the houses the comrades used while living underground
- the 4th for the three bomb attacks by the CCF based on a fingerprint found on a beer bottle in the Halandri house.

[2] In Greece, the Constitution states that the preventive detention can not be longer than 18 months. When members of the Revolutionary Struggle were released at the end of this preventive detention term and two of them went on the run, this fiasco for the Greek State urged the prosecutors to apply separate preventive detentions as to keep people in jail until their actual proces.

[3] This anarchist was convicted on the February 7th, 2014 to 25 years of prison for a bank robbery (during which a person who tried to interfere with the robbery was killed), with as only proof DNA.

[4] This anarchist has been accused of the robbery in the economical department of the hospital of AHEPA, based on DNA, but was acquitted for lack of proof.

[5] Nikos Maziotis, a member of Revolutionary Struggle who is presently on the run, has been accused by the cops of having robbed a bank based on the video footage fom inside the bank.

[6] Which claimed several attacks against journalists.



SOME NOTES ON THE EVICTION OF CAN VIES AND WHAT FOLLOWED

Barcelona - Beginning of July 2014

On Monday 26th of May 2014, police forces evicted the CSOA Can Vies [« Self managed Occupied Social Centre »] located in the Jocs Florals Street, 40-42 in the Barcelonense neighbourhood of Sants. The space was functioning since 17 years and was a point of encounter and development of activities for various collectives and initiatives. Can Vies was always linked to the Catalan independentism, and more specifically to its current that is not integrated in political parties. The neighbourhood of Sants in general saw the paradox of an “anarchism” that is tolerant towards, in some cases even very close to the patriotic rancidity, a phenomenon which these last years also emerged in other geographical areas. It is something against which we have to speak out clear and loud, before it will be too late.

To contextualize a bit the eviction, we have to say that this was something that was already announced for some time. The company Transports Metropolitans de Barcelona (TBM) is the owner and was since some time looking on how to evict the occupation. Nonetheless the different juridical processes this house has faced, yet another urban development plan served as an excuse to destroy this space. It was announced in the months before the eviction and various acts of support were realised.

During the eviction, people immediately came together to express their anger. During the whole morning and afternoon, the Sants Street was blocked (an important commercial vein in Barcelona) and at 8 'o clock in the evening, a demonstration kicked off. The neighbourhood was totally surrounded by the police who was controlling the access to the Station of Sants. There took place some scaffolds with the

police, which reacted with usual abuses of authority. After several charges, people dispersed and a van of the Autonomous Catalan Television (TV3) was attacked. The police then military occupied the neighbourhood and attacked with their vans the premises of a leftist newspaper (La Directa) and a cooperative shop managed by people linked to the social movements in the neighbourhood.

On Tuesday, another demonstration in the afternoon ended with the destruction of city property and the burning of the bulldozer which partly destroyed Can Vies. A sound gathering was called against the manager of the district of Sants, Jordi Martí, who was obliged to change his agenda, which was repeated the next day. That night, the riots continued and spread to other neighbourhoods and cities of Catalonia.

On Wednesday the 28th, various gatherings were called in different parts of the city, which would then converge in Sants at 8:30 in the evening. Many people joined in and marched to the district house of Sants, protected by the cops. There, new riots erupted. Banks were attacked, barricades were erected and the police was attacked. During several hours, there were police charges, tear gas and rubber bullets under the watchful eye of a police helicopter flying over the area with a strong light directed on the streets and the houses. The next days, the riots continued and targeted above all the offices of the ruling political party CIU. In several parts of the city and other parts of Catalan geography, vandalism acts, barricades and attacks against banks took place. On that point, more than 70 people were arrested; one of them was put in jail with as only justification the created “social alarm”, the alarm media, politicians and police generate. Now, the prisoner

was released on conditions. There were also tens of injured, some more heavily than others.

Of course, the riots after the eviction were not appreciated by everybody in the neighbourhood and in the city in general. There were also neighbourhood associations and social organisations opposed to the rioting who stepped forward as mediators with the city government as to avoid and contain further conflict. Although the assembly of Can Vies didn't go to the negotiations with the city government and the mediators, we have to say that the journalist game came into play. On the 30th of May, the assembly of Can Vies gave a press conference and accepted the offer of the city government to help the firemen and city services to clean up the ruins. After four, five days, the protests stopped and gave way to the cleaning tasks and to the bet of rebuilding the space.

Beyond the glorification of the barricades, the fire and the confrontations with the repressive forces, we anarchists have to think a bit about what is called "total and unconditional support" in cases like this. Why not speak out, and foremost, why not act against the patriots (of all kinds)? This question might seem totally outside of the context of this city, but that is exactly

why we should be alerted. The enemy of our enemy is not necessarily our friend, and when similar situations occur, where under the flag of "the struggle for the neighbourhood" or the "popular revolt" everything is being accepted, things get even more dangerous when no clear lines are drawn. The opinion saying that the independentists are to be tolerated or that we have to mix between the crowds because we are in a conflictive conjuncture only helps the castration of our discourse and its assimilation by the enemy.

If we are speaking about gentrification, we are actually speaking about the control over territories. Between those who say that the actual authorities on a local and national level do not have the legitimacy to decide on the future of this or that neighbourhood are also those who believe in national sovereignty, that is to say, in the supposed ancestral right of property on the earth. Patriotism can present itself also with an anti-capitalist or even anti-statist face, but this doesn't make it less disgusting than any other kind of nationalism. It is up to us, anarchists without fatherlands, to unveil the abyss separating us from the nationalists, be it right wing or left wing.

You always have to sleep with one eye open.



SOCIAL TENSION AND ANARCHIST INTERVENTION IN SWEDEN

Contribution from UpprorsBladet - July 2014

Somehow desolate, with a sense of self-satisfaction in being so, you find the humble landscapes of Sweden in the far North of Europe. Little seems to be known about this nation when one attends international contexts, far less when the contexts concerns anarchist activities and projects. We thought to change that and give you our picture of the context we were socialized into.

The we in this case is the project of UpprorsBladet (Swedish for Insurrection News/Newspaper), which started off as an anarchist journal in 2011. The focus has since the start been to spread insurrectionary ideas along with other influences that forms our struggle and our projects – ideas that are left little or no space in the broader radical environment of Sweden. It has also been to gather not only accounts of radically conscious attacks on the existent but to make the overall tensions in society more present and dangerous. The aim of the magazine has been and still is to be a street paper but since the people around the project are so geographically spread out, this continues to be a challenge.

Starting from the picture of Sweden as a calm and harmless place, we can quickly assure you that although there exists a great pacified part of the population – living under the fear of crossing a red light, eventhough it in fact is not illegal – this is not a correct picture.

The Husby Riots

In the early Summer of 2013, Sweden was suddenly allover the international news with footages of burning cars and riot cops being attacked in the suburbs of Stockholm. The focus of the media was on how this could happen in such a peaceful corner of the world – famous for its social peace. Hundreds of cars was burned, 32 cops was injured and roughly a million euro less in the State's pocket.

The point of escalation for these riots was, as in many other cases, when a man was shot by the cops as they attempted to arrest him in his home. It took however some days from the killing point to the point of fire and stones. Days of extreme tensions, rumours and uncertainty. Both the cops and the population in Husby were sitting on needles. Then one night a cop was conducting his usual harrassment of the segregated youth and it seemed as if he was clueless of the high level of tension. He took on himself to harrass a group of youngsters. You hear it on a published recording of his radio communication, how he confidently entered the situation on his own and minutes later, how he flees and calls for backup. Meanwhile parts of the local population are calling in fires on different locations to the the emergency line, some even about the fleeing cop. Still not clear about the situation, a decision was made to send in a smaller riot squad into the area. In the beginning the riot squad randomly confronted any youngsters hanging around in their search for the disorderly ones and were really offensive and violent. This attracted more people and soon the squad aswell had to leg it.

From this point on it was a precipitous escalating development. As long as the cops managed to reach the area they entered with great violence onto anyone who they saw as a threat and soon enough they decided that they could not enter the area anymore because of the great ammount of people attacking them and the fire brigade with stones, setting buildings, cars and stuff on fire on widely spread locations.

The news of these riots and the instigation of the media, made sure that the riots spread to other suburbs and even so other cities. It lasted for days in some places and in Husby for more than a week. There are several points that makes these events interesting but even more making them complicated. For that

reason we will not go deeper into the vast amount of events in this text but we have the ambition to write an exploring and analytic text on its own.

What we do see as an important fact with these events is that they partly served a false picture of the social tension in Sweden. Since years there has been a great tension in more or less every segregated area in Sweden. In especially Göteborg but also in other bigger cities, there has been a continuity of attacks onto the oppressive existent. Burning cars, buildings and containers, attacks on the cops and the fire brigades, bigger gatherings of restless youngsters ending up in smaller riots. It has been so present and continuous that no one but the politicians could deny it.

Around 2009 there were some anarchist and radical interventions in this tension. One more successful than the other, when defining success as the strengthening of the connections between comrades and rebel allies in the tension. The less successful one took place in a suburb of Malmö in the shape of a "Reclaim the Streets"-event and turned into a fiasco for two reasons. One being that the group behind the initiative stood in contact with a street gang who claimed to be the ruling one, as to not step on any toes. With the mobile sound system in place and people joining the party, members of a rivalizing gang showed up and attacked the sound system car, ending up in a smaller gang fight. The other being that they obviously was not rooted in the area. Too many of the people behind the initiative either lived, socialized or organized their everyday life elsewhere. The majority of the people in the area did not want to riot that night, most of them not at all, and especially not for reasons that someone who doesn't live there print in their faces.

The second intervention was in Fittja, a Stockholm suburb, where comrades who actually lived there, who had clear ideas and a better sense for their relationship to their surrounding, joined the tension as individuals and informal groups. As the cops increased their harassment of the youth, with body searches and ID-controls in public, it one night ended up with the people fighting back the cops. The comrades joined in the new momentarily anti-authoritarian space to propose how to push things further and two days after the first cop attack, the ongoing small-scale stone throwing and damage turned into a bigger riot. The aftermath was hard as the price the comrades had to pay for being present in the suburbs was that they were not so hard to sort out and find for the cops. Eight people got arrested in the apartment where they lived and some of them sentenced to prison. The State decided that they belonged to Antifascist Action and the riots happened because of them, rewriting the story as they always do.

This ongoing tension which is to find underneath these two interventions as well as in every burned-out car wreck, was put under the carpet as the "Husby riots" was hyped globally. Clichéwise was this nothing but the top of an iceberg...

The tension between the fascists and the antifascists

The tensions between fascist groups and more or less radical anti-fascist groups in Sweden is at the moment big

and has been since the end of last year. The outbreak of this tension was not one single event but a span of events, starting off last Fall with the "Operation Eskil" where the State targeted a group of organized anti-fascists in the communist group Revolutionära Fronten with severe repression. Meanwhile the most militant and active nazi group the Swedish Resistance Movement increased their activities nation wide, everything from putting up posters and handing out flyers to physical assaults on leftists or immigrants. In December comrades and other more or less radical people arranged a demonstration against racism in a suburb to Stockholm, where the mentioned nazi group had been present. This demo, consisting of old grannies as well as young people sucking on their pacifiers, was attacked by some dozens of masked nazis with knives, bottles and blunt weapons. After a horrible and violent scene the nazis were driven away. The wave of repression afterwards targeted again people in the anti-fascist environment and not the fascists comparably much. (Ex. One anti-fascist was recently sentenced to over six years in prison for attempted murder, as he during the attack stabbed an attacking nazi – this while none of the nazis from the attack got more than eight months in prison). Some months later, the 8th of March this year, a bunch of nazis (freshly returned from a support-the-troops-trip to Ukraine) entered the left/hipster-quarters of Malmö and attacked the social center Glassfabriken. They then went further on towards an 8th of March-party in the nearby Folkets park. There they attacked a small group of people who were on their way from the party. One of them, being known to the nazis from the Ultras environment, where he was active against homophobia and patriarchal structures within the supporter milieu, was almost killed and others in his company severely damaged.

All of these events generated a massive support and tens of thousands of people took to the streets in different ways to show their solidarity and to be present against fascism. None of these solidarity events generated any kind of insurrectionary potential per se but opened up something else: an interest for radical ideas and to resist fascism.

