



325

(A DATA NETWORK FOR DIRECT ACTION)  
(A MEDIA FRAMEWORK FOR SOCIAL WAR)  
(THE REFUSAL OF FIXED TERRITORY)



"All great things must first wear the terrifying mask in  
order to inscribe them in the heart of humanity."

**Nietzsche**

"The negation of what exists ...  
for the benefit of the future which does not exist."

**Bakunin**

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**O R G A N I S E  
R E S I S T  
R E P L I C A T E**

## EDITORIAL #8 SEPT 2010

Welcome to 325, an anarchist publication of news, letters and analysis. Within these pages you will find reports from the ongoing social war that is happening around the planet, with a particular focus on Europe, as that is where we are based. 325 is produced with the express purpose of circulating radical anti-capitalist and anti-state ideas on the streets, in paper form. 325 has a print run in several European countries and North America, plus we post quantities out to Japan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines and elsewhere.

This project is not a financial or journalistic project, it is a project of love and rebellion. Please take this project for translation and reproduction: the anti-system struggle is open for collaboration, and this project is a product of the social war and so belongs to it. Consistent activity and international networking is essential for our insurrectional projects and to this end we dedicate this issue to the subject of the individual's responsibility to the mass struggle for freedom. At the heart of the anarchist revolt is compassion for our fellow human beings and the planet, with a thirst for collective action and organisation against capitalism.

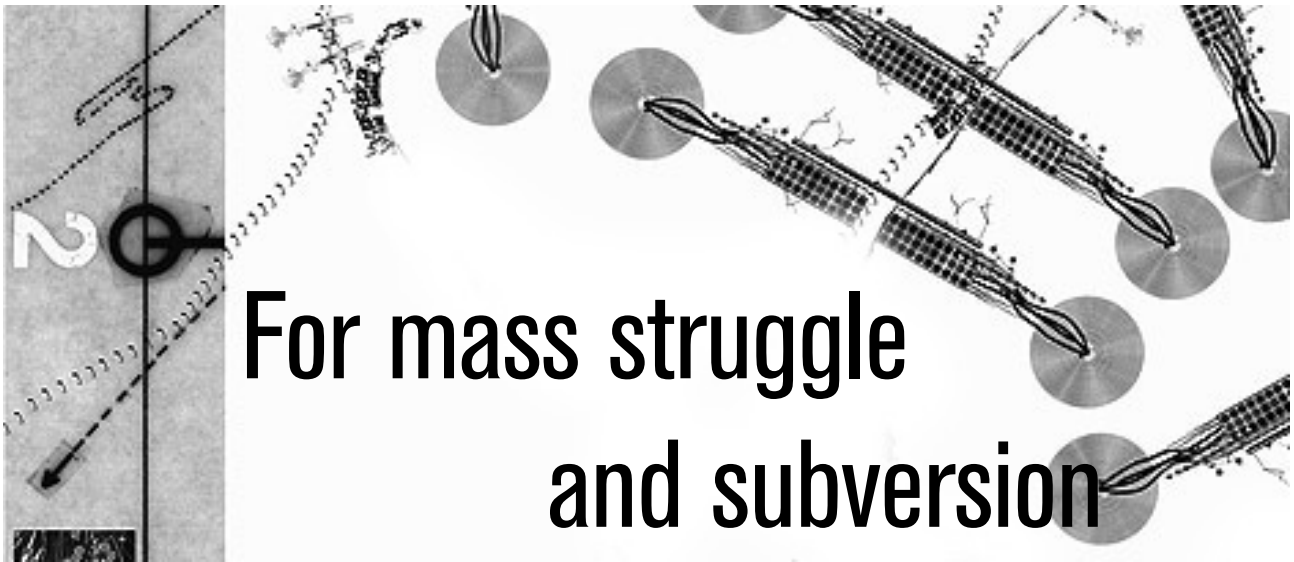
As the system attempts to continually extinguish its opposition, in the form of anti-'extremist' & anti-'terrorist' terminology and repression, the facts remain evident - the state and the capitalists are the terrorists, not those who fight against the exploitative 'consumer democratic' totalitarianism and its apologists. People across the planet are experiencing one of the most severe and blatant redistributions of wealth from the poor to the rich in history, a colossal robbery of unparalleled magnitude. As the extreme disparity in wealth grows, the rich relentlessly exploit the state of emergency caused by the 'economic crisis', the chaos is mirrored by the ferocious nature of climate meltdown. Industrial capitalism has caused an ecological collapse and impoverished the world. It is time for direct action now.

For generalised insurrection and the free society.

Anarchy is inevitable.

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# For mass struggle and subversion

## Part one.

**“If you will not free yourself from the ropes that bind you while you are alive, do you think that ghosts will do it after?” Kabir**

At this point, no one is innocent and all have made their choice. There is not one person who is not having to take sides. People are testing each other, testing society, testing how far they can go. Flexing their muscles, so to speak, before the clash. You can see it in the slight tilt of the lips as someone blames the immigrants or the Muslims in a roomful of strangers. Who will react?

There is no more information to be disseminated. There is no strategy now. There are no meetings that will change the world. There is only poetry and rebellion. There is the finding of accomplices. There is the finding of oneself. And in that act of discovery, the necessity of attack despite despair.

There is no blueprint for a future world. We will not promise or pretend there is one. Anything we could invent now would be contaminated by the prison we live in. We have no fixed structure for what happens 'after'. Just as the baby cannot imagine what lies beyond the womb and yet still is born, so we must struggle from the anaesthetizing 'comfort' of this darkness and see what lies outside all that we know.

We attack because we must, not because we hope for anything, not because we have 'a plan', not even because we imagine we might win.

Whatever there is to win, we can win each day here, now, and that is the victory of our autonomy, our refusal, our initiative, our attack,

our friendships, our projectuality. Today we win by giving in to our passions more than our fears, by giving in to our courage more than our comfort. Surrendering to the instinct for life rather than the instinct for security.

What are we trying to hold onto in our apathy, our compliance? What is it that is so precious? If we have only one life, then why do we let others dictate how it is to be lived? To live one day of pure, glittering love and rage is surely worth more than a thousand crawling on our knees. A cliché of course, but one that must have been forgotten.

Only those who can free themselves from the fear and conditioning of modern society will change their lives. Nothing else is sufficient. Life cannot be known in it's totality, truth appears only to be forged through courageous free will, the infinite and indestructible source of all ideas.

There are two classes of human beings - the included and the excluded. Human history is the struggle between these opposing classes.

At the heart of the individual is the capacity to exceed all boundaries imposed by the authoritarian system, the possibility to change reality through acts of tremendous character. For a future free society, the present one must be razed to the ground and it's representatives fall in a hail of bullets.

Historical continuation of the anarchist-nihilist-communist tendency is only brought about by individual and mass violence against the exploiters.

We are individualists because we are human beings and we wish to see the liberation of each and every individual to their full potential.

We are nihilists because we have given up on 'hope' and we have come to terms with the realisations of chaos physics, in that consciousness is the *prima materia*.

We are anarchists because we are for stateless communism. In this aim, we organise collectively to directly attack capital, the state and alienation using the full spectrum of means at our disposal, and *always in keeping with our libertarian vision of total freedom*.

The anarchistic-mass-social turbulence is getting larger and uncontrollable, and there is so much social fragmentation, that the lack of cohesion adds to our dangerousness. Simply put though, we are not interested in politics, in dialogue, in the left-social game. We are interested in revolutionary organisation, arms and ideas.

We are outside and beyond the morality and restrictions of the dominant false culture. We will create widespread new values through our actions, or we will die trying, sure in the ever-living vital life-force which surges like spring against the death-system.

The aim is to create situations beyond the control of anyone, where a cataclysmic destruction of the capitalist system can take place.

Our ideas are not seen as ends in themselves, but as weapons for creating reality. To fully realise this is to face a freedom in which nothing we have been taught or conditioned to believe is true, and everything is possible, there are no certainties, and the consequences can be horrific. Laughter seems to be the only defence against the realisation that 'nothing' is real.

Thus anarchy heralds the arrival of the death of all ideologies and fixed systems of identification. Chaos is here - right before your eyes.

The purpose is to create new realities by acting out our ideas to their radical conclusion. Armed free will is powerful enough to destroy all illusionary gods and entrenched political systems - the running dogs of capital are terrified by the liberated individual who has finally refused to submit to any domination.

...continued on page 62

# WHO ARE WE TALKING TO?

*To whom do we direct our subversive communication, to whom do we talk about the misery of daily life, of exploitation and revolt? Where do the struggles against the prison structure and the society that produces it intersect? A contribution to sharpening our tools against the existent and to keeping alive a debate about the possibilities and limits of anarchist intervention. Translated from Italian anarchist publication 'Il Machete'.*

We find ourselves in a situation where a certain torpor has spread everywhere around us (except within ourselves).

If each episode which revealed the arrogance of power to the daylight was still capable of filling the streets and the squares with rage, we would not run into daily round-ups and patrols, into Big Brothers and small prisons, into construction sites for military bases and nuclear plants. But that is how it is. We need to reflect on how this came to be - the torpor, the lack of visible rage. Through reflection, we can then perhaps awaken a possible reversal of this tendency, and contribute ideas which help break through this stalemate situation.

One needs to react, without a doubt. But this awakening does not seem to be easy.

Who do we aim to be involved with when we decide to declare battle against this world? Do we address ourselves to everyone, or do we have a specific population in mind? To whom belong the ears we want to open? To whom the reactions we want to provoke? Above all, how do we think we can achieve this? Which buttons do we push?

The classical work of counter-information is over. It is clear now that the problem is no longer to 'inform people of the facts'. The facts are known, by everyone. It is not ignorance that is preventing revolt. It is overload. People are bombarded with the facts and at the same time alienated from them by the way in which they are

presented, via a relentless technological propaganda machine that turns us into passive spectators of our own misery. To counter this process is the necessary and fundamental work: with acts and also with critique.

Just as an excess of information leads paradoxically towards a situation of disinformation, an excess of indignation can lead to inactivity, to paralysis. Abuse upon abuse, injury upon injury - we are getting used to the worst. We have become accustomed to the intolerable to the point of climbing over the still-warm bodies of the slain with nonchalance. Disgusted. With everything. And those who become deaf to the order from above, can also become deaf to the critiques of those from below. The rejection of information goes hand in hand with the refusal of protest.

In order to finally open up a breach in the wall of apathy, is it enough to amplify the volume of the world's sufferings? Apathy is a form of self-protection. It is not humanly possible to receive inside one's own heart all the indignation for all the abuses, all the injuries, all the wrongs, suffered. This is shown clearly in the specialization into which one falls when taking the decision to give voice to the voiceless. The one who takes up the defence of the latter certainly shows a sensibility and a nobility of the mind, but they carry as well a certain spirit of the social worker.

Putting yourself at the service of others can even sometimes be a bit embarrassing, particularly when the needs of the 'assisted' are in opposition to the needs of the 'assistant'. Above all, this form of intervention tends not only to limit the range of one's own action, but creates a toxic moral superiority which only serves to alienate further ("they suffer and what are you doing about it?"). It is twisted to base your cause on the struggle of others, rather than locate the source of your own



struggle. And it is also futile to begin a project of altruism, exactly at that point in society when such feelings are buried by annihilation and apathy.

Let us take as an example the struggle against the prison. At a time when the exaltation of 'security' has reached a vigorous peak (with increasing punishments of prisoners, the construction of new detention centres, the widespread acceptance of 'zero tolerance'), and the preoccupation of the majority is with the depressing lightness of their own wallets, does it make any sense to try to reach people's heads and hearts by talking about the misfortunes and misery of those who find themselves behind prison bars? To us, this would seem the best way to throw ourselves against the wall of indifference. This is why, sadly, one should not be surprised that our bulletins and initiatives gather the attention of so few. Surely it would be better to acknowledge that an anti-prison struggle which puts the interests of the prisoners at its centre, does not have much chance of generalising itself. It necessarily remains confined to a specific population, composed of the prisoners themselves, their friends and their parents.

*(Translator's note: during the last two years, there have been some initiatives of struggle undertaken by Italian prisoners. However, the solidarity remained confined to exactly the aforementioned category of*



supporters. See the previous issues of this magazine to read more about those protests and others).

This does not mean that one should let the question go, surely not. It simply means that we should recognize the limits of this form of struggle. It means we defend with pride one's own comrades and those with whom we share certain interests, self-organising to help them in the best way possible, without waiting for readiness on the outside, prepared to act alone or with a small circle of interested people. But it also means something else. It means that if we want to bring the matter of the prison to people on the outside of its walls, if we want to make our critiques heard by as many people as possible, we need to try another path. And this path is yet to be discovered, traced and opened up. If the reigning indifference is characterized by indifference towards other people, then it makes sense to stop beginning from the point of the plight of the other. If we want to talk to the ones who consider themselves to be living in freedom, outside the prison walls, then we need to talk about them, about their misfortunes, their problems, their condition. Only in this way, perhaps, is it possible to catch their attention. Only in this way, perhaps, can we show them how the distance that separates them from prison is only as thick as a wall.

The increase in legislation which criminalizes any small act that is not 'obedient', together with the continued and accelerated erosion of the conditions of survival, each day brings more and more people to the prison doors. Theirs, like ours, is a freedom under surveillance which can be revoked at any time, which associates them with the prisoners more than they think. Outside, as well as inside, the prison walls, one is forced to pass under the always careful eye of the camera, and through the door of the metal detector.

Outside, like inside, one lives forced relationships inside spaces which are more and more restricted. In order to be killed by servants of the state, one does not need any longer to be a militant in an armed group, or a demonstrator defending themselves from police charges wearing a balaclava and carrying a fire extinguisher in their hands. It is enough to be a football fan sitting in the parking lot of a motorway cafe, to be caught with a few grams of drugs or to skip a red light on a bike.

*(Translator's note: all these are police murders which have happened in Italy in the last years. Carlo Guilianì was killed during the Genoa riots of 2001, Gabriele*

*Sandri - a Lazio team fan - was murdered in 2007 and Aldo Bianzino was beaten to death in prison in the same year because of possession of marijuana.)*

Let us, therefore, overturn our approach to the argument. Let us begin from the prison of daily life, the prison in which we are all of us locked, in order to introduce the topic of the prison itself, the prison in which only some are locked.

This shift in perspective, however, has a distasteful twist and that is, it relegates to a lower level the immediate needs of prisoners. It admits that the claims of the prisoners will not be a priority for those who, at the moment, are 'luckier' than them. The reality seems to be that it is the situation outside the prisons which must change before the people on the outside are in a position to prioritise that of the prisoner. And this shift in perspective has practical consequences. For the ones who do make the prisoners their point of reference in struggle, what sense does it make to carry on continuous rallies in front of the prisons?

Already the rally represents a form of struggle with inherent limitations. To make a rally means 'to defend'. If it makes sense to rally in defence of a valley in order to impede its destruction, how does it make sense to rally in front of a prison? We are not for the defense of the prison walls!

As for the prisoners who are locked inside, it is useless to say that they are in the hands of the enemy. At best, we hope they will feel our presence and that the jailers will understand that it would be better for themselves to use a light hand, a citizenist approach of using presence to put pressure on the authorities so that they respect their own rules and our will.

"Pay attention, they are not alone, for we are here!"

Indeed, we are here...



One has also to consider how often these prisons are located on desolate moors, resulting in the rally being a date between "us" and "them", the subversives and the pigs, where we exchange insults and bad looks far from the eye of the majority. Certainly, sometimes one manages to soothe for a few hours the painful solitude of the prisoners, and this experience satisfies the one who is determined to do something, anything (which, as we know, is always better than doing nothing) and which fails to satisfy the one who does not feel the virtue of the volunteer.

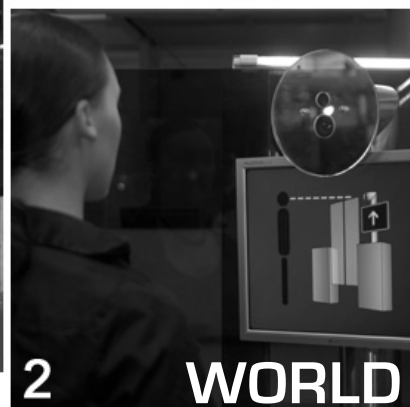
The case of the prisons still located inside the cities is different. Here, it is still possible to avoid the dead-end contraposition between us and them because it is still possible to involve others, i.e. all those who still coast the prison wall from its better side, but who tomorrow could find themselves on the other.

Taking the ongoing generalisation of fear and poverty into account, it appears that it is not successful to bemoan the misfortunes of others, to those who have already closed down to the sufferings of other people. Quite the opposite, it makes more sense to try to show that in reality the suffering of those on the inside and the suffering of those on the outside are two faces of the same coin. That the misfortunes of those who live on one side of the prison walls can transform in a second into experiencing the other side, since we are all of us prisoners in the same world.

And it is in making this point that the distances can shorten, destinies become entangled. It is here that it becomes possible, perhaps, to establish communication.

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You can read more articles from Machete here:

[machetea.blogspot.com](http://machetea.blogspot.com) (Eng)  
[macheteaa.org](http://macheteaa.org) (Italian)  
[abc-berlin.net](http://abc-berlin.net) (German)





## What are Anarchists?

By **Alfredo M. Bonanno**

### I. Who do anarchists struggle against?

- Against the State seen as the centralised organisation of power in all spheres (administrative, financial, political, military, etc.)
- Against government which is the political executive organ of the State and makes all decisions concerning repression, exploitation, control, etc.
- Against Capitalism which can be considered both as the flux of productive relations in course and individual capitalists, their activity, their projects and their complicity in this form.
- Against the individual parts that the State and capital are divided into. In other words, the police, judiciary, the army, school, newspapers, television, trade unions, the large multi-national firms, etc.
- Against the family, which forms the essential nucleus upon which the State structure is based.
- Against the world of politics, therefore against political parties (all of them), Parliament which is the expression of bourgeois democracy, and the political ideology which serves to mask real social problems.
- Against fascists and all the other instruments of repression used by the State and Capital.
- Against religion and the Church which constitute a potent ally to repression.
- Against the army which is an armed force that is used against the people.
- Against prisons which institutionalise the repression of the poorest of the exploited classes.
- Against asylums which repress the different.

# REVENGE FOR CARLO GIULIANI (1978-2001)



We haven't forgiven the death of Carlo Giuliani. An Italian anarchist born in 1978, he was one of millions of protesters who participated in the Genoa demos against the G8 leaders' violence. Comrades witnessed his assassination by Italian riot police's Carabinieri in 20 July 2001.

After nine years, the case 'Giuliani and Gaggio v. Italy' was referred to the Court's Grand Chamber of the European Court of 'Human Rights'. The summary description of so-called 'Principal facts', includes: 'As to the officer who had fired the fatal shot, the judge took the view that he had fired into the air without intent to kill and that he had in any event acted in self-defense in response to the violent attack on him and his colleagues'.

What does this remind us of? Statements made from Greek authorities in regard of the assassination of Alexis Grigoropoulos, which led to December 2008 Uprising in Greece. Alexis Kougias, the lawyer defending Epaminondas Korkoneas, the police special guard who shot dead the teenager in Exarchia, central Athens, in 6 December 2008, argued in court that the fatal bullet was fired into the air and not toward the victim.

**Nothing changes - Revenge for Carlo Giuliani.**



# ON REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY

By Polykarpos Georgiadis.

I. Solidarity is not simply legal, humanitarian and economic aid. When solidarity is pushed into the context of bourgeois legality, when its boundaries are set by the provisions of the criminal code, when it walks on the tightrope between “innocence” and “guilt”, when it is limited to the closed court-rooms of class “justice”, then it is automatically castrated and enervated until it is de-radicalized and transformed into a conventional, mechanical and processing action.

Solidarity cannot rely on bourgeois legal formulas and the dominant double morality which, through a mellifluous verbal humanism, attempts to hide the brutal reality of applied social Darwinism. Solidarity is realized only when it is based on a revolutionary ethical code deriving as much from the individual (from every revolutionary and rebel) as from the collective (from the anti-systemic-radical movement). And this ethical code that feeds revolutionary action is not determined according to the state power’s rhetoric and legal arsenal.

Ultimately, solidarity, as revolutionary action, is not “legalistic” or “illegalistic”, but goes beyond these pseudo-dilemmas of bourgeois morality.

II. Humanitarian solidarity may be acceptable on many occasions, but it is always incapable of escaping the asphyxiating bounds of existing social misery. Humanitarian solidarity (expressed mainly through the systemic left), in essence, fights for the beautification of brutality, for better conditions of slaughter. The sincerity of the humanists - Christians or leftists - is beyond doubt. The same, however, goes for their inadequacy.

III. Solidarity is not a simple rumination on mechanically repeated slogans and phrases, nor a continuous repetition of words in an incantation rhythm like the Bedouin mantra. Words are beautiful when they are realized in real space and time, between genuine comrades, but, simultaneously, the same words are vulgarized when they are uttered by professionals, accountants or pedlars of solidarity who give them an exchange value and haggle them as a precious commodity in the supermarket of political surplus value.

So solidarity does not contain or exclude individuals at will, based on personal friendships and acquaintances or depending on the particular tastes and pursuits of each individual or political group. Solidarity to one imprisoned social fighter is simultaneously solidarity to all and vice versa.

IV. On the other hand, however, solidarity is a relationship of interaction and not a *carte blanche* handed to the prisoner. Obligations and duties do not lie only with those outside the prison walls. Constancy and responsibility, dignity, a clear position and participation (as much as that is possible, since incarceration does not allow for an unlimited field of participation...) should in practice connect the prisoner with the solidarity movement (which is none other than the revolutionary-radical movement). However, the fighting spirit and real refusal of compromise become apparent from a position which stems from individual responsibility and not by worshipping the deceptive appearance of the delinquent lifestyle and of bravado “anarchy”.

The prisoner is not a protected lifeform so that he or she can act like a spoiled brat. If he or she wants to constitute a living element of the revolutionary movement they will have to be open to critique and their individual stance inside prison should be sincerely anarchist...

V. Solidarity is one part of overall and collective revolutionary action for the destruction of the class-hierarchical society. It cannot be understood as a self-evident project, something separate from the struggle for the destruction of power itself. Ultimately, solidarity is either revolutionary or it is nothing. We cannot view solidarity as a separate part of revolutionary action but only as an inseparable total, a ceaseless force which, during the action of attack brings together, coordinates and arms solitary and fragmented negations. But, above all, solidarity (with regards to imprisoned comrades, but also in the wider sense) is the practical critique of a society which retires into ‘private life’, of looking out for oneself only, of resignation and of cannibalizing one another.



VI. Solidarity to imprisoned social fighters is a subset of wider revolutionary solidarity, of solidarity that wants to expand and become the dominant social relation on the ruins of authoritarian civilization. It is the prefiguration of a potentially classless society. We can’t just wait for the skies to open and start raining revolution. Tomorrow remains to be invented and that is a matter for today.

VII. Solidarity is our weapon!

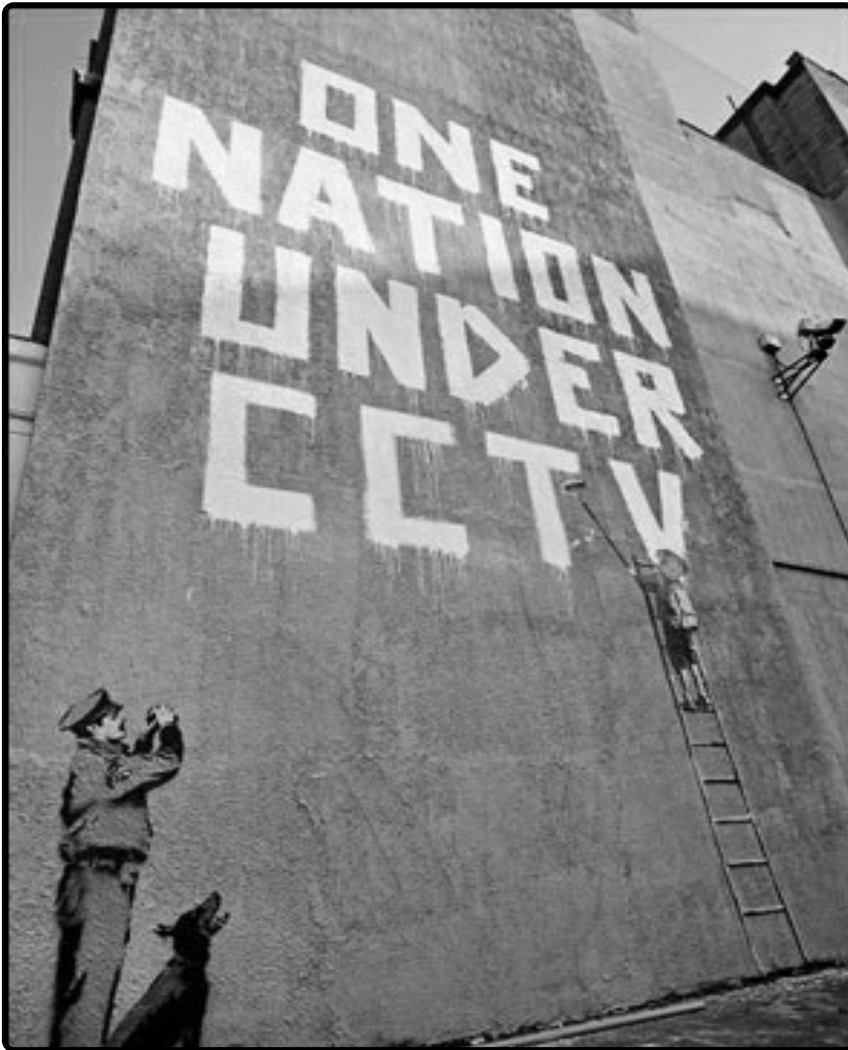
But in order to use it we must also load it...

*This text is translated from “Accomplices in the Crime” (Sinergoi sto Eglima), Issue 2, a periodical published in Athens containing texts by imprisoned comrades.*

*Polykarpos Georgiadis is serving 22 years and 3 months for the kidnap and 10 million euro ransom of G. Mylonas, President of ALUMIL Corp and boss of Northern Greece’s industrialists union. Also imprisoned for this action is anarchist Vaggelis Chrysohoides who likewise received 22 years, 3 months. Vassilis Palaiokestas, social bandit and rebel, remains a fugitive for this case now after a helicopter escape from prison... we wish him the best. Everyday you are free brings a happy smile to so many people...*

*The bosses have us ‘kidnapped’ everyday. Let’s turn the tables on them and refuse this system of work and exploitation with acts of resistance!*





# Notes from the Gathering against Prison Society

**Taken 31st Oct-1st Nov'09: Cowley Club, Brighton, UK.**

At the end of Autumn '09 an anti-state/anti-prison encounter was held at the Cowley Club social centre in the gentrified little south coast seaside town of Brighton. The two days, put together by some random anarchists in collaboration with Brighton Anarchist Black Cross, were well-attended: the place was full but not overcrowded, making it possible for the diversity of those present to express itself.

Among those present were members of ABC Bristol, 325, Campaign Against Prison Slavery as well as individual comrades and friends from London, Brighton and beyond.

Comrades from Germany, Portugal and Greece had been invited to speak about anti-prison and social struggles in their respective areas, and there were also

spontaneous contributions from Italian, Dutch, Spanish and Canadian anarchists concerning their ideas and realities. Animated discussion covered issues like prison privatisation, affinity, social struggle, revolutionary solidarity, specific situations of repression, and much more. One aspect of the discussions that had noticeably diminished, since CCTV deeply became part of everyday life in UK, was the attention given to the technological aspects of the prison society.

Of course, the UK is notorious for being one of the most watched and databased countries on the planet. The sheer number of cameras and other devices is breath-taking. There is a heavy reliance on developed applications of social control, from mass CCTV, tagging devices/RFID, private security groups, nationwide vehicle tracking, dataveillance

of all phone/fax/email/internet activities, to consumer-democratic 'Community' type double-think. The bosses like to think it is all very advanced, new technologies are constantly becoming available on the marketplace and the companies and government feel few worries about forcing the people to accept their domestication, as there is so little resistance.

The lack of a focus on the technological applications of hierarchy is however, to this writer, a sign of positivity, for the content of the discussions was mainly about revolutionary struggle and mass prisoner solidarity, rather than the usual paralysis-inducing description of the misery of modern life in the UK. The gestating anarchist/anti-capitalist social war which is happening in flashes and ruptures around the planet in some few places will only be spread by acts of revolutionary force against the structures and individuals maintaining capitalist hierarchy. The nature of social struggle throughout human history requires no less effort now than in previous eras which exacted no less a terrible price on the lives of those who fought for their lives against the ravages of power and financial tyranny.

A social movement which does not defend its prisoners nor pays attention to the conditions of all those held in captivity exists in name alone. So, whilst much attention was paid to the specific situations of repression happening in particular countries, always the debate focused on the concept of 'revolutionary solidarity', of not letting the struggle be levelled to that of charity work or despair, but to continue the combative aspect of the social insurrection.

One aim of a gathering like this is not only to provide an open forum to encounter and debate our respective realities but also to provide a space for informal connections and more intimate discussions that are not so easy and possible through the separation of the internet and telephone. The chance to meet together, debate and make connections for possible future endeavours and encounters is paramount. Online communications can never be a worthwhile substitute for meeting face-to-face.

Internet info-communication and relationships seem a weak substitute for real affinity and since there are so few of us spread over such a large terrain, it is necessary for us to meet from time to time. Successful gatherings imbue vitality into our projects and can help solidify

# Campaign Against Prison Slavery

*The role of prison labour as a facet of the Prison Industrial Complex. The importance of campaigning against forced prison labour. The role of Campaign Against Prison Slavery in the struggle against the prison society.*

revolutionary trajectories that are much more than the sum of their respective parts. It is imperative that our anarchist and autonomous networks are glued with a sense of common responsibility for the struggle and commitment through organisation.

The anti-prison days have been over for almost a year already. You will find transcriptions of selected clips from the talks and discussions in the following pages, to give a little feedback about what happened for people who didn't come and also to see what anyone else thought about it, as the discussion and activities must always continue.

The first day began with a presentation on prison labour and the British prison system by a member of ABC Brighton and the Campaign Against Prison Slavery, finishing with a discussion. We are reproducing it here as it gives a background perspective to prisons in the UK.

## ***Fire to the prisons!***

### **A comrade of ABC Brighton**

There are many iconic images of prison labour, such as the Russian gulags, and probably the most universal, thanks to Hollywood, is the Southern chain gang – convicts, often black, in striped uniforms, chained together by the ankles wielding a pickaxe or a shovel or old-fashioned strimming blade. Whilst there was some useful labour extracted from chain gangs, usually some minor public works along state roads or on farms, the main rule of the chain gang was good old-fashioned punishment, retribution and degradation. Other similar prison labour punishments that come to mind are being sentenced to hard labour, breaking rocks, often to no end but sometimes for producing building materials for roads and such like.

In Britain we had our own peculiar version of the 'chain gang', a machine called the treadmill or tread-wheel - basically a giant hamster's wheel except that people were on the outside. It was as big as this [demonstrates 1.5 metres with arms] on its side, a huge long wooden cylinder and people would just stand on it, in silence, and walk all day just as a form of punishment. Also, you may have heard the term 'screw', the UK term for prison officers? That's the origin of the name: because the prison guards could actually increase the resistance on the treadmill [by turning a screw] to increase the level of punishment.

All states use labour to a greater or lesser extent. There are prison camps in various parts of the world. All this is reinforced by international conventions like the International Labour Organisation's Forced Labour Convention, the Thirteenth Amendment to the US Constitution, and it's even in the European Convention on Human Rights- Articles 4 and 5.

Another important role of prison labour is restitution: to pay for the actual upkeep of the prisoner. In countries like Germany or Canada it is specifically part of the rules of prisons that all

prisoners have to work in order to pay for their keep. But there's another important role for prison labour and this is part of the push towards the involvement of private companies in running prisons. The prison industrial complex has become particularly important in this country [UK] in that it is a major method of extracting labour value from marginalised sections of society. This is one of the specific ideas behind involving private companies in prisons: the state and capitalists have realised that now with so many people in prison, with so many people involved in a constant turn-over in the prison population, that this is a resource that they can exploit that has not previously been taxable. Prisoners have not previously been earning a wage. This has been a drain on the social welfare and now they could be directly exploited via work.

The prison industrial complex and [this specific use of] labour basically started in the United States and in the States, compared to other countries, prison is a form of social control. Whereas in other countries, like Scandinavian countries, it's sort of the idea of rehabilitating prisoners that predominates. In countries where that's not the reason for its existence though, rehabilitation is a very small function.

One of the things that has happened with the increase in the involvement of private prisons is the idea that there is a valuable resource, there's a captive workforce that can be exploited. So if you're in the States and you ring up to book an air flight, you get through to a call centre and that call centre is in a maximum security prison; and the reason why they are in maximum security prisons is that they can offer the training to the workforce and the workforce is not going to go anywhere. They don't take sick days, you don't have to pay them particularly very much, you don't have to pay them sick pay, they don't take holidays - so it's a wonderful 'resource'.