Antifascism as a concept is of no interest for us in our projects or our perspectives. Of course fascism is a part of the oppressive structures that keeps us from being free and joyful individuals but to focus all of our attention on fascism leads us only to a dead democratic end. What however does interest us is the tension the last year has generated in that corner of the radical landscape. The State has shown its open sympathies for fascists rather than anti-fascists, making many people disillusioned in their beliefs, angry and more present in the here and now. Whatever connection this has or has not, parallel to this growing tension, people subscribing to UpprordsBladet has massively increased together with UB:s connection to other groups and projects. It has opened up a crack where we are aiming to be present with ourselves and our ideas.

Resistance against the "Super Election Year"

2014 means election year in Sweden. This year has been hyped from every possible direction to be a "Super Election Year," the election where everything will

be decided, where the tensions will be at their limits, if not just exploding. After soon a decade of austerity measures under the rule of the so called Alliance, people have already forgotten the miserable conditions that existed under the social democratic rule. Nazi parties are also joining this spectacular dance. The tensions in the segregated areas is still there as a force to count on. You name it, this election got it!

What made us choose to care about the election more than wanting to fart it in the face was first and foremost the fact that an antiauthoritarian initiative against it showed up.

The 1th of April, the day of the trickster, several actions were carried out in the name of the "Joker." (As in the Joker of a card game). This day of action was named as "Out of Order" and the attacks/actions were carried out in numerous places. The campaign presented itself as the 365 Movement and every action that is carried out by anonymous groups or people, is later "claimed" by the Joker. The targets of the actions was and continues to be the election machinery, the State and the political spectacle. Most of the propaganda and the actions are forming a certain build-up for the elections, even though some of the actions has been more randomly against the State and even in solidarity with the struggle against the World Cup in Brazil, and not only specifically against the elections.

Outside of the action claiming Joker-sphere, there has also been random unclaimed destruction of election material, which we find important to mention however small it is.

To see others using the already existing tension to push it forward against authorities and against the election spectacle, inspired us to join in. We also saw a space within this initiative that wasn't used, which was the space for individualist anarchist critique on the election and democracy. A space to be filled with our newspaper and other forms of "our" propaganda. We also saw the lack of debate around informal organizing, "action claiming" and similar topics which are much more present on an international level, and so we translated partly this international debate and contributed with it to this struggle context.

As we write these lines our election issue is ready to be printed and to hit the streets, the build-up of a debate climate in the election resistance aswell as in the broader anarchist environment is evolving and we see a great potential in the Swedish context at the moment. If not in terms of attacks the succes of this years tension-seeking will be measured in the new spaces that has been opened up for our ideas and for meeting other comrades in struggle, that would otherwise never have happened.

With greetings from a tension-filled context that actually exists,

/UpprorsBladet/



ABOUT THE ARRESTS OF THREE ANARCHISTS IN MEXICO

Letter from Amélie - Mexico - February 2014

February 23, Santa Martha prison, Mexico DF

On the evening of January 5, I was arrested with my comrades Fallon and Carlos for allegedly attacking the office of the Federal Secretary of Communications and Transportation of Mexico, and also a Nissan dealership. Windows were broken and molotov cocktails were thrown inside the ministry, (according to what the evidence says) and inside the new cars of the dealership. Damages are evaluated to more than 70 000 pesos at the ministry and 100 000 pesos at Nissan.[1]

Indeed, I'm an anarchist and live in Montreal, Canada. I was traveling in Mexico, and now my trip is being prolonged some time.

After being arrested, they locked us up for 96 hours, and then transferred us at the Federal Centre of Arraigo – without prior having seen a judge. We were held captive for 40 days. In a cell, 23 hours per day, a cigarette a day, smoked in 10 minutes; 3 meals per day, but with only 10 minutes to eat each time, without talking; not allowed to have a pencil; 9 minutes of phone per day... In short, it was a long wait, and there was nothing more than Mexican “telenovelas” playing on tv all day. Luckily our friends sent us some books! Thanks, I don't know how I could have survived without.

On day 40, the General Prosecutor of the Republic (PGR – federal) transferred our files to the PGJ (state

police) because they have no evidence to charge us of a federal crime. Thus, since February 17, Fallon and I are at “Santa Martha” State penitentiary for women in Mexico City, where we were transferred, and Carlos is at “Oriente” State penitentiary for men 20 minutes from us. Here, it's a micro-society surrounded by cement and barbed-wire, but where you can do as you wish inside.

At the moment of writing this text, it's 7:30 am. I'm in the yard and I'm looking at the sun rising behind the watchtower occupying the scenery. Actually, I almost feel like I'm in the yard of an apartment block when I look at the building with clothes hanging from windows without bars. There's plenty of pigeons, garbage cans, yellowed grass, and barbed-wire. There's also plenty of people with their own stories.

Prisons are necessary for maintaining social peace, as are cops. It is the domination and control that permits this sickening world to persist. Prison means fear, the unknown, shame, solitude, isolation. Society is the domestication of individuals into “good citizens”. Thus, my strength as individual takes root in the refusal of fear being a limit in my life. For sure I'm afraid, like everyone, of many things, but my desires of freedom are stronger. Fear is often constructed, and is deconstructed when we face it. What's important is to see further, beyond the boundaries and borders, beyond the walls, mountains, rivers and oceans.

I don't know how long I'm here for, but I don't feel sorry for myself. I'm confident that outside the struggle goes on, and people meet, love each other, hate each other, live, dammit. In fact I'm not comfortable with people focusing on our case without engaging their own struggles in their own contexts. I believe that the best solidarity is built in the sharing of individual and collective strengths. The worst thing for me would be that nothing goes on outside while we're held captive, but I know my friends continue despite the difficulties we must face. My reality as an anarchist in prison is a fact among others with which we have to adapt. The most difficult is often to maintain and protect bonds of trust with comrades whom we have affinity with, for long term thinking. When it is possible, unimaginable possibilities emerge.

In that sense, my ideas and analyses remain the same as outside. That's why I don't feel like changing my discourse to get people's support. I greatly appreciate the efforts of solidarity that have been done till now, although, I distance myself from certain initiatives that have been taken in solidarity with us. In Montreal: during a demo that took place in front of the Mexican consulate, the speech denounced torture and human rights violations by the Mexican State. The UN was mentioned in a reformist and progressive tone. Honestly, I appreciate that many people feel concerned with our case, but I refuse to use that illusory reformist discourse. As I see it, injustice, torture and human rights violations are integral parts of the world as it is. Rights are regulated by the State and are suspended at any moment as needed. Furthermore, it promotes democratic ideology (rights for citizens), the biggest of illusions. And most of all, to support our ideas with references to instances of power like the UN cannot build a strong anti-authoritarian struggle. It's not by trying to influence public opinion with reformist discourse that we will build strong foundations for a struggle impossible to recuperate.

I must say I honestly have nothing to do with student and worker unions, and that even in the "syndicalisme de combat" [transl. combat unionism] very fashionable back home, in Montreal. Those organizations are formal and bureaucratic. They reproduce "direct democracy". Those are the same structures I want to destroy, which impose distance between individuals, and the way they relate to the world and to the living. Formality, bureaucracy, law, and institutionalization transform the relationship between people. They immobilize the constant possibilities of transformation, exactly as political parties do. They try to organize and lead the "formless masses"

Therefore, there is an obvious contradiction: we've received support from student associations in Quebec. For my part, I have no problems with accepting money which will without doubt help us out of prison.

But I must say that these organizations have nothing revolutionary about them. They're rotten to the core. They're based on Maoist organizational structures and are totally formal, with their politicians procedural code. This language is incomprehensible. Charismatic speakers manipulate the votes of the masses by expressing what the majority wants to hear rather than speaking from the heart. Crowds of 100 000 people march like zombies, sing and repeat the same reformist slogans and then return home, to their daily routine.

In the situation in which I find myself, waiting for my sentence or my release, to express openly that I am an anarchist can put me in a precarious situation. I chose to do so anyway. Many times, I felt the need to communicate with other anarchists who have experienced similar situations. When confronting State repression, there are several ways to react. I think that using a moderate discourse provides privileges, such as getting out of jail faster, obtaining financing or social acceptance. But I think as long as the words and deeds will be moderate, it will be difficult to spread insurrectional and anti-authoritarian practices. That is why it is important to communicate my ideas openly and knowingly.

I do not know how long I will be locked up here, but one thing is certain: it will not be for a lifetime. I am fortunate to have great friends and comrades in struggles, and I do not feel alone. The strength and courage are found first in oneself. There is a universe of possibilities, here as elsewhere. All forms of domination are to be fought, those that create the structures and institutions as much as those who interfere in our relationships. There is no heaven or perfect world. Freedom is the permanent movement and conflict, in confrontation with the world of images, symbols and appearances. Freedom is the destruction of the structures of domination over our lives. In Mexico, Montreal, France, Vancouver, United States, Spain, Greece, Chile, Egypt, Belgium, Italy, Germany, England, Holland, I greet my friends and comrades of struggle. For total freedom, I wish for links to be forged in the struggle.

In solidarity with Carlos "Chivo" and Fallon
With love, down with all the prison walls

Amélie

[1] On Monday June 16 the last hearing was held against Amélie, Fallon and Carlos, on trial on charges of damages and attacks on public peace [no longer for "terrorism"]. For now, lawyers and judges have to make their conclusions on the sentencing in the local trial which our comrades are facing. As for the federal trial, on Wednesday June 25 will be held the next hearing.



ABOUT THE REPRESSIVE ATTACK IN MEXICO

Letter from Mario López “Tripa” - 27th of March 2014

You are waiting for the revolution! Very well! My own began along time ago! When you are ready — God, what an endless wait! — it won't nauseate me to go along the road awhile with you!

But when you stop, I will continue on my mad and triumphant march toward the great and sublime conquest of Nothing!

Every society you build will have its fringes, and on the fringes of every society, heroic and restless vagabonds will wander, with their wild and virgin thoughts, only able to live by preparing ever new and terrible outbreaks of rebellion!

I shall be among them!

—Renzo Novatore,
My iconoclast individualism

Comrades, it's been a long time I haven't communicated nothing public, apart from a few things I wrote on the development of the juridical process against me for attacks to the public peace; this time, I'm not communicating to tell you something about this process or about juridical issues that don't matter much to me right now and in reality I didn't care much about to begin with. This time I'm writing to re-declare myself — again — and position myself about what's going on in México, in respect to the current repressive attack that the Mexican State is articulating and beginning to unleash, it's clearly well learned, from its Italian and Chilean buddies; because in the end it is nothing else than a pitoresque reproduction of the Marini style set-up or the « caso bombas », but made in Mexico; a

set-up that can only be considered as an immediate response of the enemy in front of the pressure exerted by groups and anarchists individualities [1] and libertarians — night and day, public or covert —, before the dangerousness of such ideas for the social good, and it must not be taken in a mediated sense that would make us victims in front of a system which we decided to fight against, by any means or through any organizing model. A setup with apparent leaders, a hierarchical organizational structure and an organized criminal structure with terrorist objectives in which even a judicial team was tasked to take us out of jail when that would happen; a structure that bears more similarities with any group of narco-traffickers, guerrilla or marxist organization of any ideology (Leninist, Maoist, Marquista, Stalinist, etc..) than the way we anarchists conceive organization; organization of any manner, calling itself public or closed, especially when its labeled as informal. A set-up where the principal promoters of anarchist action are comrades from other countries that came to Mexico for X motive and following what the bastards from the Attorney General's office say, that they are the funding source of the struggle; a set-up where they seek not only to harm a specific sector of the anarchist movement but various sectors of local anarchism; a police set-up where the mass media of the State/Capital are playing an important role in constructing. But well, what the State/Capital could do or think in this issue is not my business, first because I don't think like power, and precisely because I'm not a person of power and authority. My mind cannot think in this authoritarian way and I prefer not wasting time

in worrying about how and what the enemy is thinking about, or otherwise wasting time in correcting the image it conceives of us with the objective of lowering the severity of our charges or punishment. Everything said in this letter is addressed to the comrades in the struggle, mainly those who are libertarians and with anarchist affinities.

Well, as it is already known, I was arrested again on January 20th while leaving the magistrate's court on James Sullivan avenue in Mexico City, where each Monday I had to sign the register following the requirements of the conditional release. While leaving the building, a tall man stopped me, unsure of himself, asked me if I was the right person, and told me that he had to bring me under an order to appear he had against me. I will tell you the complete story later, in a calmer mood, because I find it quite interesting, mainly because of the way those PGR bastards behave.

Finally, while being at the PGR agency in Camarones and after hours of bothering me, interrogating, bluffing and trying to be friendly interrogators, the chief of the Ministerial Federal, a certain comandante Silva, notified me that they had an order against me to appear in front of the Federal Public Ministry as a supposed witness, and a warrant for the crime of manufacturing explosives without a permit, which is a violation of the Law on Firearms and explosives, to be used exclusively by the army. This was an order that was expedited by a federal judge of the sixth district, since November 2013. Moreover, they would take me to the Oriente prison to comply with the order. When my lawyer came – private – they brought me in front of that nun – I would call her witch, but witches have my total respect – that Public Ministry told me that she ordered to bring me because I was a suspect in a federal investigation for terrorism and organized crime, in the juridical case of the comrades of Canada and Carlos Chivo ; she showed us the record and the part in which I'm linked directly with the other suspects, including with the anarchist comrade of insurrectional affinity Carlos "el Chivo", and it was at that moment when we could see how their set-up is being structured. At the end of the session they took a mobile phone I was carrying, a pair of USB keys and a cable to charge an Mp3 player, a booklet on anarchist tension written by A.M. Bonanno, a booklet from Costantino C. on the Anarchist Project in the Post Industrial era (which is too bad because it was quite beautiful) and the Prison and its world booklet written by Massimo Passamani (I mention it because the Ministerials and the MP showed a lot of excitement about what I was mysteriously carrying in my backpack) and a few unimportant papers. They bothered me a little bit more and then they transferred me to the Oriente prison and brought me in front of the judge. The next day the lawyers of the GASPA arrived and argued that the accusations were not valid, for being founded on evidence that had

not been certified because they had been brought in from my other prosecution for attacks against public peace, of which I didn't have a judgment yet, so the proofs were not valid. The judge had two options: the first was to free me after 6 days to the request of my lawyer at the end of constitutional term, and the other was giving me a cheap bail – cheap when compared with the other bail I had to pay previously and others that they gave to other comrades -. And when asked by my lawyer on what would I'd like to do, I freely chose to pay the bail, but not to give more money to the State (in reference to criticism that was made when we were detained in the Chilean embassy incident) or because of fear, but because I, freely and without the tips of anyone, took the decision that the moment I put one foot in the street I would runaway. Everything was clearer than ever to me, the harassment and repression against me from the State and the PGR.

Well now, and by my own decision, I decided to validate my judicial rupture (or anarchist-anti-judicialism as it is usually labeled), my negation to continue – and to collaborate – in this judicial circus against me and other comrades, because from the point of view of my individuality, it is the most congruent option with my discourse, ideas and way of conceiving life that I found, which is anarchy. There's nothing more, now we know that the orders of search and arrest targeting me circulated because I ran away from justice in the trial for: attacks to public peace, the federal crime of manufacture of explosives, and the federal investigation against me for terrorism and organized delinquency, and also outrages to the authority for what happened at the Chilean embassy last year. Dangerous, isn't it?! Ha ha ! Dangerous are the ideas and the practices!

This is now another phase of the struggle that I decided to enter long time ago, it is a phase which is common in the life of the individual that has decided to take a path of insurrection and permanent conflict – interior and exterior – against power, a phase that can't be reduced, and that maintains itself in struggle with all means for the destruction of the State/Capital; this other phase that for me doesn't mean clandestinity (the fact is, I am very critical of the clandestinity position when it's auto assumed or voluntary as a form of "struggle") but which is rather a measure imposed by the enemy that delineates and defines new conditions to bring about anarchist struggle.

Taking advantage of space while being brief, I want to make public the harassment the police has been conducting towards me [2] – like the time when the SSP and the PDI arrested me and let me go in 10 minutes, in a park in Mexico City when we had a public meeting to see how the situation of our jailed comrades was going, or the visits by the PGR where I was supposed to be living but in reality was the home of my sentimental partner, or the constant overt surveillance, or

the search of my partner's house where they broke the fucking fence door, etc. As well as the surveillance and harassment against my partner and her young daughter, and that if something ever happened to them, the culprit would clearly be the State/Capital; And I don't say this to demand for their institutional protection or to make victims of ourselves, I do it to expose the situation that they are also living. Also, I take advantage of this space, to send a greeting to all of those who, behind my back, said that my comrades and I collaborated with the police so that we could get out of jail, because of the Chilean embassy incident, and even said that me and some comrades were cops... Time and the harvest of the short, medium and long term struggle will exonerate whoever is right. I, we, continue in the struggle... What about you?

That is all for the moment, I say goodbye and send a strong embrace to all! A special hug to my mother, whom I had not the opportunity to say goodbye to and who's also been harassed like my partner.

One the one hand, there is the existent, the customs and their certainties. And what's certain is that this social poison is dying. On the other hand is insurrection, the unknown that interrupts everyone's life. The possible beginning of an exaggerated practice of freedom.

All support jailed anarchist comrades!

A fraternal greeting to Felicity R. Nikos Mazeotis, Pola and the little Lambros Victor. Solidarity with anarchist comrades, anti-authoritarians and libertarians on the run! Solidarity and total support to the comrades being investigated in Mexico for a terrorism and organized delinquency case! Solidarity with Amelie, Carlos and Fallon!

We are not defeated and we have no regrets!
I don't give up, we don't give up!
Live anarchy!

In struggle against the state,
Mario Antonio López Hernández. Tripa.
Planet Earth February 3rd, 2014

Notes

[1] Here I refer to the ongoing situation, in no instance do I attempt to use that maoist rhetoric, that the validity of our struggle and actions goes according to the enemy's response, which is the same than to measure a supposed dangerousness that doesn't have the same degree of dangerousness than the enemy gives us; in this way limiting anarchist theory and action to the existence of the enemy. The struggle against the State/Capital is a part (an important one) of what we conceive as anarchy. I don't know how so many come to or have come to make use of that phrase that also appears in the commercial movie on the German RAF.

[2] I relate this to expand the repressive panorama, without desire to make a minimizing comparison of what they have been doing to other comrades, and the general harassment against anarchism in the central Mexico region. This will come to light as with respect to what is happening.



AFTER THE EVICTION OF LA GRIETA & LOS LIBROS DE LA ESQUINA (ARGENTINA)

Buenos Aires, Argentina - 27th of April 2014

[After 11 years of occupation, and following a judicial order from April 2012, the space of two anarchist projects in Buenos Aires, La Grieta and Los Libros de la Esquina, have been evicted in the morning of the 9th of April 2014. Two days later, at the other side of the Rio de Plata rivier (in Montevideo), molotov cocktails were thrown against the Argentinean consulate by some solidary hands. What follows here is a text of the comrades talking about their project as well as about the resistance against the eviction and the slander that were spread.]

On Wednesday April 9, in between 8 and 9 o'clock in the morning, the house we were occupying got evicted: *La Grieta* and the library "*Los Libros de la Esquina*" no longer exist.

This space had been used since more than 11 years. Its history and its characteristics have turned it into a space where different dynamics and diverse initiatives came together. The upper part of the house has always served as a living space for many comrades, squatters and punks from all over the world. Below, projects which had started in other squats continued, such as the library "*Los Libros de la Esquina*".

Both *La Grieta* as a living space and the library as a social space have experimented in their own way with another way of living. Other ways of relating towards each other outside of the social conventions, the capi-

talistic logic and consumption. It created a breach with the system, by propaganda and action, with ideas as well as concrete practices. To spread autonomy and propagate an anti-statist and anti-capitalist critic (and attitude). We would like to clear out some points about the lies spread by the media and the comments of our neighbours (those that have talked, in a more or less intentional way).

*The library has never been the headquarters of leftist party, neither has it been sponsored. We have never wanted to legalize this space, neither to ask of any kind of subventions. We are against domination in all of its forms. Up till the last day, the space has maintained thanks to people that recognized themselves in the project or sympathized with the space which has always functioned in an autonomous and self-organized way. And yes we might say that it was a pretext. But it has never been a pretext in order to stay in an occupied house "without paying taxes" and justifying our existence, as was stated by some of the neighbourhoods reactionaries (enthusiast by the idea of security, the project *Cinturon Sur* and a new Av. Patricios, the liberation of garbage and immigrants, the same kind of people that are in favour of death penalty and lynching). So, we were saying that is was a pretext. A pretext for us to meet each other. Our doors have always been open to those wanting to participate. There were a lot of inviting activities and workshops. We have never been official librarians and never have wanted to be. With our successes and errors, we have always been*

clear about our ideas, which has attracted as well as distanced more than one. We want nothing of the state and whatever we want we think to grab it. We also need to say that the struggle goes beyond the walls of a library and that we try to bring it inside all of the aspects of our life. *By the way, we want to precise that all the reading material and the archive of the library has been taken away and put in a safe place in the weeks before the eviction. Other materials have been given to spaces and people. What we couldn't or didn't want to keep has served to feed the fire which served to cut the street off.* We preferred things to end in this way rather than to let things rot inside of the deposits where justice puts what she takes during evictions.

What happened on the morning of April 9, and what was deformed by the press, has served to break the social peace of this city, by complicating the task of the justice officer charged with executing the eviction. *We decided to resist, while assuming the fact of abandoning the place, by cutting the street off with flaming barricades and attacking the police. We want to show that we can and must resist. That the daily violence of the state against us must be turned against it.* And affirming precisely that violence is not a barricade, but the evictions that put thousands of families on the street, the police murder of hundreds of youngsters every year and the locking up of so many others inside of the prisons and the police stations; the routine of the wage work, of consumption and social control. This is violence, the one of state and capital: our violence as an act of dignity. We have tried to resist the eviction of this space by sustaining the ideas that have lead us to go on with this projects during all of this time and that didn't permit us to leave without at least obstructing the execution of the dirty work, with the means at our disposition, thereby manifesting other ways than the legal and democratic discourse which presents the reality only by the scope of the state logic (and consequently the one of the system).

We are happy to continue meeting up with the comrades avec all those who believe in freedom. *The satisfaction of struggling side by side in the same fight goes much beyond the nostalgic feelings about losing a house that was almost in ruins. We have abandoned the place in the way we choose to and have felt accompanied in this decision.* This strengthens our motivation. This experience of so many years has taught us things and made us grow. In paraphrasing the miserable vermin Peronists in power and their demagogic speech we please to say in a joking way that this is our victorious decade. We will keep our heads high.



DEMOCRATIC INQUISTION: THE SECURITY CASE

Collective call for solidarity - Chile - February 2014

“Because no sentence shall be eternal, and no prison can be Maximum Security”

– Claudia Lopez

“It they attack, they will be facing somebody to speak to: they will gain a cross or will not enjoy their pension. Too bad for them after all. Sometimes it is expensive to defend the rich.”

– Alexander M. Jacob.

On October 18th, 2007, an assault was carried out on the Security Bank in the middle of Santiago, Chile’s downtown core. Police closed off the perimeter surrounding the branch with the objective of trapping those who committed the assault. It is in this way that a motorcycle is intercepted, leading to the armed confrontation between the suspects and police, leaving one of the police officers, Luis Moyano, dead at the scene, and another wounded.

Downtown Santiago erupts in chaos and the hunt for the alleged assailants begins in revenge. The Intelligence Department of the Chilean National Police makes a quick assessment of how the assault took place, characterizing the participants, type of weaponry and retreat. After the quick analysis, they determine their sentence: the alleged authors had been ex-members of a subversive group.

The case is then distributed widely with a powerful media campaign, allowing for the widow as well as the children of the deceased Officer to appear in various media press conferences and interviews. Official honours were granted to the Officer’s figure and the threats against the alleged participants of the assault are widely distributed without question.

Within a month, one of the alleged suspects is arrested. Three days later, the suspect hands in the names and photographs of the alleged members of the group. This testimony – constructed from within and for the framework of Power – is blessed with complete disregard and is then transformed into the irrefutable truth to be shown to society and the courts. The faces of Freddy Fuentesvilla, Juan Aliste, Marcelo Villaroel and Carlos Gutierrez Quiduleo are exposed and analyzed by the press, showing off with biometric expertise and forensic evidence.