The country in the world in which the private prison industry is second most prevalent, after the United States, is the UK. I mean Australia actually has the highest number of private prisons but the actual role of the private prison industry in the running of the prisons is



less, and the problem with the UK is that it has a different historical origin. Prisons in the UK up until about the mid-nineteenth century weren't actually involved in imprisoning people, they were basically holding places until people were sentenced either to be hung, to be transported to one of the colonies or forced into the armed forces. All that changed because of the advent of the Victorian liberal do-gooder who decided that prisons were terrible places and that they would try and reform them. So things like hard labour were abolished mid-nineteenth century, and as that happened more and more work occurred in the prison. Up until that time you had people employed in prison to do things like clean, cook food and that sort of thing, and as it progressed more and more the prisoners took over. So nowadays in the UK prisons all the cooking, all the cleaning, washing, everything like that is done by the prisoners. They also produce things like all the clothes that are worn, cell furniture, bars, cell doors, stuff like that. The only things that they don't make are the locks on the cell doors - for obvious reasons [laughter]. So, the more the prisoners took over the infrastructure, obviously the more important they became as a resource for prisons. One interesting side note is that they also used to make the prison officers' uniforms until the quality of the prison officers' uniforms got so bad that the screws rebelled and they had to put the contract out to outside companies.

There were a series of prison riots in the UK in the '70s-'80s and it culminated in a big revolt in Strangeways prison [in Manchester] in 1990, which was a big turning point for UK prisons. The prisoners held the prison for two weeks and then trashed it. The government then held a big enquiry, an independent enquiry headed by Lord Chief Justice Woolf, which put forward a whole series of very, very liberal reforms basically taking the side of the prisoners. What the government did was they took these reforms, the idea of things like a contract between the prisoners and the prison authorities, turned it around and used it as a method of increased social control to actually isolate prisoners more and to basically increase the control of the prison authorities over all activities in prison, and this ended up as a scheme, introduced in 1995 called the 'Incentives and Earned Privileges Scheme' (IEPS). What this did was it split the prison regime into a series of earnable privileges, like anything from extra visits, extra letters, telephone calls, the right to smoke, the right to rent a TV for your



cell, etc. All these were notionally divorced from prison discipline itself, so the prison rules supposedly are for punishment and these 'privileges' are for reward, so it's the carrot and stick approach. One of the earned privileges is the 'right to work'. You can't refuse to work. If you refuse to work you get punished by having privileges taken away from you and you can be segregated. Previous to this you could also have days added to your sentence but that power has been withdrawn from the prison authorities.

*[The IEPS is split into three categories-Basic, Standard and Enhanced. When you enter prison you are automatically awarded Standard status which entitles you to rent a TV, the 'right' to work and earn money and the right to association etc.- the basic 'rights package'. If you do as you are told and follow the rules, including grassing up other prisoners, eventually you will be elevated to Enhanced status which entitles you to higher wages, the ability to buy and possess more items like guitars or games consoles in your cell and entitles you to the most cushy jobs. If you don't do as you are told or refuse to work you will be relegated to Basic status which means being segregated in a cell on your own, the loss of virtually all rights, including TV, library and gym access, reduced wages (approx £4 weekly) and most importantly loss of association. Thus are prisoners divided against each other.]*

The big problem is that the prison population now is about 93,000 in UK, with 84,500 in England & Wales, 7,400 in Scotland and 1,500 in Northern Ireland, but there are only enough jobs available for less than a third of them, so there are about 24,000 jobs in the system. About 14,000 of those are in what's called Administrative Tasks: that's

mopping, doing laundry, cooking, stuff like that. The rest, about 10,000 are in workshops, and they produce everything from woollen socks and Y-fronts [underpants] through to chains, prison furniture and cell bars. A small part of those, about 4,500, are in Contract Services which are directly working for private companies, so the prison authorities, usually individual prison Governors, negotiate contracts with private companies outside the prison for prisoners to either produce goods or package goods. So, it can be anything from untangling and repackaging headphones for in-flight entertainment, you know - Virgin Airways, Monarch Airlines, things like that. Most of it is really menial stuff. Some of the private prisons, a few of them, have workshops building things like double glazing, but most of it is very, very low skilled, mind-numbing, menial tasks that people have to do, day in - day out. But this is financially important for the prison system. In 2007 it had a turn-over of about 6 million pounds, which is, when compared to the 2 billion pounds of the prison budget, quite small, but it is actually quite important because at the moment there are major cutbacks within the prison system.

Another important factor in the involvement of private companies in prison is privatisation of prisons themselves. I mean, in England and Wales there are eleven privately run prisons, in Scotland there are two, and the important thing with this is that that's 11% of all the prison population held in private prisons, whereas in the States it is just over 7%, meaning there is more involvement of private companies in the UK. And the reason why they were brought in, originally, was because they were supposed to be more efficient, cheaper to run and cost the prison service less - it's actually worked out exactly the opposite. There's only one category of prison that is

actually more cheaply run by private companies and that's the small, local, low sentence [Category B] prisons. I don't know if people know but these places have lots of targets to reach to supposedly reassure themselves that they are being efficient, and within the prison system there's only one private prison that actually isn't within the lowest quarter of all these targets.

One of the biggest pushes was the Labour government. Since 1997, when they got in, they've criminalised plenty of people. There are now 3,500 more offences that can lead to people being locked up; the average sentence has gone up; the prison population has risen 42% since 1997; and also the rate that people have been imprisoned has gone up from about 125 per 100,000 to 156 which is a 25% increase. The people who have been targeted are the socially marginalised, people who have tended never to have had a job, they tend also to be people who are involved in drug use. Also one of the things that happened during that period of time was that all the state mental hospitals were closed which means that there has been a massive increase in people with mental health problems ending up in prison. People have heard of the plans for the Titan prisons? Massive warehouses for prisoners. The plan was to build three 2,500 place prisons for just under £3 billion; and they were going to be public built and run rather than private built and run. Suddenly the credit crunch hit - the economic crisis, and also every single organisation, including the prison officers' union decided, when there was a consultation, that they were against it, so inevitably the government had to withdraw. So what they've done is they've decided to build exactly the same amount of places but in smaller sections, so they are building five 1,500 place prisons, which is more expensive - because they've had to postpone it slightly. Also all of these are going to be built by private companies and run by private companies. The Conservative Party also plan to double Contract Services, ie. double the involvement of the private prison industry in private companies actually exploiting prisoners. Just to say, the average prison wage for someone who works in the prison system is £8 for a 32 hour week. Prior to entering prison 30% of all prisoners have never had a job, and 37% were unemployed before they went in. The CBI [Council of British Industry], the bosses union, in one of their papers, they did some research and they reckoned that 60% of all prisoners are part of what they termed as a 'core jobless

workforce', so they realise that this is a really important exploitable resource.

There is this notional idea of rehabilitation in UK prisons, yet two thirds of all prisoners, when they leave prison, don't have a job to go to, and half at the end of the year still haven't worked. I could go on: 55% of all prisoners when they went to prison have admitted that their prison sentence was drug related. 20% were homeless, and 10% were sleeping rough. This is a massive industry: there are 600,000 people in England and Wales directly employed in the prison and criminal industry. That's judges, prison officers, police officers, probation, people driving people to and from prison to courts. And it's just going to increase because another thing that the Conservative party plan to bring in is a minimum/maximum sentence. The Labour party have already brought in this idea of indeterminate public protection sentences, and that has massively increased. The number of people in for life, or on life recall - when so you serve a third or half of your sentence, they then release you and you are subject to recall to prison for the rest of your life, on any offence. Any time they need to increase the number of people in prison because, you know, they've got a new prison that they need to fill, they can just call a few more people back in and this is what is happening to the prison system in the UK.

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**Q -** *What kind of resistance is happening inside the prisons on this island we call 'Alcatraz' to all the social control? Are there any moments of joy or is there no widespread resistance to these projects?*

**A -** The problem is that this Incentive and Earned Privileges Scheme has been so successful, prisoners have become more isolated from each other. The idea of solidarity between prisoners has become very much a thing of the past. As you know, the general level of social struggle in the UK is very low and that is reflected directly in the prisons. In the '70s-'80s it was higher, and it was similar in prisons, the two sort of feed off each other. I mean generally there is very little interaction between prisoners and revolutionary organisations on any sort of level here. It's one of the reasons why I'm involved in the Campaign Against Prison Slavery, because I think it is important to draw the parallel between what is happening in and outside of prison and show that up. It's very, very difficult to get information, I mean it's very difficult to communicate with

prisoners, it's very difficult to get information in and out. One of the ways we have to do it is by going through the state system - we've got a "Freedom of Information" system where you can ask questions directly to the powers-that-be. Up until very recently, as a policy, they've refused but there's been a recent decision that we can get more information. We've got information about some of the developments that are likely to happen when the Conservatives get in. The amount of people working for private companies will increase, but it's just very, very difficult to get any form of solidarity going with prisoners because the level of struggle outside prison is so low, people just accept it. The other thing that you've got to remember is that the British state is very, very old - it's very continuous, unlike a lot of European countries where they've suffered disruptions through the Second World War, you know, big massive social upheavals; The UK state is very old and very experienced, so it's continuing to evolve and protect itself.

**Q -** *Has CAPS had any involvement with trade unions? And if you have had any contact with trade unions what is their line on employing people on slave labour wages?*

**A -** In the early days we did have a number of trade union branches affiliating. A couple of trade union organisations have published papers on the involvement of prisoners but again, the level of trade union struggle in the country is low as well, so it's very, very difficult. Obviously organisations like the Prison Officers' Association aren't going to be particularly sympathetic, but it's very, very difficult to get anyone interested on any level in anything to do with prisons in the UK.

**Q -** *Within the 'activist scene' here there's much more attention towards deportation centres isn't there? I mean that's a kind of reflection of how it is here, that people try to engage in, identify somehow with, more 'marginalised' 'ethnic' groups or something and there's also a lot of attention in the media, isn't there, about revolts that happen in deportation centres?*

**K -** Just to say that the 'Incentive and Earned Privileges Scheme' operates in detention centres as well. They are pushing more and more for the detainees in detention centres to clean and run services, because all the detention centres, apart from the three prison detention centres in the UK are run by private companies and obviously it's cheaper for them, they don't need to

employ so many people if they get the detainees to clean up after themselves. And some of them are actually being paid via the 'Incentive and Earned Privileges Scheme' to clean detention centres.

**Q** - *I obviously understand the slavery aspect of labour in prisons and the way that privatisation is involved in that. But just in terms of whether a prison is privately owned or State owned, does that make any difference to the prisoners?*

**A** - No. It doesn't. Technically, I mean private prisons are one of those grey areas. Technically the idea of prisoners working in private prisons is against various international treaties and laws, but it's something that is passed over. No, I mean the thing with private prisons is that prisoners in private prisons are doubly exploited in that they are handed over lock, stock and barrel to a private company who then earn money by having a contract with the government to house and feed them, and then they are rented out by that private company to another private company, so they get it two ways. So, the money that they earn doesn't go into the government's coffers, it goes into the private company's coffers.

**X** - There seems to be a notion that state and private prisons are completely divorced, and I know that we all understand that they aren't completely divorced, but inside the discourse I'm finding, often in texts that I read and conversations that I have, a lack of recognition that the state and capital are so intertwined and their interests are so much the same, that to say OK well, we can condemn private prisons as a specific manifestation of capitalism, but it is also completely intertwined with the state as to how the ruling elite runs both institutions, no? Of course, the State will help to build private prisons because it's making their money. People inside the state are also individuals involved as well - it's not just some kind of abstract entity, no? These people involved in the private prisons and the state are neighbours, you know? So, I think the discourse needs to, well, I think there needs to be a shift in the discourse away from just seeing these two institutions being completely severed - the private prisons and the state run prisons

**Y** - I think there's a core relation between this overcrowding in prisons, economic 'strains' on prison institutions and methods of social control that aren't prisons. For example, house arrest, and putting electronic ankle and wrist bracelets on people so they cannot leave

a specified area. It is much cheaper for the State to control people this way. This kind of idea is 'prison abolition' in contrast to the idea of the destruction of prisons, or the destruction of prison society. It's becoming more of a reality and we're going to see more refined technological instruments for social control, so they don't have to warehouse people. In fact it's easier and safer for them if we just stay in our home.

**Z** - It's more or less what happened with factories, what's happening nowadays with prisons. Factories were first of all a method of control of the workers and were interspersed throughout the territory. And so, in that place they were all together being watched by a boss with their schedule. But then when capital through technology, no longer required such workers in that particular mode in those areas, it was found better for exploitation to close most of the factories, and now everyone is working in smaller distributed centres [and at home], and this is more or less what is



happening with the prisons, because society in general is becoming more and more controlled. It is better to isolate people who are in the same condition, so that they can not communicate easily when they see the same enemy, so nowadays the punishment is house arrest, social work. In fact it is like prison abolition by the State, done consciously by the State. And of course there are always the 'secure' prisons for the ones who aren't controllable, because they always end up in some situation because

they rebel or because they cannot cope with all the rules.

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Next, some anarchists from Lisbon and Setubal, Portugal, spoke about the prison mutiny of 1994 and the recent trial of 25 people from the revolt which just took place. Also they spoke about how they organised from a small group of people which struck a chord with quite a few people in the gathering, inspiring some great ideas and debate later on. It was a particularly interesting presentation and there was some good interaction between the people during the discussion. The comrades in Portugal explained how with few people, and meeting together face-to-face with those on the street and near the prisons, they communicated with the prisoners and the base population. They also explained how together they tried to make a collective social projectuality. The importance of being constantly in the streets open to as many people and new situations as possible is critical. In Portugal, the comrades do not speak of an 'anti-prison struggle', instead, their anti-prison struggle is part of the fight to transform the social conditions of everyday reality, and it is in this dimension that they could share their experiences of organising. You can check the last issue of 325 for coverage of the mutiny of 1994 and the trials.

After lunch, a comrade from Athens spoke about events after the December 2008 uprising, speaking about the repression, and about the case of Giannis Dimitrakis, anarchist caught robbing a bank in Athens in 2005. There was a showing of the English subtitled Greek anarchist film 'Prison World', which is about the repressive basis of capitalism and Greek prison revolts of 2007. Also shown was 'The Story Of A Bank Robbery' about the case of Giannis Dimitrakis and the media hysteria used against the anarchist movement. Both of these films are available for free/donation from **325 Distro** on DVD.

#### **ONLINE RADICAL ANTI-PRISON LINKS**

**ABC Berlin**  
<http://abc-berlin.net/>

**ABC Brighton**  
<http://brightonabc.org.uk/>

**ABC Bristol**  
<http://bristolabc.wordpress.com/>

**Earth Liberation Prisoners Support Network**  
<http://spiritoffreedom.org.uk/>

**Polisson (French news + more)**  
<http://polisson.blogspot.de>





# REPORT FROM ATHENS

## About Giannis Dimitrakis and more...

From the very beginning of the last repressive wave resulting from the arrest of Giannis Dimitrakis, personal relationships were criminalized. A lot of the names and faces that were shown on the media - there was no criminal evidence whatsoever apart from them being friends and comrades of Giannis. There was a whole lot of media hyperbole about 'terrorism'. Giannis was shot. He took five bullets to the body. He was handcuffed behind his back whilst there was blood pouring out of him and taken like that into hospital, where luckily he survived without any serious damage. The prosecutor who visited him in the hospital is known for using highly dubious means verging on torture in order to get answers, as he did with Savas Ksiros, the first member of the N17 group (November 17 - armed Marxist-Leninist group) to be arrested which led to the whole group being eliminated and he insinuated that he was going to torture Giannis in order to get him to say where the other comrades were, but the prosecutor didn't actually go through with it in the end.

Giannis, amongst other people who are still wanted or are imprisoned now, has been really active in the anarchist movement for many years and was well known for diverse forms of action, so there was a pre-existing connection with him, a connection that was fortified through his continued struggle in prison from the first moment. In the case of Giannis, a lot of issues were raised around the criminalization that the state attempted to impose upon him and his relationships with other comrades with the aid of media leaks and some of the comrades were also troubled about the possibility of the movement being criminalized through showing solidarity with comrades arrested as bank robbers and taking action on this. This situation sparked off a very interesting journey of thought and action on the expropriation of banks by people in struggle and how we stand in solidarity with them. A lot of posters and leaflets were made about banks, the role of banks and why at the end of the day it is OK to rob a bank, whilst referring to the history of social banditry as well. Also the

material covered the refusal of work, what is 'work' and how as anarchists we should refuse that kind of way of life. A lot of times Giannis, in his letters, was expressing this perspective as well, so I think a lot of positive discussion came out of the solidarity with Giannis around this matter. And of course that translated into further action, where banks became targets even more and since 2005 there have been tens if not hundreds of banks which have been burnt, also in solidarity with Giannis and of course with the other imprisoned anarchist comrades. Banks have not been the only targets which people attack to claim solidarity with their imprisoned comrades. Also for example, attacks have been made against supermarket chains that co-operate with prisons and supply them with food and commodities. Those who are known to make money from prisons and prison construction companies have also been targeted.

In 2007 the beating of Giannis Dimitrakis by the screws/prison guards ignited a mass riot in the Greek prisons, but it was not only because an anarchist was beaten, I think it's a bit more complicated than that. Giannis is quite respected within prison, but it has a lot to do with the ties that have grown between anarchists and some social prisoners. For example, in that prison there was a well known social prisoner, Vagelis Palis, who is very involved in the prisoners' struggle and who has been punished with many disciplinary measures. Vagelis is very well respected within the prison by many different prisoners and he was at Giannis' side from the very beginning. So I think that gave this kind of urge to the prisoners as well, this kind of indignation.

And also, let's face it, Greek prisons are shit holes and there always exist more than enough reasons to revolt. They are absolutely disgusting places. I mean this is true of all prisons but especially in Greece. Prisons are a lot more primitive than the kind of thing that we were talking about earlier here (UK prisons). The Greek state is less organized on that kind of general level compared to other neo-liberal, post industrial, highly advanced European states and societies. In Greece things are a bit different still, although they are trying their best to catch up: in the worst possible way of course. There have been a lot of prisoners' revolts and uprisings over the years, concerning different struggles resulting from the conditions which are absolutely horrible. Recently another couple of comrades, Alfredo Bonnano and Christos Stratigopolous, who were

arrested in Greece in regards to a bank robbery are also witnesses to these conditions. Prisons where there are 40-50 people in one room, no running water at times, only cold water, with cockroaches, rats, lice and no personal space. Obviously we are for the destruction of prisons as a whole, but that doesn't mean that someone that is living in those conditions wants to put up with them or should put up with them and shouldn't fight for immediate improvements in the conditions that are making their life a living hell. So there is always this underlying tension and when this story with Giannis took place it just all exploded and there were prisons burning from one end of Greece to the other.

Remaining on the subject of prisoner conditions, there was also in November 2008 a mass hunger strike, a mass mobilisation in the Greek prisons again. This was the first time that prisoners had actually organized on a level like that. About 10,000 prisoners participated in this particular struggle, with a series of demands about improving these conditions, also concerning among other things the prison transfers and the system of being able to take some leave from prison which is regulated very much by the screws and the prison bureaucracy. The struggle was also about being able to see your partner and not just through bars - and often glass - because for all prisoners in Greece there are usually no private free visits, and only family members and the official partners can visit someone in prison which is also quite hard on you. Imagine if someone is 6,7, 10 years in prison and they can't even touch someone, like their partner, or whoever, for all this time.

There were a lot of demands surrounding all these different conditions that prisoners face every day and it was kind of different because it was the first time that they had organized on such a level and in a non-violent action, because it was a hunger strike. Not everyone was on hunger strike - a lot of people were just abstaining from prison food. This was different to during the 90's, early 2000 and 2007 where it was more kind of spontaneous eruptions where prisons were set on fire and even destroyed sometimes, and a lot of damage to the infrastructure took place. Of course, the anarchists mobilised together with the prisoners, there were a lot of direct actions and they tried to publicize the event as there was a media black-out surrounding the story.

A new situation for us though was the number of leftists, NGO's, and the wide kind of spectrum of people involved within the prisoners' struggle. Of course this created a lot of tensions and a lot of questions as to what our role is and what we do in situations like this. First of all we have the prisoners demands for better prison conditions, and as anarchists we don't like demands, we find them kind of reformist. They aren't something that we identify with and so on. Initially there was this question - 'Do we support their demands as such?'. Demands which lead to prison reform, lead to a worse prison at the end of the day, because people are more comfortable and are more willing to be a good prisoner so that they don't lose their privileges. It's quite far from our understanding about destroying prisons, and not only prisons as buildings but prison as a state of being also within the prison society. That was one kind of big tension, from my perspective definitely. But, some comrades were like, 'Yeah, but the prisoners are speaking', you know this kind of holy thing that this is what they want so we have to do what they say. Other people of course were organizing and carrying out attacks against targets related to this, like the High Courts, attacking with stones, breaking banks and arsons. Saying that and as mentioned before prisoners themselves can make demands for their conditions but we on the outside should not just support these demands but somehow try to take the situation further.

The second issue was this wide spectrum. On the one hand there are all these different people involved and everyone in their own way and it's good that it is getting a lot of publicity, that a lot of different people are getting interested. But on the other hand, a lot of NGO people or political people, along that way of thinking, will try to cash in on this afterwards. Now you see their names in the upcoming elections, you see them speaking to the newspapers and going on TV shows. Making a name for themselves by taking on the role of spokespeople within struggles like that. So it does seem that a lot of the time it is a problem. And of course the prisoners themselves created a committee and understandably they were willing to cooperate and talk with everyone, with all of these people, because they wanted things to change. So that was another

kind of quite big issue - I think it's important to reflect upon what we do in situations like that, how we organise, what kind of relationships we have with other people and so on.

There were about 10,000 prisoners taking part in this mobilisation and the minister promised a few changes, but to tell you the truth absolutely nothing has changed after this struggle.

Nothing has changed in the prisons. The minister has changed, the government has changed and it kind of got lost.



In addition, the prisoners got really tired and a lot of them probably got disciplinary transfers afterwards, and people haven't been able to follow what happened to a lot of the people who were involved in the struggle because the screws and the prison system is quite vengeful about the struggle within, especially after the spotlight has moved away from them again. But the prisoners have to remain to face all these consequences. So now, more or less, the story has faded without very much coming out of it at the end, but then of course this mobilisation was followed by the events of December, so there was quite a lot of other stuff happening at this point and ever since then there has been a lot of high level activity, action on the part of anarchists and different people that are involved in social struggle. There is a lot of social struggle going on in Greece right now, a lot of different types of social groups, and also a lot of repression, so it can get quite overwhelming.

When December 2008 erupted, since it was truly an eruption, another incident occurred that also has to do with prison conditions. In Greek prisons, and I don't know what it is like in other prisons, there is a lot of heroin. It's one of the main ways of controlling a rebellious prison population. It's known that heroin is often brought in by the screws to make a bit of

money on the side by selling it. Otherwise there is an abundance of prescription psychoactive drugs that are given by the prison hospital to whoever wants to ask for them, and a lot of prisoners are addicted also to these. Basically what this problem means is that there is always an excuse to restrict what is coming into the prison, and to search the prisoners due to this heroin - the heroin smuggling and taking.

So where is this leading? It leads to a woman, Katerina Goulioni, who was killed by the screws, and I will explain in what way. She was in the women's prisons for quite a few years, and basically what happens in the female prisons, what she wrote about, publicised and tried to get something done about, is that women, especially women who are in for drugs related offences, whenever they leave the prison or come back into the prison either from a court, transfer or whatever, they have to undergo a vaginal inspection that is carried out by female screws. This is a violation of their personal and

body space, they use rusty tools and it is not done by a doctor, gynaecologist or whatever. They are completely humiliating these women and making all sorts of remarks.

Then they are put in isolation and they have to go to the toilet eight times in front of a camera to make sure that they are not carrying any heroin and its kind of like an isolation unit and they have to bang on the door to go to the toilet. Sometimes the screws don't come and they have to soil themselves and so the screws humiliate them, saying 'Look at you, you've shit on yourself'.

So, this is a situation that has been going on in the prisons and we didn't really know about it until Katerina, who had been fighting about it in prison and trying to get other women prisoners to do something about it, by writing letters and sending them to our magazines or getting in contact with her comrades about this, writing to the ministry. Then, in late December '08 she got transferred from the prison she was in to another prison by boat and upon arrival she was found dead, and supposedly the screws said that she had died of a heroin overdose, but other prisoners said that she was on her own at the back of the boat with her hands tied behind her back.

Amid all the events that were happening in December people were trying to publicise this event and also do some actions, for example against the ship company, which is also renowned for deporting immigrants. So their offices in Athens got smashed and a few other things like that. It just goes to show a really dismal situation, which probably exists everywhere. I'm sure that it's the situation that many prisoners die in prisons, but how do you hang yourself in a prison cell and no-one knows? It's as I explained before, it's not like you have privacy within your prison cell in Greek prisons as the problem is severe overcrowding. I think from '98 to today there are at least 400 reported deaths within prisons, and there is minimal healthcare for those that are in there now, and the list goes on....

I want to talk a little bit about the wider perspective, to go back to revolutionary solidarity. In Greece there is a really strong movement in solidarity with imprisoned comrades and for when the situation kicks off badly in prison. This takes diverse forms from posters to organising demos and stuff, but also arson attacks, or attacks on targets that can be related back to the struggle.

This also played an important part in the events of December when there were arson attacks against the banks all the time. In December you see that other people go and burn banks when they can, attack capitalist targets and things like that... There has been this question sometimes, "maybe this solidarity of attack, maybe its bad for the comrades in prison, maybe its bad for their court case, maybe they will get more years because of this", and we can't generalise it completely, but at least in Greece it has been shown that this solidarity of attack has never harmed any comrades in prison. On the contrary, it has probably if anything made their case even stronger, in the sense of putting the state in a hard spot or making their case known to a wider part of society. Just to illustrate that I'm gonna talk about the case of another anarchist comrade, Giorgos Voutsis-Vogiatzis (*Giorgos has recently been released after 8 years ed*), who is in prison for a bank robbery. There were quite big attacks right before his court case in order to create pressure on the state to let him out, or else.

Anyway, some comrades made these attacks which were not exactly hit and run at night, but were kind of mob attacks of a hundred people or more and the one which got a lot of media attention

is the one which happened in one of the poshest areas in the centre of Athens, where a lot of politicians and rich people sit and have their coffee or have their drink, or shop for their nice clothes.

It was around 12 noon, in broad daylight, when 100 or more comrades just went down the main road where all the big chains, expensive shops, banks and posh cars are, and just smashed everything on their way down, throwing out leaflets in solidarity with Giorgos. The media just went crazy after that for about 10 days, and the cops went crazy, everyone went crazy, it was the number one news story everyday. More attacks happened, for example some banks got smashed in the centre of Athens and also different groups did night actions and stuff, and claimed it for Giorgos.

Then came the trial and we waited to see what was going to happen because everyone had learned his name quite well during those days, and in the end it turned out well. Even his lawyer said to the judges in his closing speech that if you want your city to be quiet you had better give him only a few years or you're going to have people smashing and burning everything. This just goes to highlight what I was talking about before... On the other hand of course every case of an imprisoned comrade is different and how each wants to handle their case plays an important role, as does the level of interaction between the comrades inside prison and those on the outside.

**Q - Can I just ask a question related to the hunger strike? Do you know how this struggle was organised between the different prisons and how it was organised within the prison walls?**

**A -** Yeah, it's a bit difficult. There was supposed to be a committee and there were some prisoners who trusted some well known spokespeople and so on, but I don't know if it was completely horizontal. I mean its really hard, you know, with 10,000 prisoners. Imagine what a spectrum of individuals you have to do deal with. Most organising happened through voting...

**Q - Were there anarchist, anti-authoritarian prisoners who organised in this way?**

**A -** Well, because of all the different prisons they all had a lot of different experiences and that's quite interesting. Anarchist comrades in prison had different ideas. In regards to helping take part in mass hunger-strike, Polikarpos Georgiadis, who was arrested for the

kidnapping of an industrialist in August last year, wrote a text saying that he doesn't believe in hunger strike because he believes that it weakens you and it leaves you with problems afterwards, but that he respects the struggle, and also those prisoners who might not go onto hunger strike, but who abstain from prison food. These are really interesting letters. Another letter signed by Giannis, Giorgos and Polikarpos was saying that even if prisons became luxury hotels anarchists would not stop until the destruction of all prisons. So each comrade gave their own perspective on this kind of struggle. But then from radio interviews they gave on an anarchist pirate station, it was evident they had had different experiences. In one prison, for example, one thing was started and they were saying a lot of people are taking part in this, it feels like it's really moving, it feels really good, then another comrade in another prison would just feel really disempowered, saying that it's really not going anywhere.

**X -** Also we must not idolise prisoners because they are just a reflection of society but taken to an extreme. There are also snitches, and people who don't want to do anything, who just want to look after their own arse in prison, just as there are on the outside. Maybe more so in prison because they are living in harsher conditions. The other thing is that, although in prison, some anarchist comrades have close ties with some social prisoners and their struggle, and this is really useful and really positive, to be able to make this informal network in prison. On the other hand some anarchist comrades are just up in arms at what they have to face in there all the time from the attitudes of the other prisoners.

**Q - How politicised are the other prisoners in Greek jails? Not the anarchists, but the other prisoners. How interested are they in changing the system or in taking down the system?**

**A -** I think that this is something that we have to remember, that there are social prisoners who are not anarchists, who are in struggle in prisons, but I'm sorry I didn't quite get it?

**Y -** Once you are in prison it's not as abstract as that, once you are in prison the very nature of the system politicises you to some degree. When you are confronted everyday by the divide and conquer techniques of the prison system, it forces you to notice the control which is happening and politicises you in your theory, at least if not in your

# A few words on revolutionary solidarity

practice. Even if you are a social prisoner there is usually some political basis for this. For example if you are in there for theft or shoplifting, most people steal because they are poor or in poverty, which is a political act in itself, or you are in there for drugs because you feel socially excluded. So I think we have to be careful not to make too much of a distinction between political and social prisoners.

**Q** - *I'd just like to say that the revolutionary solidarity perspective is misunderstood, or neglected or feared here in Britain. Aside from the struggle of individual prisoners and their immediate position, could you tell us in Greece how it is perceived and why it seems so important?*

**A** - I don't know. I mean it's hard to speak for everyone, overall I don't think I can do that. All I can say is that at least in Greece most of the imprisoned comrades really appreciate the actions that happen outside for them. They feel really strong, they feel really empowered. It's a way of sending your love and your rage together, but I don't want to equate revolutionary solidarity with burning things, but as we say it....

**Z** - It doesn't hurt.

**A** - Oh no, it doesn't hurt by itself [laughs]. But I don't think that that is the meaning of it. Revolutionary solidarity means a lot more about your perspective, and it has to be diversified. It can't be accomplished with one specific means or tool. We have all the tools and we should use all the tools. I think revolutionary solidarity means an understanding of attack against violent institutions and not to personalise it in one particular person, but taking it as an extension of the struggle.

**X** - I think that what revolutionary solidarity has to do is two or three things. One is to give strength, love and courage, not only to your comrades inside, but to certain prisoners who at a certain moment may be struggling; Two, it is a continuation of your own struggle, it is a continuation of your own projectuality, because of your own struggle, for the state to understand that locking up this person didn't stop anything; Three, for all the comrades outside and also those who are not known comrades who are struggling.

**J**: We can't talk about revolutionary solidarity if we don't talk about the revolutionary project. How can we have solidarity, keep something solid, if it doesn't already exist? We can support someone from our instincts of rage or love, in many ways, but solidarity implies something more.

If we talk about revolutionary solidarity we must have a concept of revolutionary projectuality, of what we are actually doing and what the state is trying to attack by arresting our comrades. We tend to get very schematic when we talk about things - a comrade is arrested during an armed robbery so that comrade becomes a 'bank robber'. In actual fact our comrades have their own projectuality. If they're anarchists they have a revolutionary projectuality and the bank robbery is just one part of their possible means. Comrades can be arrested for whatever reason - and very often they are arrested on charges that have little to do with what they are actually doing. When the movement starts to become very active and the State, its servants, the prosecution, the cops, whatever, get orders to 'get rid of these people', any means will do.

So, in a way I think we need to shift the focus for a moment from the bank robberies, if we're talking about revolutionary solidarity and talk about *revolutionary projectuality* which is itself solidarity, is keeping that projectuality going, with all its different facets. We are pluralists, we're not all one block, and of course the arrested comrades can push us more, can push us to look at our own projectuality, or lack of it, at the system and see how it works. We see it more clearly because it comes closer to us, because we feel the pain of our imprisoned comrades, and so on.

We must open up, look at the specific questions but go beyond them to remain solid and enhance the struggle against the prison society as a whole. We talk about the Greek comrades but the situation of repression here is in some ways more advanced because we're repressed before we even act against repression!

We are living in an era of preventive repression, and to attack that is also revolutionary solidarity.

So, I think we cannot talk about revolutionary solidarity without talking about revolutionary methods, the question of attack. Because there might be one specific moment with a prisoner, but there's never a wrong moment to attack prison as a structure, in the same way as many other aspects of society.

Also, this moment here may or may not be a moment of revolutionary solidarity, it depends on how we live it. If we live it as consuming something, we are looking at it as the 'other' - you know, the Greek comrades, the bank robber and "Oh, I take money from the state, what's that got to do with me?" - or, maybe I feel a bit guilty so, ok, I'll go and do something...

If we don't try to examine everything critically then we are not acting properly ... On the other hand, we can transform any moment into a moment of revolutionary solidarity by going beyond the limits that are [self] imposed on us.