The police also then begin to circulate phone numbers for citizens to call in for information; instigating the public to report any movement or appearance of the suspects, which at that point had virtually been found guilty. Threats through the press are sent out and the message in between the lines reads loud and clear: they want them dead. Raids are carried out at the houses of their comrades, their families and couples,

but there is no sign of them anywhere. The police encirclement expands, but does not manage to trap them.

Orders to Capture: To whom are they directed?

“We have chosen the weight of our elections and we have no intention of softening our decisions.”

– Conspiracy Cells of Fire

The powerful show the list of names and photographs of the alleged participants of the armed robbery, in order to dissuade the suspects of any mode of resistance, thereby politically isolating them from their support networks, marginalizing and delegitimizing their history of struggle.

However, the comrades did not only have a history of struggle, but also a present and a future of struggle. The four that were denominated as having participated in the armed bank robbery were also active rebels that maintained struggle and confrontation during the democratic transition; without distinguishing between the costume changes – from uniforms to expensive suits – of the past authority and present administrators of Capital and the State.

Each with their own specific realities and objectives, the comrades articulate themselves within a particular framework of struggle, as they themselves define as follows:

- **FREDDY FUENTEVIILLA:** Ex-militant of the Leftist Revolutionary Movement (MIR), and active Autonomous Anti-Capitalist.
- **CARLOS GUTIERREZ QUIDULEO:** Ex-militant of the Lautaro Youth Movement (MJL), and active Weichafe [*Warrior*].
- **JUAN ALISTE:** Ex-militant of the Lautaro Youth Movement (MJL), and active Anti-Capitalist subversive.
- **MARCELO VILLAROEL:** Ex-militant of the Lautaro Youth Movement (MJL), active Autonomous Subversive and Anti-authoritarian.

Present in many instances, the comrades feel the need to go underground unto the death threats uttered to them by the voices of Power. Moreover, a hunt is unleashed by security forces that orchestrate the perfect scenario for their physical annihilation, legitimizing the extermination of the revolutionaries.

Freddy and Marcelo are detained and imprisoned in Argentina on March 15th, 2008, then initially charged with possession of a weapon. They were submitted to a punishment regime, being continuously held in isolation, with long periods of daily enclosure, gathering resistance against every inch that would bring them closer to the insanity of living without natural or artificial light, or a yard to walk in. This trend of isolation continues when transferred back to Chile, validated

under the Maximum Security regime for security reasons, invisibilized in what is known as the Maximum Security Prison in Santiago.

When the comrades complete half their sentences in Argentina, they are expelled to Chile. Juan was also detained in Argentina, on July 9th 2010 and expelled immediately, served on a silver platter to the Chilean Justice system.

Carlos manages to continue underground in Mapuche Territory until November 28th, 2013.

Each comrade maintains their firm integrity to the ways of life they choose to lead; in their decision to struggle that has been strengthened throughout the years, through every blow of repression but also through the joy and love of the revolt itself. Rejecting the values of Power and servile monotony is not a passive or momentary decision, but an unbreakable continuum.

Judicial Labyrinths of Bureaucratic Annihilation

“My arrest reveals the fear to the ghost of resistance. My arrest results from the will to annihilate any radical alternative to the verbose paralysis and of the comedies that rupture the system and its tortures. Despite it all, the struggle continues.”

– Jean Marc Roullian

The collaboration of the Chilean and Argentinean States to seek the capture of Freddy, Marcelo and Juan are reminiscent of the anti-subversive plan dubbed Operation Condor, which was implemented during the era of Latin American dictatorships.

It is in this way that the judicial proceedings begin upon the arrival of Freddy and Marcelo to Chilean jails, this time under the framework of the Military Court system at the hands of Prosecutor Reveco, recognized accomplice to many torturers and judicial lynch man during the dictatorship. Once Juan is arrested and expelled to Chile, he is included in the same investigation as Freddy and Marcelo; that is, under Martial Law.

Within the prison itself, Juan, Freddy and Marcelo have been separated into the three different isolation wings at the Maximum Security Prison. The restrictions imposed by the administration of the prison are continuous, with non-stop cell raids, as well as ongoing harassment to visiting family and comrades.

In 2010, the Military Court system is changed to no longer prosecute civilians under its jurisdiction, through the various demonstrations and hunger strikes mobilized by Mapuche Prisoners at the time. This architectural Power shift allowed for the Security Case to be tried under Civil Penal Law, with new deadlines, prosecutors and dispositions.

It is clear however that the Powers that be did not anticipate having to deal with the Civil Court system,

since their purpose was to annihilate the comrades physically, all of whom were still underground up till that point.

After being arrested, the police bullets remained intact, ready to discharge against other revolutionaries. In this case they weren't going to shoot in revenge of their "comrade-in-arms" Officer Moyano, which at that point was becoming extremely problematic. If they could not exterminate them physically with the typical brutality, they would however bury them under the weight of absurdly long and asphyxiating nonsensical bureaucratic legal proceedings.

It is in this way in which the development of the legal framework continuously crosses its own limits, and erases its own norms. Juan, Marcelo, and Freddy have served the longest pre-trial detention period under Chile's new Penal Processing Reform, with more than four years in prison without receiving a single sentence. The Prosecution alone has managed to delay the trial in two occasions in order to "prepare the trial," and extend infinite limits.

We are not talking about the right to have a trial in a timely fashion or other forms of Liberal legalities; we are talking about the brutality of this Dominion and its necessity to sink our comrades into oblivion, locked up in traps and labyrinths in the judicial pantomime.

In the middle of this process, on November 28th, 2013, comrade Carlos Gutierrez Quiduleo, who had been underground until that point, is arrested by repressive forces. After being captured he is sent to the Maximum Security Prison, undergoing a regiment of isolation. His judicial proceedings are independent, but are parallel to Juan, Marcelo, and Freddy's proceedings. Carlos is now under investigation and in pre-trial prison without having a date for his trial.

Once all the details of this grand theatrical show had been finalized, and important pieces had been imposed by those in Power, the date has finally been set for the trial that seeks to sacrifice the rebels at the altar of democracy. On March 25th, 2014, three judges – three wretches – will decide on the fate of our comrade's lives, rising up like semi-gods to quantify the portion of life they will strip off the prisoners.

The Judicial trap has been extended to gross proportions in the case that the accused are acquitted of their charges. Those that are currently serving their time with benefits (i.e. Political Status, specifically Marcelo and Juan for their actions in Urban Guerilla groups during the 90's), will be at the will of the Judicial/Prison administration to see whether they will have to serve out their previous sentences or to remain with their current benefits they have received since 2007.

The weapons of democracy, this time transformed into paper and sentences seek to be executed according to the will of the persecutors. In this case, the Prosecution solicits the following:

- For comrade Juan Aliste: Life in Prison + 20 years. Charged with three counts of armed robbery (to a bank); First Degree Murder for the death of Officer Moyano; and another alleged Attempted Murder charge to another officer injured during the confrontation at the time of the incident.
- For comrade Freddy Fuentesvilla: Life in Prison + 15 years. Two counts of armed robbery (to a bank); Second Degree Murder for the death of Officer Moyano; and attempted murder to another officer injured during the shoot out with police.
- For comrade Marcelo Villaroel: 18 years sentence for two alleged armed bank robberies.

On the Altars of the Democratic Inquisition

"... Because we have Anarchy in our heads and you will never be able to process it no matter how much concrete you use to burry us. No matter how many prisons you construct to place us inside, or how many years to which we are sentenced, nor the many Anti-terrorist Laws you pass to restrict your theatrical legal system... Our Anarchy will escape every time."

– Giannis Mihailidis and Nikos Romanos.

Trials are culminating instances of the monopoly of violence on the part of the State, in which the democratic inquisition seeks to apply exemplary sanctions. However, in the case of subjects in open rebellion these instances intensify and extend the role of the entire Justice System, transforming the instance into a political lynching.

Despite the Prosecution's claim to remain impartial and objective, this is and will be a process that will defend the order of the rich. For them, the evidence and accusations goes far beyond the mere events that took place in 2007, and is directed against the comrades as subversive subjects.

With this, we are not asking for equality before the law or "Just Trials," instead we are seeking to expose and demonstrate how the structure of dominion functions against those that oppose and confront the system on a radical everyday basis.

It is in this way that beginning on March 25th, Prosecutors, Judges, and Lawyers at the service of Power will be focusing on esthetic and vanity, the Gendarmerie will exaggerate the theatre of security around the premise of the trial, and finally the widow of Officer Moyano will take as many press conferences as she can get.

They will all defend their positions as servers of the Dominion, and we have no doubt that the attitude of our comrades will be defined with their heads held high, with no regrets in who they decided to be, and

with great relentless strength.

It is necessary to understand the key moment that this trail defines, for those in Power that take the opportunity to Judge and condemn revolutionaries, as much as those who oppose them, we, their internal enemies to take the opportunity to create unrest to the point of no return. Ours is the response in solidarity, with firmness and on the exact pulse of war.

The transcendent objective of judicial theatrics, more so than condemning a person for a specific event, seeks to cut and demolish the spirit of confronting the norm, the rule, Power itself depending on the case.

Therefore through legal scenarios, the accused is sought to be buried, simply erased, annulled through the weight of a conviction and transforming them into a mere number with the Prison Industrial Complex, and that the world beyond prison walls forget them, so that the prisoner can obediently assume their new designated role: to be condemned.

Our comrades do not succumb in resignation to the dominion and have maintained their option of struggle permanent throughout their lives; transcending and trespassing specific events, in this way giving continuity to the struggle of rupturing the imposed order.

The Powers that may be can imprison us, lock us up, raise the walls and shoot sanctions and revenge; but we cannot be victimized. Our active hands will always seek to destroy the bars that try to imprison us...

We will not delegate our attitude of war to the disposition and rhythms of the State. The struggle is a life option to the very end, with no space for wasting time.

Within a legal framework, the comrades have sought to block the so-called "truth" of the Powerful through a judicial defence, but without internalizing the categories of the imposed rhetoric: they are neither innocent, guilty, or are victims of the State. It is because of this that the defense does not solely lie on the basis in avoiding and delaying the stoning/ lifelong kidnapping that lies over their heads, but in unison projecting the struggle on the street as a lifelong struggle against domination.

Today More than Ever: Word and Action

"We understand that solidarity as the constant practiced in our anarchist ideals in all its forms. This make the enemy understand that nothing ends here; that everything continues in prison and on the street. From where ever you are: no minute of silence and a lifetime of struggle."

– Monica Caballero & Francisco Solar

Unto the immense trial against our comrades, we make a fervent call to struggle, raising the voice of war, calling out to the International Week of Solidarity from March 14th to 25th, 2014.

Always assuming an active role in the social war, we call out all individuals to manifest themselves in support and solidarity with the comrades awaiting trial; understanding that the message of solidarity will be received not just by the comrades, but also by the Powerful who would like to see them alone and deteriorated.

We will not be spectators to the lynching of our comrades, nor will we submissively accept the convictions that could come out as precedent setting; our message is that no one should cease to participate in activating our total liberation.

Solidarity is a common strength, as is support, which trespasses boundaries and borders and unites around the world under the common language of social war. May our warriors not stand alone in the halls of bourgeois Justice; it only depends on how much we are able to create. All actions count and support the struggle against power, when they carry the seed of solidarity and freedom.

The call is to act, generating an action of polymorphous solidarity, without leaders nor guides, where each one of us can support from the stage they find themselves in; every action counts. Solidarity in action is thereby generated, extended and deepened through the networks of complicity; potent arms and tools to confront Power.

This callout is an open convening, so that anyone can manifest their actions, from decentralized information spreading to the autonomous practices of rebellious expression.

Even if the sky falls with a thousand threats from those in Power, we will not leave our comrades alone. Our conviction is relentless struggle until the end; until the last bastion of society as a prison is abolished.

Against all forms of Power. Against all forms of domination. Whether on the streets, behind bars or on the run, we will always be in permanent struggle.

"Borders and different languages are obstacles that we will overcome to find ourselves next to each other, in order to rise up together against the mandates and orders of this system; to spit with despise against those who are loyal to the law and life options they propose."

– Conspiracy Cells of Fire

Solidarity and Action (March 14 – 25th) until Freddy, Marcelo, Juan and Carlos are on the Streets, walking together with all those who struggle.

**WHILE THERE IS MISERY,
THERE WILL BE REBELLION!**

Family and Comrades of the Security Case Arrestees/Colectivo Anticarcelario Vuelo de Justicia/Núcleo antiautoritario de agitación y propaganda Sin Banderas Ni Fronteras y afines/81 Razones por Luchar/Individualidades Afines Santiago- Valparaíso- Buenos Aires- Neuquén- Barcelona/Viva la Anarquía/Rojoscuro/Hommodolars/Publicación Refractario/ Cruz Negra Anarquista México/RadioAzione/Voz Como Arma/ Revista Infierno/Solidarix en Guerra contra el Poder

WITH ENTIRETY AND CONVICTION

Letter of Freddy, Juan, Marcelo and Carlos - Chile - 27th of June 2014

The comrades Freddy, Juan and Marcelo were declared guilty by the enemy's justice on a trial ended on June 6th. The sentence reading took place on July 3th. The comrades refused to come to the court room.

These are the final sentences:

Juan Aliste: 18 years for the murder of Moyano + 10 years for attempted murder of the cop Abarca + 14 years for the robbery of the Banco Santander in Valparaiso and the Banco Security. In total, 42 years of prison.

Freddy Fuentevilla: 5 years for assistance in the murder of Moyano + 3 years for assistance in the attempted murder of Abarca + 7 years for the robbery of the Banco Security. In total, 15 years of prison.

Marcelo Villarroel: 14 years of prison for the robbery of the Banco Santander in Valparaiso and for the robbery of the Banco Security.

During the trial and the solidarity week, tens of actions of polymorphous attack took place in different countries all around the world.

With Entirety and Conviction

Here we go with revolutionary fortitude that will not fit into a paper, with Libertarian Skin and conviction, entire in the direct confrontation with the capitalist state and its subjection machinery. We don't deny our ties, and memory is present in a continuum of struggle and resistance. Today, democratic inquisition justice with its journalistic carrion, will celebrate publicly announcing their sentences, pretending to perpetuate our lives in prison. In this present confrontational war against power, it is important to mention that we are one more part of those who fight. We are the visible result of a consciousness development that resists and refuses to live under the designs of God Kapital subjection, of domination and all its authoritarian network seeking to annul the dreams, desires and needs of Total Freedom.

Conscience calls to us, the fight is our life as autonomous subversives, therefore we salute to all comrades by the daily practices of solidarity against prisons. With the same intensity we make the call for this July 02, 2014, when the Democratic Inquisition justice will sentence us, to show our anger and repudiation to everything that smells like Power and its imposed order.

Let this day will be one more excuse for more subversion, let every street and corner became in fertile stage for the axion, from individuality or collective, from simple to complex. Every real gesture is provided with Entirety when points accurate to the Power.

We notify to all of our every dear brothers and comrades, families and near ones ... We will not assist at our sentence reading... This part of the show, of the theater/circus, do not interest us in a definitive way. And we convocate to everyone to demonstrate autonomously in each space and place we found propitious for it.

A revolutionary, Libertarian embrace of complicity, with all our affection for those who fight.

Prisoners to the streets: Street for insurrection!
No State, Judge or Police can stop subversion!
Only the struggle makes us Free!
While Misery exist, will be Rebellion!

*Freddy, Juan, Marcelo, Carlos.
High Security Prison /Maximum Security Section
Santiago, Chile, June 27, 2014*



TWO MORE STEPS FORWARDS COMRADES

Editorial of “Anarquía” (Uruguay) - June 2014

Many things have happened since our last issue. To us a newspaper is an instrument, equal to a hammer or as useful or useless as a stone, all depends upon how it is used, depends upon the capacity of the one receiving it. What we are trying to do in different ways with our pages has several aspects, one of it being to help, to help each other contaminating and establishing the dialogue in between the oppressed, and the other one being to break with the fiction of politics while strengthening the real transformation towards freedom.

It would be impossible and unpleasant to enumerate everything that has happened since our last issue; we are not and don't want to be historians. Some of the things that happened will never vanish from our mind, never will we forget them, and other things will never leave our hearts. Anarchy is a beautiful tension, but she is as well a light that Power is constantly trying to extinguish. The hated states, their prisons, their prejudices, their tortures and their bullets do not hold back, and fortunately, neither we do.

In December, comrade Sebastian Oversluij was assassinated while he was expropriating a bank together with other comrades. Two other comrades find themselves behind bars. Later on, still on Chilean territory, comrade Tamara Sol Vergara executed a security guard; she has been arrested and thrown inside of prison. In other parts of the continent, prison and police bullets have advanced as well, showing that despite of the comfortable discourse not everybody can be domesticated.

Far away from the continent, in Europe, the old capitalist pest that is making way for the extreme right, continues firmly. The democracies are defending themselves and capital is restructuring, nothing new under the sun. The states are killing each other to maintain their territorial domination and we see them playing their geopolitical war between Russia and the European Union. The press is kissing the asses of the fascist Ukrainians and the soldiers of the emperor Putin, while the majority of the population is stuck in the middle of all this, chained to the game of knowing who will be the new ruler. In Greece, the country which is the most hit by the new economical restructuring, it are the anarchists who have given a cold shower to fascism, a vengeance we will remember for as long as we are living. In front of the entrance of the downtown building of the fascist party Golden Dawn, their headquarters, a group has breached the peace and killed two of its soldiers. The bullets repeat that not everybody forgets and lets authoritarianism pass. Europe, which seems to have forgotten the meaning of fascism, permits the growing of extreme right again, because it serves to put a break upon the most revolutionary sectors and to prepare the terrain for new reforms. Let's see if this time the created monster will bite its inventors.

And in the meanwhile over here, in the Uruguayan region, the most recuperative government of entire Latin America, continues to do its best to transform all notion of freedom into another product on the market. The poor are acculés by the arms of the Midis so that they won't hurt tourism ; the street workers are insulted, repressed and blocked to make a living ; streets get

filled with cameras for the increasing establishment of control and a legislation has been adopted to repress our lives more and more. The « law of mistakes » was invented to adjust the bad citizen and is constituted of a pile of papers in the courts that are trying to make it acceptable that the ones struggling against inequality are a social danger. On top of that, capitalist development continues its destructive work in this part of the continent. The IIRSA plan, an economic and military plan, foresees the installation of big business complexes threatening our lives ever more. More paper factories, a gigantic mine and its gas producing plant, so far the plan.

Our task in all this remains clear: to reinforce the rage, to direct our anger against the roots of the problem. Trying to look for solutions without mistaking or deceiving ourselves, without letting ourselves fall asleep with the magic spells of the system, such as elections or superficial reforms. We don't vote, we will never choose our masters; on the contrary, we will fight to be free, completely and truly free.

We conceive struggle as an attempt to unchain ourselves, without putting new chains in place. Struggle makes us look for the permanent self-organisation today, it makes us hold on to exposing the lies of the political parties and especially, it makes us think and act, with all of our energy, to recuperate our time and our space of before.

Comrades : let's continue to strengthen our projects by making them true and « real ». Let's show that nobody is turning himself in here, that the end of the authoritarian ideologies has been arriving since a long time, that their corpses have been rotting already since such a long time that it has become impossible to breathe the air of it. The lie of the liberal democracy doesn't resist to the slightest reflection, this is why the authoritarianisms are coming back in a desperate attempt to resolve the new changes of capital ; where necessary, the bosses make use of the iron fist. On our continent, the lie of the leftist solution was already broken as well, now it is the turn of the anti politics, but the active anti politics, to act for change. Two more steps comrades, forwards, since a while our time has come.

/The red-action/

Comrade, prepare yourself.

We have a whole world to destroy, prepare yourself comrade. In the Southern territory a plan is little by little being applied, the IIRSA plan, to construct more infrastructures and intensify the exploitation of the earth and its inhabitants. It is the generic idea for the whole of the continent: to control the natural resources for export, especially towards Europe, and to implant military bases. These are the big points of capitals progress so that the businesses can continue destroying everything. The states charge themselves with orienting *the direction* of the devastation. State and capital are sides of the same coin.

To defend freedom, one has to be prepared. Our intelligence consists of learning to look at the sides and the front. We must think about what is happening around us. We must think about what are the concrete plans for this territory. When we have this knowledge, we can defend. We must hurry, comrades, hit before it is too late.

Let's defend our freedom while defending the freedom of others; it seems the most intelligent thing to do. The answer depends on each individual, but strength grows when we are meeting with others. We are in need of, yes, convictions.

Prepare yourself in order to break this world of domination. It is time to go to the streets. We are not imposing any recipes, if fact we don't have any. We trust in a method: direct action. It is through direct action that we will find answers. Let's ask the questions first. Is a world where what lives is not transformed into commodity possible and desirable? Do we want to build this world or only talk about it? We will always continue going forward, as always without chiefs or leaders, we don't need them. There is a whole world to be build, prepare yourself comrade.

Anarchists against Aratiri and its world.

[Aratiri is an open air mining project for the extraction of iron, proposed by the business enterprise Zamin Ferrous. There are three big aspects in this project: the mine itself and the installations to process the minerals, a transportation line and a port terminal.]



WHO WANTS TO KILL THE REVOLUTION IN SYRIA?

Hors Service - Belgium - January 2014

There is not a lot of good news coming to our ears from Syria. The uprising against the Assad regime has bogged down into a civil war and the liberating movements and attempts have many difficulties confronting their numerous enemies. Because, let's put it clear, this revolt kicked off to put an end to the Assad regime, to liberate everyone from its yoke and to reconstruct a life on different bases: a revolt for freedom and dignity. That has expressed itself and continues to do so through the attempts of self organization, without central authority or state control, by the revolted people in the neighborhoods of the cities; through the combats, armed or not, that numerous people continue to carry on for the revolution in Syria; through the creation of spaces where relationships that a more free are experimented and that somehow constitute the heart of the magnificent liberating élan that has inspired thousands of people to do away with their fear and to revolt.

But as it was said before, these liberating attempts are threatened by suffocation. Therefore we need to ask: who are the enemies of the revolution in Syria? Who wants to put an end to the possibilities of the revolted people to finish with the regime, and to reconstruct their lives on bases that are completely different than the ones of authority and submission?

First of all this is evidently the Assad regime. When a power feels threatened it will be up to everything, to commit any atrocity or massacre. Self-preservation is

part of the essence of every power. In Syria, the power is shooting, bombing, torturing in order to suffocate the revolt in a bloodbath. And the regime has designated itself as the gravedigger of what we could call the spring of uprisings in numerous countries (Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Bahrain, Yemen,...). All of the regimes in the world do agree upon one point: someone needs to put a halt to the revolutionary élan, by all means necessary. This is the reason why certain countries continue supplying the Assad regime with money and arms, with services and military equipment. Let's put it clear: the weapon transport destined to the murderous regime pass through European harbors, as for example the one of Antwerp.

A second and no less enemy of the revolution in Syria are the islamist forces. There are numerous different fractions active and at this moment there are fights going on between the militia of ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq in Syria) and the population which is terrorized by these reactionaries. But already since some months before the start of the armed fights, many popular protests have been taking place in the territories controlled by ISIS, some are clearly expressing: "Neither Assad, nor Al-Qaeda!". The uprising didn't kick off to replace the authoritarian Assad regime by an equally authoritarian and bloody one. The islamists might want to end with Assad, but they don't want to liberate the population, they don't want the people themselves to decide upon how to organize their lives and chose their own bases for it: they want to impose the law of

God (and even their interpretation of it) in place of the law of Assad. But freedom, the radical change trying to end with a world based on power and money isn't compatible with any law. It is either law or freedom. The revolution in Syria must now fight not only against the Assad regime but equally against those that want to impose their law. By the way, the revolutions in other countries that have had uprisings are facing the same challenges (it is enough to think about Egypt where different fractions have successively taken the power to impose their regime to the exploited and oppressed in revolt).

The third enemy then are the chiefs of all color (the interim government in exile, the general staff of the Free Syrian Army...), who are in fatal opposition to the revolution. While the need for using of arms was definitely unavoidable in the uprising against Assad, the weapons are as well consuming the emancipating essence of the revolution. A civil war with strategies, calculations, tactic alliances, political games is not the same as a war for liberation, as a revolutionary uprising. The militarization of the conflict fatally provokes the re-establishment of authority, of discipline in front of chiefs and leaders, rather than free experiment and the construction of a new world. As is the goal of a large part of the islamists, the government in exile probably wants to chase away Assad but only to replace him with their proper regime. Neither the one, nor the other has confidence in the creative strength of the liberated masses, both of them fear the questioning of all power, of all oppression. So they are enemies

of the social revolution. And the government in exile is looking for support from other governments, in particular from the European Union who (let's be clear) is demanding some guaranties in return: the UE can say yes to the new government in exchange for an explicit no (by all means necessary) to the social revolution in Syria, to the abolition of capitalism,...