**Rs** - We're using this term 'projectuality' a lot, which is inside a certain framework of ideas. The more I think about this term, I think it's kind of a difficult concept. The basic idea in having a revolutionary projectuality is that you have a project, but it's not a static project that exists only in one specific space and place in time. We have a project that projects itself - it isn't just self-referential. It exists in the moment but it also extends into the future. It asks, "where do we want to go, how do we want to get there?", and it's seen as part of a totality of struggle instead of just an isolated event. So, my project could be numerous different things, working in an anarchist library for example, but it isn't just isolated and static in this point. Ok, I want to do this library - why do I want to do it? - I want to further our ideas, I want to further discussion, I want to further critique, not just for it's own sake - not because I'm an anarchist historian! - no, because these ideas need to be put into practice, so these ideas can be put into play and this is this idea of projectuality. We put ourselves and our lives into play, we put ourselves at stake.

**D2**: It's ontology. It's something that you're doing, that's there, it's around you, it's not something separate that you go and take, it's something that's part of you.



**J:** In Italy a few years ago, there was quite a well-known attack on the Italian anarchist movement which has come to be known as the Marini trial, the Marini frame-up, [after the name of the Judge, Marini]. Over 60 anarchists were accused of belonging to a hierarchical, clandestine organisation - they even gave it a name, [ORAI - *Revolutionary Anarchist Insurrectional Organisation\**]. That was actually the only model they knew, because the judges involved, had been working on the Red Brigades before the operation, so they just applied the same structure to the anarchists which was a bit ridiculous. That didn't prevent them from getting a few people in prison for decades. The anarchist movement was so angry, but also offended, at being accused of being a hierarchical organisation that a lot of the energy of the movement at that time was spent on denouncing the attack, the form of the attack on the movement. Why was Marini attacking the movement at that time? Because there was a proliferation of sabotage over the territory in Italy which was uncontrollable and nobody had been arrested for it. Pylons were sawn down, all kinds of acts of sabotage were taking place, attacks on army barracks and many different spheres of the system, capitalism and the state. And they got orders - stop them! Get rid of these anarchists! In a way, what happened was that the movement focused on this attack against them whereas with hindsight they should have just spread the sabotage. Fuck Marini, ignore the process, support the comrades in prison, but put the energy into extending the revolt, the small acts of sabotage, and proliferate them. Solidarity means "remaining solid". It was actually an economic concept: - *three of us set off to do something and one goes missing, but the others keep it going*. It means keeping solid the projectuality that is being attacked. This is the difference between solidarity and support. It doesn't mean that because we want to extend solidarity, that we forget the support. To support our comrades is very important. And support might also involve attack. It's not to say that to attack is solidarity and to support is sending money. These are the things we need to talk about.

#### - MAIN DAY END -

The next day of the conference program saw comrades from Germany talking about what has been happening in Berlin with recent arrests and imprisonments for car-burning, city wide police

repression and also the situation of the Militant Gruppe (MG). You can find information about these matters covered in depth in the previous two back-issues of 325. Check out also the excellent ABC Berlin publication 'Entfesselt', and the 'Direct Action News from Germany' internet site (*See Page 74 for web-address*). For reasons of space we are unable to include parts of the transcriptions/ notes. To conclude the weekend, there was a vast and sprawling discussion about the values of 'justice', started by some anarchist comrades from Amsterdam about various things, which began from the situation of dealing with transgressive behaviour, in the 'community' and 'sub-culture'. It is not included here but some of the more relevant features and themes from the discussion will appear elsewhere in the publishing schedule of 325. In the evening of the Sunday there was a concentration {small demo} outside the local prison with around 20 people, many loud and stunning fireworks, banners and shouted slogans, communicating and waving with the prisoners in the dirty old jail of Lewes. At that time, anarchist prisoner Elijah Smith, was being held for anti-militarist direct action against the EDO-MBM corporation who manufacture weapons for Israel and the demo was also in solidarity with him. There were no arrests, we left before the police could arrive.

During the night, autonomous groups attacked with stones the Probation Service and also RBS Bank, claimed for the anarchist prisoners Alfredo Bonanno, Christos Stratigopoulos, Giannis Dimitrakis, Thomas Meyer-Falk, Gabriel Pombo da Silva, Amadeu Casellas and other prisoners in struggle.

#### **Tear down every prison, border and cage - For anarchy.**

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Additional:

#### **Letter to gathering from Thomas Meyer-Falk, left-radical militant imprisoned for bank robbery.**

*Dear Member of the Audience,*

It is an honour to get the chance to speak to you through this letter. Greetings to all of you from Germany. For all prisoners, gatherings like this here today are a gleam of hope that there is a chance to overcome a society which sends it's people into prisons. Prisons and this capitalist society are

two sides of the same coin which means: if we fight against prisons, we still fight against capitalism too - for a better world. For a free world. But it is a hard road - it is difficult to motivate prisoners here in Germany to fight back. Most of them are more interested in the latest DVD-movie or Playstation-game than in their human dignity or fundamental rights. First, they've to wake up! But there's no reason to be desperate or hopeless. Together with people like you from outside - there is a real chance to change something into a better way. Actually in Germany we find a roll back in our prisons into the 60s. Step by step, the administration cuts privilege by privilege - and I think this will help us too.

Thanks for listening! All the best for you! Powerful greetings - Love and Respect to all of you,

*Thomas Meyer-Falk*

Germany.

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#### **To conclude:**

Looking back almost a year from the event, there still needs to be much more info-translations, wider exchanges of revolutionary solidarity, greater activity within the base population and the broader anti-capitalist movement through greater amounts of well-produced journals/ leaflets/ posters/ stickers etc, backed up with actions, demos, public meetings, interventions, that remain at a radical level. As an example of this, there were two rowdy demos at New Year, outside the prisons of Lewes (Brighton) and Bristol, as well as several meetings in different cities. Also increasing unaccountable militant direct action against political targets, which have been dedicated to anarchist prisoners and other rebels (such as the Gaza demo youths who attacked cops) has spread and continued into several areas of conflict.

There is due to be a German anti-prison gathering in December, and another UK encounter is in the planning stages.

What must be achieved is a widespread acceptance of the continual attack against the institutions of power, and for this to take root there needs to be a much greater propagation of the anarchist ideal of a world without nations, freedom for all beings, complete and total.

**Random anarchists**

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\* *"The Insurrectional Project"* : Alfredo M. Bonanno / Elephant Editions



# Fire on the Breeze:

## Letters and Communiques from Greece...



# R E A L I T Y

Greek comrades are facing a reality of extortion: 18 anarchist fighters in the hands of the State, many with extremely heavy sentences.

Others are in a different condition of hostage, some even with a price on their head. The sharpening of repression both against the anarchists and the people in struggle is the outcome of a war manifested in the existence of two opposing sides. This text, from the Initiative of anarchists from Athens, helps us to put the letters and communiques that follow in context, a context that involves millions of people in struggle in Greece, and also us.

**We are facing an extortionate reality. 18 anarchist fighters in the hands of the state, with many of them imprisoned with extremely heavy sentences.**

At the same time the charges facing those who have not as of yet been brought to trial may also in all probability lead to long prison sentences. Giannis Dimitrakis charged with the National Bank robbery on Solonos st. in the centre of Athens has been convicted in the first degree court to 35 years of imprisonment, Polykarpos Georgiadis and Vaggelis Hrisohoidis charged with the kidnap of the then president of the Industrial Association of Northern Greece (which all the fat cat bosses belong to) to 23 years. Ilias Nikolau, with a 7-year sentence for attempted arson against a Municipal Police building and Yiorgos Voutsis-Vogiatzis, convicted for the National Bank robbery in the Gyzi area of Athens, also remain incarcerated.

Other comrades remain in remand, awaiting trial. Konstantina Karakatsani, Panagiotis Masouras and Haris Hatzimichelakis accused of participation in the "terrorist" organization Conspiracy of Cells of Fire, Alfredo Bonanno and Christos Stratigopoulos accused of a bank robbery in Trikala, Aris Sirinidis with the ludicrous accusation that he was the guy in a sombrero and bermuda shorts who fired shots at a riot police van in Exarchia in the summer of '09. The comrades Vaggelis Stathopoulos, Christoforos Kortesis and Sarantos Nikitopoulos are also in prison awaiting trial

accused of participation in the "terrorist" organization Revolutionary Struggle, as well as the comrades Pola Roupa, Nikos Maziotis and Kostas Gournas, who have claimed the responsibility of being members of the same organization. Last but not least the comrade Simos Seisidis, -a fugitive since 2005 accused of participating in the bank robbery with Giannis Dimitrakis and of being a member of the police and media constructed 'robbers in black' gang- was recently arrested. Simos was shot in the leg by the arresting cop, leading to the amputation of his leg and is now in remand at the St Paul prison hospital of Koridallos.

Many other comrades remain in a different state of hostage as there are warrants out for their arrest. Some of these warrants concern charges in relation to participation in the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire, while Grigoris Tsironis and Marios Seisidis are wanted with a 600,000 euro reward on their heads. All comrades are accused with charges of robberies or "terrorism". A tragic end to this list concerns the murder of anarchist fighter Lambros Foundas after an incident with the cops in the Athens area of Daphni.

We are not talking here about an emotional count of the losses on the side of the anarchists and anti-authoritarians in the last five years. We are well aware after all, that the sharpening of repression both against the anarchists and people in struggle, as well as against the repressed in general and the raging dynamics that appear to be developing with increasing intensity, is the outcome of a war manifested in the existence of two opposing sides. December, the rocks, the Molotov cocktails, the occupations of buildings, expropriated banks, blown-up buildings, armed attacks, strikes, demonstrations that hold under siege the Parliament, the president of the GSEE (the *sold-out to the bosses* general workers trade-union) being attacked at workers' mobilizations, politicians being jeered at during their public appearances are not incidents that have taken place by mere chance. Nor is the everyday reality of the struggle, of relationships between comrades, of collective processes, of self-organized projects that go against the dictates of dominant everyday life, incidental. There is an all and more intense feeling of collective strength that must seek to confront the enemy.

From discontent through to upheaval, from demonstrations to clashes, from attacks to insurrection, the state must win back space, it has to show its teeth. It must enforce poverty, the "socialist" distribution of wealth from those at the bottom to those at the top. Without any protest. With journalists taking on the role of government spokesmen, judges and inquisitors free from any legal restraint, prisons in a state of the highest security, with more cops than ever on the streets ready to shoot. In order to instill the fear that will lead to submission the state must punish in an exemplary way those who rebel and fight. As a consequence we find ourselves at this particular period with a number of prisoners, either already having been sentenced to many years in prison or in all probability going to have heavy sentences dished out to them when they are tried.

Our solidarity towards our captive comrades at this crucial moment stands strong and is expressed through diverse action, as it always has been expressed for decades by the anarchists and anti-authoritarians to the hostages of the social-class war who through the years have filled up the prisons. A part of this solidarity is also the direct practical support of our comrades in prison, the necessity and ability to provide them with the basics for their survival within the hellholes of democracy. Always bearing in mind, of course, that by no means can our solidarity be restricted to this sole purpose.

At the end of the day, we know that prison forms the biggest crime against human existence and as such the only thing that it deserves, is to be torn down so that not even its foundations remain. We also know that the final destruction of prison, in other words the radical, deep rooted change of the world we live in, will not be granted to us nor will it take place suddenly, out of the blue, in metaphysical terms. It will take place through struggle, through the ceaseless clash with whatever produces exploitation, repression, alienation. It will take place by the individuals themselves who through their stance and actions remain in conflict and struggle for the destruction of all authority, for freedom.

*The above is based on a text by the Initiative of anarchists from Athens calling for the creation of an anarchist prisoner fund.*

# LAMBROS IS ONE OF US



*"For our brothers lost too soon  
a song of grief is not enough...  
I don't forget and seek vengeance"*  
(Lyrics from a Greek hip hop band)

Whatever someone might write about a comrade that fell fighting, defending his choices and ideas is too poor and disproportionate. Undoubtedly what must speak now is action...

Nonetheless some words must also be said in regards to who Lambros Foundas was and to which struggles he decided to dedicate his life, so that we are not witnesses again of the phenomenon that fighters are spoken about by all those lowlifes that comprise the propaganda mechanism of the state, all those mouth-pieces of the mass media who are in essence the Trojan horse of repression.

There are many recent examples, from the "summer of terror" in 2002, to the case of the "robbers in black" in 2006 up to the alleged safe-house in Halandri and the case of the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire (always bearing in mind the differences) where the same mechanism reproduces press releases of the police, abuses, leaks, distorts, insults memories in an attempt to terrorize and instill fear and a feeling of emptiness to those who resist and struggle.

So because "better late than never" probably suits this particular case and as we believe that with the mentioned examples and experiences we should have become wiser as individuals, as political beings and as a milieu, we must speak about the **comrade Lambros**, abstaining-scorning and ignoring the climate they have created around a genuine and real social fighter with the aim of designifying his actions and of terrorizing his comrades and society. **Anyway real life is not a television program...**

So we will speak about the comrade Lambros Foundas **without fear but with passion** exactly as he chose to move and live in the struggle for a world of freedom-dignity-solidarity, in the struggle for the world of revolution.

Lambros was never absent, even from the days he was still in school, from social struggles, he was never trapped in pseudo-dilemmas concerning legality-illegality, he was consistent, tireless, always solidarious, respectful towards different perspectives, always present and in the forefront, never trying to gain for his personal interest.

Lambros was the comrade that we would all want by our side, serious, measured, without any kind of pretense, simply genuine, straight-forward, a person who inspired trust, who you could communicate just by looking into their eyes.

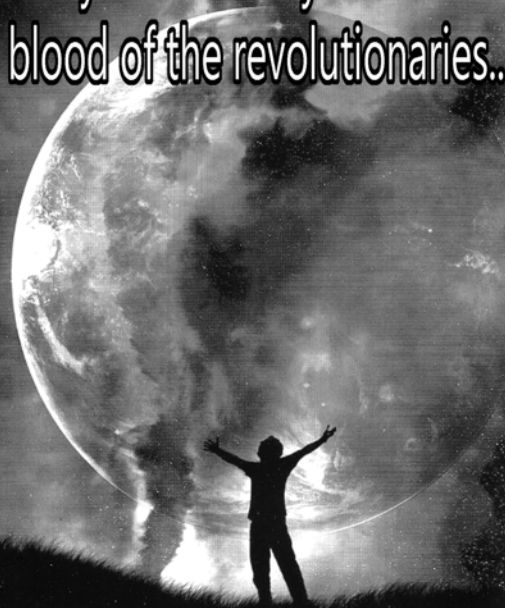
Lambros is the comrade with whom we defended the same street-barricade, is the friendly pat on the back when you needed it, is the blurred by the smoke but always present figure amongst the fire of street-clashes, is one of the links in the chain of comrades protecting our demos, is the secret route and getaways that we map out in the city, is the one beer you will drink, the disagreements and the "arguments", the flame of our soul and our eyes that haunts the capitalist metropolis of shame. He is the laughter, the tear, the anxiety, the enthusiasm, the sadness, the "victories" and the "defeats", all those things that we shared for so many years walking the paths of freedom.

### **But way beyond all this**

Lambros is the legacy he leaves behind to all those who had the pleasure and fortune to meet him and accompany him in the struggle but also to all those who will follow in the future the same paths of resistance and revolutionary creativity and the legacy is this: **coherence of theory and action and continuous struggle.**

History is not written by the authorities  
nor by the uniformed pigs..

..History is written by the  
blood of the revolutionaries..



Farewell,  
Comrade Lambros



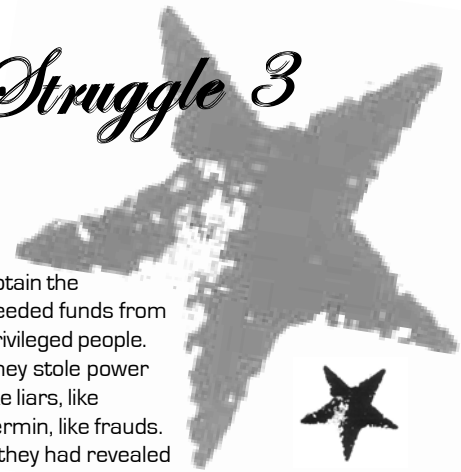
**Until the day that revolution will not be a utopia and will drown the rotten world of state and capital in its own blood.**

### **HONOR TO THE ANARCHIST REVOLUTIONARY LAMBROS FOUNDAS**

*(Leaflet handed out in the streets of Athens)*



# Letter from the Revolutionary Struggle 3



**On April 10, 2010, the Anti-Terrorist Department of the Greek Police arrested 6 people in Athens: Nikos Maziotis, Panagiota "Pola" Roupa, Kostas Gournas, Vaggelis Stathopoulos, Sarantos Nikitopoulos, and Christoforos Kortesis. All were known by their long presence in the anarchist/anti-authoritarian movement. Two weeks later, Maziotis, Roupa, and Gournas admitted to participating in the organization known as Revolutionary Struggle (Epanastatikos Agonas). Stathopoulos, Nikitopoulos, and Kortesis denied the charges and stated that they were being persecuted for their years of anarchist activity and their comradely political relationships with the others.**

The following is the complete declaration of the Revolutionary Struggle 3:

## A POLITICAL LETTER TO SOCIETY

We are taking responsibility for our participation in Revolutionary Struggle. We declare that comrade Lambros Foundas, who died in Dafni on March 10, 2010 after a battle with the police, also participated in Revolutionary Struggle. The battle was part of the subversive project decided on collectively by Revolutionary Struggle. It was a battle for revolution and freedom.

We also declare that we are very proud of our Revolutionary Struggle organization. We are proud of our history and of each moment of our political activity. We are proud of our comrade, whom we honor and will always honor.

And if the mechanisms of repression believe that imprisoning us will finish us off politically, they are wrong. Whether inside or outside prison, for us the struggle is and will continue to be a question of honor and dignity.

And if the terrorists Papandreou and Chrysohoidis are laughing (in vain) about our arrests; if they believe they have thus guaranteed the necessary security for their social-fascist party to easily continue imposing their criminal projects on society, wagging their tails to please their American masters; if they are hoping they have eliminated a serious threat to their regime, we assure them that it will not be so easy to do away with us. While we live and breathe, we will do everything possible to cause trouble for their antisocial, criminal projects.

And if our persecutors and this country's political establishment believe they have all of society on their side, if they believe most people see us as a "social threat," then they are wrong. To the majority, the social threat is represented by the government, which passes one package of antisocial measures after another according to the recommendations of the "vultures" of Capital, who "grease" the State machinery so it functions smoothly. Terrorism is the neoliberal policy imposed for years by the parties in power and supported or tolerated by the smaller parties. Terrorism is the application of the "stability program." Significant parts of the population—until now paralyzed by fear—are watching an unprecedented attack being launched against them, an attack still in its development phase.

Terrorism is not having the basics for survival. It's having your wages and your pension cut. It's having your house seized by some bank. It's being surrounded by deadly pollution. Terrorism is living under a regime of daily fear for your survival. To most of society, the terrorists and criminals are those who govern: the regime's politicians, the rich, and the privileged castes, who exploit the workers and prosper by simply participating in the economic and political establishment. The enemies of society are those who—after years of stealing, getting rich, and taking advantage of a barbaric and grossly unjust system—are asking us to donate our blood in order to save the life of the regime's putrid corpse now that the system is going through the biggest crisis in its history.

When the social-fascists in power claim to have the popular mandate to apply these policies, they provoke even more social indignation. In addition, they have already lost their legitimacy because no one has forgotten how PASOK (*the ruling political party*) extensively cheated broad strata of society during its election campaign. This is the same PASOK that took power by pure deception during the last election; lied about the so-called "redistribution policy" it supposedly wanted to apply, which was to benefit the poor; and lied when it promised salary and pension increases and a way out of the crisis, quickly and without undue aggravation.

They lied without knowing the country's real financial situation, they lied about the state of the economy and its potential, and they lied in order to supposedly

obtain the needed funds from privileged people. They stole power like liars, like vermin, like frauds. If they had revealed even the smallest part of their project before the election, they would now not only be out of the government but also out of parliament. The social consensus they are calling for is a monstrous lie provoking fierce social rage.

Right after the election, but still before PASOK revealed its true intentions, we as Revolutionary Struggle were already saying that the most brutal neoliberal offensive was on its way and would be launched in the name of "confronting the crisis and financial problems." This has now been confirmed.

Additionally, we talked about the Papandreou government's imminent political failure, which we expect to see shortly, because this is very much about a perishable government quickly nearing its expiration date.

Their criminal faces revealed, the keepers of political power nevertheless continue to deceive and trifle with us while insisting that what they are doing is "for everyone's benefit." Papandreou and his collaborators make us laugh when they call for patriotism, when they refer to the harsh measures they are imposing as "measures dictated by the national interest," and when they talk about "saving the country." And the culmination of this synchronized mockery comes when they say their efforts to ward off bankruptcy are for the benefit of the disadvantaged.

It's "a matter of national emergency" when they drive large portions of the population into poverty and misery in order to "steady the markets" ("markets" mean "savage beasts created by transnational economic elites"), stop speculation with Greek debt, and finally lower public sector interest rates.

In fact, they have no interest in protecting either the country or the breakdown's public sector. Most people are already worn out by the savage policies being applied to them, and their bankruptcy is a preliminary condition for the maintenance of privileged social strata. Pensions and salaries are being

reduced or eliminated; hundreds of thousands of people are being laid off or will be laid off in the near future; tax audits are increasing; social security funds—after years of plundering, negligent policies by the State—are being allowed to disintegrate; and health services are being decimated while public hospitals fail and are left to deteriorate until they close, thus delivering the coup de grâce to any part of the public health system still left standing. This situation is not something temporary that will improve in two to three years, like the powerful proclaim in order to reassure society, but something that will progressively worsen given the continuing efforts by the political elite to “get the country out of the crisis”—in other words, to save the economic and political ruling class.

After all the monstrous lies told by the government, we heard a number of quite earnest statements (for example, from Economic Minister Katseli) to the effect that “the crisis in Greece provides a great opportunity to apply the changes needed for global economic restructuring.” Of course, that means “the only opportunity to pass all the neoliberal reforms,” which previous governments didn’t even think of proposing due to the feared political cost of the social responses to such reforms. They are talking about their only opportunity to quickly do away with every achievement and social gain once and for all, privatize benefits and the health sector, drastically reduce the cost of labour, and transform Greece into an exploitation paradise for Capital, with a large quantity of cheap labour devoid of all rights. They are talking about their only opportunity to bring about the cruelest redistribution of wealth from the bottom to the top.

They are not interested in saving the disadvantaged, whom these policies condemn to a slow economic and social death. They want to save Greek capitalists, banks, big business, and arms manufacturers. They want to protect investors and every greedy opportunist who gambles with Greek debt and has thus far turned a profit. They want to protect themselves and the rest of the country’s political elite from the fall of the regime, which will also mean the dismantling of the state machinery. They want to protect themselves and the privileged people who relish taking part in the system. The disadvantaged, who are simply disposable material to be used for the survival of the powerful, are now guaranteed the most profound economic and social collapse the country has seen since German occupation. PASOK is

handing over land and sea to big capital; it is selling the entire country in order to save the skin of the local political and economic elite.

If only the lies would stop. Who are they hoping to fool when they say the financial collapse will mainly affect the poor, when they try to convince us that it’s in our own interest to “help overcome the crisis”? Anyway, by the time the country “has been saved,” all of us will already be dead. There will be no work, poverty will infect everyone like the plague, people will get sick and die without being able to do a thing about it, and the standard of living will be like that of a country at war. Because we are now at war. This has nothing to do with the war referred to by the lying Papandreou. The government didn’t declare any war on the markets and the speculators, like they say. The ridiculous statements we’ve been hearing all this time, especially from the mouth of the aforementioned actor who now manages the country’s destruction, only serve to confuse society.

We are facing a social and class war of an unprecedented level of intensity. The privileged social strata are synchronizing and coordinating their forces in order to launch an attack against our class, an attack of dimensions never before seen in these parts. This is a war that the capitalists, with help from the government, have declared against the workers. This is a war of the powerful against those who struggle.

We are facing a unique social situation in which the social and economic links between the privileged and the disadvantaged are breaking, one after another. An enormous social rupture is looming, along with an unprecedented political antithesis between the elite and the social base, and that has explosive potential.

In this situation of a never-before-seen terrorist attack launched by capital and the state, and while the overwhelming majority of people are experiencing a previously unimaginable state of fear and insecurity, it would be truly ridiculous to assert—like the authorities do—that our arrests have something to do with “confronting a social threat” and that the objective of Revolutionary Struggle was to “seriously frighten the population,” as the charges state. We are certain that most do not perceive the lengthy, consistent political presence of Revolutionary Struggle as a “threat to society,” but rather as a political presence always with the oppressed and against the political and economic elite, on the side of

those who live under the yoke of Power and against those who exercise it.

Despite the ideological counteroffensive unleashed against us by the government and mass media, most of the population understands that the war against us is a war against those who want to forcefully resist; it is an instrument of intimidation and terror to be used against those who are thinking about rising up in defiance of the criminal policies of power. Anyone who looked closely at the trajectory of Revolutionary Struggle would understand the obsolescence of the assertions by the political establishment and its henchmen in the media about how our actions “constitute a threat to all of society.” Which of our actions terrorized society or were directed against it? Was it the attacks against the Economic and Labor Ministries, which are hated by the majority, and where the most antisocial policies are approved and decreed?

Was it the attacks against riot police, who terrorize the streets every day, who beat demonstrators, and whose sole mission is the violent repression of social struggles? Does it have something to do with our attacks against police stations, which give shelter to the regime’s trained killers, and where those who fall into the hands of the pigs are tortured, beaten, and murdered on a daily basis?

Did the attack against Voulgarakis—who was personally implicated in two huge scandals (*wiretapping and the abduction of Pakistanis by the security services, including MIG & CIA. ed*), and who used his ministerial seat to increase his family fortune through public land deals (the Vatopedi case) — terrorize society? Most people who live in this country would very much like to see him, as well as all those mixed up in similar cases of insatiable theft of government property, hung in Syntagma Square.

Was the attack against the U.S. Embassy an act of terrorism against society? Don’t our persecutors and their superiors know that this attack was contentedly received by a large portion of Greek society, which is not especially friendly toward the United States?

Did the attack against the multi-national Shell—which for decades has plundered the natural resources of many countries, exploited entire peoples, and contributed to the destruction of the planet—terrorize the population?

Or was it the attack against Citibank, one of the main gangs of international

financial terrorists, which for decades has played an important role in the process of capital accumulation by stealing the wealth of innumerable countries via speculation with their national debts, thus bringing them to often irreversible economic and social ruin? Was attacking this multinational economic criminal, which is the ring-leader of those who created the crisis we are now going through, an antisocial act?

Or was the attack against the Stock Exchange—that Temple of money, and one of the main channels for the plundering of social wealth and its transfer from the social base to the economic elite—an act of terrorism against society?

The only ones who were terrorized by these political actions were the political and economic authorities. The criminals are the capitalists, who are concerned about their “investments” and simply afraid of not being able to effortlessly cross the borders of their own modern dictatorship. If these attacks constitute a threat to anyone, it’s only to those who are enjoying the economic and social power derived from the current regime and from social slavery.

Therefore, our imprisonment is not a solution to the problem of public safety, but exactly the reverse: It is the attempted answer to a political threat to the regime, which allows capital and the state to most reliably exercise mass terror against the most people. Our persecutors’ objective is to eliminate an element capable of waking up society politically. Their objective is to erase a revolutionary threat.

For much of the international political and economic elite (including the IMF vultures as well), the global economic crisis is already over, and the economic recovery has now haltingly taken its place. Prospects look good, while the crisis in Greece is nothing more than the result of poor management by previous governments. The economic and political system’s defenders and apologists only identified “the crisis” with the shake-up in the international financial system, and since that seems rescued thanks to generous cash loans offered by the governments, they are now talking about an end to the system’s problems and the beginning of a perhaps grueling and none-too-short economic recovery process, but only on the condition that governments apply the necessary austerity measures.

The regime’s analysts also view the Greek crisis with the same superficial focus, which divides it into several separate (and for many, also independent) dimensions. To them, the economic crisis is simply a consequence of poor management of the system, which with some specific adjustments will return to its previous harmonious functioning.

To those who take part in the system’s leadership, the financial crisis in Greece is nothing but a secondary effect of the global economic crisis. It’s a problem that stems from poor management of public funds by previous governments. Of course, we won’t question the fact that all those different governments systematically and without exception plundered public funds. With wealth siphoned from the social base by the state, every administrator’s gang—bar none—was getting rich and living off of squandered public funds. Every now and then, they would perhaps throw out a few crusts of bread for the remainder of the population in an attempt to gain votes. The big party thieves amassed enormous fortunes, built mansions, bought yachts, and secured a life of luxury for themselves while the majority are living in a state of economic terror imposed by the state and capital. However, when the IMF and European Union vultures accuse previous governments of wasting public money, they aren’t referring to what we’ve mentioned, nor are they referring to the billions of euros those governments gave away to capitalists of every nationality operating in Greece. Instead, they are accusing previous governments of wasting public money on salaries and pensions, squandering it on public health and the education sector, and being too reluctant to tax the social base.

The Greek state has been bankrupt for a long time, whether the government admits it or not. The support mechanism constituted by the IMF, the European Commission, and the European Central Bank has already taken the reins of power, and its mission is to lend Greece cash in order to pay off those who took loans out of Greek public funds in the form of bonds. The trade-off for this “economic salvation” will be the cruelest pillaging of society by transnational capital.

Greece’s financial problems (apart from the plundering of public funds for personal benefit by those in charge) stem from the dominant model of development adopted during the past few years, as well as the link represented by Greece in the chain of the global production process. Greece’s role in

Europe has always been that of a market for European products. And while the expensive euro was preventing European products from competing with the much cheaper products manufactured outside the European Union, the small Greek market was obligated to consume as many products from “eurozone” countries as it possibly could.

The assertion that “Europe is offering economic security to Greece” is nothing but a monstrous lie. From the beginning, the imperative of Europe’s economic strategy for Greece was to dismantle the previous production model and force the Greek state to stimulate consumption via loans. Greek governments continued to offer loans to finance the investments of EU companies in the Greek market, and simultaneously helped out Greek capitalists. Moreover, after incessant propaganda from the banking groups, Greek society entered the loan labyrinth, which is exactly where a large portion now finds itself trapped.

Even in the midst of the crisis, with public as well as private Greek debt having already reached the amount of 1 trillion euros, President Trichet of the European Central Bank enthusiastically declared that “the Greeks still have a margin for new loans.” In other words: Keep consuming in order to support crisis-weakened European growth and the continuing profitability of the banks and corporations.

Illusory prosperity and high growth rates never correspond to the true economic situation; rather, they reflect the huge profits of capital. Plus, we had already pointed this out in 2005, at a time when everyone was still talking about the “strong Greek economy.” Even then we had predicted big economic problems and a real risk of insolvency, which Greece will face in the event a crisis of global dimensions explodes. To all kinds of speculators/managers and owners of big capital, the crisis leaves no margin for the high profitability of the traditional sectors of the economy. Even many Stock Exchanges aren’t offering sufficient returns to satisfy the greedy capitalists, nor are the raw materials and foodstuff markets (despite the fact that prices are too high given the global decrease in demand) offering — at least for the moment—the possibility of an increase similar to that of 2008. And all this is going on despite investors doing everything possible to expand the bubble now present on certain Stock Exchanges.



On the other hand, national debts represent the best opportunity for transnational capital to extract—in the midst of crisis!—enormous profits. The international debt bubble in the main capitalist countries is now very large, but speculators of all kinds don't want it to stop. They want just the opposite: to continue exploiting it until the end. The derailment of public debt in the central countries is a function of the enormous financial aid packages dispensed by their governments in order to save the global financial system. In short, for most people in the central countries, the financial crisis has been overcome, at least for now. The governments of these countries are going to systematically default, depositing public wealth into the black-hole accounts of the same big financial groups that created the crisis.

The gigantic dimensions of the financial sector (in 2006, before the crisis, the world GDP reached \$47 trillion, the total value of all shares of stock exceeded \$50 trillion, the value of all bonds was around \$70 trillion, while the value of all derivatives exceeded \$470 trillion—in other words, an amount ten times greater than the world GDP) is quite disproportionate to the number of people involved in it as well the size of the economies of the most developed capitalist countries. The efforts of governments to carry the debts of these banking and investment monstrosities on their shoulders is going to bankrupt many of these economies, even those that have been strong until now.

The entire planet's economic elite contributes to all this while continuing to gamble with international debts. A large portion of the cash frozen by the crisis was viewed as a profitable way out of public debt, thus nourishing the bubble, which was highly destructive to the population and whose cracks that same population will be forced to pay for.

The game of great speculative attacks against national debts began with Greece, which due to its poor public finances and enormous debt appeared to be "the perfect client" for the markets. High interest rates, which according to "investors" reflect economic insecurity and an increase in potential indebtedness, yielded huge profits for everyone who "gambled" with Greek debt, until now. In case after case, increased market volatility always corresponds to higher profitability.

All the world's economic elite took part in the creation of the debt bubble, once again believing they could siphon

enormous profits from public debts. After all, according to the statements of their spokespeople, "countries will not be allowed to fall into bankruptcy." This is the same notion that emerged during the previous debt crisis involving the peripheral countries in the '80s. As much then as now, the big capitalists were of the opinion that "sovereign nations do not go bankrupt." Along those lines of thought, Greece managed to get into debt with interest rates that exceeded 9% (and sometimes reached 15%), and the government fell into the arms of the IMF, European Commission, and European Central Bank "rescue mission," which will now officially save the Greek state from economic ruin.

The capitalists' statement that "sovereign nations do not go bankrupt" indirectly expresses the pressure those same capitalists are applying in order to take control of the international mechanisms "saving" the indebted countries. That way, they won't risk the capital they've invested in debt, and they can peacefully continue to profit. Still, the greed of transnational capitalists is growing so quickly that even "rescue" mechanisms like the IMF can't cope with it. In Greece, there is lots of insulting talk about "speculators," but it's never specified who they are. It certainly isn't just a question of the white-collar youth employed by the transnational investment firms, "seated in front of their computers while they gamble with the country's debt," like Papandreou said recently. It's about the entire economic elite. A large portion of Greek debt is in the hands of Greek banks, and through them the "cream" of the Greek plutocracy and all respectable businessmen command the respect of the country's political elite.

And let's not forget the scandalous process by which Greek banks are raising money at almost zero interest from the European Central Bank, offering as collateral public sector bonds they obtained for free via the 28-billion-euro aid package (approved by the previous government). They then offer loans to the state at the market's highest interest rate. And all this is taking place after they've already put away billions in cash in their vaults, thus ensuring their own liquidity while the government—which under the current circumstances is selling off the country for loans—is calling on them to make use of the "unofficial" remainder of the aid package.

The famous "gun," usually invoked by the ridiculous PM Papandreou whenever he receives some verbal support from his

"fellow" higher-ups in Europe, isn't pointing at any speculator. The weapon does exist, but it is pointing at most of this country's population, making them submit to the threats of the government and the saviors of the Greek political system. Papandreou, like a modern Tsolakoglou\*, has now ushered the country into a new era of occupation—this time by transnational capital, with the IMF, European Commission, and European Central Bank supervising the austerity and reform programs under the slogan of "saving the country," all in order to finance regular payments to the Greek State's creditors.

All the promises about the "credible role of the IMF" and other attempts to positively portray events—made as much by the government as by the IMF lackeys themselves—aren't worth much. We know that every country the IMF touches suffers devastating consequences. In Africa, Asia, and South America, the IMF has been responsible for the destruction of economies, systems, and production models that weren't profitable to the vultures of transnational capital it serves. In many cases, these "beneficial" interventions resulted in famine, disease, civil war, social catastrophe, and irreparable damage to the environment.

It also sounds like a bad joke when, after decades of IMF activity always yielding the same disastrous results, many—primarily leftists and social-democrats—continue to describe the IMF's brutal neoliberal formulas as merely "strategic errors." They can't possibly believe it's simply a question of a few incompetents. They know exactly what they're doing, and their interests are very specific.

Debt that a country is incapable of paying represents an opportunity for the economic elite, through the IMF, to bring that country to its knees, annihilate it, and conquer it. After bleeding it dry, they lead it into bankruptcy. Then come the vultures of Capital, who—for breadcrumbs—buy up everything valuable in order to later exploit it until said country becomes a paradise for capitalist exploitation, where inhuman working conditions finally prevail. This is the IMF plan for Greece: a plan that quickly leads to the hyper-accumulation of economic and social power in even fewer hands, and drives the people into misery.

If we allow the regime's criminals to continue these policies, it means that we are surrendering to the most disgraceful slavery of all, feeding the country and our

children's future to the shark's teeth of big capital, and accepting a life of constant terror from the international economic and political oligarchy.

No free person can accept such treatment. No dignified person can give up without resisting. While the system itself is burning the bridges that connect it to the social majority and taking an openly hostile position against that majority, it would be a serious mistake to try to rebuild those connections from below. In one way or another, the leftist parties that participate in the political system will attempt to weaken social conflict and do everything possible to avoid the imminent social explosions. And even though they may gnash their teeth over the government's decisions, in no way will they break with the system.

On the other side, the disadvantaged await a new political force, independent of any political motive or desire to manipulate; a force capable of creating the political ground on which they can plant their feet and fight the brutal conditions imposed on them by modern life. This new political force can't be anything other than a broad radical movement—without inhibitions or reluctance, without a guilt complex or illusions about whether or not total confrontation with the regime is necessary—capable of outlining a project for the destruction of the system and inspiring as many of the oppressed as possible toward a liberatory direction.

Today, when we find ourselves living under the pure, harsh Dictatorship of the markets, anyone who still keeps shouting that “the objective conditions are premature” is someone who isn't willing to practice subversion.

The objective conditions are more than ideal.

Let's also create the subjective conditions needed to bring about the revolution. This is our chance.

**LONG LIVE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE**

**EVERLASTING HONOR TO COMRADE LAMBROS FOUNDAS**

**LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION**

*Pola Roupa*  
*Nikos Maziotis*  
*Kostas Gournas*



## **EXCERPTS FROM THE COMRADES IN COURT:**

### **Kostas Gournas**

The prosecutor: “What do you say in your defense? Do you accept or deny the charges?”:

*“I am not going to answer. I do not recognize these proceedings. Since the age of 20, I have been a worker and have taken part in the social and class struggle in Greece. I am against the regime, the political system, and the economic system. I am not a terrorist. The terrorists are the ones on the 12th floor of police headquarters who gave me a beating and threatened to kill my children.”*

### **Nikos Maziotis**

Responding to the question “Do you accept or deny the charges?”:

*“I am a revolutionary, and I am fighting an unjust, criminal regime known as the state and capitalism. If anyone should make a plea in defense, it is not me but those who are accusing me: the police and judges who serve the rich. I, for my part, am in the right, and I will not apologize for myself.”*

### **Panagiota “Pola” Roupa**

Responding to the same question:

*“I am a revolutionary, and I do not recognize your proceedings. The criminals and terrorists are you and the system you serve: the state and capitalism.”*

### **Sarantos Nikitopoulos**

*“I am being singled out for my political activity. I have been politically active in the anarchist and antiauthoritarian milieu ever since I was very little, and I can assure you that I as well as hundreds of*

*others before me were already in the authorities' sights, and that will continue. I consider the legal persecution against me to be based on and a product of my own political activity, as well as that of the entire anarchist milieu. Cases like Thessaloniki {ed. EU Summit 2003} — in which even video recordings show police planting bags containing “illegal” items near people in order to charge them—or the imprisonment of demonstrator Mario Z. in Athens, and many others, must put an end to this blind faith in police accusations.”*

### **Vaggelis Stathopoulos**

*“Mixing me up in the Revolutionary Struggle case is a consequence of my political convictions. I do not condemn any type or method of struggle. My political activity has always taken place in broad daylight.”*

### **Christoforos Kortesis**

Through his lawyers, he said that he will testify alone under certain specific conditions. He demanded in writing that “they have to clearly specify the charge common to all six of us that refers to my involvement in specific actions claimed by Revolutionary Struggle.” He also demanded an itemization of the evidence for each action.



## R.S.CHRONOLOGY - ATHENS

- \* **September 5, 2003:** Bombing at courthouse.
- \* **March 14, 2004:** Bombing at Citibank subsidiary in Psychico area.
- \* **May 5, 2004:** Bombing at police station in Perissos neighborhood.
- \* **October 29, 2004:** Bombing of police buses.
- \* **June 2, 2005:** Bombing at Labor Ministry.
- \* **December 12, 2005:** Bombing at Finance Ministry in Syntagma Square, near Parliament.
- \* **May 30, 2006:** Attempted assassination of Georgios Voulgarakis, former Minister of Public Order, now Minister of Culture.
- \* **January 12, 2007:** Wasp 58 LAW rocket attack on United States Embassy.
- \* **April 30, 2007:** Shots fired at police station in Nea Ionia neighborhood.
- \* **October 24, 2008:** Bombing at Shell offices in Palaio Faliro neighborhood.
- \* **December 23, 2008:** Shots fired at riot police bus near Athens University in Goudi neighborhood.
- \* **January 5, 2009:** Shots fired at police guarding Culture Ministry in Exarchia . One riot cop critically wounded.
- \* **February 18, 2009:** Car bombing at Citibank headquarters in Kifissia neighborhood. Bomb fails to detonate.
- \* **March 9, 2009:** Bombing at Citibank subsidiary in Nea Ionia neighborhood.
- \* **May 12, 2009:** Bombing at Eurobank subsidiary in Argyroupoli neighborhood.
- \* **September 2, 2009:** Car bomb causes serious damage to Stock Exchange building.

## Letter from *Christoforos Kortesis*

The letter that follows was written in the prison of Corinth by Christoforos Kortesis [one of the 6 arrested anarchists in the "Revolutionary Struggle" case]:

On 10th April, 6 people were arrested and taken to the Police Headquarters (GADA). I was one of them. We didn't know why we were detained, and when we insisted on contacting lawyers the cops told us that we couldn't, because they were gathering evidence. After 56 hours - during which we were not even allowed to contact each other - we were taken to the courts on Evelpidon St. facing the charge of participation in the "Revolutionary Struggle". The timing of my arrest coincided with the announcement by the Prime Minister Papandreou that Greece will possibly take a loan from the IMF. There is obviously no room left for coincidences here, as is also the case with the police raid in the alleged "Halandri safehouse" and the arrests, by the former ruling party Nea Dimokratia, of comrades only a few days before the elections of 2009.

Following our arrest, we were hardly surprised to see that instantly the leading role in misinformation was taken on by the usual nosy parkers from the TV - along with the rest of the scum. They presented evidence that was not even written in the legal brief, and started to piece together a puzzle which went as far as... attacking the Twin Towers!!!

Soon afterwards, our guilt was taken for granted in the media that started competing to be the first to give out more information on our personal lives; who will be the first to take photos of the apartment-safehouse and tell what motorcycles we prefer, what time we go to bed, what time and how many times we make love and things of this sort: nothing more than offerings on the altar of spectacle. However, none of this comes as a surprise to me. I am well aware that mass media in our 'democratic' society plays exactly the same role as the ministries of propaganda used to play under totalitarianism. People in Greece will inevitably realize that nothing has changed in their everyday life, even after those blood thirsty terrorists got arrested. If before capitalists were offering the remains of their affluent buffets to the people, at this point they will stop doing even that. But in these times of acute economic

crisis and social despair, people can end up doing things that before we could not even imagine. The massive rebellion that spread all over Greece after the murder of Alexis Grigoropoulos, two years ago, was just a hint - offering hope for some and despair to others... Repression now will be harsher than ever, aimed primarily at breaking the most radical part of society, its greatest internal enemy, the anarchist anti-authoritarian movement. That is why, at the same time as unemployment in general exceeds 15%, Chrisochoidis intends to employ even more people to join the security forces so as to 'combat' the growing menace of terrorism, while the only goal is to enforce the defensive lines of the state establishment. But it is exactly at this time of crisis that we are presented with unique possibilities and diverse social groups can be radicalized. It is exactly at this time of crisis that tonnes of explosives are accumulated at the foundations of the capitalist establishment and the only thing missing, comrades, is to set fire on them!

On the other hand, I am not going to talk at all about the accusations laid upon us, since innocence and guilt come and go depending on the side that we have chosen to take in life. If the cops, the journalists, the politicians, the bankers, or the judges consider someone as guilty in the name of bourgeois democracy, then, all of them are guilty in the name of public justice. In the same sense, I am not going to talk at all about the conditions of detention throughout those first days at GADA. As an anarchist, I consider myself and my comrades prisoners of war. This war, which Chrisochoidis became able to see only some months ago, has been actually conducted with rage during centuries between any kind of masters and the masses of revolted.

Everyone has already chosen sides and when some realize that they are at the wrong side of the camp, then, it will be too late...

Patience and determination for all those who chose to march through the troubled path of history towards social revolution...

Honour forever to the anarchist Lambros Fountas.

Farewell, comrade.

*Christoforos Kortesis*

# Letter from Sarantos Nikitopoulos

**(Sarantos also prosecuted for the case of the group Epanastatikos Agonas - Revolutionary Struggle)**

On April 10, 2010, I was brought / kidnapped by the anti-terrorism department of the Greek Police. After an unnecessary show attended and conducted by numerous riot squads, undercover cops, emergency patrol, prosecutors, etc., who broke doors (although I surrendered my keys) and found funny 'finds' in my home such as anti-authoritarian printed material, novels, political books and many movies, I was sent to the police headquarters in Athens, where for several hours several masked men passed in front of me without answering my question on what I was prosecuted or arrested for, without allowing any communication with my lawyer, and without asking me anything at all. Late in the evening on April 11th, I was notified by the arrest report that I was accused of participating in the organization of Revolutionary Struggle and I was charged with nothing less than the entire criminal code. For the record, although I was arrested, I was not allowed to contact my lawyers again.

During the subsequent days, unfolded a spiral of lies based on a shameful reproduction of the climate being cultivated by the police through a so-called 'journalist' working as the 'press office' of the anti-terrorism department, uncritically reproducing rumours from anonymous police sources, press releases, the police and what is needed to create a burdensome and ultimately condemnatory climate against any "alleged" ... This time it was me. The so called "key man", "leading member", "link", "who escaped the gunfight in Daphne", "the intellectual", "rebellious, tough" etc. The only thing I was not called is "the mysterious woman". Journalists worth their wages, evidently. A continuation of Goebbels, but sorry I forgot he was a fascist, while now we have "democracy with an iron fist" in the Declaration of our American prime minister Pre-Po.

## THE RESPONSIBILITY TO OTHERS

From the first moment I denied the charges, including my alleged participation in the organization EA. What I do not deny, and is essentially what led to the plight that I am in today (an underground prison in a state of near isolation and a yard more than 20 meters long) is my participation in the so called anarchist-

antiauthoritarian sphere, my participation in a whole range of ongoing activities, and I think my constant involvement in social struggles of the political sphere to which I belong as a historical integral part. This is not to deny the comradely civil and social relationship I had with the dead militant Lambros Foundas as well as with some of my co-defendants. After being active in the anarchist-antiauthoritarian sphere and social struggles for many years, it is not strange that I am familiar with hundreds of comrades if not thousands of people, some of whom I am socially connected. Unfortunately I feel on my skin the new "luminary" doctrine of repression, the criminalization of political, personal and social relations.

We live in a country where the tradition of struggle has deep roots that are soaked in the blood of fighters on the mountains, in cities, on the "new Parthenon Makronissos" and other islets and prisons. The country has also a long tradition of state terrorism. Times are changing but the substance remains the same: two worlds in conflict, the world of murderous capitalist interests and the world of social resistance. In this conflict, I have chosen sides, defending the "roadblock" in which I stand. I have no intention of signing a certificate of social conscience nor any statement of repentance and renunciation of my engagement and activist background, which I am proud of. In times when the attack of the state and capital on society is getting sharper and clearer than ever with the presence of the IMF in Greece, I remember that 10 years ago in Prague, along with thousands of activists from around the world, the meeting paused after violent conflicts against this criminal scheme, I remember the year after in Genoa where the capitalist criminals responded with the only language they know (violence) by murdering CARLO GIULIANI. I remember when we declared war on criminal Tony Blair who called us a "traveling circus of anarchists", I remember other times when we were the "troublemakers who creep and denigrate", the "apolitical hooligans", sometimes in other ways named the "fringe of Exarchia".

The truth is different of course. The truth is that we are a political space in which the cause and the effect exists and interacts with society, as seen in the outbreak of December 2008! The truth is that we are a political space that resists the accidents of permanent human sacrifice on the altar of the

capitalists, resists the permanent crime of prison with almost 400 deaths in the last 10 years, stands in solidarity with immigrants who are murdered daily at land and maritime borders of the country, tortured and humiliated in police stations and in modern concentration camps (eg, Pagani and others). We are a political space that stands in solidarity with political prisoners, resists the destruction of the environment and participates in different kinds of social events. We are a space that questions state monopoly on violence and attempts to measure the forces, to join together social groupings, based on constant attack on the state and capital, showing forth solidarity, self-organization, and selflessness.

We are therefore targeted by repression that does not hesitate to kill 15 year old children, to demonize entire regions (which the residents of Exarchia in Athens know well), to criminalize political, personal and social relationships and even build indictments for temporary political expediency, as in the case of the anarchist meeting place 'Resalto' in Keratsini, Pireaus 'baptizing' it into a "terrorist" organization in December 2009; in the case of a student 'with green shoes' in Thessaloniki some years ago, fitted up with Molotovs; as in the case of Aristotle square again in December 2009 when the cops, the "protector of citizens" framed with Molotovs a passerby during a demo; as in the case of framed protester Simon Chapman in Thessaloniki in 2003; as in the case of demonstrator Marios G. who carried shampoo and a bathrobe in his backpack but the police baptized them weapons, as in the case ... and how much we do not know? *(Note of the translator: It is widely accepted that all these people are known to have been framed by Greek police in recent years.)*

In a country where injustice dominates and politicians in charge are more interested in the abolition of university asylum law while themselves, protected by parliamentary immunity, behave like modern mafia and plead innocent for all major scandals (such as Siemens, Vatopedi, Bonds, wiretapping [Vodafone etc.], C41) ... In a country where the state has declared war on society, as evidenced by the motorcycle police gangs occupying the streets, dedicated to preventing and breaking up social events. In a country that is now officially under the dictatorship of the IMF, in a country where words lose their meaning and nine bullets in the body of young Albanian Nicola Toddy are translated into

"sense of security". In a country where to bow your head and accept austerity measures that annul rights and privileges that have been gained with blood and sacrifices for the benefit of capitalists is called "patriotic duty" ... in a country where the arrogance, the audacity and double standards of authoritarians does not allow them to admit that it was their policies that led Greece to this tragic economic situation and not some "vague" and "faceless" speculators.

In this country, therefore, resistance to the plans of capitalists is a one-way task. Resistance through self-organized and non-hierarchical projects, based on freedom, dignity and social justice. As for me, I will continue to struggle. I will continue to deny the accusations attributed to me, but in no way my political identity, belonging and action.

The state is the only terrorist! Lambros lives in the heart of every fighter. The "accused", for what, I do not know.

### *Sarantos Nikitopoulos*

F Wing  
Korydallos prison,  
Athens

**PS. 1** The special law on hoods is not applicable for those [cops] who "kidnapped" me and drove me from the police headquarters in Athens to the Cadet and vice versa showing me as a trophy in front of cameras?

**PS. 2** A big 'thanks' to those who in any way express their solidarity.



## *Letter from Vaggelis Stathopoulos*

**(accused for participation in the  
Revolutionary Struggle armed group)**

Since the 10-04-2010 I find myself accused, together with comrades I know through my journey in social struggles, by the infamous anti-terrorist squad under a regime of terror and psychological warfare. My arrest took place in a cinematic fashion in the area of Victoria square by 10 to 15 persons with guns aimed, while in fear of my any reaction EKAM (Special Anti-terrorist Unit) forces from around the area were also mobilized. Armed to the teeth against one unarmed. Of course it wasn't hard for me to immediately be aware of their presence due to the experience I have amassed over the years from the usual surveillance and harassment I had at my parents' house in Nikaia as well as at the house I lived in, in Peukakia.

As a consequence I didn't give much notice considering the event as one of the usual intimidation tactics used by the authorities with the aim of deterring the anti-establishment actions of people in struggle. A tactic used always by the repressive mechanisms of the dominant class, especially in times of social upheaval. Of course I didn't know what the authorities had yet again cooked up in order to frame me. I have found myself on numerous occasions, as many other comrades have as well, in the dock of ridiculous courts by the humanoid of power without any evidence against me or with fabricated and orchestrated accusations. In all these cases I have been acquitted since even the cops couldn't support their own tales. I remained accused pending trial and under constant control from the authorities for seven whole years. Seven years of continuous surveillance in an attempt to target my actions, criminalizing my personal relationships, my ideas and my political viewpoint which at times I have expressed loud and clear. And here it is one more time!

I am an anarchist and I struggle with all my powers for the social revolution.

Continuing with the events around my arrest, soon after my acquaintance with the "tough" guys of the anti-terrorist squad I was taken to the "stupidity kitchen" the 12<sup>th</sup> floor of Police Headquarters, there where you enter one office for an ID verification and you leave from the other one next door with fabricated serious charges. So these "tough" guys, having been taught obviously by their colleagues, torturers during the dictatorship, started beating me and the other comrades while we were handcuffed with their swearing and threatening keeping the beat. Following this I experienced a simple processing from the inquisitors and prosecutors of the orchestrations set up by the cops and that's how my life got wrapped up in a piece of official paper, how my case got tied up tight and I now find myself in prison awaiting trial at Trikala. Of course the choice of Wing E' for my "stay" here is not at all coincidental, as it is the most controlled wing. I don't think I even need to mention with precision the hideous living conditions in these "modern" hellholes of democracy. It is enough to say that water cuts are a more than usual occurrence (compliments to Themis Construction\*)!!!

Power with the mass media as an ally uses the standard tactic of slander and criminalization of social struggles and of personal relations of people in struggle. It is not the first time something like this has happened but it is the first time I had to personally deal with this incredible brutality which aims to defame my life, throwing piles of mud on myself and my acts as well as on my comrades, my friends and my family and the wider subversive movement in which I actively take part. In this attempt my home is characterized and named as a safe-house and a wattle fence, which by the way I found there when I rented the house, was enough to transform my personal space into a dangerous base of operations. That nothing was found in this house is probably of no importance! The continuous false leaks and the vulgar disinformation came to be added to the whole cannibalism taking place, revealing yet again the systems' and journalists' vindictive craze against any one

\*Construction company belonging to the Ministry of Justice and in charge of building prisons



who resists. And this is only one version of the organized violence carried out by the mechanisms of power and of the legal crimes perpetrated by the state and the bosses against our lives.

Of course the criminalization of struggles and of those who negate the status quo is not something new or unusual. Those who struggle know this well by now. Besides, even if someone is arrested for posterizing they are prosecuted for littering rather than their ideas and subversive words which in reality constitute the essence of their prosecution. Against the fable of legality and the false boundaries of innocence or guilt, I declare myself an enemy of the regime and an unrepentant adversary of the state and capital.

Besides, my statement to the inquisitor that "I don't denounce any form of struggle against the state and power" is the only reason I am in prison and not their unfounded bill of indictment. If they expected statements of conformity to the law

and of repentance from me they did not calculate well. In my life I have not learned to grovel left and right as a denouncer, a snitch and a collaborator, I have not learned to betray friends and comrades, to abandon them, to accuse and denounce them in front of my prosecutors in order to save myself. In my life I have learned to hold my head up high, to live with pride and dignity and to not grovel even if there's a price to pay. If there are some people that have learned to live groveling, I am truly ashamed on their behalf.

At this time, when the bankrupt Greek state under the umbrella of the IMF is attempting to terrorize and repress every subversive project in fear of all the Decembers' that will come, it is our duty to fight in order to overthrow it in its totality.

I will continue to fight against the policing and control over our lives and for the destruction of prisons. For social revolution and for freedom.

Because in this world freedom is not handed out to you, you have to claim her through battles and win her.

STATE AND CAPITAL ARE THE  
TERRORISTS, CRIMINALS AND THIEVES

HONOUR TO THE URBAN GUERRILLA  
LAMBROS FOUNDAS

FREEDOM TO ALL THE COMRADES IN  
PRISON FOR THEIR SUBVERSIVE  
ACTIONS

*Vaggelis Stathopoulos*

Trikala Prisons

10-5-2010





# THE ONLY ANSWER TO MODERN TOTALITARIANISM IS SOCIAL REVOLUTION

7/05/10

The coalition government PASOK - 'Troika' (*Tri-state {European Committee, International Monetary Fund, European Social Fund} ed*) has succeeded in a short space of time - and with the consent of the Mass Media - in ripping out what had been conquered through long and frequently bloody, social and class struggles to impose an unprecedented, ferocious exploitation of the social majority by a shameful minority composed of the economic elite. The recent measures of Lovrthos for labour and pensions are in the same direction and will not be the last.

Already Greece is steadily transforming itself into paradise for bosses and hell for the workers.

This new intense class attack is for economic and political authority "an essential condition in order to overcome the crisis", since - according to the neo-liberal economic analysis - decreasing labour costs ensures the conditions for competitiveness, and the bosses can hope for new profits for capital, wounded by the economic crisis. With the prospect of an increase in profits, the productive process will come to life again, growth will get a boost and the road to get out of the crisis will open, a fact that will help the country get over its severe budget problems. In reality, and

despite whatever arguments of the decriers of neo-liberalism, about how unorthodox and a "no way out" economic model the above is (it's sure that the conclusion of such a plan is an even deeper recession and intensity of the crisis), what the state wants is the biggest possible exploitation of the deep economic crisis in order to impose the new class and social terms of oppression and exploitation.

The formation of this new dictatorship of capital and state presupposes that large parts of society will fall into complete impoverishment, will be marginalized so that they can become easy prey for the callous exploitation that the bosses envisage imposing. For the pigs of plutocracy, from now on human life will be worth as much as the crumbs they give for wages while, according to their plans, there will be many waiting in line to have all their production squeezed out of them and be thrown away when they aren't needed any more.

In order to ensure that the lenders to the Greek state can be paid back, PM Papandreu and his government have imposed austerity measures of unprecedented ferocity, with continuous cuts in wages and pensions, in state expenditure for hospitals and social benefits, leading hospitals and pension

funds to their final collapse, imposing the privatisation of the pension system and health services, while at the same time they sell off cheap anything that remains the property of the state.

The measures of "budgetary discipline" that, according to the government, will lead to the "country's exit from the economical crisis", in reality - and combined with the labour measures - will lead with mathematical precision to a greater economical dead-end for the country that sooner or later will have to call for a pay suspension or, in the best case, to re-negotiate the Greek debt.

Besides all this, the specific, wild neo-liberal policies that are imposed by the economic and political elite of the planet are not some "wrong economic choices", neither can some changes in the direction of economic policy reverse the climate of deep crisis the system is going through. The main issue for the economic and political power that controls the planet is that the given systemic crisis be exploited for the redevelopment of the conditions of life and work everywhere, but also for the redefinition of correlations of power on the planet, with the super-national economic and political elite gaining more and more force and power in their hands, the markets to imposing their increasingly energetic role in the configuration and exercise of political power and the co-governing of countries takes on a more totalitarian character. Consequently, on the grounds of the crisis and, mainly, the crisis of countries in debt, a new totalitarian form of political and economic authority is imported and imposed on one country after another, and with the collaboration of governments, a new fascism, that makes older forms of oppression and exploitation seem lenient.

A main element of this new international dictatorship is the exploitation of countries' debts in order to pass the social wealth of the country into the hands of the economic oligarchy. The vultures of super-national capital are ready to dash and devour anything valuable in Greece, when the government



will be unable to cope with the demanding lending obligations imposed by the loan-sharks of the debt. The way for this new occupation via the confiscation of the public wealth of the country was opened by Papandreou with the related memo sent to the lenders, according to which "neither the borrower nor his possessions have immunity because of national sovereignty".

In other words, the IMF, EC, ESF and the states of the European Union that lent to the Greek state can, from the moment the payments of the loans are delayed, proceed to the confiscation of public assets and of the social wealth of the country, while the borrower (the borrower is obviously considered the totality of the Greek society, irrelevant of the fact that the loan is not intended for the majority) goes into a state of literal occupation by the lenders.

...

Against this new fascist state they are forming, whichever forms of mobilisation that are limited to a fight in the "trenches" to maintain any labour, political and social vested interests is condemned to defeat.

That's why they constitute a mockery, not only the painless protests that the great trade unions desire but also the ridiculous manoeuvres of the governmental Left that participates in parliament, which not only has no intention of making a rupture with the governmental political order - a rupture that, amongst other things, would harm the political and economic privileges of their representatives in parliament- but does whatever it can to deter society from expressing its rage and even reaches the point of going against mass parts of society when they are expressing themselves against the totality of the political system. Hence, for the governmental Left - and for the Media- expressions used now by mass

areas of society, such as "they are all the same", meaning all the politicians that participate in the parliament, are fascist.

According to the state, 'Fascist' is, also, the chant "burn the brothel Parliament" that thousands of demonstrators shouted in the mobilisation of May 5th outside the parliament, while the attempt to invade the Parliament by the

they not manage to reap the fruits of social dissatisfaction but they will also be marginalized more and more and they will follow the governing parties in their downfall and in social contempt.

Our fight should be a fight of attack against the totality of the statist political order and its representatives and not only to be against certain persons and a

limited number of political choices. Besides, the deep economic crisis into which the country is sinking in this period is not simply the result of the bad handling of previous governments. The crisis in Greece is a result of the world crisis of the system that is rotting and is trying to stay alive by sucking the blood of societies.

In this crisis everyone that participates in the system of representative democracy has contributed in their own way, to a democracy which we owe to abolish with our struggle.

We shall not allow our fight to degenerate with proposals and policies that aim for the exit from the economic



demonstrators was "an attempt to abolish democracy that would open the way for the imposition of a coup d'etat". For the KKE (Communist Party of Greece), those who attempted to invade the parliament were, also, fascists and provocateurs.

Finally, none of those who participate in the parties of the governmental Left consider the policy of tri-state government (EU, ECB, IMF) and the new totalitarian state that is being formed as being fascist. What they want is to succeed in leading social mobilisations and in containing them within the limits that are ordered by state legality so that they do not threaten the state and its representatives. We believe it's pointless to think they will succeed.

Everything shows that social reactions will receive more and more intense characteristics of rupture and conflict with the state and the parties of the Left incorporated in the system, not only will

crisis, with the excuse that this is in the interest of the social base. Each such proposal will seek to restrain struggles to within the limits of the state and will prevent every genuinely liberatory proposal for the future from being proposed socially and being tried in practice. It is a given that no solution that wants Greece to remain inside the system of the market economy and representative democracy will remove us from the systemic crises which are paid with the blood of the social majority of the non-privileged. As radical as some proposals might sound (exit from the European Monetary Union. or even the E.U, returning to the drachma {ex-Greek monetary unit}, nationalization of enterprises such as the banks, increase of tax imposition on the rich in order to pay the debt, etc.), do not guarantee anything more than a leap into the void that, sooner or later, will lead us back, to the same state of exploitation and oppression. The only real exit from the crisis that can ensure the social survival

of the non privileged and can prevent the destruction that the political and economic authorities have in store for us, is the complete exit from the system of capitalism, the market economy and representative democracy. We are not speaking of anything less than a social revolution, which has become an imperative need from now on, not only for reasons of value, moral and social righteousness, but for reasons concerning the survival of all of us. Either way, it's the political and economic order itself that puts us on a daily basis in the dilemma "us or them".

We live in the historical moment where the privileged political and economic castes cannot coexist with the big majorities of the non-privileged. Our fight has to be a fight of conflict and rupture with every privileged individual or group of individuals that looks at the current crisis and the wild attack against workers as an opportunity to get rich. It must be a fight against everyone that sees the budget problem of this country as a occasion to seize the social wealth that belongs to all of us. The time has come to completely get rid of all these amoralists and adventurers, the thieves and criminals. The time has come to teach a lesson to all the privileged.

Our fight should be a fight to take back what they have stolen from us and belongs to us. It should be a fight to abolish every form of slavery, a fight for the freedom of all people. So that there are no social and class segregations ever again, no rich and poor ever again, so that there's no exploitation of person by person.

So that there's no organised power, state, oppression and lack of freedom. Our fight should be a fight for economic equality and the political freedom of all.



It should be nothing less than a radical inversion, a social revolution. Such a revolution's prelude could be the attempt of storming parliament that was attempted but was not completed on May 5th. A storm that will not simply be satisfied in just bringing down the current government, but will be a decisive moment of the fight for liberation from the parliamentary junta

whose only prospect will be to not allow any dominating political formation - whether it comes from the parliament or not- to take power into its hands and perpetuate the rotten state. We should not allow the various defenders of the system, wearing the mask of the "liberator", to seek and gain the trust of society so that they can climb to power and rescue the state. The social base itself should define, with values such as equality and the refusal of every form of organised power, the organisational structure that will manage and determine the political and economic life of the country.

An organisational structure with a horizontal character, without representation and professionals of politics, without guidance.

With such a political organisation we can leave this parliamentary dictatorship behind us once and for all. All society that lives under the new junta of the markets and state should move forward to a sweeping expropriation of all wealth that is in the

hands of the economic oligarchy and give it to society, to pass it in its entirety into the hands of collective social organs that will manage it.

Expropriate all the church's fortune.

All social wealth that at this moment is in the possession of local political and economic power should be passed into the hands of the social base and we should expropriate all financial wealth

that the multinationals and part of the foreign economic elite that act in Greece have in their possession. We should take in our hands all means of production and the productive units and socialize them. The working assemblies themselves should determine what will be produced and for who, in collaboration with the local assemblies in the communities, the cities, the neighbourhoods.

Outside of any logic of competition and growth, outside of the morals and values of the market economy, far from any logic of concentration of wealth, the new economic organisation and productive process should be determined by the social base with the main values being economic equality, horizontal management, quality in work and production, protection of the environment, the quality of all produced products and the discovery of new technologies that will suit our revolutionary undertaking and will finally leave behind the technologies of mass production of capitalism that only suits a centralized economic model.