What can we do here to support the difficult road of the revolution in Syria which is threatened by all sides? On the one hand, we can find ways to support and express solidarity with those fighting for the revolution and against all oppression, whether it stems from the Assad regime, the islamists or the democratic politicians. At the other hand, we can combat the enemies of the revolution where we are, where it is possible to cut some branches upon which their support is resting: unmasking the lies of the governments here; sabotaging the companies and the institutions that are supplying services to the Syrian regime; counter balancing the islamist propaganda that is only concerned about the installation of an islamist state on Syrian ground and is recruiting fighters to impose their law to the ones that are actually trying to liberate themselves from oppressive regimes; propagating a revolutionary internationalism, which means supporting the struggle against power in all of its forms so that the magnificent revolutionary élan that has been shaking up numerous countries will not be suffocated in the blood of the revolted people.



ABOUT THE REVOLUTION IN SYRIA

Interview published in Apatris - November 2013

What was the social, economic and political situation in Syria before the uprising?

The Baath party came to power in 1963, following a military coup. At that time Baathism was a mixture of Pan-Arab, Arab nationalist and Arab socialist ideology. Hafez Al Assad came to power in 1970 through an internal coup and ruled for 40 years. He dismantled much of the socialist outlook of the party (the coup was against its left-wing faction) and he built up a patriotic capitalist class. Under his rule a leadership cult was formed, Syria became a totalitarian police state and there was mass persecution of political dissidents. Whilst the Baath party formed a coalition with 6 small mainly communist/socialist/nationalist parties to make up the National Progressive Front the Baath party dominates and in effect it is a one-party state.

When Hafez died in 2000, his son Bashar inherited the dictatorship. He was originally seen as a reformist and this climate of optimism gave birth to a movement known as the Damascus Spring. It was an intellectual led movement asking for political reforms such as the release of political prisoners and the right to form political parties and civil organizations (which are either banned or subject to strict control). It also called for an end to Emergency Law, in place since 1963, which effectively suspended all constitutional rights of citizens and empowered security forces. By Autumn 2001 the key leaders of this movement were in prison and hopes for political reforms ended. Under Bashar there was wide-spread

persecution of political and human rights activists. Arbitrary detentions, torture, extrajudicial executions and enforced disappearances were common practice. The Kurds (9 per cent of the population) also suffered severe repression at the hands of the state. An uprising of Kurds took place in March 2004, many were killed and more than 2 thousand were arrested. Draconian measures controlled and censored both Internet and press.

Following the dictates of the IMF and World Bank, Bashar implemented wide ranging neo-liberal economic reforms. State farms were privatized, a private banking system was introduced, there was a promotion of private-sector led investment with key industrial sectors brought under private sector control, and a reduction in subsidies. International investment flooded in particularly from the Gulf. These reforms were not accompanied by policies to re-distribute wealth or ensure social protection. Inequality grew between the rich and poor and the urban/rural divide was exacerbated. Assad loyalists and the business class benefited from these policies. Bashar's inner circle, including from his family and members of the Alawite sect to which he belongs became very wealthy. It is estimated that Bashar's cousin, Rami Makhoul, controlled about 60% of the Syrian economy through his business interests. The Sunni and Christian bourgeois also benefited from these policies as the regime built economic ties with individuals from different communities to ensure their loyalty. Meanwhile the poor were disenfranchised and the cost of living rose. Syrians living under poverty line

increased from 11 per cent in 2000 to 34.5 per cent in 2010 (7 million people) in rural areas it stood at 62 per cent. Unemployment rates were high, especially for the youth who lacked job opportunities.

Therefore which social groups were prominent in the outbreak of the revolt?

Inspired by the revolutionary wave sweeping the region, the uprising began in rural areas and cities with high poverty rates such as Deraa and Homs; those which had suffered the most from the neo-liberal project. The main Kurdish cities were also amongst the first to hold large protests. Apart from some small and daring protests, the centers of capital (Aleppo and Damascus) failed to join uprising for months and some (regime sponsored) protests were organized in support of Bashar.

Workers (despite the difficulties in organizing because of Baath domination of Unions) have played an important role in the movement. Successful general strikes and civil disobedience campaigns throughout December 2011 paralyzed large sections of the economy. The response of the Assad regime was to lay off more than 85,000 workers and close more than 187 factories between January and February 2012 (according to official figures). The regime also increased wages to public sector staff in its attempt to crush the uprising.

The core of the grassroots opposition has been and remains the youth, mainly from the poor and middle-classes, in which women and diverse religious and ethnic groups play active roles. Many of these activists remain non-affiliated to traditional political ideologies but are instead motivated by concerns for freedom, dignity and basic human rights. Their primary objective has remained the overthrow of the regime, rather than developing grand proposals for a future Syria.

What has been the role of anarchism in Syria and the Syrian Revolution?

Syrians have been at the forefront of the development of anarchism regionally. In the 19th century the main centers of Arab anarchism were Beirut, Alexandria and Cairo. The two primary periodicals for the dissemination of radical ideas in these cities were *Al Hilal* and *Al Muqtataf*, both established by Syrians. Syrian actors also brought anarchist ideas to the workers of these cities through radical theatre. One of the leading contemporary Arab anarchists is Syrian, *Mazen Km Al Maz*. He has been writing regularly in Arabic on current affairs for the past decade, and has translated western anarchist literature into Arabic. Nader Atassi, is one Syrian anarchist who blogs in English under the name *Darth Nader*. Political organization has been highly restricted in Syria for decades and anarchist networks are small and emerging. Yet anarchist tendencies in the Syrian revolution have been the strongest we have seen in any of the Arab Spring countries

and the experiments in autonomous self-organization outside of the boundaries of the state and independent of political or institutional leadership provide valuable lessons for anarchist organizing globally.

The main form of revolutionary organization in Syria has been through the development of local committees (“*tan-siqiyyat*”). Hundreds have been established in neighborhoods and towns across the country. This form of organization was inspired by Syrian anarchist *Omar Aziz* [1]. He believed that it didn’t make sense for revolutionaries to participate in protests by day and then return to their lives within the authoritarian structures of the state. Aziz advocated for radical changes to social relationships and organization in order to challenge the foundations of a system built on exploitation and oppression. His ideas have had a huge impact on revolutionary organization in Syria. In the local committees revolutionary activists engage in multiple activities, from documenting and reporting on violations carried out by the regime (and increasingly elements of the opposition) to organizing protests and civil disobedience campaigns (such as strikes and refusing to pay utility bills). They collect and provide aid and humanitarian supplies to areas under bombardment or siege. The committees operate as horizontally organized, autonomous, leaderless groups, made up of all segments of the society (including minorities such as Christians, Alawites, Druze and Kurds). They have been the foundation of the revolutionary movement based on principles of cooperation, solidarity and mutual aid.

What are the external forces which are involved in the Syrian conflict?

There is a vicious geo-political struggle or proxy war being fought over Syria. On the global level this is taking place between the US and Russia and on the regional level between the Sunni axis (Gulf States) and Shia axis (Iran and Hizbullah). All of these actors are struggling to ensure that any outcome is favorable to their own interests and maintains or expands their power and hegemony in the region. There is also a violent counter revolution occurring inside Syria, with the rise of extremist Jihadi groups, many of them foreigners, who are not fighting for the liberation of the Syrian people but rather to impose their own religious agenda. None of these factors detract from the fact that there is also a popular struggle on the ground and revolutionary groups stand against both the regime and counter-revolutionary forces.

How are the rebels organized in the liberated areas?

I have explained above about the local committees being central to revolutionary organization. Also in areas liberated from the state Local Revolutionary Councils (“*majlis thawar*”) have been established which act as the primary civil administrative structure. These ensure the provision of basic services (such as electric-

ity, health care, garbage disposal and water supply), coordinate with the activists of local committees and coordinate with the popular armed resistance to ensure security. They are often made up of the civilian activists that had participated in demonstrations as well as people selected for their technical or professional abilities. Many of these people come from the middle classes in contrast to the formal opposition in exile, comprised mainly of people from richer families, which explains some of the tension between these two groups and lack of outside support. There is no one model for the Local Councils, but they mainly follow some form of representative democratic model and free local elections have occurred in areas where they have been established, something that has not happened in Syria under four decades of Baath rule. Challenges include scarcity of resources, as very little aid has come in from outside which hinders the councils in fulfilling their functions and providing for citizens. In some areas councils have also struggled to maintain independence from armed groups and in areas where militant Jihadist groups (the Islamic State of Iraq and Sham and Jabhat al Nusra) are strong, such as parts of northern Syria, these groups have tried to set up parallel institutions such as Islamic courts.

How is the armed resistance structured?

The Syrian uprising was armed early on because the people faced a fascist regime that was prepared to use the full military force of the state to crush any opposition to its rule. Initially civilians took up arms and formed neighborhood militias to protect towns and protect demonstrators. On the 29 July 2011 the Free Syrian Army (FSA) was formed by officers who defected from the regime because they refused to fire on protesters. The FSA has two main components:

Former generals and soldiers of the regime. There are many different battalions and they are connected from local battalions to regional military councils, the FSA leadership and ultimately to the Syrian National Coalition (mainstream opposition in exile). *Parts of the civilian population that are against the regime.* Many of these operate outside of the formal chain of command and are organized according to local affiliations. Some are openly critical of the FSA leadership and SNC leadership abroad.

There are FSA battalions that consist of Alawite Muslims, Kurds, Christians as well as Sunni Muslims. There are also women only battalions. These groups are united in the goal of overthrowing Assad and establishing a democratic state and the FSA leadership has a secular agenda.

There has also been a rise of more hardline Islamic or Salafi brigades which are not part of the Free Syrian Army structure. They are becoming an increasingly dominant presence in the armed opposition and recently the Islamic Front was formed bringing together the largest Islamist battalions. Whilst I see this as a worrying development, despite the clear military advan-

tages to creating unity amongst fighting forces, it still remains to be seen how the Islamic Front engages with the (overwhelmingly secular) civil resistance, FSA and political processes.

Is it true that the FSA is dominated by Al Qaeda?

There are two major militant Jihadi/Al-Qaeda linked groups operating in Syria; Jabhat Al Nusra and the Islamic State of Iraq and Sham (ISIS). They are a counter-revolutionary force, which are not fighting for the liberation of the Syrian people but rather to establish a global Islamic Caliphate based on their puritanical interpretation of Islam. These groups have much more sophisticated weaponry than the FSA, mainly supplied by private donors from Gulf countries. They have consolidated their hold on some northern areas and tried to impose their strict interpretation of Islam on the population. They have committed many abuses such as a detention of opposition activists, executions and sectarian killings.

The civilian resistance against such groups is strong and we have seen wide-spread protests against them in cities where they are dominant such as Al Raqqa and Aleppo. The FSA is also engaged in battles with Al Qaeda affiliated groups and they were notably excluded from the Islamic Front. Whilst such groups will cause havoc in Syria and the region for a long time to come, I think the assumption that they can impose their vision on Syria in the future is grossly overstated. They are small in number, comprised mainly of foreigners and have no popular support base. Of course, the longer conflict occurs in Syria, the more they could increase in strength.

How are things right now in Syrian Kurdistan?

The Kurdish people have been denied their right to self-determination and faced brutal repression by the state for decades. Since July 2012 the Syrian government left the majority of the Kurdish areas and there is now an autonomous Kurdish government. Kurdish areas are governed by the Kurdish Supreme Committee which is an alliance between the main political party, the Democratic Union Party (PYD) which dominates, and the smaller Kurdish National Council (KNC). There are major political divisions within the Syrian Kurdish community and rivalries between the main factions. The PYD has faced criticism for its authoritarian policies and specifically repression against Kurdish activists including pro-revolutionary youth activists and political activists from opposing parties. The PYD has also faced accusations of collaboration with the Assad regime.

Kurds have joined the FSA in the fight against Assad and others are part of Salafist brigades/the Islamic Front. But the strongest Kurdish militia is the YPG linked to the PYD. Periodically the YPG has been engaged in clashes with the FSA. Kurdish fighters have also been fighting militant Jihadi groups as Kurdish areas have suffered brutal assaults by such groups in recent months.