All this cannot fail to be but matters that will concern a revolutionary society that will decide for itself. The communities, the small cities, the neighbourhoods should become the core of the new social organisation, the holder of social wealth and the main pillar of decisions, economical and political. We ourselves should take over every economic and social activity, we should at last, take life in our own hands. If we do not rebel now against the modern dictatorship of market, capital and state, if we do not fling off the shackles of slavery immediately, if we do not raise our head high today, there will be no future for us and we will have condemned future generations to live in the darkest social and economic conditions of human history.

The only solution we have in our hands to get out of this dead end, to get rid of modern fascism once and for all, is social revolution.

Members of Revolutionary Struggle,

*Kostas Gournas*

*Pola Roupa*

*Nikos Maziotis*

# Announcement about the latest events on the 5th of May : Conspiracy of Cells of Fire



**“... And death will no longer have any power ...”**

**About the incidents of the 5th May, concerning the fire in the Marfin Bank. There were three dead bank employees and thousands of “charred” truths.**

The suffocating atmosphere of the heartbreaking hypocrisy of propaganda and the worn moralistic humanism of the radical movement's Cassandras, force us to take a public stand concerning these events. This does not mean that we are talking as “specialists” of violence, or that we are “self-appointed” prosecutors or defenders of the people who attacked the bank building. But we find it necessary that some things must be said and put in order. For this to happen, the experiential presence and understanding of what happened that day at that point is not necessary. What is needed in our opinion is a corresponding serious and responsible attitude that submits such revolutionary practices (such as burning a bank) to the treatment and [self]critique of an actual fact (the death of three employees who were not the target of the revolutionary violence). The revolutionary nihilism that we

express implies fine thought and practice which is being built far-away from demonstrations of fake cynicism “c'mon, they were bank employees, it's good they burned them ...”, but also from hypocritical wailers that seek guilty ones in order to attribute blame, orating from the position of the infalable humanist revolutionary.

But let's start at the beginning... In the metropolis and the parody of life that we live, death is no more than another news item, a distant piece of information among so many others, a column in a newspaper, another statistic . Every day people die in hospitals from illnesses, in cars from road accidents, in accidents in the galleys of work, in underpasses from drugs. And they want to teach us to be immune to these numerous anonymous deaths. Because it's just simple numbers “three dead in a road accident, two deaths from narcotics.” These deaths don't “sell” in the media, they are not projected in the supposedly humanitarian wrapping, so ‘no-one’ is ‘convinced’ they are important..

These are deaths that in a word won't benefit the system. All TV-executioners, from the most conservative up to the most subversive, that were supposedly ‘shocked’ by the three deaths at Marfin, would not be able even for a minute to face in the same manner, all the anonymous deaths that the system which they faithfully serve, provokes. The truth is that, based on

the facts of the 5th of May, an obscene grave-robbing and a powerful trade in sentiment was set up for the interests of the system.

**“Collateral damage and emotional grave robbing”**

In the face of the imminent social crisis the spectacle of death caused its own short-circuit. The marches “shrank back”, the public opinion polls rallied against the demonstrations and strikes that followed, the flowers of the Prime Minister were deposited live on TV, the cops invaded the “Zaimi” squat and the “Immigrants Center” in Exarchia, the front page stories in the newspaper about the ‘hooded murderers’ began, the fascists called a gathering outside the bank and the situation got to the point of public denunciation of “such gangs”, such “individualistic nihilistic chaotic”, “confusionist” thought and “stupid murderers” by certain graphic clownish anarchists.

But beyond propaganda and its techniques, the fact remains a fact. Three bank employees, without being targets, died during the burning of the bank where they were working. Here's our turn to not fall into the trap of statistics or emotional manipulation. Sure we will not speak the language of “the bad moment” and “collateral damage”. This is the language of the enemy and brings memories of the oratory of the American army and its generals in the war in Afghanistan. On the other hand we will not pretend to commemorate the death of three people who, as regrettable as it was for their families, would again be a sterile news information of the system were it not the result, in the specific place and time, of a revolutionary practice . In a few words we will not claim any sentimental space in the “sphere of the spectacle”, pretend to be shaken via a television-instigated humanitarian delirium inside which enough people from within the

radical movement were enslaved . No, we don't act as the "hardcore devoted exclusively to the cause", but we believe that if these three deaths had happened as an "accident" in a road incident, few would have been those who learned of it, even as news. So it is not the sad fact of death which acted as a catalyst in shaping a numb and awkward atmosphere, but the cause from whence it came. Thus, avoiding any emotional grave-robbing, we should stoop with meditation to work out the problem at its root.

It is true that if someone wants to look for brutal murderers, then he should look into the ranks of Vgenopoulos (bank owner) and his kind. His administration and his order in conjunction with the acceptance of the staff were what led them to work in a seemingly closed bank without fire protection behind locked doors. Such bastards as Vgenopoulos are instigators of dozens of physically and mentally dead workers, either in the killings by accidents at work, or the daily humiliation and conditions of employment contracts that impose discipline. Keeping this as fact, we can now face up to our own shortcomings, errors and carelessness, in order to break the emergency exit from a one-sided way of thinking that wants to blame the bosses for everything and, although it might relieve us, does not make us evolve.

What's to blame then, for the deaths of the three bank employees?

### **"The revolutionary practice of 'hit and run'"**

Now let's talk about options, strategies and habits. First of all, for decades now in Greece the "hit and run" is a known practice during major demonstrations. We are talking about composing small fighting groups of militant anti-authoritarians that cut off from the main body of demonstrators and attack in raids on preselected targets (banks, media vehicles, riot police), returning to the volume of the people in order to hit again or disappear. Regarding the political dimension of the practice it should be emphasized that the hit

and run procedure does not belong exclusively to any particular tendency of anarchists. The "social" anarchists (mainly in the past when they constituted a more powerful component) apply the hit and run with the logic of deviating the demonstration and spreading the conflict. In this way, as they consider, they act as the detonator of social explosion and contribute to the exacerbation of the social struggle.

The intermediate insurrectionalist trend has inherited the practice of "hit and run", has made some ongoing organizational evolution and mainly refers to the experiential moment of conflict and relations (solidarity, self-organizing, overcoming roles) that are developed outside the dominant predefined stereotypes. The common component of both trends is to identify corporate demonstrations as moments of social struggle, and both "social anarchists" and insurrectionalists promote their presence and action inside them.

The new anarchistic-individualistic-nihilistic trend, the third pole as we've described, shapes a new perception in relation to social struggle and demonstrations. In the mass of tens of thousands that flock to workers' demonstrations we do not necessarily recognize people who share the same code of values that we do or speak the language of liberation. Social mobilization is a mishmash of inconsistencies and behaviour that covers all the territories of human thought, from peasant conservatism, to left-wing patriotism, alternatives, reformism, up to the anarchist viewpoint. The demonstrations function as the sum of thousands of separate persons with different roads, sometimes even hostile to one another, joined either by reason or on the occasion of a legal reform (like insurance laws). The vast majority of the composition of such demonstrations asks for a return to the old everyday life (before the legislation that offends their previous rights was voted in) or, in the more left version, the pursuit of more

progressive and humanitarian solutions within the limits of capitalism, or communistic statism. It is no coincidence that the main slogans of the demonstrations demand the application of fair laws against the unconstitutional measures of the government. Even the violent diversion of an entire demonstration is often a compilation of contradictions. In the aggressive siege of Parliament during the course of 5 May, some protesters sang the national anthem, some were throwing stones, others called the riot police to join them, the Communist party identified troublemakers, others cried against those who were breaking banks and others applauded them as the anarchists were setting up barricades. A pantheon of all the behaviour with thousands of repetitions of the last 30 years.

### **"Revolutionary Vanguard and Revolutionary Militarism"**

We, with our perspective, don't constitute an enlightened revolutionary vanguard nor an elitist clique. Each one of us has tasted the contradictions, has rolled in them, has participated in them to the point where the need for personal and spiritual development, some different experiences, some collective discussions and observations, some interesting pages in books and manuals, individual thought and the desire for exacerbation of revolutionary action, demanded a re-think of our participation in demonstrations. For the space of thought and action that we express, we are not satisfied when conflicts just happen to break out anymore. We believe in organized structures of impact and in clearly revolutionary viewpoints with memory, in the present and future perspective. There is no relation between the masked anarchist who "breaks and burns" because he denies the leftovers that are offered to him as life, the culture of spectacle, the value of money and a submissive consciousness, with the "angry" employee who, only when he feels a numbness in his pocket, will he raise his head just for a while. The

employee is the same person that previously, when he considered himself “comfortable”, was annoyed by the “troublemakers.”

There is a huge value gap that no violence and no moment of conflict will bridge, if there is not essential awareness and self-knowledge. In this direction of revolutionary awareness we consider as contributions proclamations, texts, books, pamphlets, slogans on walls, posters. This is our own theoretical propaganda attack against a system that needs to die. And the demonstrations? Demonstrations contribute as well, but we have to see them in a new perspective. Nobody is born a guerrilla or a revolutionary, it’s a progressive process of evolution to define your life without compromise.

Demonstrations such as the one of May 5 are the necessary preliminary, the suitable lobby for those who want to come into initial contact with revolutionary violence. Through them the growth of the “hit and run”, in unfavourable conditions with hundreds of cops in the city, is a defining experience for those who want to sharpen their theoretical and practical tools in conditions of metropolitan battle. These are the suitable requirements for the practical development of other forms of action of the new guerrilla. Our goal is to organize “REVOLUTIONARY MILITARISM”. An anti-hierarchical perspective without leaders, ranks or followers that will promote the creation of small flexible battle groups of anti-authoritarians that will map the city, the targets, the getaways, will be equipped properly, will develop relationships with their respective affinity groups, will be open (with the necessary attention) to new comrades, will devise plans of attack and will use (but will not turn hostile) the “workers’-rights demonstrations” as a Trojan horse of revolutionary campaigns. So there it is not a question concerning participation in demonstrations or not, but of evolution.

We believe that only through the organised dimension of revolutionary violence the consistency, continuity,

and severity that would “prohibit” the future of “failures” with such tragic results as Marfin, will be promoted. This is the only way that the new guerrilla movement will spread as a perception and practice, causing chaos in the sterile routine of organized boredom.

### “The snitches and the consequences”

All this is written as a contribution to a dialectical field of thought and action between different political currents, and not in order to justify or cover something up. It is known that the specific attack on Marfin did not bear any ideological stamp of political thought and content revealing the persons that acted there. Based on the target (bank branch), anyone of any political tendency of anarchist and not only, could have set it on fire. But of course it is quite convenient for the “sharks of the auditoriums” to allocate what happened as a result of our political current.

The statements of loyalty and humanitarian missionary texts that were circulated by some anarchist collectives alongside the condemnatory certainty about the origin of the “perpetrators”, have revealed the ultimate emptiness of political arguments about the “nihilistic trend” that “parasite on the anarchist movement”. Their picturesqueness doesn’t bother us,

but when certain people reach the dangerous point of “indicating” persons in auditoriums and cafeterias just to satisfy the eager ears of the police, then these individuals will be treated as they deserve, as snitches with the equivalent consequences.

### “Goal-oriented action and Autistic Failures”

Coming back to the how and why in the case of Marfin, no matter what anarchist tendency each one feels that they express as an individual or as a collectivity, we must recognize that the three political movements (“social anarchists”, “insurrectionalists”, “individualists - nihilists”) have a common characteristic: the clear delimitation of goal-oriented action (government buildings, law enforcement forces, symbols of wealth). The three employees that were working during the day of the strike, cannot be considered allies, but not enemies either. In no case can they be considered as the objective of the attack.

In what we are writing our objective is not to beautify the situation nor to observe the logic of equal distances. For this, on the fringe of unlimited targeting, we do not forget the attacks on meaningless targets (bus stops, pay phones, kiosks, any car





whatever) but we are in a position to know that this constitutes an invalid example of irresponsibility that never substantially influenced anything. On the contrary the building of Marfin (in Korai square) as a banking palace constituted a beautiful target. We are not able to know exactly what happened there and what was said, but we know the chronic weaknesses that we believe contributed to the result. We refer to the fetishism of disorganized violence and loss of importance in the means of attack.

**“The Empty Guns Kill...”**

To tell the cold truth, it is a matter of luck that the incident that happened at Marfin had not happened for so many years. Each rebel should shape a particular relation of comprehension and

perception of the means of action he uses. All the means of action, from a stone up to a submachine gun, could just as easily turn boomerang against ourselves. This is why they say that “empty” guns kill more easily than “loaded” ones.

“Empty” weapons also means that their holder does not have awareness of their use or their effectiveness.

So with the events at Marfin, some “discovered America”. However for so many years the setting was similar. How many times in the past, in marches or in “night” attacks, have comrades burned and wounded themselves with molotov cocktails, because the bottles were poorly constructed, or because some people rushed to “hit” first? How many times were there broken heads of comrades from stones that some other “impatient” one threw from behind without even seeing the target? Also, for those who don’t have a short memory, how many times have anarchists argued with each other in demonstrations because of different attitudes and perspectives.

The examples are countless. And all imply the same weakness. The schism between theory and practice, between consciousness and action. Revolutionary violence appears as fetishism, often reproducing patterns of macho dominatory behaviour, arrogance, roles and “specialities”. This contradiction of behaviour within the radical movement works as a rank of power in the classification of informal leaderships. At the same



time, next to this behaviour exist new comrades who inherit these relations in their turn, but also with their individual responsibility, reproduce them like a misprint. The violence, the means, their use, their manufacture, the precautions, the experimentation, the techniques, so far were never put on the table for collective procedures to withdraw fetishism, so that knowledge and effective ownership can enter. It was the privilege of the more “initiated” who were thus “protecting” their “ranks”. Violence becomes perceptible as a game of adrenaline, an informal competition to see who “smashed” more.

On the contrary, we support that consciousness that motivates us to develop our fighting skills and knowledge so we can attack the opponent.

*“During training, all the military preparations were subservient to politics:” When handling sensitive chemicals, they proposed to us to always think about ideology, and we will be able to do everything and get things right “*  
**(Ampimael Guzman - Shining Path)**

Alongside the fetishism of violence flowers imperfect knowledge. Some comrades ignore the effectiveness of the means of violence and their dangers, and make excessive use of them, such as scenic hours of fighting from inside the university shelters, but also in disorganized attacks against riot police in Exarchia with dozens of molotov cocktails. What usually is accomplished is to “blacken” the asphalt, while the same people, if they had discussed and were organized, could have smashed the cops and burnt the riot cop van.

A piece of this tradition of adoration, and simultaneously ignorance in exploiting the means is also the criticism of the static “experts” of violence. A web of dismissively critical behaviour from the safe position of not participating

in revolutionary practice, but covered with the excuse of knowledge of “older” experience “when things were not like now but it was better”. Suspended logics which flaunt old armed and violent experiences, each time setting the proper use of violence and the content of the guerrilla movement, are gasping to devalue any innovative thought and practice. Syndromes of a cowardly and timid way of thinking, admiring and liking what is distant inside the safe sphere of historicism and demonstrating a paper arrogance towards what tries to happen here and now.

In all this confusion of consciousness, the people who burned Marfin either didn’t see the people who were inside [carelessness, that is not the first time, such as for example in the organised night attack on the national bank in the Panepistimiou road alleyway four years ago when 2-3 people were trapped on the roof] or, worse, did see them but did not believe that they could die from a few Molotov cocktails. We are convinced, without knowing them, that if someone had given them a gun, they would not have shot against the employees. So they did not want to



Because the wager of revolution is not being played either with terms of military superiority or with religionistic aphorisms of empty political content, the new urban guerrilla movement is a process that “strikes” first of all at the centre of human relationships. From there everything begins.

**CONSPIRACY OF CELLS OF FIRE**

**GUERRILLA GROUP OF TERRORISTS**

**NIHILIST FRACTION**

kill them, even if there were probably some stupid cynical voices saying “let them die, they are bank officials”.

If anything led to the events of May 5 it is the abscess of a dominant tradition that has been festering for decades within the radical movement and now first of all, everyone must answer to themselves by making some self-criticism. Most of what is written here meets our own experiential understanding and our own shortcomings without being sophistries from some “outsiders”.

So with this reason comes the suitable spark to stimulate our thoughts and actions more, moving towards the future publication of a manifesto on the positions and values of the trend of nihilism, the anarchist - individualism and the revolutionary terrorism that we express.

At the same time, the recent communique of a “group of comrades who contributed to the catastrophic activity in the city center during the course of May 5” demonstrates that every experience that wants to be a revolutionary one, should make it a priority to create moments and places for discussion and review. The comrades through their text, regardless of disagreements and agreements, worked directly on the process of restarting essential revolutionary dialectic.

## Note from a worker at Marfin Bank

*The tragic deaths in Athens leave little space for comments – we are all very shocked and deeply saddened by the events. To those (even published on the “Occupied London” blog) who speculate that the deaths might have been caused purposefully by anarchists, we can only reply the following: we do not take to the streets, we do not risk our freedom and our lives confronting the greek police in order to kill other people. Anarchists are not murderers, and no brainwashing attempted by Greek PM Papandreu, the national or the international media should convince anyone otherwise.*

“... At last, gentlemen, make your self-criticism and stop wandering around pretending to be shocked. You are responsible for what happened today and in any rightful state (like the ones you like to use from time to time as leading examples on your TV shows) you would have already been arrested for the above actions. My co-workers lost their lives today by malice: the malice of Marfin Bank and Mr. Vgenopoulos personally who explicitly stated that whoever did not go to work today [May 5th, a day of a general strike!] should not bother showing up for work tomorrow [as they would get fired].”

- An employee of Marfin Bank

## Response by Polykarpos Georgiadis

*Polykarpos Georgiadis is an anarchist prisoner doing 22 years for the kidnap of Georgios Mylonas, boss of the industrialists union, one of the richest men in Greece. You can find previous letters from Polys in recent copies of 325 and on our website.*

O most Serene Conspiracy of the Cells of Fire,

Navel of the earth and centre of the universe, I kneel before thee and I ask from you to bow from the throne of your Sacred, Immaculate and Overgrown Ego to hearken your humble servant.

O guardian and unique initiate of the revolution, restless enemy of the ox-eyed petit-bourgeois plebeians (since we, the ultra-revolutionaries, have the eye of the lynx, full of grace, scherzo and nechayevian sauciness).

O indefatigable dark knight of the court of the negative, listen to your humble servant.

I request that you will not mention again my name in the delirious texts that you call political proclamations.

I wish you a long-life of revolutionary militarist illegalist amoralist anarcho-individualist nihilist terrorism and of other sonorous -isms (and cerebral seisms).

Your humble servant for now and forever and ever and ever,

*Polykarpos Georgiadis*

Corfu (Kerkyra) Prison

15-06-2010

# NO EMERGENCY EXIT



*From Athens, from 2 of the 200.000 provocateurs:*

*A note about the May 5th demonstration and the three dead Marfin bank employees. To the strikers that are still smashing shit up.*

It is indeed inappropriate to "put the entire responsibility" and blame on Mr. Vgenopoulos for the depressing deaths of the three employees of the burnt Marfin bank. The fact that he forced his employees under threat of dismissal to remain locked in the upper floor offices of a seemingly empty and unprotected bank, without any fire protection or emergency exits, in the epicentre of the greatest strike demonstration of the last thirty years, was yet another criminal negligence on the altar of profit [1], that his class has got us used to. This conscious use of workers as a human shield for banks and businesses [2] is one of the boss class's responses to December and the common violence of insurrection that spreads, de-legalising and destroying the circulation of commodities, breaking and torching vehicles, shops, its police guards and most of all its headquarters: the banks.

To be clear, the intention of Vgenopoulos and his class to sacrifice a few workers in order to block the process followed by insurrections up until now, must be answered as such. Legal points or leftist evasions such as: insurrection means storming the parliament and not the banks/shops, having no idea what they'd do there of course, do nothing more than refuse to address the issue.

You see, it is common for a boss to know better what his interests are and how to pursue them, than the workers do. And any boss always knows that "we're at war", even if they'll never cry it out openly, as these naive people that think that in a war it is ok to hit, but once challenged one should rely on the intervention of an allegedly neutral justice. By setting ourselves under the tutelage of the state, we recuperate even the most extreme act into nothing more than violent reformism.

The only justice in the streets, to the degree they are under our power, is us. The responsibility for whatever happens there, who lives and who dies, is ours:

PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP.

Other than an effective guard of strikes that wouldn't leave any colleague in the hands of the bosses - If we lack an essential trust among us, a trust manufactured through our common experiences in struggles and meeting in the streets, then the next step will be to call ourselves police in our demonstrations, to be in charge and bear responsibility for whatever happens.

**WHOEVER BEARS VIOLENCE,  
FORCES JUSTICE.**

To perform violence, ignoring the "sense of right" it comes with, to bring abstract chaos, doesn't promote anything other than the highest organized structures, that come with their formed armed "justice" (the Stalinists, the police, the mafia, the parastate groups...). Victory belongs to those who bring chaos **WITHOUT CARRYING IT INSIDE THEM.**

Fetishising insurrection as the destructive act, this represented a past phase of our movement, weak and marginal at the time, but now after December, and the stripping of every fetish from violence with its simultaneous open communisation, this will now be overcome.

A second December would no longer be a victory but a defeat. Any related invocation shows nothing more than a complete lack of any plan for afterwards. Our enemy has advanced, we are forced to do the same if we are not to disappear from the historical scene.

We must not sit at home to be disciplined by their TV programs as if we were naughty children given too much leash. We must take Logos (speech) back to the street. Spit on the bourgeois and TV justice that "vindicates" the pain of one with the suffering of another, accumulating misery for all and socializing their cannibalism. The most retarded of these vultures, before they ascertained how the three employees' deaths would paralyze us, were trying to make us feel guilty for a bunch of ridiculous things, from the expected fall in the tourist trade to the country's image abroad. To make us feel guilty for fighting. To divide us into "peaceful workers" and "hooded criminals with Molotovs".

Now that everyone knows (except of course the Communist Party that only saw provocateurs) that on 5/5 there were no peaceful workers that didn't stand up - with or without hoods and

Molotovs, is of no importance - to the State's last playing card: its police terror.

Their justice devours blood, the blood of the offenders, of anyone that resembles them, or most of all the anarchists, since it is they that generously have given their flag to any insurrectionary violence of even the most isolated elements of our class, globally [3]. But, it wants something more than that. It wants to open as a larger trauma to the social memory, to break our familiarization with our own violence, with the violence of our struggle, with its subjects and the communication among them.

Our justice will deal with nothing other than the healing. We don't know what kind of persons the dead were, if their sense of dignity would cope with the fascist scum and the TV vultures mongering their deaths or not, but we are sure that as workers their interests were with the victory of our struggle, with all the workers of Europe and the World. We won't drag one another down - we will rise together:

**GENERAL WILDCAT STRIKE!**

Let's embrace the occupations! Let's stay in the streets! Let's talk!

2 of the 200,000 provocateurs

-

[1] *For the time, let's bear this in mind : 36,1% pure rise in profits for Marfin bank this year, in the middle of the "most harsh crisis" to which every worker must reconcile working and obeying in the name of the nation.*

[2] *Similar incidents to that of Marfin bank on 23, Stadiou street, occurred with Bazaar supermarket behind Omonoia square, where a worker from inside put out the fire with an extinguisher, and Lanos bookstore that was open (as it is known, culture merchandising doesn't give a fuck about strikes).*

[3] *The night of 5/5, armed gangs of Delta, Zeta, plainclothes cops and riot police stormed the squat of "anarchists for a polymorphic movement" on Zaimi street, the Immigrants Haunt on Tsamadou street, and many houses and cafes at Exarchia, beating and intimidating people. At the same time on the TV, everyone was more or less asking for the anarchists' heads.*

# Letter from Vassilis Palaekostas

**On Sunday 31/1/10, This letter was released shortly before the trial of the George Mylonas case (see 325 #6), relating to the 10 Million Euro kidnapping of Greece's richest industrialist and head of the industrial bosses union. Mylonas had been known for declaring "workers need to fasten their belts tighter". Two anarchists, Polikarpos Georgiadis, and Vaggelis Chrisochoidis are sitting in prison for 22 years accused the conspirators together with Palaekostas, whose double helicopter jail-break from prison has made him a symbol of freedom. It must be noted that V. Palaekostas is accused of bank robberies during which no one has ever been harmed, including cops. He and his brother Nikos (also a legendary social bandit) are reputed for helping the poor in the destitute rural areas of mountainous Greece.**

On the occasion of the upcoming trial on the kidnapping of the industrialist G. Mylonas, that begins on Tuesday February 2, I would like to clarify certain issues. Through different periods of my life I have been a front-line fugitive, nearly 12 years in total an escapee (I hope there's more of that coming) and 8 years a prisoner. During all those years that I have lived hunted by the official state, there has not been even one snitch to deliver me to the hands of my prosecutors. Even though, during my first escape in August 1991, there was a large reward for that, from the generous - to snitches - Greek state. On the contrary, I met people with truth, honor in their words, and dignity. People that opened their door for me, provided cover and help, often without even minding the risk they took for themselves. People that helped me in hard times (as in a prison escape) endangering their own lives, people that prove that in this country there aren't only resigned, submissive fellows, but also many (so many I am surprised) people that honor the traditions of honor and solidarity to the hunted. Proud people that despise snitching, servitude and the constable [*transl. the word used for the police under the junta.*]. I publicly express my gratitude to all those remarkable persons for their valuable help and for giving me the joy of having met them. Two of them are Vaggelis Chrisochoides and Polys

Georgiades. Each one of them stood by me in his own way, at the time I needed them, without expecting personal gains, but only acted upon their conscience. Declaring my solidarity with these two young men, who the state strangles everyday knowing their only "crime" was their solidarity with the hunted, I would expect to see for once the magnanimity the Republic of Greece take prides in. Because its pettiness is something I consider myself more than competent to describe: it's an Abyss. I will say nothing more. I only address those that care to retain some remnant of justice and dignity. And everyone should do what his sense of honor and his conscience tells him to do.

On 4/14/09, around 20:00, while driving on the central coastal road of Alepohori, suddenly three cars blocked my way and another two stuck on the back of my own car. Among them was a black Audi A4, a Peugeot Rally and an Opel Athens Taxi. Each one of them with three persons (15 in total), all in plain clothes. All of them got out instantaneously, pointing at me, the drivers with H&K MP5 sub-machine guns with double cartridges, and the others with Glock and H&K U.S.P semi-automatic handguns. I instantly understood these were armed mercenaries of the Greek state on the prowl for blood. This same moment, on my right, through an alley invisible from the main road, comes another car with the driver standing aghast and stopping on the crossroad of the main road. Without a second thought I turned the wheels right and let it rip. Slightly hitting the other car (given the alley could barely take my jeep), I got right in the alley without knowing where it goes. From my initial speeding to getting 20-30 meters in the alley, bullets were dancing on my car's cabin. Those guys opened fire with their machine guns and handguns aiming right at me (the only thing undamaged was my car's tires). From my considerable experience in intense conditions, I am more than certain that they shot more than 150 bullets in 15 seconds (the whole scene didn't last any longer). Most probably, some of them also found the unwary civilian's car, while he was inside it.



These unscrupulous, blind shooters of the Greek Police were determined to carry out fully the order they had take from their political leaders. Trace and kill. In this case, they can blame their bad luck, since luck is female and cares for the daring. [*transl. see latin: "Fortuna Favet Fortibus"*]. The reason I refer to this incident is to show the contemptible way the Mass Media report such cases. The car I was driving I left 100 meters from the scene, because the alley was a dead-end, and was full of bullets. This fact was not reported and the car never appeared anywhere, it magically disappeared. Just like the other car (hit and possibly riddled with bullet holes), together with its misfortunate owner, the only witness that actually took part in the scene, without his will of course, watching the whole thing from start to end. So, instead of inquiring into all these important facts to show what exactly happened in that scene, the daring and ingenious reporters of the Greek Mass Media gathered inside the room I was previously living in, and in exclusive reporting were waving around my unwashed underpants, informing by means of flaming howls the uncomfortable, ignorant, petrified tv-viewer. This fact clearly reveals the "journalist community's" will to silence and cover-up, which essentially consents to the criminal activity of police desperados and those who give them orders, in full cooperation with them. "We will allow you to enter the house for an exclusive report, but you'll keep your mouth shut about everything else". Such was the filthy deal between the two sides. The media would get their money, since underpants are worth more in their stockmarket of values than the life of

their owner. As long as he is “notorious”. And finally, who cares about how the police acts? If the police and its leadership holds that a man must be killed just because he is wanted, why should we disagree? They brag: whenever we need information, the police’s head officer obliges. While the hunted man has no phone. And even if he has one, it will be turned off or without a signal. This is the way our daring and independent journalists think. My congratulations, the future belongs to you. May I suggest the two organizations, police and media, could even integrate in one, for functional reasons. It’s both innovative and carries many advantages. Then, it won’t be for nothing that you elected a police correspondent as president of ESIEA (journalists-editors union). If only these ingenious reporters showed the same eagerness they manifested towards my underpants in performing a diligent control on the state (i.e. the supposed role of the media according to the constitution), denouncing to the Greek citizens that:

\* 13,000 humans are in a state of captivity (under the pretext of illegality), subjected along with their families to total exploitation by the official state. Who after passing the symplegades [*transl. deadly clashing rocks in the Argonauts myth*] of a corrupt police and an even worse justice system, end up with heavy penalties in medieval conditions, by which this rotten system strives to control and then annihilate whoever dares to make a mockery of it.

\* The armed guardians of the Greek state kill, in cold-blood, citizens (preferably the young) in the middle of the street, in front of the citizen’s own eyes. Humiliating, and torturing to death, people in the police stations. Wilfully setting up indictments sending “guilty” humans in jail for years. Setting up a whole network of criminal activities not controlled by anyone.

\* If they really cared to exercise some control over the modern Pirates of the political system that, helped by the gimmickery of the election system and the blessings of the Mass Media, have taken over the Parliament, turning it into the headquarters of full domination over their voter-citizens. Into a nest of intertwining interests, dealing transactions, bribes. Into a “terrorist hideout” where the loots from pillaging are divided around. And any citizen who dares to question, becoming an obstacle in their plans, will feel upon him the brutal democratic violence of a blood-thirsty repressive organization. He will feel the revengefulness, the

political retaliation, and the deep hatred the Greek state has for all those that reject the status of an obidient citizen, that understands their personal liberty as a necessity to not do what they’re told to, but remain human, with free will and claim an opinion on what’s going on around them with their own actions.

\* If they revealed the great responsibility of this criminal organization for the establishment of a police state in Greece, through which they exercise an unbearable psychological violence to the citizen with hundreds of road blocks with cops armed-to-the-teeth with “survivor”-style weaponry, and the same menacing, numb look they had back in the junta days. The thousands of policemen one faces wherever he turns the eye (not to count the undercover ones). The dozens of head-hunters that prowl the mountains acting on their own, reminiscent of the begining of the 20th century, though with a modern name.

\* If they denounce these and innumerable other things that de facto cancel the “social state” and “justice state” notions, as their role supposes, then today’s regime, which they eagerly guard and name democracy, would be incomparably more human, qualitative, and certainly more just.

You might say I am not the most adequate person to give recommendations, even less for matters of the regime. That’s correct. In the place democracy was born, they can do whatever they want with her [i.e. democracy], even bury her if they so wish. It’s a good thing to die in the place you were born. But, they shouldn’t feel angry when the kids throw stones at her. They see her old and rotten, it’s stones she’s gonna get. Primitive as they might be, these instincts are unmistakable. Because the kids are more honest and upstanding than the grown-ups. Nobody would want to grow up just to find a dead body in the closet that his parents have been hiding so as to exploit her pension. They desire something more than this, and be sure they ‘re gonna get it, no matter how much fear is put in the streets. About what concerns me, it is my absolute belief, and surely of thousands of other conscious people, that the damage caused to the social body by one shiny TV-presenter in a single news bulletin (preferably the 8 o’clock one), cannot be equalled by me even if they give me 10 lives to spare. What’s the damage from my old shot-gun [*transl. use of term for 18th to early 19th century guns of the mountain bandits and guerrillas*].

I have never turned it against another human, much less against another human’s mind. Now my question, is why is it I, with my old shot-gun, the prosecuted one, who risks his life at the hands of an enraged death-squad, while my judges and my hunters are those who with their lucrative superweapons degenerate and sterilize the spirit of a whole people, leading them to mental necrosis. On second thoughts, maybe the law on weapons should change. Whoever holds an old shot-gun should be prosecuted for a capital offence!!!

Now, since it’s the first time I intervene with a public statement, I wouldn’t want it to end in a dispiriting way. So, let me add an allegoric enigma-quiz, I find it won’t trouble you much to solve. What is the name of a deputy sheriff of some mountainous and remote village of Utah, USA, overjoyed with his award from the FBI, for heroically always risking his life arresting and giving to justice some dangerous elements in his village? Who, apart from that precious award, also fed the ambition to have his triumphant achievement turned into a big Hollywood movie, with George Clooney acting as him, something that pissed off his American patrons so much that they exiled him, reducing him to the ranks of diplomat of “Citizens Protection” in some independent Balkan state. Who, to my exclusive information, keeps fantasising about and anxiously sweeping for new “troublemakers”!

To make it even easier for you, I can also add some of his favorite words: Democracy, Revolutionary Fund, Ghetto, Communicating Vessels, Destabilization, Zero Tolerance, Organized Crime, They will be arrested and prosecuted. He is also a devoted fan of snitching and loves “rats” and his hobbies include setting prices for the heads of wanted. Keeping in mind though, that one of his many qualities is make-believe, I come to clarify that any similarity to real person or events is totally unintended. Every police reporter that solves the quiz, enters a lottery for an exclusive interview.

My militant regards to all those that don’t surrender the weapons they chose to fight with, for the life they dream of.

*Vassilis Palaeckostas*

*PS. Put some oil on the guns, they do rust!*

# Letter from *Giannis Dimitrakis*

**Giannis is an anarchist who was shot and imprisoned in Athens for expropriation in 2006.**

In a society of deceit and hypocrisy, of backstabbing and betrayal, where human relationships are moulded on personal profit and exploitation, within the narrow limits of involuntary/obligatory choices, the scope of creating honest and sincere ties of social or political solidarity becomes constricted, suffocated. And if in many cases personal interest and vanity create a concrete mass in a common course between those in power, economic elites, political groups and other subgroups thus creating the illusion of a solid front, then in as many other cases it has been proven that when these same are confronted with pressuring and extremely negative conditions, with the possibility of a total collapse approaching, the seeming powerful gluing element which created these cohesive bonds retreats in an instant, leaving behind a crowd of subhumans, each one looking to save themselves and not hesitating to hand over into the hands of the until lately common enemy their until recently political-social-economic partner.

For me now, at my 32 years of age, with whatever experiences I have and whatever political consciousness and understanding I have developed, it is indisputable that, since always, one of the most precious and powerful weapons in the hands of people fighting against the world of the overlords, in expectance of a fair and free near future, was and will be solidarity. A solidarity which does not shrink in the face of repression but on the contrary unfolds decisively; which does not weep but attacks; which does not forget but honors with its memory.

And it is this solidarity I have tasted in the nearly 5 years I have remained a captive of the state and that has to a great degree steeled me in all the difficult situations I have had to face as an anarchist and as a prisoner. From the different events and demonstrations, the occupations of radio stations and the multitude of printed propaganda material, to the arson and bombing actions against state and economic targets.

From Greece to Spain, Germany, the UK to Argentina and Mexico, the common ideas, values and visions have erected a web of solidarity under which I also have the joy of being.

To all those who have stood by me through all my years of imprisonment and who continue in whatever way they can to give me the strength and courage to stand proud against all kinds of state mechanisms, I feel that I owe a part of myself.

So I salute and would like to thank all those comrades who within the context of the local and international web of solidarity that is developing and strengthening continuously in the last years, and that breaks through borders and boundaries, have considered and deemed it is worthwhile for them to risk even their own freedom in order to build an effective force and a counterweight to the attacks and decisions taken against me by those in power.

Before the final rise of the sun that melts the darkness that embraces us all, the scattered fires emerging and shining more and more frequently from the most distant and unlikely places, illuminate the points and imperceptible routes drawn out by the universal rebellious conscience. My heart and soul cannot but be with it in full.

**NO FIGHTER A HOSTAGE IN THE HANDS OF THE POWER AND ECONOMIC ELITES**

**FREEDOM TO ALL IN PRISON**

With comradely greetings,

*Giannis Dimitrakis*

Domokos Prison

3/5/10



# SOCIAL WAR PRISONERS OF GREECE

**Alfredo Bonanno**

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T.K. 18110  
Athens, Greece

*At 73 years of age, Alfredo is one of the oldest prisoners in the country. He was arrested with Christos Stratigopoulos in Trikala on October 1, 2009 and charged with being an "accessory to a felony" for his alleged role in a bank robbery. Lawyers have made repeated requests for Alfredo to be released on bail for health reasons. More information at: [aftertrikala.blogspot.com](http://aftertrikala.blogspot.com)*

**Christos Stratigopoulos**

Dikastikes Filakes Koridallos  
T.K. 18110  
Athens, Greece

*Arrested together with Alfredo Bonanno, Stratigopoulos has taken full responsibility for the October 1, 2009 robbery in Trikala*

**Giannis Dimitrakis**

Filakes Domokou  
T.K. 35010  
Domokos Phthiotis,  
Greece

**Simos Seisidis**

Dikastikes Filakes Koridallos  
T.K. 18110  
Athens, Greece

*Giannis was arrested on January 16, 2006 after being seriously wounded by police bullets during a bank robbery in downtown Athens. Meanwhile, an arrest warrant was issued for three comrades alleged to be his accomplices. Two of them, Marios Seisidis and Grigoris Tsironis, are in hiding. The third, Simos Seisidis, was shot by police and arrested on May 3, 2010. Due to the injury he suffered, Simos had to have his leg amputated and after about one and a half months in hospital was placed in prison where he will remain until his trial.*

**Polykarpos Georgiadis**

Klisti Filaki Keriras  
T.K. 49100  
Kerkyra [Corfu], Greece

*Polykarpos was arrested in Thessaloniki at the end of August 2008 and charged*



with the kidnapping of industrialist Giorgos Mylonas, which took place earlier that summer. In February 2010, he and comrade Vangelis Chrysochoidis were each sentenced to 22 years and three months in prison. Two weeks later, Polykarpos was transferred from Korydallos in Athens to Kerkyra Prison on the island of Corfu—a 19th-century structure built in the form of a panopticon. It is considered the worst “penitentiary facility” in Greece.

#### **Vangelis Chrysochoidis**

Filakes Domokou  
T.K. 35010  
Domokos Phthiotis,  
Greece

Vangelis was arrested on the same day as Georgiadis, and received an identical sentence.

#### **Panayiotis Masouras**

Eidiko Katastima Kratisis Neon Avlona  
T.K. 19011  
Avlona, Attica, Greece

Panayiotis was arrested on September 23, 2009 and charged with participating in the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire. He has been in a juvenile facility since the beginning of his imprisonment.

#### **Harilaos “Haris” Hatzimichelakis**

Dikastikes Filakes Korydallos  
T.K. 18110  
Athens, Greece

Haris was arrested on September 23, 2009 and charged with participating in the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire. At this time he is in prison awaiting trial at Koridallios prison.

#### **Konstantina Karakatsani**

Filakes Elaionas  
T.K. 32200  
Elaionas, Greece

...charged with participating in the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire. A warrant was issued for her arrest on September 25, 2009, and she was finally caught on April 22, 2010. She remains in prison awaiting trial at Elaionas female prison.

#### **Konstantinos “Kostas” Gournas**

Klisti Filaki Trikalon  
T.K. 42100  
Trikala, Greece

Kostas was arrested on April 10, 2010 and charged with participating in Revolutionary Struggle. On April 29, together with Nikos Maziotis and Pola Roupa, he claimed responsibility for said group.

#### **Panayiota “Pola” Roupa**

Klistes Filakes Gynaikon Korydallos  
T.K. 18110  
Athens, Greece

Pola was arrested with five other comrades on April 10, 2010 and charged with participating in Revolutionary Struggle. On April 29, she claimed her belonging to said group in an open letter co-written with Nikolaos “Nikos” Maziotis and Konstantinos “Kostas” Gournas. Due to her advanced stage of pregnancy, she was transferred from Elaionas to Athens and on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of July gave birth to her and her partner’s Maziotis baby boy.

#### **Evangelos “Vangelis” Stathopoulos**

Klisti Filaki Trikalon  
T.K. 42100  
Trikala, Greece

Vangelis was arrested on April 10, 2010 and charged with participating in Revolutionary Struggle. He denies all the charges.

#### **Christoforos Kortesis**

Dikastiki Filaki Korinthou  
T.K. 20100  
Corinth, Greece

Christoforos was arrested on April 10, 2010 and charged with participating in Revolutionary Struggle. He denies all the charges.

#### **Sarantos Nikitopoulos**

Dikastikes Filakes Koridallios  
T.K. 18110  
Athens, Greece

Sarantos was arrested on April 10, 2010 and charged with participating in Revolutionary Struggle. He denies all the charges. He and Nikos Maziotis are being held in a special wing of Korydallos Prison along with prisoners from the 17 November urban guerrilla group.

#### **Nikolaos “Nikos” Maziotis**

Dikastikes Filakes Koridallios  
T.K. 18110  
Athens, Greece

Nikos was arrested on April 10, 2010 and charged with participating in Revolutionary Struggle. On April 29, together with Kostas Gournas and Pola Roupa, he claimed responsibility for the group.

#### **Ilias Nikolau**

Dikastiki Filaki Thessalonikis  
T.K. 54012  
Thessaloniki, Greece

Nikolau was arrested on January 13, 2009 and charged with planting an incendiary device at the Evosmos police station in Thessaloniki. On December 4, 2009, he was sentenced to seven-and-a-half years in prison.

#### **Aris Seirinidis**

Dikastikes Filakes Koridallios  
T.K. 18110  
Athens, Greece

Aris was arrested in Athens on May 3, 2010 (the same day as Simos Seisidis) during a random police identity check and initially charged with “weapons possession” (he was carrying a handgun) and “resisting arrest.” The mass media and police immediately began a disinformation campaign, suggesting that Aris and Simos Seisidis had perpetrated a “bloody robbery” at a Praktiker hardware store. A day later, the authorities rejected that version of events, and on May 7 they decided to grant Aris a provisional release. However, the pigs weren’t satisfied with that decision, and a new arrest warrant was issued for him just before his release. This time, Aris was charged with a police shooting that happened last year. One afternoon at the beginning of July 2009, someone wearing shorts, sandals, a Mexican sombrero, and a surgical mask walked out on to Harilaou Trikoupi Street in Exarchia and opened fire on a riot police unit guarding the headquarters of the socialist PASOK party.

#### **Evangelos “Vangelis” Pallis**

Klisti Filaki Trikalon  
T.K. 42100  
Trikala, Greece

Vangelis is an “ordinary” prisoner who was “politicized” in prison. He has been part of the struggle inside prisons for many years. His letters and other writings often appear in anarchist publications.

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The comrades welcome cards and letters of solidarity. You can find a guide to prisoners on [325.nostate.net](http://325.nostate.net), written by ABC Leeds. Send money via PAYPAL: [angry\\_sisyphus@yahoo.com](mailto:angry_sisyphus@yahoo.com) (Include text saying it is for the Greek prisoners)

# CLAIM OF RESPONSIBILITY FROM 'SECT OF REVOLUTIONARIES'

The 'Sect of Revolutionaries' claims responsibility for the execution of the new-media fascist propagandist Socrates Giolias, of "troktiko" (rodent). On July 28, 2010 a man called the Greek newspaper 'Ta Nea' and told the journalist where the communique had been left. The full text is published in that newspaper. Here is our translation:

## Announcement no 4.

The Sect of Revolutionaries arms itself again. In today's world the most violent thing is to remain passive. All our lives are overwhelmed by violence. And when it's not the violence of the cops, the detention centres, the prisons, then things are even more treacherous. We are talking about violence without blood. The violence of the image, advertising, the consumerist high, the psychological dead end and loneliness. We live in squalid cities, eat plastic food, we inform ourselves with prefabricated news, buy brand products, we work in disgusting jobs, admire phony standards, we create small private cells inside our homes with cheerful furniture.

We are tired of this empty life. We said enough is enough ... no more lost days ... no more humiliation at work ... no more borrowed prayers for goodnight ...

So a year and a half ago we formed the Sect of Revolutionaries, which became the vehicle for our escape from the fucking calm of the world-prison we live in.

Two or three guns to start with, some books and some delinquent knowledge from experiences of the past, combined with several "kilos" of determination and the confidence of a conscience that said: either human or pig, either fighter or enslaved, either revolution or compromise with resignation.

## And so we began.

When you live in an unending struggle it makes you sharpen your skills and your thoughts, while at the same time you get the pleasure of

having opposed the fate that was reserved for you.

## But we wanted something more ...

We wanted to make the leap into storming the heavens. After our third hit, we put to ourselves the question of stepping up our action, which entailed a number of necessary requirements. So we went into creative obscurity in order to re-emerge more capable, more effective, more dangerous. During this time many of us trained in weapons, learned new techniques, read, informed ourselves of struggle situations unknown until now, we exchanged experiences and viewpoints with other fighters and refuelled in the logistics sector.

At the same time the rest of our fighters did not remain inactive. They created a network of essential information, collected evidence, took care of our conscious inactivity and offered their services to the cause of the Revolution and the dignity of themselves.

So from now on we want to be terribly consistent in what we say and to pass on a message to all the main faces of society and their gorillas. "The Revolutionary Sect will not leave one millimetre of safe ground in your life.

Our guns are full and ready to "speak" ... If the arguments make sweat flow, the evidence will make blood shed ...».

We are not merely talking about armed propaganda, but are putting it into practice. Our recent attack did



not rely on propagandistic reasons, but the decision to terminate the miserable career of this guy.

Armed struggle does not apologize and does not invoke the hypocrisy of humanitarianism and the ideal of human life.

The revolution is war to build an autonomous existential code away from the hypocrisy of modern-day life. Human life is a variable, a commodity in the world of entertainment that is sometimes torn to pieces by being exiled into the dungeons of prisons, in lonely dead-ends, in substance dependencies, and is sometimes defended as the "ideal" that was lost by the guns of terrorists.

But it is not just important that you live but also how you live. The real value is in the choices made by each individual in their life.

That's where we are all judged. Socrates Giolias made his choices and we made ours. He chose to live like a rodent in the kingdom of mud of his kind and we as wolves outside the herd.

Let's see who the "unaware" and "unguarded" Socrates Giolias really was.

From early on deeply involved in the tricks of the journalistic plague, he served for several years under the master of supposedly independent

"revelatory" journalism Makis Triantafyllopoulos as a friend, collaborator and editor of his shows. At the same time he was a "member" of the new school of Greek championism. A championism that had specialized in the illegal trade of dopaine (Best friend of Christos Tzekos that knows a lot about "powders" [\*1]) in doped records (best man with athlete Kostas Kenteris, offering media coverage in the famous "accident" he had with the other sport-junkie Katerina Thanou [\*2]) and of course the dealing of official positions - recuperating the whole known championship clique either into the security forces, or the political arena (buddies with the athlete-MP Kostas Koukodimos, the failed candidate Voula Patoulidou and others [\*3]). Of course anyone can imagine the scams of all of those with a valuable partner like Socrates Giolias in the company called SEGAS that the above were all distinguished personalities of. Especially when the air was full of the "national vision" of the 2004 Olympic Games, a feast was set up in the Athletics Federation with "golden" sponsorships and government grants and secret financial deals under the table with contractors and construction companies.

But the "unaware" Socrates Giolias was a pluralist. He was a known religious bigot in some circles and was a permanent visitor-member of another well-known company. He was a trusted associate of the Athenite state clergy, while at the same time the man of the cloth, the weasel Ephraim, was his spiritual advisor. This is why when the known scandal about the slimy priests in Vatopedi broke out, [\*4] Giolias always stood in front as a shield to support their little shop. The guy literally had a cross in his hand.

Beyond all that, the main reason for our visit to his home was his dominant position in the electronic form of new journalism.

With the rapid spread of internet and an ever-increasing preference of young people in particular to inform themselves from it, it was not long

before its exploitation by the known low-life journalists began. Apart from the official news sites that are usually already known electronic newspapers, the first informative blogs were created. The immediacy of the information they offered was the key feature that turned them into popular websites. This greater freedom of expression has been used by people living under totalitarian regimes as an attempt to heist the censorship imposed by the government. In contrast to these people, the same anonymity was exploited by systematic journalists such as Giolias, Papagiannis etc. as a means of extortion and slandering to support the specific business interests that finance them.

Our action has nothing to do with our opposition to the anonymity of blogs since on the contrary we propose it and we consider it necessary as a shield to protect enemies of the regime and as a healthy condition of genuinely alternative, self-organised means of information. The only sure thing is that Giolias was not among the enemies of the regime, but was the boss behind the anonymous blog "troktiko" exercising his propaganda for the system.

Giolias, former associate of the "fighter" Makis Triantafyllopoulos and worthy partner of the Kostopoulos-Anastasiadis "school" of journalism [*known journalistic figures. trans.*] (removing guilt from the modern lifestyle motivated by economic success and modern Greek Macho-ness) had what was needed. On one side the journalism of "social sensitivity", "revelations" and "complaints" and on the other a macho cocktail of audacity, lifestyle opinion, modern neo-conservatism, a hidden (or obvious) fascism, supposedly satire, not just against authority, but especially against those who have no voice to reply to the mud he threw at them.

The most hideous insults and slanderous lies about urban guerilla warfare entered the first line of the "troktiko" blog publications. Even his brother Pericles, as director of "Prince Oliver", acted defiantly,

ironically paraphrasing the slogans of the uprising in December when an act of arson targeted his company.

The same boss of "troktiko" had set himself as judge and awarded penalties to those arrested, through his blog. After the divorce from his mentor Makis Triantafyllopoulos, Giolias now independent and in the most powerful position in the journalistic blogo-sphere becomes special adviser to Dimitris Kontominas, who is included in the financial mafia of Greece, known by his involvement in the "interamerican" [\*5] scandal. He also recently worked as general manager of radio station THEMA that belongs to the big-bellied scum Themis Anastasiadis. The list of dirty stories about this clan of journalism, with the internal battles of the "big" journalists and publishers, exemplified by the trio Anastasiadis-Giolias-Kontominas and the brotherhood Hadjinikolaou-Triantafyllopoulos-Kouris, could fill several pages.

The journalistic world is a bucket full of shit and with our action we just simply made it a bit lighter.

Of course the boss of "troktiko" as a professional snitch knew the consequences and the "accidents" that could befall him. Socrates Giolias was so "unaware" that he made sure of confirming himself as a target. Especially after the bomb in Patissia and the death of an Afghan boy, and the bastards he had for colleagues used the camouflage of supposedly anonymous reader comments on "troktiko" to openly threaten anyone opposed to the sewer of lies that they systematically unleashed. [*"troktiko" printed a graphic picture of the body of the 15 yr old Afghan boy killed by a bomb in a garbage bin. The bomb was blamed on anarchists, specifically, 'Conspiracy of Cells of Fire' ; 'Conspiracy of Cells of Fire' issued a total denial. Later, a fascist group took responsibility. ed.*]

Specifically after publishing exclusive photos of the slain child, a privilege thanks to the loyal cooperation of Giolias with the "anti-terror-

ists", a 'reader' of "troktiko" wrote in concerning the rage that was gathering against the face of the "unaware" - so, what should Giolias and every Giolias do. Carry a gun and shoot at anyone moving suspiciously to protect his life?

### **But let's not exaggerate.**

Giolias did not need to shoot to protect himself. It would be taken care of by the two police security escorts that had been allocated to him and used alternately until the pig's death on Katehaki Street. *[meaning the 10th July death of the senior services officer by the anonymous letter bomb sent to the offices of the minister of citizens protection. ed]*

Specifically, the "unguarded" Giolias, the journalist who denounced the protection of public figures saying that the police should be combative in the street and not escorting potential targets like 'Filipino servants', had his own armed gorillas.

Fucking wankers of the "anti-terrorist" let's see if you can dispute the following evidence ...

From Monday to Friday the boss of "troktiko" used for his daily transport a Smart car with numberplate IHP 5121 (which was changed in recent weeks for another Smart with plate numbers IMP 3142), always accompanied by motorbike secret police.

More specifically Giolias set off daily from his home in Daedalus Street 21 between 12.10-12.25 always to arrive late for his radio show. 20 minutes before that, a bike approached his house and parked in the hidden corner of Nymphs and Daedalus Street with a security escort, who followed the Smart at a 5 to 10 metre distance when it set off. Giolias had two servants-gorillas who usually alternated every other week. The first guy was young (25-30 years old) with a fitness look, usually gazing into space while playing with his cell phone camera and silver-black TDM bike, while the second was more experienced, a grey-haired

40 year-old, his favorite habit was to read his newspaper on his bike and to walk around like he had watermelons under his armpits, whilst he also used the same type of off road Transalp motorbike, plate number XXK 389. We stress that Giolias, to avoid being stigmatized in the neighbourhood by the fact that he had escorts, obliged them to park in the hidden corner so they were not seen, not to seem inconsistent with what he wrote.

Things changed when the fool died in Katehaki Street. Obviously the new instructions and powers given to security escorts to regulate their position and the route of the proposed target, enabled the gorillas to change position.

So for the last period of time the first bike arrived and parked just opposite the apartment building of "troktiko", checking out everyone that passed by, while a few minutes before Giolias set off the second bike arrived. Giolias took a few minutes to wish them good morning and then they all started together like nice "companions."

Usually the first was the TDM checking the route at a distance of 5 to 10 metres, in the middle was Giolias with the Smart and last was the 40-year-old with the Transalp.

Our original thought was to hit them all together. Using a heavy vehicle we would ram the first bike by running over the gorilla and another fire-power force would "mow" down the other two. More targets, more efficiency.

We knew their exact route and Ethnarchou Makariou Street which they took after Daedalus Street with the flowerbeds was convenient for the "crash" and cornering them. Soon however, we rejected this scenario because this particular road, which was ideal for such a trap, has a moderate to dense flow of vehicles, passers by and two traffic flows, so there was a danger to other people and we never pursued it. Because the fact that we are sharply critical of social decadence is

one thing, the process of targeting is another. Our targets are always clear and our gun's target specific, heads, this is why we would not risk hitting the wrong man. So we'd rather go to his home than let something happen in a gunfight in the street and hit someone irrelevant. What exactly was said through the intercom to ensure not only that he would come down, but would come alone without being accompanied by his wife, is something that does not need not be made public for several reasons. But here, we would like to add that the famous TV persona Yiannis Marakakis, lawyer of Giolias, who goes on the TV - "windows" *[a regular feature on Greek TV, the screen is divided into multiple 'windows' allowing vociferous remote discussions among 'experts' on 'topical subjects'. ed]* to book a job, should not bust our balls about the Sect 'as a front for a contract killing', because we will carve his face up, as our bullets are worth more than such idiots. Returning, we would like to note that we also rejected the possibility of breaking into his block of flats and executing Giolias in his apartment. Our main concern was for not the slightest thing to go wrong with his wife and of course the young child.

Everyone gets the end they deserve and these people have done nothing to us. Furthermore, the practice of political execution is very clear and specific. There will never be any danger from our attacks for any family members or family environment of a target that does not have any involvement in their dirty options and interests, even if this obliges us to cancel our plans. An urban guerrilla is not a cold murderer. When he chooses to shoot, he does not hit the face itself, but the choices of the specific person, the position he holds, the decisions he has taken, the interests he serves.

It's not a personal thing. The armed fighter fights the operators of the system who no longer have their own separate face, but a particular job they are defending. The armed fighter does not shoot people, he shoots against the system itself.



Giolias was one of the many names of big time journalists we collected information about, their homes, their vehicles, their security, their favorite hangouts, restaurants, even where they play tennis (you get the hint Hadji-wanker from Alter channel ?) (Hadjinikolaou. .ed).

All those judges who have microphones and make speeches in front of TV cameras, judging and sentencing, will know what it means for fear to pass over into their own side. At this point we would also like to advise all witnesses that the answer to any question, should be one alone: "I don't know, I didn't see, I didn't hear..." - anything else will be seen as cooperation with the police and this is not acceptable.

Finally we would like to recall that in our third announcement we wrote that "The supreme planning and duty of an urban guerrilla is to disrupt the interior of his country, hurt the national economy, damage the public external image ..."».

Greece for months now is in the eye of the cyclone by turning to the IMF and the financial deficit. One of the most lucrative sources of money inflow is the summer tourism season. The execution of the journalist in conjunction with the guerrilla actions of the last year we believe creates a negative image abroad for the safety of Greek territory and hits the national tourism industry. Tourists need to know that Greece is no longer safe ground behind the lines of capitalism.

We seek to become a war zone with revolutionary processes with arsons, sabotage, militant marches, bombings, armed executions, not a vacation destination. We are at war with your democracy. As for the financial crisis and the whining of society about the bleak future, we do not give a damn. We don't care about a world that protests the new unbearable economic measures without first having rebelled against the cheapness of the meaning of life inside the system; it deserves its fate.

We did not borrow anything from your world to feel that we are losing or owe something.

If what is at stake in the consciousness of people now is the loss of a fixed salary and a secure pension, that shows that this world has already died. Because first it lost its hopes, its dignity, its selfishness, its dreams, its conscience, its feelings, and then no one really cared. But when its borrowed prayers for the miserable delusion of property are threatened and it rebels, then its days are numbered. Because they have been weighed up and found meaningless.

We in the Sect of Revolutionaries believe that only through the complete destruction of the state and the current structures will a new perspective of life be able to dawn. A life of new human relationships, without authority, without borders, without religion without divisions. A life that money does not govern neither will property rule. A life away from false idols, compulsions and conventions.

We are promoting a new civilization with values such as equality, dignity, honour, mutual respect, solidarity, liberation. Human beings can and must create a new way of life and expression. Harmonize with the natural environment, overflow with emotions, abandon themselves to pleasures, be the creator of their own world ... Human communication must be liberated from phone lines and flat screens, human gestures should regain their warmth and be relieved from formalities and repeatability, life should become an adventurous wandering and free itself from the bureaucratic version. Of course all this sounds utopian, if you invest all your action on a future vision and ignore the present.

### **The answer is given by the mirror itself...**

So, don't ask how things will change. Be yourself the answer to your question. We recommend the total annihilation and destruction of authoritarian relationships and dominant civilization. Only through the rubble and ruins of modern urban centres will a new way of life flourish.

The rebel groups are but a small prefiguration of such a future. But as we said in a previous text, even if this future does not come, we will have tasted it, living our own unorthodox way in today. And this adventure, the journey towards liberation is worth every moment ...

Hence our proposal is now clear. To the people who want to actively refuse the tyranny of the system, go from words to action.

Comrades, organize, create groups, collectivise your wishes, arm yourselves, read, communicate, deny roles and leaderships, abolish slavery and go into the strategy of armed struggle.

Today's urban guerillas must overcome the legacy of the socialist proletariat and proclaim as a revolutionary subject they themselves, their comrades and all those who actively deny power taking over our lives, giving a substantial advan-

tage to life and not economic analysis. In procedures that promote armed struggle we win moments of liberated time, as only those allow the recovery of lost dignity and pave the way for inner freedom.

Thus anyone can rewrite his individual identity in social life and become an armed warrior of the revolution.

Enough is enough. Winter fills us with sadness, spring pollutes us and summer suffocates us. For a long time now our nostrils are choking on the stench from the offices, reactors, factories and highways. Our muzzles no longer taste good, it is like a sausage wrapped in plastic cable. The beer we drink is stale, like bourgeois morality.

We do not want to do the same job and wear the same expression throughout our lives. They have given us enough orders, they have controlled our thoughts, ideas, homes and passports enough, they have smashed our faces enough. We will not let them mould us, oppress us, crush us.  
- WE WILL SMASH THEIR FACES -

*"... Until the beach of 'tun nights' {do nothing} ..."*  
**[call of German autonomists]**

**P.S.1.** Because we know that an angry pig stinks more than usual, we would like to say a few words to the wankers of the D.I.A.S. *(newly formed police crime response force on motorbikes, two on each bike, that come in large numbers, they are known to crash into almost everything and have ran over people as well. trans.)*

"You little pricks because you pretend to be macho, at some point we will open new buttonholes in one of your suits. And bear in mind, we have a little 'problem' ... We are terribly consistent in what we say ...". Indeed, indicative of our intention is where we chose to leave our announcement, at a distance of 30 metres straight shot from the guard post and the front of Nikaia police station.

**P.S.2** To all prison officials, directors, prosecutors, prison officers and social workers we warn you that if you do not immediately change your attitude towards suffering tortured imprisoned people you will join the priority list to become an example to the others. Especially for some of you, we even know what time you take your pills. Cut the shit you're doing with ban on leave days and cutting visiting rights to prisoners, respect and do not violate their rights because otherwise at an unsuspected moment you will receive a visit from fighters of the Sect of Revolutionaries with a final transfer to the other world.

Fighters of the Revolution, the enemy has a name, search for addresses ...

ARMED STRUGGLE FOR  
REVOLUTIONARY AUTONOMY

**SECT OF REVOLUTIONARIES**

**[\*1]**  
Track and field officials targeted Greek athletes during the 2004 Olympics for surprise testing of a previously undetectable steroid after learning they had connections to Balco Laboratories, owner of which is Christos Tzekos a coach and main figure in the sports industry. An e-mail included in the evidence that U.S. authorities made public when announcing the indictments implicated the Greeks, although the names of the coaches and athletes were not revealed.

**[\*2]**  
Greek sprinters Konstantinos Kenteris and Ekaterini Thanou were billed as the great hopes of the Athens Olympics after their respective gold and silver medals in Sydney four years earlier. But on the eve of the 2004 Olympics the duo became embroiled in one of the biggest scandals to date after missing drugs tests. Dumb-founded upon hearing the news in the media, Kenteris and Thanou staged a motorcycle accident to provide the authorities with an excuse for missing the test.

On August 18, the sixth day of the Games, the pair withdrew from the Olympics, claiming they were acting in 'the interests of their country.' That was their third violation of the summer and they were subsequently suspended by the IAAF in December 2004. In June the following year however, the Greek Athletics Federation cleared them of all charges, with their coach Christos Tzekos taking the blame with a four-year ban.

After a long-standing legal battle, which was about to reach the Court of Arbitration for Sport, they were reinstated by the IAAF in December 2006.

**[\*3]**  
Many athletes pursued a career in politics.

**[\*4]**  
The scandal is that some of Vatopedi's monks deviously mis-handled the real estate holdings of the monastery. As is well known, the Orthodox Church is the largest single landowner in Greece, and the Athonite monasteries are especially well endowed. Vatopedi Monastery has traditionally held great estates all over Greece. Over the past decade, however, it has managed to swap some of these locations for other land – in high-value places like Athens – and then resell these acquisitions, making a tidy profit in the process.

**[\*5]**  
The former president of the Interamerican insurance company, Dimitris Kontominas, as well as the firm's board members, were questioned by a magistrate in connection with the embezzlement of funds between 1996 and 1998. The case came to light following complaints from Greeks living in Germany, South Africa, Belgium and the Netherlands that they had taken out insurance with Interamerican but their policies were later declared worthless.





**This text is presented as an invitation to comrades to discuss, since we were musing on the world of ‘claims’ in general and in court especially. Firstly, for emphasizing ones deeds, if they need explanations at all, and lastly made in response or defence when being put up against the wall by the democratic apparatus.**

Taking into consideration that there are several contributions made on the subject of claiming in general, in this case we prefer to refer only to declarations made towards the world of justice. We are aware that we could have already been influenced by the words of different comrades previously communicated, and therefore merely try to open a space for renewed thought.

When reflecting on making declarations or answering the courts’ accusations, we actually questioned the necessity of it at all. Sometimes we feel that what we have to say to each other, or what we have or don’t have to say to the authorities, is being blended. Needless to say there is a great difference between the two: for our comrades we feel a certain intimacy and sometimes our actions don’t need any further explanation; as others can recognize themselves in the gesture they express. On the other hand, our feelings towards the world of domination and exploitation are only disgust and distrust, with which we wish not to share the depths of our souls or to speak in confidence with.

But, if, for instance a motive for explanation is fear of losing credibility and other comrades respect and understanding, then one could risk serious prison time after an “honest confession”, taking full responsibility. On the other hand, getting out by maintaining a “plea of innocence”, (possibly the same fear, but for the iron bars that obstruct our view), might leave us enchained as well.

Both cases appear as a consequence of legal communication with the prosecutors, and seem to be merely sacrifices; at least make us feel uncomfortable.

We understand and know the complexities of being confronted with a situation where we are obliged to stand before someone



## DECLARATIONS

that assumes to have all authority to decide over our lives – being the judge or any other institution– but we don’t fear it. We wish to fight them on our terms.

The prison in every facet of this society, and the compulsory participation in a trial to begin with, is a visible obstacle in our horizon as anarchists and rebels that desire and move for the attack and destruction of this society, to be able to recuperate the joys of life. Its existence in itself proves the meaning and urge of our struggle at the same time, also seen from an egoistic perspective since we do not want to go to that very prison ourselves but to be able to continue our revolutionary activities, and in fact break out of it before its walls enclose our freedom.

We feel that the passion for freedom is always the core of discourse and we could even acquire a certain attitude of stoicism towards our executioners, while opening our hearts to the world of rebels at the same time. The issues to be discussed do not just deal with our prosecution alone, despite what those executioners like to make us believe. Those issues have wings that sweep away the justice papers of accusations and verdicts.

These reflections are only thoughts and musings; they do not aim to be a recipe for how to act in any situation or to judge the decisions made by others, but intend to try to help us understand the options that we have, and how we can use them.

Therefore we wish to emphasize who we are, anywhere, any time and how we give shape to this, starting from the following suggestions:

*1. Our means are Social War. In this world of force and suffocation we only see how to break out of that with brutality, aimed at all those that hold the leashes and bring down the whip. These means essentially don’t change with its environment, be that court, prison or the street. In other words, the content never depends on the context.*

*2. We want to get rid of “Innocentism” on the one hand, and “sacrifice” on the other, for both are nothing more than reproductions of legal/court language and have nothing to offer to us but damage, nor to our struggle to live anarchy.*

*3. The only speech we can have while being prosecuted should not be mistaken for being the attack. Attacks are always initiated by ourselves, on our moments, in our places, against those we choose and with whatever weapons we find suitable and available. Since we are brought to the court by the force of authorities we can merely continue to be ourselves, even there.*

We understand that one of the options that we have is to keep silent towards our prosecutors. This silence could even be used as a weapon, then saying nothing could mean everything. It doesn’t imply though that we are submitting ourselves

to them, it only means that there, we don't have anything to say; we wish not to enter a dialogue with a kind of language that is exterior to ours and that, the way we see it, doesn't mean anything.