The mainstream opposition in exile has sidelined the legitimate aspirations of the Kurdish people, but the popular civil resistance has vocally supported the Kurdish right to self-determination. Kurds have played an active role throughout the uprising and there are many initiatives where Kurds and Arabs have joined together in their opposition to the Syrian regime and to fight against increasing sectarianism. For example in August, joint protests were held in the Ashrafiyah district of Aleppo calling for unity and an end to assaults carried out by extremist Jihadi groups. Recently, a campaign has been launched called “Khorzeh-Ana Akhuk” which in Kurdish and Arabic means “I am your brother” to promote unity and co-existence between Arabs and Kurds.

It is a fact that the Western forces have not essentially helped the rioters, while officially the Syrian regime has been blacklisted by them. Why do you believe this happened?

We should not expect support to be given to the popular resistance on the ground. No state has an interest in seeing a popular revolutionary movement succeed. The West, as well as Turkey and the Gulf States have recognized the Syrian National Coalition (SNC) as the “legitimate” representatives of the Syrian people. They hope to influence the SNC in a way which is favorable to their long-term interests. It is important to note that the SNC has little legitimacy amongst revolutionaries inside Syria. It is often referred to as “the five star hotel opposition” and is criticized for being detached from realities on the ground, unable to unify to bring about meaningful change on the revolutions key demands, and influenced by outside agendas. Promises of support to the opposition from the West (including military support to the FSA) has been mainly empty rhetoric. There has been little will to find a political solution to this conflict or even take relatively simple actions such as giving adequate humanitarian assistance to the more than 2 million people living in squalid conditions in refugee camps across the region. No one nowadays is seriously talking about regime change. We expect a solution will be forced on the people where Assad goes but the regime stays in place.

Do you think there will be foreign military intervention in Syria?

Personally I don't believe the West has any real desire to get involved militarily in Syria. Syria is still a powerful state and has powerful allies. We heard talk of airstrikes for three weeks following the chemical attacks in Ghouta. I believe Obama was backed into a corner because he made his ‘red line’ conditions and did not want it to look like the US is becoming irrelevant in the region. The reality is US power is declining. There already is foreign military intervention in Syria, and apart from the Al Qaeda affiliated militant Jihadis

mentioned above, the intervention has mainly been on the side of the regime. Russia has given massive military support to Assad and there are Russian mercenaries fighting in Syria. Thousands of Shia Jihadi militants from Hizbollah are also fighting and have been involved in brutal attacks such as on the town of Qusair. Incidentally, Greek fascists from Black Lilly are also in Syria fighting for the regime. This is where anti-war and anti-intervention activists should focus their attention.

Finally, how can we best stand in solidarity with the Syrian Uprising?

It is important that visible solidarity from outside is given to those in Syria that are still struggling to overthrow the tyranny of the regime and anarchists can give support to libertarian tendencies within the broader movement. After two and a half years of struggle and in the face of the regime's brutality and an increasingly desperate humanitarian situation, it is easy to understand that revolutionaries in Syria are tired. Over 130,000 have been killed, entire civilian neighborhoods destroyed, 2.2 million have fled the country, and tens of thousands are rotting in Assad's prisons. This is compounded when faced with the idiotic debates surrounding their struggle that has come from a section of the left. It is important to challenge the simplistic binary narrative that we have to choose between the Assad regime and Al Qaeda. There are no chocolate box revolutions. In the course of any revolutionary process numerous competing actors will emerge, many of them reactionary. We have to stand in solidarity with those whose vision we share, right up until the last person left and there are many positive initiatives to support in Syria.

/ Interview with Leila Schrooms /

Notes

[1] Omar Aziz was in exile when the revolution broke out and he hurried back to Syria. He engaged in the protests and wrote this call for autonomous self-organizing “A Discussion Paper on Local Councils in Syria” which can be found in English on the internet. On the 20th of November 2012, he was arrested by the Syrian intelligence service *Mukhabarat*. Shortly before his arrest he said “*We are no less than the Paris Commune workers: they resisted for 70 days and we are still going on for a year and a half.*” Aziz was first held in a detention center and then transferred to Adra prison. There, a day before his 64th birthday, he died in February 2013 from heart complications, also due to the terrible prison conditions.



ANTÓNIO FERREIRA DE JESUS : IN REMEMBRANCE OF AN INDOMITABLE

December 2013

52 years of State kidnapping!...

António Ferreira de Jesus, born in Oliveira do Bairro on the 30th of October 1940, died on the 6th of November of 2013. From his 73 years, he spent 53 in jail, in Portugal. An unique case in Europe. He was only 21 years outside of the walls... Which means he suffered 52 years of state kidnapping!

António was born in a economically poor environment, in which he saw two brothers die; one of starvation and another one due to lack of medical care. Dissatisfied with the social inequalities and with the terrific terrorism that economic violence embodies, he opposed to the theft of life – the imposed wage by dominion – and he started to expropriate the dominant class, trying to appropriate his life, preferring the risk that it carries rather than humiliate himself to beg or submit to a vile salary. He defended his mother from the beatings of his dad, energetically opposing himself to him when once again he hit her. Since then that never happened again. When he was 17 he was sent to prison. After serving his sentence he was forced to serve a famous fascist correctional measure in Leiria's Prison-School [1]. Together with other "sons that were never children" he is shocked by the repression that exists there. When in contact with political prisoners in Lisbon's Prison he gained political consciousness.

He served 13 years in prison and suffered 4 of isolation and other punishments. António left jail so revolted that he rob Leiria's Prison-School, with the aim of releasing the prisoners and setting fire to it. And because some workers were not being paid, his class feeling took him to burn the factory where they worked, firstly putting

and end to the security guard of the factory, in self-defense, after a one to one fight. He performs some expropriations. Has the PIDE (political police from fascism) after him. One of his brothers, that participated on the frustrated incursion to the Prison-School, snitches him. He is condemned to the maximum sentence allowed then: 24 years in prison with the "delinquency", he was considered of difficult correction [2].

With the 25th of April 1974 revolution his sentence changes to 12 years with the condition that he could leave half way through it, meaning 6 years. Because he was a prisoner in struggle, he was forced to serve almost all of his sentence; there were only a few months to the totality of the 12 years when he was placed on probation, during which after a few months he was convicted to 18 months for carrying an illegal weapon and with his probation repealed. In 1991 he is given probation when his sentence is about to finish. After, in 1994 he is convicted to 10 years for expropriation and, still on the same year, convicted, with other comrades, to 18 years for the theft and kidnap of a famous heroin dealer.

Wherever he went he left a trail: in Leiria's School Prison, during the fascist dictatorship, he was part of various protests against the miserable meals and prepotency. In Coimbra's prison, after the 25th of April of 1974, he mutinied with other prisoners during weeks and was on the summit of the dome from the prison communicating with the people in the street, explaining the reasons of the mutiny. After, in Paços de Ferreira prison he is elected president of Prisoners Association. A mutiny happens and a comrade dies after being shot by a burst of gunfire. He was standing next to Ferreira

who escaped by an inch. The guard that shoot said the intention was to kill Ferreira and not the other guy. António is then transferred to the then so called Pinheiro da Cruz Penal Colony where he is kept in total isolation, in ward 1, for more than one year. *"They only lacked giving me a rope to hang myself"* were his own words. In 1976 a mutiny occurs in that ward. The prisoners got up on the roof and a lot of them were severely beaten.

In the process of creating some dynamics inside jail, where the prisoners would take conscience about themselves and their rights, introduced and taught then in many jails by the leftwingers that were imprisoned, António was considered by the authorities as a radical, due to his opinions and stance.

The right complains and protests in the media saying that the guards are the ones being punished instead of the prisoners and that prisons exist in "anarchy". In 1978 he is one of the main organizers of the escape made by a tunnel, excavated over dozens of meters in length, where 123 prisoners, including himself escaped from Vale de Judeus Prison where he was after being transferred from Pinheiro da Cruz. He is captured a few weeks later. Followed several riots, escape plans, hunger strikes, protests, and countless claims, complaints made to the media and other agencies, where his name was linked to, as well as punishments with the isolation of the entire prison population.

He suffered immense transfers in the middle of the night, sometimes to other wards, or to the disciplinary cells; other times for other isolation's with the 111° regime [3]; sometimes to other prison as an informal punishment to demobilize struggles.

The discrimination and bad faith on the paperwork related to the legal cumulative of the sentences, full of procedural irregularities, tortured him deeply, leading him to a situation equivalent to a life sentence disguised and leaving him with him full of uncertainties and with no hopes. However, he always stood firm before the bottomless pit where he was thrown into. Almost 70 years old, in Pinheiro da Cruz Prison, he refused to change ward and told the jailers, courageously and decisively *"I will not move from here! By my own feet i wont move! I'll only move by force or dead!"* The mercenaries were amazed but in exchange for their vile salary they fulfilled the higher orders and took him by force, on a stretcher, not to a different ward but to the violent punishment of total isolation (the equivalent of the, suppressed in 2009, regime 111°), the Big Brother [4], the prison within prison, separated from all the other prisoners, in retaliation for his insubordination. He went on hunger, thirst and silence strike immediately. A strike of silence which implied that not a word was addressed to the enemy: prison guards or other state officials. The guards tried to talk with him with no result the social assistant did the same and no results, the educator, the psychologist, the nurse, the doctor, the psychiatrist and not a word. *"Enough! It is impossible to dialogue with*

the oppressors," he said to himself. *"He went mad,"* they said. *"They didn't know what to do...they were going crazy not knowing what decision to make,"* he later said. He only agreed to speak with his last lawyer, José Preto. This struggle aged him a lot and left him very weak in his health. After chewing through his flesh and bones, almost about to die, half blind, with diabetes and after several painful strokes, he was set "free", on 15th of March 2012, perhaps to avoid thicken the already scandalous statistic mortality inside prisons...

How many deaths of comrades did he witness? (All death inside prison is a state crime!) How many brutal beatings to comrades and how much degradation did he saw? (Prison is in itself torture!...) And is terrorism not what he suffer and saw others suffer? How many times wasn't he induced to suicide? How many death threats did he suffer?

He refused to send letters legally because he was deeply disgusted by the censorship and surveillance that they suffered. He was almost sick with so much repugnance and indignation he felt towards the dissolute of his folders, concealed among other paperwork related with his processes to mislead the guards. Often the guards stole these folders during the raids. They were composed mainly of notes regarding prisoners beaten by guards and suspicious deaths, suspiciously by the guards and lack of medical care, as well as various presentations for various organizations and vindicating notebooks. He was always aware of what was happening. Everything he knew he would write down with the proper details, dates and names of those responsible.

António Ferreira, was a tough guy with principles, ethics and great firmness of mind, he was the persecuted, the persecuted within the punishment with various isolation [5], because he did not shut up regarding the monster that the institution of prison represents – What a place of extermination! – by defending his dignity and being supportive with his comrades. He would rather die than to loose his dignity, his most precious good.

Words by António, written in 2005 from Vale de Judeus Prison on his injunction sent to different national and international groups and organizations:

"Inside prison I defend ideas and convictions and for that i am persecuted. I defend my dignity and for that i am persecuted. I write for the press since 74 and for that I am persecuted. I became member and correspondent of Human and Prisoner Rights Associations and therefore I am persecuted. I proclaim anarchist ideas and for that I am persecuted. I call their attention to the neglect of their own laws, the systematic violation of Prison Reformation (Dec. Lei 265/79) and for that I am persecuted. I fight corruption, abuse of power, "free violence", incompetence, the miserable salary that prisoners get for work, for that I am brutally persecuted. Finally (and not as finally as that...) I am witness (here we start the most delicate part for them and the most dangerous for me) in several court cases against workers of this prison (Vale

de Judeus) that are there being charged with corruption, abuse of power and the death of prisoners. For that I am hated, persecuted, repressed and life threatened!"

Despite all the obstructions inherent to prison, through his own effort he learned to read, the profession of Radio technician, locksmith, and mechanic with professional category. He was an autodidact. He read about history, sociology, politics, marxism, anarchism, philosophy, ecology, psychology, psychiatry, anti-psychiatry, physics, chemistry, astronomy, astrology and science. The more he read, the more aware of himself he became, and more disgusted. Words for him had meaning – he wasn't a rhetoric or a juggler of words. He thought for himself therefore he was considered dangerous for the system. He wasn't indifferent to what was happening both world wide as locally. On the contrary: he was a socially informed individual and worried about what was going on. He used to comment surprised, worried and angry *"Why don't people outside these walls revolt to the point where the structures that destroy them fall?... How do people still take the speeches of the politicians and sustain the system that makes them live in humiliation?"* He roared with savage indignation at what was going on around him and outside the walls of prison. Yes, savage because they never domesticated him. He was a disobedient and expressed his feelings in a clear way. He was straight forward and despised the social "manners" in which he found a lot of hypocrisy and lies. He felt the injustices of this world in an exalted and palpitating way with a deep desire to fight them with all his strength and capabilities. Ah! How he commented, fussed, suffered and lived the events that came to him through the newspapers, radio and later television! And how he knew so well the lies of the state speech...! How disgusted he was by the liar and charlatan political speech...! He was a misfit inside and outside the prison walls.

António Ferreira, a reference to the companions that don't let themselves be degraded and sold, was seen and felt with fascination and sympathy for those that were around him as real companions. He gave lectures and clarified the companions that were unaware of their rights. He inspired complete trust and fellowship between them. He was supportive and generous, a man of word, always side by side with his companions, fostering fellowship, the reading of good books, fight for the defense of dignity and freedom, inflating the spirits, inner strength and resistance to advancing the fight against the stings of power. He was a self-assertive, indomitable individual, enemy of authority, a fighter, in a constant state of outrage, always boiling and burning deep revolt and constantly in confrontation with the guards and other clerks of power against the prison institution, in a courageous way, with bravery, exalted, with fearless determination which sometimes even scare closest companions due to the consequences that could arise there for him.

He exuded revolt by every pore. He was seen as a ticking time bomb, so much anger was impregnated in him.

The detractors, some authentic stalinists who make and break history, were people that with the police version in the mouth seemed more police than the police itself, in order to invent stories (like the lie about the death of a shepherd and his dog by which António would have been convicted), tried to paint him as immoral, to create public opinion and fabricate opinion, however they can not erase what António Ferreira was and is, and all the extraordinary account of all prisoners in struggle and other companions who knew him and shared moments with him, both outside and inside the prison. Nobody wants to put him on a pedestal, he would be the first to reject it because he did not accept pedestals to anyone. However it is important to dot the is. He had the ability to recognize his mistakes within the paths outside-the-law, he never did it before the state, to which he did not recognize any legitimacy. The curriculum of these pseudo detractors and critics, some of whom journalist-police, compared with their service, only reveals demagoguery, servitude to power and many toads swallowed due to its complicity with this. But what do they know this hypocrites and false moralists about what is constantly living on the razor's edge and in permanent rebellion against the power and its various pitfalls? What do they know of the dignity? Some people know nothing of the clandestine struggle and what it entails and means. And not one of their hairs would reach António's heels in terms of being in this world of constant confrontation, even if subjected to the worst condition of prison that is the ultimate expression of oppression.

He left the prison guards and other officials bewildered and frightened with his invectives and threats of denunciation uttered in loud claim, echoing the sound of his words through the suffocating walls of prison architecture.

In the 80s, in Pinheiro da Cruz prison, by an arbitrary order of the guards, all the prisoners that were in the courtyard of the football field left except António Ferreira, he, like a lion, faced, chest to chest, a sub-chief and other jailers with a huge list of corruption charges; beatings of prisoners and left them with red faces, swollen with anger and their tails between their legs. He had a lot of information of corruption and existing rot in prison and played with such information clearly and fearlessly.

No jailer beaten him. He said loudly *"I do not allow, under no circumstances, that you touch me, not even with a nail. I'll die after but first I'll send you to scrap!"*

Ferreira was the one that did not talk to them (cops and other prison staff), and everyone who was seen talking a lot with them was considered suspect for him. He had many guards and prisoners, acting like police officers, watching all his steps. All prisoners who dared to accompany him on the playground were recorded in red ink on their files, which in itself, stigmatized and harmed, informally and arrogant their rights and their possibilities of exit on probation.

To preserve his innermost self, his dignity, his personal-

ity after these 52 years in prison created a whole armor, composed of bitterness, roughness and simultaneously mixed with an exalted and frightening revolt, which came sometimes to ward off his closest companions. Only those that knew him a little more deeply knew of his great sensitivity and generosity, as well as some of the dreams that made him move on and resist. António repeatedly expressed in public his deep appreciation for the extraordinary solidarity he received from national and international comrades and that because of this support he could resist and escape being killed in prison. Solidarity that did not fail him out of prison and gave him a roof until his last day of life. Thanks to all comrades !

It is with deep sympathy, companionship and friendship that we share his memory, and with deep sorrow we feel his passing.

The spirit of António Ferreira did not die!
See you always !
From your companions!

Notes

[1] Sentence of imprisonment imposed by the fascist regime for “bad behavior” beyond the initial penalty.

[2] With the fascist penal code when a court condemned an individual to any penalty, for example, 5 years in prison, this meant that the individual could get , besides the 5 years, another penalty of 3 years; and if the individual had another disciplinary sanction applied to him 3 more years were added to his sentence, so the individual could meet a total of $5+3+3+3=14$ years in prison. In António´s case if it had not happened the April 25, 1974 he could have served $24+3+3+3=33$ years of prison. The delinquency was a punitive measure that could go up to 3 periods of 3 year convictions at a time, which could be added to the initial conviction, according to the criteria of management of prisons. And to be considered of difficult correction by the court implied measures of very special watch on the individual.

[3] In 2009 the legislature replaced the 111 with an equivalent one. Article 111 of decree – law nº265/79 of 1 August says:

1-inmate may apply to special security measures when, due to his behavior or mental state there is serious danger of escape or practice of violence against himself or against persons or things.

2-Are the following special security measures authorized:a) Prohibition of use of certain objects or its seizure;b) Observation of the inmate during the night; c) Separation from the remainder of the inmate prison population; d) Deprivation or restriction on permanence in the open; e) use of handcuffs; f) Admission of the inmate in a special security cell.

3-The measures provided for in the preceding paragraph is permitted where it is not otherwise possible to avoid or remove the danger of drawn or escape of prisoners or where there is considerable disturbance of order and security of the establishment.

4-The special security measures remain only as long as the danger which led to his application.

5-The measures referred to in paragraph 2 shall not be used as a disciplinary measure

[4] Big Brother designates the name that the prisoners gave to the prison built , very sophisticated and full of surveillance cameras, completely separated and isolated within the prison of Pinheiro da Cruz in the nineties. Only guards and other prison staff except lawyers could have contact with inmates that were totally isolated from each other in authentic cages of reinforced concrete and steel.

[5] The prison itself is punishment/torture. A person sentenced to imprisonment is already suffering punishment and within the punishment that prison is, a person suffers others punishments, such as cells of “dwelling”, in disciplinary cells, total isolation regimes, with separation of the entire prison population, tec., beyond the oppression inherent in those who exercise authority.

Politics...

So technique killed ethics. Because in front of any issue, human beings do not ask themselves what is most *right*, but what *works*. They no longer asks themselves this because at this point, in our world dominated in all its aspects by technique, it is given for granted that what is *right is what works*. Ideas become instruments to evaluate not for their meaning but for their way of being used, for their functionality, for their efficiency. All of this, as it has already been mentioned before, is certainly one of the consequences of the intrusion into all aspects of our lives of technique. However, it would be a mistake to think that this phenomenon only emerged in the last few decades, through the infestation of computers and cell phones, plasma screens and three dimensional images.

What else would politics be if not technique applied to the transformative actions of social relationships? Do we really think that even in the distant past these same logics were not applied? Do we really think that the political weight infests only the ruling class, men and women thirsty with power, and not anyone who is ready to reach compromises with ethics? To think again about these consoling certainties it is enough to look back at the difference – at the end of the Nineteenth century, within the anarchist movement, and while faced with the same situation – between the behavior of an Errico Malatesta and that of a Luigi Galleani. The first, the most famous exponent of the anarchist Party, while the second was the most vivid supporter of an informal and autonomous anarchy.

During the struggles for bread in 1898, those which then brought the massacre in Milan by the hands of Bava Beccaris, Malatesta was arrested from January on and prosecuted with other comrades at the end of

April. In that occasion his self defense, as he had already done during trials in Benevento in 1878 and in Rome in 1884, and as he will again in Milan in 1921, was particularly cautious, non provocative, leaning towards making clear the “true thought” of anarchists but also aiming to receive a softer sentence for him and his co-accused. So he began by stating his trust in the sense of Justice of the Courts, then continuing by countering the accusation of being the “leader of anarchist”, of pursuing the destruction of the family and society, and of having incited the bread revolt.

In regards to this, since in the moment he was talking – the 28th of April 1898 – the revolt was already spreading in all of Italy, Malatesta made clear that during his rallies he had clearly specified that “not by looting a villa and stealing an oven can the social question can be solved... bread is expensive, not because the mayor is a scoundrel, not because Rudini [the prime minister at the time] is a malefactor, but for a whole complexity of social causes that cannot be solved if not through the organization of the masses”. Then, to cast an even more amicable and uplifting light on himself, he thanked the prosecution: “The prosecution gave me a very high honor, an honor that if it had been made seriously would have been enough compensation for the three years of prison that you want to give me, he said that since I went to Ancona the murders and the robberies decreased and there were no more bombs launched. But if this had been true, please lock me up, you will send me to prison with a halo of glory”.

It was not only this that gave Malatesta his “halo of glory”, who continued defending anarchists also from the accusation of inciting hate: “ask those mothers who

...or ethics?

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would come thank us, when their sons became anarchists and stopped getting drunk, and would become more affectionate sons and harder workers.” Those anarchists, what great folks! Where they arrive, robberies and attacks diminish, the wild kids get their heads straight, they curb their excesses, they give honor to their mother and father and go to work! Perhaps convinced of these words the Court made its decision. The sentence was exceptionally mild. Malatesta got away with seven months of imprisonment, partially already served, the other accused with six months and one absolution.

Just four years before, in 1894, in Genova the big trial against Luigi Galleani, Eugenio Pellaco and other 33 defendants took place, with the accusation of “criminal association”. The arrests were made between December 1893 and the beginning of January 1894, and the court case began in May, in a very tense atmosphere. Galleani, considered the “head” of the gang and questioned first, proudly declared being a revolutionary anarchist, of not believing in legal means, and of always having made propaganda of his ideas. An ex-law student, therefore aware of the court proceedings, and also great public speaker, Galleani was able to dominate the discussion claiming his own anarchism (“I am not here other than to defend my own idea, an idea that has put me here on the dock as a malefactor, taking little care of the sentence that you bourgeois judges will inflict on my person and on my comrades”) while embarrassing the main witness of the prosecution, the ex-mayor of Genova, to the point of being more times silenced by the presiding judge and by the public prosecutor. In the end, faced with multiple attempts to silence him, Galleani raised his voice: “I cannot help but observing that I expected all this: I knew that in your role of bourgeois judges, you

could not do more or less of that which you do; I expected that the public prosecutor would be afraid of the truth, that he would prohibited me to talk because he knew that I would have concluded with saying that here, where I sit, him with the judges should have sat, because the present society really deserves the name of a society of malefactors of which, consciously or not, you belong to”. The audience present exploded in an ovation and the presiding judge had the court cleared out.

Galleani, defended by Pietro Gori, was condemned to 3 years of imprisonment, aggravated by a sixth spent in isolation, plus 2 years of surveillance, Pellaco to 16 months, and the others to lesser sentences. After the three years of imprisonment, Galleani was put under house arrest with the maximum sentence: five years. Different style, different bill to pay.

Malatesta’s court statement worked. But was it right? The one of Galleani was right, but did it work? Was Malatesta wise? Was Galleani dumb? Was Malatesta a coward? Was Galleani brave? Neither one nor the other. In the end both did in that courtroom what they were doing also on the outside. The first one ended up putting aside his own ideas for the tactical necessities of the moment, just like a smart politician would do. The second outspokenly expressed his own thoughts, like those immune to any political calculations would do. Politics or ethics?

We are certain that Errico Malatesta was satisfied of the outcome. But we are also certain that Luigi Galleani did not regret his choices.

It is not about a strategic choice, but a life choice.

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- 8** – BRAZIL – *International call for sabotage against the World Cup*
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