Saying "I did it", doesn't contribute anything to our struggle. But then saying "I did not do it" makes even less sense. In the first case it will only serve to incriminate us, because unless we are "caught in the act", who did it or not is of no interest – we do not need any martyrs that take all the blame; in the second case, the explanation that we did not do it adds nothing to the case, unless the image that we want to pass of ourselves is that of being good boys and girls, and that we are being victims of injustice.

Once we are in fact in those surgery rooms where they attempt to take our lives physically and psychologically apart, under the magnifying glass of greedy specialist spectators, we want to emphasize that we don't have to cooperate with our own execution.

Remember that comrades amongst each other would never ask these questions, or put a weight on it like the Honest Society will, for all it wants is to make us hang. Never are we interested in reproducing their language to express ourselves. There is no need for them to know what we think and feel, a declaration of ourselves is addressed to our comrades on the outside only.

If for instance the given accusation is untrue, which could be a very painful and alienating experience, we could still ask ourselves the question what good or profit it brings us if we deny any of it, in reply to their demand. Those making these ridiculous accusations obviously have no idea where we come from and where we go to. But would they really change their minds if we would try to correct them? Is it worthwhile to actually explain anything to them? Any answer to those, holding the sword over our heads, could well be that very cooperation to ones own confinement, but moreover it is at the same time a recognition of the legal world's existence and authority; even its authority!

However, if the option of talking seems to be the right thing to do, this should never be a justification, to anyone; we only have to try to continue to be who we are, there, as well as in the street. Moreover, our declaration should never be addressed to the court itself, for we don't see any fruits coming from entering any dialogue with this (or with any other) institution.

When we have decided to speak, we have to take into consideration that this could mean stepping into a rather useless and dangerous dialogue with the enemy, who is trained to trap you in your own words, and make us give answers we don't want to give.

When the Bourgeois Society has indeed decided to change someone's category in an efficient world of constant prestige, a denial will mostly not keep anyone out of prison; after all, prisons are stuffed with "innocents". Then there is no reason to deny any of their accusations. Apart from the fact that most judges aren't even the slightest bit interested in what we really have to say to them (as we aren't in what they have to say to us, since we already know what they think of people who want to destroy their thrones) except from admitting and subjugating to the hammer and scales.

To physically single out people, is a clever method to distract the attention from the real problem. That problem essentially goes beyond our person being prosecuted at that moment, or the object being attacked, even though both are damaged by it. That problem deals with the existence of that very court every day, the humiliating concept of making people justify before society, bowing one's head, red ashamed, and above all this society that needs and asks for the total alienation of the individual joy of life as a whole.

Understandably though, while under threat, people feel the urgent need to be heard. But what is it exactly that needs to be heard?

Just and exactly BECAUSE we are Anarchists, we attack authority and capital; therefore it is not surprising that they will hit us back at some point. We should be constantly aware of this possibility, without submitting to it as being an unavoidable fact of life; but it being the reason why can not and do not want to go to sleep.

Under these circumstances we embrace all those that always remain to be themselves, proud and fighting, stealing and recuperating, looting and burning, without making their history more glorious or innocent than it was.

**Anarchists.**



## ANARCHISTS

The anarchist is a person of battle. The battle is the game.

It is a way which brings about a fatal bravery :  
The defeat or the triumph don't count : Freedom and free yourself. And if not, die in the struggle.

An anarchist is a person that struggles, and not of shades or subtleties. With her there's never any judgement. She doesn't desist or negotiate; she struggles and assures.

A new human being in history, a generator of another kind of human spice; powerful people who go up front, with love, to possess life.

And the battle is their game.

Anarchist, I come to talk to you with the voice of an anarchist hurricane: the time of the bourgeois is today, it was also yesterdays and it will always be, and until death.

Don't base your actions in the cheatful balance of the law.

Red and Black.

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*From "Carteles I", by Rodolfo Gonzalez Pacheco (1882-1949), a series of Spanish language anarchist texts circulating in the Spanish prison system and beyond.*

*Translated into English by anarchist prisoner*

*Rafael "Jon-Bala" Martinez Zea.*



# Interview with Jean Weir

With pleasure, we present these few questions with Jean Weir, anarchist comrade of Elephant Editions. Jean is a translator and publisher, with a long participation in street-level anarchist activities. Jean is fun and down-to-earth, a tireless and strong character full of life and heart.

**1 - So, how is it that you found yourself arrested on September 19, 1994, with four other anarchists (Antonio Budini, Christos Stratigopoulos, Eva Tziutzia and Carlo Tesseri) and accused of an armed robbery at the rural bank of Rovereto (Serravalle), Italy? How did your life evolve to lead to this situation?**

**Jean** - How did I find myself arrested that day of September 19, 1994? ... Well, it obviously wasn't 'the perfect crime' ... a couple of local people saw some guys jump over a fence into the forest in the Chizzola mountains; a massive 'manhunt' ensued, and within a few hours everybody was rounded up. But I don't think that's what you mean. You ask me how my life had evolved leading up to that moment. I'll try to answer that question, which seems to imply that this was some kind of climax that my life had been heading towards. Actually it's not like that. If things had gone differently and we hadn't been caught, no one would ever have known about the event. It would simply have been 'a day in the life' of a few anarchist comrades.

I don't think that there's anything exceptional about anarchists deciding to take back some of what has been

stolen from us all – we have to face the problem of survival like all the other dispossessed and moreover we are not prepared to simply 'survive' but want to go beyond the limitations of poverty and act on reality. Some comrades believe that expropriation will be a mass event where all the exploited will act together one great day, others are not prepared to wait to infinity for

that to happen, or to spend the whole of their lives being exploited or participating in the exploitation of others.

Looking back in time, what was exceptional was the fact of having comrades with whom it was possible to discuss anything and possibly act together as a result. I say exceptional, although at that time it was normal. This deepened knowledge of one another (and oneself) is the fruit of being in a common struggle – demos, meetings, discussions, actions, etc. - in the dimension of an informal anarchist movement. Relations between comrades deepen, one gains real knowledge of one another, not just our goals but the way we are as individuals, the way we react, our strengths and weaknesses. From there I think it is natural for comrades who know and trust each other to go into certain questions more deeply and decide to experiment in order to push their struggle forward and open up new possibilities in whatever field.

For anarchists the absence of hierarchy also concerns action. When carried out in a projectual dimension with a real tension towards freedom, the validity of any one kind of action depends on the existence of all the others.

**2 - The media and the Italian State whipped themselves into a frenzy over the trial, but how was your experience of the solidarity from other anarchists and rebels during the legal process and during your prison sentence?**

Actually, the thing developed into two trials, .. no three. First there was the trial for the robbery in question, then we were accused of two other robberies in the area, so that led to a second one (which went on for many months), during which the '*pentita*' ('repentant terrorist') matured, leading to the infamous 'Marini trial'. The local media did go into a frenzy immediately following the Serravalle (near Rovereto) robbery: all of the elements of the media cocktail 'terrorist scare' were there; foreigners, anarchists, guns, robbery, etc... But that was nothing compared to what was to happen subsequently, at the national level.

The reaction of the anarchists of Rovereto and the surrounding area was immediate and unconditional. Their solidarity was passionate and also ludicrous at times. They claimed the identity of the arrested comrades, defending our identity as anarchists within an articulate denunciation of the role of the banks and the validity of robbing them, through posters, leaflets, demos, public meetings etc.

Shortly after our arrest, the anarchist fortnightly '*Canenero*' was born. I think it is fair to say that, although it might have come out at some later date, for various reasons our arrest was a catalyst in its appearance then. Its eagerly awaited pages and knowledge that comrades very close to me were working day and night to bring it out was a brilliant light that illuminated that initial period in jail. So many other things happened, it's hard to put everything down on paper. Right from the start anarchists came from all over Italy for the trials, the courtroom was always full and sometimes there were too many comrades for everybody to get inside.

I remember the huge '*Baci*' (kisses) and encircled 'A' that appeared written in lipstick on a window overlooking the court after those who hadn't been allowed in occupied a building opposite and sent their greetings down from above... the news that over 150 cash points in the area had been glued,

resulting in one of the banks withdrawing their claim for damages... the banner conveying birthday greetings unfurled in court when one of the hearings coincided with my birthday...

Flares and fireworks were set off against Trento prison during one of the hearings in the town court, resulting in a number of comrades getting expulsion orders from the area. While I was being held in the maximum security prison of Vicenza, a terrible dump, particularly the women's section, comrades hired a coach and did an impromptu demo with flares, banners and paint-bombs at New Year, an action that wasn't without risk because Vicenza was in close proximity to the American NATO base. I learned when I got out that everyone had a good time and went on to party throughout the night somewhere in the mountains. Next day a police helicopter appeared in the women's exercise yard, and remained there until the day I was transferred to Opera prison in Milan. That demonstration of love and solidarity was a contribution to getting me thrown out of a disgusting place without any ingratiating 'letters to prison governor' or such like.

These are some of the moments that stand out in my mind concerning the initial period. Later, following the invention of a 'repentant' 'ex-militant' of an invented armed gang that we were all supposed to belong to, many comrades were arrested or went into hiding to carry on the struggle. I know that many of the remaining comrades debated intensely to agree and decide what to do, but I don't know as much about that period as I do about the preceding one.

Reading your questions has taken me back to these not so far off times, and remembering the solidarity fills me with an immense glow. It was amazing. Only someone who has lived through similar moments can understand what I am talking about, and as you can see, I can't squeeze the answer to this question into just a few lines, even although anything I mention is only a tiny part of what comrades were doing day after day, for years.

An anarchist defence committee that had been formed earlier became extremely active in finding lawyers, co-ordinating contributions from benefit gigs, etc., and sending out regular news of the whole situation, which was to develop into a complex repressive attack against a large part of the anarchist movement...

The comrade who sent the money-orders was accused of being 'treasurer' of the phantom clandestine organisation invented by public prosecutor Marini along with the *Carabinieri* special forces, and a warrant was issued for his arrest. The comrade who bore the brunt of the committee's activity was accused of counterfeiting an internal police note that was sent to Radio Blackout in Turin. Both were subsequently acquitted or had charges dropped.

Throughout the various repressive phases thousands of posters were printed and flyposted in all the major towns and cities, and also in many small villages – wherever there were anarchists who wanted to show their solidarity.

From being a straightforward question of a few comrades 'caught in the act' about which there is little to be said, the thing had evolved into about 60 anarchists being accused of belonging to a clandestine organisation, insurrection against the State, etc., with charges that carried multiple life sentences.

Everything stood on the 'confessions' of the twenty year old girlfriend of Carlo, one of my co-arrestees, who had been singled out by the R.O.S. (*Reparto Operazioni Speciali / Special Operations Group*) as potentially being someone young and impressionable that could be scared into collaborating with the police and judiciary. She announced that she was an 'ex-member' of the 'gang', and had participated in one of the robberies in the Trento area. The way the story emerged was so absurd it was almost laughable, but things began to get quite serious – there were hundreds of raids all over Italy and many comrades ended up in prison, some went on hunger strike and were released. There was a wide denunciation of this frame-up against anarchists which had now become a main news item: endless meetings, attacks on the press, the entrances to underground stations glued on the first day of the Marini trial, demos, itinerant exhibitions, etc. etc.

Over and above the arrests, there was a total distortion of anarchist methods, and tens of thousands of pamphlets were printed and distributed all over the country denouncing this. Many actions took place, and leaflets and posters were now being drawn up at national level, following countless meetings with groups and individuals from all over the

country. There were regular interventions on free radios. Actions of solidarity also took place in Germany, Greece and Spain. A German comrade brought out a bilingual paper, translated many Italian texts – theoretical texts I mean, not related to the repression and organised benefits and meetings. She was also very close to me throughout the years I was inside in many ways. I also received many letters, telegrams, cards, conveying good wishes, passion, colour, solidarity from comrades in many countries, including the UK.

### **3 - Can you tell us about your experience of prison and the conditions, opportunities for rebellion, etc? How was your relationship with the other prisoners?**

Another big story... Where to begin...? Well, for a start, I wasn't in just one, but seven prisons over these years, and spent much of the time being shunted up and down handcuffed in a prison van between Milan and Trentino, squinting through the pinholes in the metal windows to catch a glimpse of the mountains or the orchards in bloom, as the trial in Trento ran its perverted course. The conditions in each of these prisons were fairly specific and varied immensely. But there are some factors that are peculiar to all women's prisons – they are a lot smaller than men's, and often have far fewer facilities, sometimes to the point of zero, for educational or recreational needs.

The first thing that struck and annoyed me was that I was alone, I mean, I was held separate from my comrades, who for much of the time were sharing a cell, so had ample opportunity to talk, laugh and generally face the situation together. Eva and I were kept apart, and fortunately she was released a month or so after our arrest. I'd been in similar situations before, so I knew the score and mustered my strength. The solidarity from outside that I have mentioned at length certainly nourished that strength, but there were many things going on within and around you that you would have liked to discuss with your own comrades, and that was impossible. I mean, even concerning some of the trivia in prison, or rather everything is trivia, but can be heavy at times. Reverberations from the proverbial 'butterfly's wing' can do full circle at any instant, like an iron boomerang and even one's thoughts seem to take on (or perhaps they have it anyway) a solid capacity to act on reality.

I think that simply staying alive, holding to one's individuality and keeping one's spirits – and head - high is in itself a form of rebellion in the context of an institution that is deliberately built to put people down and humiliate them. Things were very different then compared to what they had been in the seventies and eighties in Italy when there were thousands of comrades in prison, often held in custom-built maximum security prisons. Rebellion was a constant, a necessity and a continuation of the struggle outside, almost taking the place of it before the reformist about-turn of many of the Marxist-Leninist leaders set in.

Today, especially if you are a woman, you might be very few in number, inside for any one of a whole variety of reasons (better - anarchists don't declare themselves political prisoners, and if they end up on 'political' wings it's because the State puts them there to prevent them from 'infecting' the other prisoners). In fact, in some of the small prisons I was held in starting from Rovereto, I was kept separate from the other prisoners as far as the limited conditions allowed. The screws weren't used to seeing the leaflets that arrived in my post and their hands would literally shake upon coming in contact with some of them and I was transferred from there as fast as they could.

The only thing I remember about Trento prison is an earthquake one night following which I spent the next hour or so trying to decide what to do in anticipation of another tremor until I fell asleep. Not all such events have a happy outcome... 8 prisoners (and two female guards) were killed, trapped in a fire that broke out in Le Vallette prison in Turin in 1986. Accounts of prisoners in New Orleans make the blood curdle in horror, to mention but a few. We must never forget that – beyond the anecdotes and reminiscences, prison consists of so many reinforced boxes that millions of people all over the world are locked up in day and night. The latter are hostages of the State and live at the mercy of a hierarchy of vile cowards 24 hours a day.

The female wing in Trento was closed down and I was dispatched to Vicenza, which I mentioned above. The women's section consisted of two rows of cells facing each other. In the morning the heavy iron doors were opened, leaving a second barred gate locked. And that was the 'prison condition' for the rest of the day. Pale thin girls spent their whole days in bed because, although there

was an exercise yard, it was freezing cold outside (Vicenza is in the mountains). The exercise period is established by parliamentary decree but nowhere is it written that there is a 'minimum stay'. An obligatory two hours in a huge freezing cold area of reinforced concrete with nothing to do was too much for most people, and the screws were quite happy to forego the task of looking and unlocking x number of gates of access.

So, the battle began, at first the 'good' way, pointing out the situation to medical staff, writing collective demands to the governor, etc., to no avail. It was very difficult to talk to the other prisoners as, apart from the outside yard, there was only a couple of hours 'sociality' each day that had to be signed up for in advance, naming one other prisoner who could be locked in with you, or whom you could 'visit'. Nonetheless, we all managed to agree that we would go out into the yard next day and, in protest, would refuse to enter when the two hours were up. This, in the context of prison, is tantamount to insurrection. The day came. The presence of the screws from the male section downstairs, was confirmation that everybody's plans had been thwarted. Shortly afterwards (this was in the period immediately following the New Year demo) my cell neighbour C. and I were 'ghosted': me to the 'political wing' in Opera, Milan, C. to some out-of-the-way provincial prison. This long description is to try to show how a simple attempt to obtain a basic 'right' comes to be considered a dangerous threat to order and submission.

The fact is it's necessary to see the context we're talking about. You don't enter prison saying, wow, lots of people locked up, here's fertile ground for rebellion, let's have a go. In the first place, most people have many problems and are simply not interested in how you define yourself, and personally I didn't try doing so, other than through my way of relating to them and the surroundings, although in some prisons there were 'politicals' who knew about us. That's different. In the normal run of events, when you are in prison I think your job is to get on with being a prisoner and continue living your life under 'different' conditions and try to contribute to raising the tone of what can often be a pretty dismal reality. Most of the women inside are in a far worse situation that we are. Many have children, sometimes thousands of miles away, and worry about them all the time.

We are privileged because we have comrades, solidarity, excellent lawyers who are often comrades themselves.

Having said that, it was a great experience to encounter so many different crazy people that one wouldn't otherwise have met due to personal choices and all the ghettos we 'scum of the earth' are divided up into : gypsies, drug addicts, 'murderers', 'historic leaders' of once upon a time, prostitutes, 'drug ponies', etc. And I lived some intense and at times hilarious moments. Don't get me wrong, prison wasn't 'the best days of my life'. But, when a number of very particular human beings who are forced to cohabit against their will make it to come together on the basis of this common denominator and simply be themselves for a moment with their exquisite idiosyncrasies, a strange alchemy occurs that transcends all walls and becomes a true moment of freedom, and a threat to the status quo of the prison.

Of course it would have been better to have brought down the walls for real ... Many of these women are still locked up. Many more have joined them.

You asked about solidarity, and I can't conclude this reverie without mentioning an unforgettable moment of solidarity that I experienced from the other prisoners. As I said, I received a lot of mail that wasn't officially censored, among which was the whole collection of *Canenero* and a considerable quantity of back issues of the Italian anarchist paper *ProvocAzione* that came out in the eighties. At Opera, the latter were removed from the cell I was in following a routine search, with a few feeble justifications such as 'fire risk', 'illicitly acquired', etc. What was obvious was that the contents were definitely not appreciated by those who had come across them. I was furious, and demanded my papers back.

Anyone who's been in prison will know that there's no such thing as 'demand and response', even the most insignificant request such as getting permission to buy a pair of socks has to go through a process that might take weeks. I wasn't prepared to wait, and cut a long story short ended up staging a protest by simply refusing to go in from the yard and be locked up after the exercise period. The immediate result of this was that I managed to get an audience with the *Maresciallo* from the male prison; I eventually got my papers back, and the much hated uberscrew in

charge of the female prison disappeared from circulation for a few weeks, which gave everyone a break. The second result was to be escorted to a kind of 'internal court' on Monday morning, presided over by the prison governor in the presence of screws, cops, psychologists, etc.

The verdict: guilty of insubordination. The punishment: two weeks in the punishment cell. That shocked everybody on the wing, many of whom had been 'inside' for nearly twenty years. The rare punishments at Opera were 2-3 days. After being checked by the doctor who signed that I was fit to face the sentence (the doctor always has the last word, even on Death Row...), I was marched down to the isolation block, to be locked up 22 hours a day, and have only essential possessions: my anarchist papers (I made sure I got these), a couple of books, a dictionary and a small radio.

Screws were assigned to sit on the other side of the metal door peering at me through the spy hole and let me out for exercise in a small, squalid yard for one hour in the morning and one in the afternoon. Anyone who talked to me would receive similar sanctions. After spending most of the night at war with the mosquitoes (it was the middle of August, 40 degrees) I woke up to the sound of a loud rap number just outside the window. Peering outside I could see the girls that worked in the garden below dancing in single file through the plants, rapping out the whole story. What a buzz! Then when I got out for 'air' all the women in the section were at their windows singing a whole repertoire of love and battle songs at the top of their voices. The confusion was such that the screws had to take me away from that dirty yard to the sports ground for exercise twice a day.

For the rest ... suffice to say that for the whole duration all the prison food ended up down the toilet as I received a constant supply of fresh food, hot coffee, etc etc, thanks to the cunning and creativity that only those who are locked up against their will are capable of, unseen by the uniformed spies outside the cell or the armed guards patrolling the walls. When the two weeks were up, big party on the wing!

#### **4 - After you left prison, how did you feel coming 'out' into 'society'?**

Society? What's that? I think I experienced society like an iron vice from the day I was born. They had to lock me

in the classroom for the first two weeks I was at kindergarten. Perhaps the closet I've been to being 'in' society was when I was in jail. You can't escape it – unless as I said, you declare yourself 'prisoner of war' and spend the rest of your time alone, with special status. Prison is a microcosm of the world outside, a kind of caricature that you're stuck in, there's nowhere to hide, so you become socialised to some extent whether you like it or not, for the sake of the other prisoners and in order to try to do something with your time. But always within precise limits.

Like society outside, the prison structure is polarising: segregating and excluding the rebels and moving towards the integration and participation of certain other prisoners in their own incarceration. The times that I came within inches of this participatory oppression were the worst for me, and the kind of reality they are aiming for filled me with disgust. You'd like to spit in the screw's eye and tell her to wipe the smile off her face when she comes to unlock you in the morning, but you can even end up saying 'good morning'.

Recently an Italian comrade told me that when he was in prison last year there were some of the old Red Brigades militants who always called the screws '*stronzo*' or '*pezzo di merda*' – 'shit' in either case, and how the other cons really envied them for it. Had they tried it, they'd have ended up black and blue and with a few broken ribs.

Generally, you need to teach yourself to contain your loathing for the whole set-up. On coming out I was under house arrest for a while, then I came back to London as I had another short sentence pending in Italy concerning a stolen car connected to the robbery. I slipped unobtrusively into my ghetto existence here. Not with pride, I may say, because such an existence is full of compromise like any other. There's no real struggle here, no tension in terms of attacking what oppresses you and everyone around you. You can become a frenetic activist or you can spend some time trying to take stock, 'socialise' yourself within that reality to some extent and keep carrying on with your own projectuality as best you can, always in the dimension of seeking affinities and outlets for the struggle as you want to experience it. So, in this open prison you're also a misfit, an outsider playing a role and respecting the 'social rules'.

#### **5 - Italy has a long history of insurrection both in recent times and distant, can you talk about some of the social struggles there that you have been involved in?**

In Italy, the seventies and eighties, although there was a proliferation of clandestine organisations in declared war against the State, there was also a diffused insurrectional movement, and that was certainly exciting, it was in the air you breathed around you. There were many examples of mass squatting, occupation of universities, non-payment of tickets, bus rides, meals, etc. in towns like Bologna where hundreds of young people just refused to pay. Many small actions of attack were carried out by individuals or very small groups of people without all the rhetoric of the armed organisations, and this was to have a profound effect on that part of the anarchist movement that had been pushing in that direction. There was always a strong sense of projectuality and of being part of the struggle for freedom along with other comrades in this informal movement.

That developed into what some anarchists refer to as the 'insurrectional method' of struggle. The latter interpretation involves attempts to draw in mass participation along with anarchists against a given objective, based on a certain organisational hypothesis. This requires a constant engagement in the struggle over a period of time. It's not a question of a small group of anarchists deciding to attack a particular expression of power, but an attempt to involve large numbers of people self-organised in a proliferation of base organisms – nuclei, leagues or whatever they decided to call themselves – and attack the objective all together. The point of this way of organising is that it can't become hierarchical, but can extend and multiply horizontally, and once the objective is in view and all the individuals involved are experiencing a qualitative change in their relationship to power (absence of delegating, deciding in first in first person, creativity, etc.), the struggle might go even go beyond the objective. I am lucky to have lived one such experience, even if the end result wasn't that which everybody had desired and worked hard for. But that doesn't matter.

The time was the 1980's, the place, Comiso, in the island of Sicily, where I was living at the time. The Americans had decided to deposit some Cruise missiles in the military base there, and



there was wide local dissent about this. Anti-nuclear protestors, the communist party, the socialist party, the greens, etc. protested in massive demos or pacifist pickets outside the base. The local anarchists decided to distinguish themselves from this circus and act in a protracted struggle in the logic of mass rebellion. The essence of anarchist struggle is in the means, not the end.

We drew up leaflets analysing the reasons, not only military but also social and economic, as to why the only serious answer to this project of death was to occupy the base and destroy it, and printed thousands of them on an old hand-operated *Roneo* duplicator using stencils that some comrades from Class War had given us in England. Nobody had any money to speak of and everything was improvised as we went along. We managed to assemble a sound system, and travelled, doing - usually Alfredo - very strong unequivocal outdoor talks in the *piazas* of the neighbouring villages, which were attended by most of the male population of each place. We also did leaflets specifically addressed to women and went around the living areas handing them out and having impromptu '*capanelli*' with some of them. We did leaflets addressed to the workers at the Anic petrol refinery (who refused to go into work until we were released when the *Digos* -political cops- pulled us in), and to school students, handing them out outside all the schools. Some of the pupils refused to go in for a day as a result, and held a spontaneous demo that filled one of the *piazas*. It was here that I began to see how power actually works at local level: the leader of the Communist Party came knocking at our door, proposing that we 'work together'. Needless to say, he was given short shrift.

By this time some people had lent us a little old house, as many of us lived over 60 miles away. The meetings and leafleting, posters, etc had led to some people from different areas and walks of life - pupils, lorry drivers, farm workers, etc., agreeing on the need to destroy the base, and they formed minimal 'base organisations' that they called leagues for lack of a better word. These leagues, which often consisted of two or three people but had the potential to expand and multiply as the struggle intensified, began to need a place as a point of reference and co-ordination, i.e. to have meetings, draw up and print leaflets etc. A small place was rented in Comiso for that purpose and referred to as the *Coordinamento* for the self-managed leagues against the Cruise

missile base in Comiso. And these were the people who really had the power to destroy the base - with their workmates, neighbours, families, farm animals, tractors, diggers, etc. That was the dream.

But, apart from the repression pure and simple, there was a combination of obstacles, including the local 'mafia', two masked individuals who burst in on us with guns one night and fired a shot that went through Alfredo's trouser-leg. Then there was the Communist Party, always acting as fire extinguishers as is their role - and, last, but not least, the anarchist movement itself and our own limitations. It's not possible to go into all the details of this struggle now, but looking back in time, I think that some record should be made of this attempt as it was a very real experience that had a strong experimental and theoretical aspect, so belongs to everybody.

**6 - The publishing project you are involved in - 'Elephant Editions' - is well known for being the main translator of Alfredo Maria Bonanno and other 'insurreccional' anarchists, whilst we don't want to add to or create a cult of personality, can you explain why the ideas of Alfredo, and the other writers you publish, are important for the struggle to overthrow the conditions which oppress us?**

In the first place, we are talking about ideas, quite rare merchandise these days. Ideas with a subversive charge, which encounter and stimulate other ideas that take us out of the swamp of opinion and tolerance and help us to reach the lucidity necessary to act upon and transform the reality that oppresses us. I should say that I have never approached any of the texts that I've translated and subsequently published other than with the purely selfish intention of wanting to enter the discourse and clarify some ideas myself. When eventually (after a long struggle) the text becomes something tangible in English, I want others to read it too. For (some) people reading such texts becomes an encounter, a level of self discovery derived from seeing ideas set out in the written word with a certain level of clarity. Tensions that we already feel burning inside us become clearer, making it easier to gather and assimilate them in order to act. So, the text takes on its own life, makes its journey within the context of the struggle, contributes to giving the comrades that so desire it an instrument for recognising and valorising their own ideas and dreams, turning them into a point of strength in

life and in the struggle. The text then becomes both a subjective encounter and a physical 'thing', which in the vicissitudes of its journey throughout social and ideal space, becomes an element in creating informal relations between individual comrades. As well as that, we all need analysis - for example of the economy, the new technologies the changing faces of power and the struggle, new enemies and false friends, and, let's face it, many of us are lazy or lack method when it comes to gaining knowledge. Without ideas, analyses and projectuality we are nothing, mere abstractions building castles in the air, the hot air of formal structures and their organisational obsessions. The structure of the Italian language, and these texts in particular, is quite different to the English language of 'pirates and shopkeepers'; it always takes me a long time to get them readable to a certain degree, and to follow the argument through. It's quite a journey, particularly as these comrades, Alfredo and the others I have translated are my comrades in struggle, we lived through the experience of these ideas in practice, they come from the development of the movement over the past few decades. I believe that these particular ideas, or theories, are an important contribution to the struggle today because they come from the part of the movement that doesn't refer to any fixed organisation or formal structure and wants to attack oppression in all its forms directly.

In fact, attack and the theory of attack - which is the same thing for anarchists - are the essential element of the informal movement, without which it would exist in name alone. So, there is also a strong element of critique in these writings, a critique of the fixed anarchist organisation such as syndicalism or the federation that relies on numbers, as being limiting and anachronistic in terms of attack. At the same time, there is a critique of the clandestine organisation and 'attack at the heart of the State' that was quite prevalent in the seventies, particularly in Italy. Most of these organisations were of a Marxist-Leninist matrix, but some anarchists tried to do the impossible by forming an 'anarchist' version that ended up falling into the contradictions of any fixed clandestine set-up. And I do believe that many anarchists at that time felt considerable pressure upon them to form some such organisation in order to be 'in the reality of the struggle'. The theories we are talking about valorise the formation of small groups not weighed down by ideological preconceptions, acting directly on

reality without any sense of sacrifice but for their own immediate pleasure and freedom, in the context of the freedom of all.

Another essential component in the writings we are discussing is that of analysis of the profound changes that have taken place in the past three or four decades and have affected the way exploitation functions throughout the whole world and the struggle against it. The 'new technologies' that many young comrades experience as normality today, actually changed the way the world is run.

The whole productive set-up, including that of food, the extraction of fuel etc. moved from Europe to Asia and the East, following a massive project of restructuring that was met with rebellion that almost reached the point of generalised insurrection in some countries. This was followed by a complete change in educational requirements by the system, and an extensive cultural flattening in favour of infinite chains of data that take us nowhere.

It should also be said that, once certain texts existed in English, alas the language of the new world order, they have been translated into their own language by anarchists in other parts of the world who have seen something interesting in them, and that is one of the things that has given me most pleasure in the whole endeavour.

A quick word on the concept of 'cult of personality', as you brought it up. I think that this concept is strange to anarchists in general. Anarchists are judged by other comrades according to what they say and do, and the coherence between these two factors, not through diatribes about their personal, real or invented, attributes as practised by organisations that rely on charismatic leaders and such like as came about in Russia following the Bolshevik takeover. If anything, it's the other way around. Personal attacks exist at times that take the place of actual critique of the methods exposed by certain comrades when some sectors of the movement find their status quo threatened by these methods. That is easier than attacking the ideas themselves and opposing them with others that might be more effective, who knows. But, as I said, this is not a true characteristic of anarchists who by their very existence deny the concept of leader and at the same time exalt the individual, each and every individual, in the dimension of equality.

# TAKING BACK OUR LIVES

**'Taking Back Our Lives' was a two-part series of talks + discussion with Jean Weir, in Hamburg and Berlin, Germany, 20 & 22 September 2009. Each event was attended by around 50-100 people. The Hamburg event was at the long-running anti-capitalist space 'Rote Flora', and the event in Berlin was at 'Stadthaus Bocklerpark', a popular sports hall.**

## Excerpts from Berlin 22 September

... You know, in a way, I think we need to examine for one second our expectations - why we're here - because we live in a world of repetition and things tend to repeat themselves, also with us in the movement. Perhaps we expect a comrade, especially of a certain age, to turn up and talk about their organisation and in some way hope to extend this organisation by describing it. That's not the case tonight. I'm just trying to communicate a few ideas within a context of ideas because we're anarchist - well, I'm speaking from an anarchist point of view, I'm not taking it for granted that everybody here is anarchist, but we obviously agree we have a common enemy.

...It's not because we express violence that we are necessarily moving towards revolution. It might be that capital in its need, as we said before, for participation and control, is offering moments of contained expressions of violence and frustration. In order to protect its real structural essence, it gives us a symbolic enemy. Because when it comes to it, the cop is a symbol of capital, it's not capitalism, it's an instrument of capital. The bank is a symbol of capital, money is a symbol of capital. If we attack capital, if we attack in a destructive way, money becomes relative. If we arrive at touching communism directly - not State communism but real communism without hierarchy, without leaders - then money disappears immediately. If we reach a point of the spread of insurrectional struggle that is really destructive, that destroys the workings of capital, and the State loses its consensus because people are organising their lives and their struggle

directly, the cops are no longer guaranteed by the State and many of them run away. Because we know that they are cowards. They're violent, they're dangerous, they're killers, but they're also cowards.

So, the problems that we now have on our plate are pressing, they are urgent, there is an urgency in this question. We need to try to analyse reality in some way - better than I am trying to do tonight! - but making minimal basic analyses of the reality that we are living in at the moment, before our language is reduced, because our language is being reduced everywhere. It is being reduced in the schools, it's being reduced in the social terrain, many of the humanities, I don't know in Germany but in England they're just being eliminated from study. Science has sold out to capital completely, and very soon we won't have the capacity to reason and will just become reactive.

...We are losing the capacity to look around us, assess the various dangers and take initiative and responsibility - even in an action as simple (but increasingly dangerous) as crossing the road. We cross when we have permission, when it's legal, when we have the legal [pedestrian's] right to cross. Anyway, that's just an aside.

The question is, we have two opposing elements to face. The old element of quantity, that we must be many before we can move, before we can attack. We're faced with the choice of quantity or quality. We have deadlines like the big demo, the summit, that are given to us, or we identify a campaign - it might be in the realm of ecology or antinuclear struggle - and within that reality, again we are faced with a choice: do we want to have the widest number of people, which often means forming alliances with different kinds of groups, or do we want to go for quality in our struggle. We want to find a struggle of quality that we decide, that we invent, that we experiment.

Not because we don't recognise that we also need quantity if we want to fight, attack and destroy capital. This again is what we must decide, because not all anarchists want to destroy capital. In the past, I don't know about the present, many anarchists thought that even for anarchists the project was to grow in quantity as a movement. The workers would take over the means of production and self-manage them without bosses or slaves, everybody equal: a kind of anarchosindicalism, you might say. There's another part of the movement that believes that our lack of strength is because we are 'not organised enough'. We do not have a strong organisation, and so the efforts of these comrades go into trying to consolidate this organisation to make it grow and increase in numbers before we can do anything to attack, because we need the justification before we attack of the presence of the 'working class' in our organisations. But if, as we have already seen, the working class as a conscious class based in industry has disappeared, then this projectuality is destined to stay as it is.

When we say that the working class has disappeared we're certainly not saying that exploitation has disappeared or that people don't work, but that the class of producers upon which the old revolutionary theories were based has moved. The main productive sector in Europe today is the tertiary one, it's no longer primary production but a kind of managerial production, a way of organising what's coming from elsewhere, information capital and the services industry.

Of course we are also exploited and that is also why we are here. But we have something more than being exploited. We have ideas, we have some kind of vision of another world, we have a certain clarity in seeing how things are, the various parts of society, we have an analysis of power, and much more.

If we accept that we don't want this world, that we must destroy work because work is destroying not only humanity but also the planet, then at some point we must also have quantity in this project. So, I think the problem that faces us all today is how can we act immediately, without mediation, to

attack what we know must be attacked and destroyed, and at the same time become many. Who are our comrades? Do we look to the movement for our comrades, in the huge masses of people that turn up at the summits, etc. or to the various ecology deadlines, etc.? And of course some of our comrades are there, but how do we find them, how do we find our comrades?

If we're not interested in forming a fixed organisation that's visible, with a name and a fixed model, we find our comrades by acting immediately in small groups, directly trying to act against capital in some way, a way in which these moments of attack can spread, can multiply. Actions are easy to identify and easily repeated. The attacks need to be visible, not only to our potential comrades in the movement, but to our far many more potential comrades who are out there, that we don't see. Maybe in this same building at this very moment there are people who are our comrades. This is the point - there are people who are our comrades all around us, in this city, in any city, and in the country. Our comrades are everywhere.

...When a situation becomes overwhelming: there's a crowd, not a political demonstration where we know 'who we are' (maybe we're not all together but we know who we are, we recognise comrades) - here we are in a crowd of people, we don't know anybody. And this is a situation we're going towards if we want to destroy capitalism. We won't be in control, we're not going towards a projectuality of control. We're living in a situation of control at the moment: self-control to a very large extent, and that of the movement.

So what is the role of anarchists in a mass insurrectional moment? Well, some end up protecting their anarchist structures against this great mass, thousands of egos acting as one. It's self-organised at this point, nobody is organising it from outside, which is what defines it, if you like, an insurrection.

But if we don't act, after a few days problems enter these mass situations. They can either be suppressed, obviously by the repression, or when the situation doesn't know where to move next, a leadership can move in.

But if we say that we are now at the moment where we must attack and destroy what is destroying us and destroying the future, the whole prospect of life for our children and these children's children, then we must try to develop methods that enable us to extend the insurrection horizontally. We need to experiment methods that are not only based on objectives to be struck but also have a minimal organisational - self organisational - content.

So, this is the crux of the matter. What can we take from reality? As we have already said, our theory comes from action, action that has been spreading from the seventies onwards and is carried out in small groups. We can take these as an organisational model that we can apply, that we can use ourselves to attack capital directly, because if we agree on the urgent need to attack capital we don't have to wait for anybody, we don't have to wait for general consensus before we attack. But even if we are few, we don't want to attack in the dimension of a vanguardist minority but using minimal organisational forms that can multiply. And one form is, for lack of a better word, the affinity group. So the affinity group -we're not talking about the affinity group in the activist milieu where hundreds, maybe thousands, of people turn up on the basis of a deadline concerning a specific objective, possibly a demonstration, let's say within the sphere of symbolic attack. It's symbolic because it doesn't intend to go beyond the days of the action. So they need efficiency, they must act immediately and be able to split up into groups and various sectors. And people are somehow invited to form affinity groups.

When we talk about affinity groups, that's not what we mean. We mean groups of one, two, three comrades who decide to seek reciprocal knowledge of each other. We want to go beyond this respect for rights, differences, 'minding one's own business', so we talk. We come out and say what we think and what we want, get to know each other's ideas, and might eventually decide to carry out an action together. The action doesn't need fifty pages of explanation. It doesn't need to be signed with an acronym. It's not carried out in the name of the whole proletariat. It doesn't synthesize the whole

struggle and intend to carry on from there, heightening its level of attack: today with some kind of homemade device, tomorrow with small firearms and the next day with a machine gun because the objective is to get closer to the enemy - which nearly always turns out to be the police. The affinity group realises itself in a small action and at that point these comrades have already transformed something, both in themselves, and at the level of reciprocal knowledge and knowledge of what they are attacking. Basically, it's only by acting that we get to know each other and get to know reality.

Comrades we don't know, the unknown comrades, can also see an indication for their struggle, because the aim is not to bring people into the anarchist movement but to go beyond the anarchist movement with anarchist methods. By anarchist we mean against authority, against hierarchy, containing this element of transformation and going towards a struggle which is constant; it doesn't respond to deadlines but has the elements of permanent conflictuality, selfmanagement of the struggle (not our daily lives, our miseria) and attack.

So, the next point is - and then I'm going to stop - the bridge between the individual actions of affinity groups and reaching the exploited on the basis of a specific struggle. This is what we could call intermediate struggle, it is not the revolution but instead has one specific objective, which at that time these particular people are having to face. It might be a military base that is about to be built, a special prison or a waste disposal unit that people are against, or any of a myriad of things. And there will probably be many forces against this objective, not just anarchists. Communist parties, socialist parties, trade unions, local syndicalists, ecology groups, or whatever. But we reject a kind of 'popular front' form of organisation, and on the basis of an analysis of what this problem means in the global sense - because that's what makes the objective potentially revolutionary - we move to the question of means, because for us it's the means that we use that are important in the struggle, not the end result, which is relative.

**"I think that** we can all see that all over the planet at the moment insurrections are breaking out in different places and we could say that there is also something insurrectional in this city. The thing is that many of these insurrectional outbursts—riots, insurrections—one of the most recent ones we all know about was Greece, especially as we have many comrades in Greece, there is a very strong anarchist movement there... I think the problem today is .. do we have a methodology that we can bring out, look at and intensify in order to make these insurrections conscious and also to provoke and stimulate insurrection. This gets us back to how reality has changed, how the whole setup of capital has changed at the level of production. When production was in fixed enclaves, the factories, the exploited would join a movement in the quantitative sense of the word. There seemed to be strength in numbers. As capital progressed and restructuring took place thanks to the new technologies - robotisation of production and the possibility to communicate with any part of the planet in real time - it became possible to have a workforce thousands of miles away or to have parts made in different parts of the world and have them assembled possibly in Europe. And during this period of restructuring there were quite intense moments of rebellion where it began to become obvious that the unions were actually participating in the restructuring of capital, not fighting against it..."

So, we come out with our means of all times: leaflets, outdoor meetings, a presence in the street, talking to people about the way we see the implications of this fact - the social, the economic, etc., - and make an organisational proposal, a mass organisational proposal. By mass I don't mean masses of people numerically, but in the sense of 'not political', the absolute absence of any political party or union in this organisational proposal. So, we propose a kind of basic organisational entity. At this point we're not talking to masses of people, we're talking to the few who have already eliminated the unions and political parties as a point of reference in their struggle.

They want to fight directly. We don't hide the fact that we are anarchists: we are anarchists but we're not trying to make these people become anarchist in the sense of belonging to the anarchist movement. But we want to give, and alongside them use, anarchist methods, which means that they must be selforganised. They must hold on to their self-organisation but be able to relate to the other self-organised structures in the same struggle, without having to mediate this through some formal organisational entity, even an anarchist group.

We must keep our eye on the objective we started off from, that's what defines this as

an intermediate struggle, because our aim is not to try to solve all the many problems that these people have. We know that any area where there's a project to build a prison, a detention centre for immigrants, a recycling plant, is likely to be one where people are unemployed, perhaps they don't have proper housing, it's where the worst social discomfort exists.

But, we must keep our concentration on the objective to be destroyed and it's in working together with these minimal entities that they can grow from one day to the next - they are like a lung, they can suddenly contain thousands of people - and hopefully move to the attack. And it's in the attack itself that there is always the hope that things can extend beyond the objective.

I am aware that this has been difficult to articulate, trying to give a coherent kind of vision, if you like, of a proposal of struggle which perhaps exists already. I mean, I don't know the situation here. And there are other very important elements in the way capital is going that I haven't mentioned because it's too vast a subject - such as the 'included' and the 'excluded', those included in the project of capital, and the masses of excluded, who are now excluded for ever; the exponential growth of technology - things that would have taken years in the past can happen in a few years because it's technology itself that is able to do many things much faster; the control of social life moving from the enclaves of the past that we mentioned such as the factories, the prisons, the asylums, to the whole of the territory including our language - reducing our language - and the fact that these technologies are actually penetrating our bodies now, they're not just external. We are moving away from the closed structure of prison to the prison society, because the people whose behaviour is not compliant with the capitalist project are too many to be held in one closed structure and the technology is almost there to control huge masses of people in specific areas and keep them within that area. As we said before, this technology of control is objective, but it's also subjective, because soon we won't have the language to move out of certain ghettos. The ghetto will be defined also by that, by lack of language.

And last, but not least, there is the fact that the availability of the resources that capital is actually using at the moment is finite, it's not unlimited. For example, energy and resources such as oil are drying up, they are not going to last for ever. And capital is going to have to find new forms of energy forms, the transmission of which will surely affect the whole country that we are living in, leading to the militarisation of the whole territory.

Also, as we know, the surface of the planet is receding, the areas producing food are diminishing. Countries like China, with a huge population that they can't feed, have already moved into some African countries and bought huge areas of land which they are farming, exporting rice to feed their own population. So we're moving towards a possible reality where even the very moving of food and feeding of populations will become militarised, because more and more people are going to be starving.

Hence the urgency of what we are saying. We are in a moment of - ok, we've said that as anarchists we don't take history as our point of reference, but - I think that we could say that we are in a historical moment where we have also a challenge facing us, because as anarchists we are closest, we are the only subject, the only people who have in our hearts the desire for freedom and have the sense of totality that is taken into each small action that is carried out. We carry the sense of totality.

OK, that's what I think. Now it's up to you to tell me something about what you think. I just want to say that this has been a very artificially contrived moment, starting off with one person talking. That's obviously not the way that one wants to continue but rather open some kind of possibility, something that can continue in time, examining and possibly experimenting certain ideas.

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**“For anarchists**, our ideas come from action, our ideas are action and anarchist action - revolutionary action - is also our ideas. We think sometimes that language brings us together but in fact language separates us. But we must try in some way, all the more so at the moment when capital has taken our language. It has expropriated many of the terms that we once used and emptied them of meaning. In the same way as capital has taken our space, it's also taken our time. In other words it's taking our lives. It's taking our lives to sell back to us in the supermarket of identities.

We must have an identity. We can't have individuality. Individuals scare capital, but identities are safe because they can interact. The prevailing model of the present, going towards the future, is the model of tolerance: reciprocal respect, respect of people's likes and respect of people's differences. But these differences must be homogenised into a series of diversities, not real differences that interpenetrate and collude and spark off particles, creating a free reality of space and time...”







Direct experience is our most potent ally. The reality of social struggle could never be written in any list. For more news updates check the online resources given at the back of this zine. Many of these actions are from the context of campaigns of revolutionary solidarity, and we include them as examples of a spreading global anarchist-insurrectional tendency. Actions dedicated to specific prisoners by anarchists are never meant to deny the existence of those whose names do not appear on any list or dedication. // 325

**13 September, Bembibre, Spain** - In conjunction with miners in several parts of Spain, about 150 miners and their companions temporarily blocked a highway and railroad in northern Spain with burning tires and other objects to protest against unpaid wages. Fifty miners have since September 2 refused to leave a coal mine 500 metres (1,650 feet) underground near Guardo in the northern Palencia province until they receive the salaries they are owed for August from mining company Union Minera del Norte (Uminsa)

**8 September, Argentina** - Expropriation of Carrefour, here is the claim: *"The 'Heroes of 1917 Nucleus' attacked a premises of the French exploitative company Carrefour and subtracted a large sum of money ... We also subtracted weapons and ammunition from a member of the Argentinan Naval Prefecture [an armed security guard] that was carrying out his repressive work in the exploiters' business. ... This action, in addition to recovering the money, was made in protest against the xenophobic treatment of the State of France against the ethnic Roma expelled from the territory as in the worst Nazi era. And also against the policy of firing workers at Carrefour."*

**Heroes of 1917 Nucleus**  
**Luciano Arruga Brigade**

[More than 8000 Roma gypsies have been deported from France since the beginning of the year, with 9875 expelled last year.]

**1 September, Central Sulawesi, Indonesia** - Police station totally devastated by huge crowds and many police injured with Molotovs and stones, after local man Timumun Kashmir, a taxi-driver, was tortured and killed by cops. 5 local people were killed in the clashes.

**13 August, Bristol, UK** - 43 windows smashed and two vehicles rendered totally unusable of the company MITIE, who profit from the recession.

**27 July, Houthalen, Belgium** - Two trucks loaded with brand new cars were set on fire in the night. The trucks were parked next to the highway going to Holland. The two trucks and the new cars were completely destroyed.

**19 July, Nord Pas de Calais, France** - In one of a series of spreading attacks against television broadcasting, fibre optics of 'France 3' were cut between the diffusion operator and transmitters, preventing transmission of the regional news.

**19 July, Athens, Greece** - Assassination of fascist media propagandist. Sokratis Giolias was shot dead at 5.20 in the morning, in front of his house in the area of Ilioupoli. The assailants escaped the scene with a stolen car which was found burned a few hours later. Giolias was well known for ties to the police, security forces and extreme far-right para-state groups.

**19 July, Montreal, Canada** - Federal government building was attacked. Several windows were smashed. The building houses various federal government offices, including the Department of National Defence, and the RCMP.

**19 July, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada** - 25 people made an anti-prison demo with fireworks, militant slogans etc., outside the Hamilton-Wentworth Detention Centre (Barton Jail) in down-town

Hamilton, Ontario. This action was also done in solidarity with a concurrent Greek prisoner hunger strike.

**19 July, Lincolnshire, UK** - Delivery vans torched at notorious lab animal breeder Highgate Farm.

**16 July, Grenoble, France** - Rioters torched cars, looted shops and shot at police in the French Alpine city after police shot dead a 27-year-old man. 30 youths attacked a tram with baseball bats and iron bars, forcing out passengers. After police arrived, the youths began burning cars, setting between 50 and 60 vehicles ablaze. Gunfire ensued, with police returning fire four times. No one was injured in the riots.

**16 July, Hendaye, Basque Country** - Molotovs destroy the offices and vehicle of Maitena estate agency. The attack is attributed to groups operating under the slogan *"Euskal Herria ez da salgai"* (Euskal Herria is not for sale).

**16 July, Sint-Stevens-Woluwe, Belgium** - Mobile phone antenna destroyed by fire in the Frans Smoldersstraat.

**15 July, Buenos Aires, Argentina** - 9 buses of the 'Empresa de Transporte' transport company were burnt by uncontrollable workers during a dispute. The same individuals also set fire to buses of the UTA's union bureaucrats in the company depot.

**13 July, Santa Cruz, Chile** - Huge noise bombs outside prison for Mapuche indigenous struggle, anarchist prisoners and against all prisons.

**13 July, Strasbourg, France** - High court attacked with incendiary device.

**12 July, Sarawak, Borneo** - The nomadic tribes of Borneo barricaded roads to stop loggers destroying their forest in an escalating situation of oppression and ecological damage.

**12 July, Torroella de Montgri, Catalunya** - 2 experimental genetically modified Maize trials belonging to multinational bio-science company Syngenta were destroyed.

**11 July, Berlin, Germany** - Solidarity riot for man killed by cops. *"On Sunday night a large group of us take face to face the police in Berlin-Neukölln. As bait we smash two banks on Hermannplatz and Kottbusser damm with stones and cluster bombs. ... The pigs were too cowardly to fight. After 15 minutes we withdrew. This action was a reaction to the execution of Dennis in Schönfließ,*



*(near Berlin), to the [legal] judgement and to police brutality here. This action is the answer to all killings from the police! Revenge for Dennis!"*

**Action-group "Carlo Giuliani"**

**11 July, Hamburg, Germany** - Unknown persons set fire to a car transport train. 37 VW Golf were greatly damaged by fire.

**10 July, Athens, Greece** - A nameless group has claimed responsibility for a large letter bomb sent to the minister of public order, Michalis Chrisochoidis, killing 52-year old Giorgos Vasilakis, a high-ranking services officer and close aide of the minister. They promise that this is only the beginning of their campaign.

**8 July, Buskerud, Norway** - Immigration detention centre burnt to ground by detainees. Rioters destroyed fixtures and fittings, broke windows, and started smaller fires. All facilities are now uninhabitable.

**5 July, Turin, Italy** - In solidarity with the G20 protesters (Toronto) a group of comrades smash windows, destroy cash machines and paint bomb 2 Canadian banks. This action was dedicated to the almost 900 people detained at the G20 summit in Canada and all who fight back.

**4 July, Barcelona, Catalunya** - The windows of Radio Estel, a radio directly linked to the Catholic Church, were smashed by anarchists.



**5 July-14 June, Nottingham, UK** - 3 cellphone antennas destroyed with fire by anarchists. The group put the method online.

**2 July, Trois-Rivières, Canada** - Bombing of a Canadian Forces recruitment centre. A group calling itself 'Résistance Internationaliste' has claimed responsibility.

**14 June, Thessaloniki, Greece** - Anarchists expropriate supermarket, steal the money and burn it outside. The group explain in an online communiqué how they made the action and release a video. No-one is arrested

**12 June, Berlin, Germany** - At a 50,000 strong leftist anti-government demo against economic restructuring and capitalist crisis, Berlin riot cops were attacked with an explosive device filled with shrapnel, after a riot unit had baton charged the crowd. 13 police had minor injuries and two needed hospitalisation.

**? June, Cutacre, UK** - Coal mine trucks in Greater Manchester glued. 7 large trucks used to transport coal sabotaged with metal hair-pins cut to length, coated in super-glue & inserted deep into the locks of the vehicles, followed by more glue.

**24 May, Shotton, UK** - One excavator, two bulldozers and ten heavy earth movers at Shotton opencast coal mine were sabotaged in eco-action. The damage included cut electrics, cut hydraulics and coal dust in oil tanks. Also, 150 meters of water pipe was slashed, flooding an area of the mine.

**21 May, Bristol, UK** - 'T-Mobile' Cell-phone antenna set on fire, the group puts the method online. The action is dedicated to eco-anarchists Costantino, Billy and Silvia, who were arrested whilst allegedly on a route to blow up an unfinished £55 million (\$118 million) IBM nanotechnology facility near Zurich.

**15 May, Athens & Thessaloniki, Greece** - Massive bombs go off against Korydallos Prison and inside Thessaloniki's main court complex within 24 hours of each other. Conspiracy of Cells of Fire claimed responsibility. Strong warnings were given.

**11 May, London, UK** - Forest Gate Community Service Office and Probation Offices were attacked. Spray-paint slogans and broken windows were the result. The action was dedicated to anarchist prisoners everywhere, especially in Greece.

**9 May, Bristol, UK** - Co-ordinated property destruction by anarchists after Israeli massacre against aid flotilla 'Free Gaza'. 'Conservative Party' political office smashed; Territorial Army vehicles windscreens smashed; Estate agent smashed; HSBC bank smashed.

**1 May, Bristol, UK** - Police station, cop cars and Group 4 Security vehicles

attacked with rocks. Dedicated to anarchist prisoners.

**1 May, Naples, Italy** - Four bank ATMs are attacked with color and hammers, in solidarity with "Giannis Dimitrakis, Alfredo M. Bonnanno, Christos Stratigopoulos. The ghost of liberty always comes back with a knife between her teeth"

**30 April, Montreal, Canada** - CN rail blocked. "Overnight April 30-May 1st, the CN rail lines just west of Montreal were blocked so as to stymie regular rail traffic along one of the busiest sections of rail in the country. These rails are an integral part of the underpinnings of a world we hate, built by the colonizers who introduced judges, police, and their prisons to this land. ... For every cop car put to ruin, a prison razed. ... From coast to coast, we will act on the desires we feel in the pit of our stomachs, in the cockles of our hearts, until the rush of our longing to put an end to this world of cages and surveillance washes the freight train of social control into the sea."

**28 April, Prague, Czech** - Molotovs thrown in the garden of the Greek embassy, where a fire started. "Giannis Dimitrakis" and a circled 'A' are painted. Press talk about a "similar arson" in the Greek embassy in Brazil. From the communiqué: "We will not tolerate repression by this system! The popular uprising in Greece is our inspiration and proof that we can take back our lives!"

**27 & 26 April, Thessaloniki, Greece** - 2 Gasaki (improvised explosive device made from gas-canisters) attacks occurred in the early hours of Monday 26/4 against the National Telecommunications Organization and a news agency truck in the west part of Thessaloniki. The following night a Eurobank branch was attacked in Kalamaria.

**25 April, Barcelona, Catalunya** - In Gracia district, an ATM of the Caixa Catalunya bank is put on fire. The claims adds: "Let the solidarity flames spread! Until they are reduced to ashes! Liberty for Giannis Dimitrakis!"

**23 April, London, UK** - Serco government services office attacked in London with 3 Molotovs. The action is dedicated to the memory of fallen anarchist comrade Lambros Foundas, and to revolutionary prisoners in Greece.

**20 April, Bristol, UK** - Serco van torched. Dedicated to the Revolutionary Struggle comrades in prison, Alfredo

Maria Bonanno, Christos Stratigopoulos and anarchists under repression in Turin, Italy.

**18 April, Milton, Ontario, Canada** - 40-50 Anarchists held a noise demo in solidarity with prisoners locked up at the Maplehurst Correctional Complex and Vanier Center for Women. The prison was spray-painted with the slogans "against prison" and "against police". Fire works were let off and militant slogans shouted. A speech was read out in solidarity with anarchist prisoner Giannis Dimitrakis. *"Prisoners Everywhere, Solidarity and Love! Against The Violence of Capital, Our Struggle Is One!"*

**6 April, Crepy-en-Valois, France** - Workers at a factory facing closure threatened to blow up the plant unless they were given better redundancy money. About 50 workers at Sodimatex occupied the site. The employees placed petrol bombs near a large gas tank and threatened to set them ablaze. the industrial action was successful.

**11 March, Frankfurt, Germany** - Two attacks have been undertaken last week against job-centres. Over 18 windows got smashed and slogans like "everything for everybody" and "destroy work" have been left behind.

**7 March, Zaratamo, Basque Country** - Two TAV excavators torched in Euskal Herria at the High-Speed Train (TAV) construction site in Bizkaia province.

**3 March, Nottingham, UK** - Molotov against a Serco building. *"Serco are a giant corporation who profit from the nuclear industry, industrial prison complex and the murderous border regime. Fire to the Prisons"*

**23 February, Bristol, UK** - RBS HQ attacked with rocks, paint bombs and burning tyre barricade over Tar Sands project investment. The action is also dedicated to anarchist revolutionary prisoners and those fighting 2010 Winter Olympics in Canada.

**6 February, Zurich, Switzerland** - 500-600 people helped themselves to the streets of Zurich, attacking capitalist targets, building burning barricades and creating an opportunity through which to act, something that seems to become more possible daily. ... For a short time the thick ice of social peace was joyfully broken with hammers and stones. It's not so much that we believe that broken windows will change the world, but more that the idea of revolt will find resonance;

based on a dream of coexistence, which enriches the possibility that each one of us may realise ourselves as free and unique beings.

When we throw stones at cops it is because we see in authority the slaughtering, in any way possible, of these dreams. When we ravage banks and administration buildings it is because we want to strengthen the idea of a world without money and bureaucracy. ... In moments of revolt there hangs the possibility of light, to break through normality, subjugation and the acceptance of the everyday, to ask questions and to experiment with answers, something that eludes politics. Now that we have opened up a bit of space, what can we do with it?

How can we resist the State? How do we enable the break with normality to widen and develop? How dangerous can this become? Certainly, not through the creation of a niche for alternative culture or ecology that ultimately only seeks the right for its own existence. Without the generalised insurrection of the excluded the State will not just disappear, just as the rich and powerful will not give up their privileges without a fight. Rebellion can take many forms, from the moment when, with uncompromising ideas, to reject any form of power, neither to make demands, nor to agree to become a part of negotiations, it is from this moment that something begins, that depends on us.

This violent machinery, that robs us daily of our freedom, that in this messed up world of commodities offers it up for sale again, that locks us up in prisons, psychiatric wards and deportation centres, that tries to chain everything up with the words of the law, that controls and humiliates us, that everyday pushes us into work or school, with the aim of maintaining social order, that is certainly not ours; this machine is built, serviced, repaired and protected in concrete locations by real people. It is not necessary to attack with 500 people. A small group of trusted friends is enough to begin. The night is on our side... *"Right from the start and more or less throughout the duration of the protest, walls on the left and right were sprayed all over with political slogans, tags and graffiti. Almost no patch of white paint was left untouched. The cops didn't have the slightest idea of what would happen and consequently were practically unseen the whole time. At Limmatplattz, the panoptical*

*wet dream, around 15 surveillance cameras were partly destroyed by long sticks. Cars that looked expensive were destroyed. Along the long street numerous brothels and nightclubs were sprayed with slogans against sexism and patriarchy. Windows of the following businesses were trashed: McDonalds, Hooters, a jewellers, ZKB (bank), Mercedes, a yuppie bar, RBS coutts, Tamedia. Sadly, the demo met with some cops vans that blocked the way at the Stauffacherbrücke. After some stones, rubber bullets and tear gas, ... There were no arrests!"*

**20 November '09, Nea Ionia, Greece** - Attack with gasaki against the commission of the municipal police in memory of Diana Blefari Melazzi, no-one was arrested. Not one moment of peace for the class enemy, never forget, never forgive. Excerpts from the final part of the claim: *"Freedom to all the anarchists and revolutionaries in jail. Solidarity with the armed rebels and those who chose the difficult path of lawlessness. Not two millimetres for the State, but nine millimetres for the cops. ... This is for Diana Blefari Melazzi, a member of the Red Brigades, who was found hanging in her cell, hours after confirmation of her conviction for the execution of Marco Biagi. (Economic minister of the Italian State). Murdered by the State. ... Diana, who was never without a gun. ...*

*This is to promote negation and revolutionary violence ...*

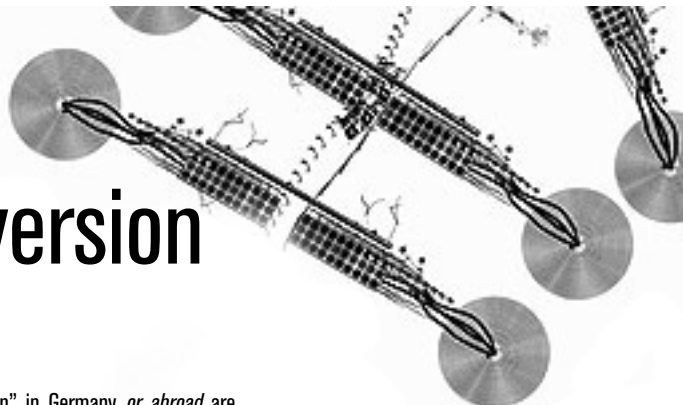
*PS 1: Please do not park vehicles near the banks and ministries, because the war is raging."*

#### Inflammatory Rebels in Training



# For mass struggle and subversion

## Part two.



Due to the beginnings of a new urban struggle, the European super-state is attempting to build a comprehensive database system for profiling and apprehending anarchist and autonomous radicals, and extensively cataloguing, monitoring and surveying the places and environments (online & physical) that “political radicalisation” and “extremism” are thought to reside.

From all aspects of life, language has been ripped to shreds by power and turned to signify its opposite. “Extremism” could never encompass a total description of our *everyday struggle*, and we reject the terminology of repression outright. Yet this abuse of language, this expropriation by capital of the essence, not only of communication, but of conceptual understanding, is at the very heart of the newest repressive measures. It begins by differentiating those on a list from those that are not on a list, separating the desirables from the undesirables, those that are obedient from those that aren't... in the end, as we know from history, the list is simply a list, for a greater end, always at least potentially including everyone. So, like any fascist state, even those fictional ones created by visionaries like Orwell, the European Union is creating frameworks for manipulation and social control.

IGAST (*international agierende gewaltbereite Störer*), operated by the BKA (*Bundeskriminalamt* / German Federal Criminal Police Office), is a database which is categorised “violent troublemakers who are active internationally”, which has existed since 2003. In contrast to the other German “troublemaker” files, IGAST is a central database which collects and analyses information in the context of “Globalisation-issues”, a catch-all term for anyone who is opposed to the capitalist system. In June 2009 information on 2,966 persons was stored in this database. Those who have been arrested or registered in the context of violent protests

against “globalisation” in Germany *or abroad* are specified for inclusion. Given its nature as a centralised database on anarchists and autonomous “extremists”, which is both manually fed with data from various national/international sources and accessed solely by the BKA branch for “State Protection” (*BKA-Abteilung ST – Polizeilicher Staatsschutz [political police]*), it is evident that IGAST has a similar purpose to Europol’s ‘Analysis Working Files’, (i.e. the harvesting and mining of information to understand networks and reveal their social relationships), and will ultimately contribute to the bulk of the EU database in the initial stages of development.

The European database being created is based on the classification system of the BKA, which logs objects (i.e. evidence), physical and online places (homes, social centres, websites etc.), groups and individuals. The large BKA files on anarchists and autonomous radicals are already the cornerstone in the mosaic of the European police information landscape; which features Automated Fingerprint Identification Systems and DNA databases networked with their police counterparts in other countries under the auspices of the ‘Prüm Treaty’. The ongoing ‘search’ files for objects and persons, - these are sources from which the BKA’S officers feed the Schengen Information System (SIS - Governmental database used by several European countries to maintain and distribute information on individuals and property of interest, for the purpose of ‘border control’, ‘national security’, ‘law enforcement’).

During the Strasbourg NATO summit in April 2009, the BKA’s political police submitted information on 232 people whose data was stored in IGAST - the complete list of those deemed “troublemakers” - to their French colleagues, plus additional information on more than 400 people received from foreign sources. In actual effect, more than 100 individuals were hindered in crossing the German-French border and attending demonstrations in Strasbourg. Despite the cataloguing, anarchist and autonomous black blocs attacked and set fire to many buildings, including a ‘Hotel Ibis’ accommodating the French police and used for deporting migrants. A border post was also totally gutted by a fire set by the black bloc, and the cops had to fight hard to

pin down the fighting in the industrial areas out of the main districts. This was a powerful symbolic victory showing up the impotence of the NATO and the emergency contingency planning of various state police forces and security personnel.

3 years ago, on 12 October 2007, the Federal Council (*Bundesrat*, the chamber of the 16 German state-districts, represented by their councils) declared that: “*the creation of a European database on violent offenders who are active internationally is essential in order to target measures against persons who are prepared for violence in their homelands [travel bans are mentioned explicitly] or at the locations of events.*” Moreover, they note that a “*general improvement in information sharing on violent offenders who are active internationally is urgent*” to support the policing of major events. The Federal Council suggested making use of either Europol’s computer systems or the Schengen Information System, or to network existing or newly created national databases to guarantee the cross-border availability of “standardised data”. The Federal Government was asked to work towards the creation of a European database on “violent offenders who are active internationally”.

The background to the initiative was the G8 summit hosted by Germany in June 2007 in Heiligendamm. According to the Federal Council more than 20 per cent of the 646 people arrested at the summit were foreigners. Officials complained of deficits in international information-sharing which was said to be sporadic and non-standardised. On Monday 26 April 2010 the General Affairs Council of the Council of the European Union “nodded” through without debate Council Conclusions “*on the use of a standardised, multi-dimensional semi-structured instrument for collecting data and information on the processes of radicalisation in the EU.*”

This “instrument” is to be set up to prevent people turning to “terrorism” through “radicalisation”. Firstly by analysing the “various environments” where “radicalisation” occurs, then secondly by introducing “systematic ways” of exchanging information on individuals or groups

who use “hate speech” or “incite terrorism”. Information is to be exchanged on “radical leaders” who promote terrorism and their movements tracked with a view to “interrupt radicalisation processes in progress or to raise alerts in relation to them” (“alerts” could trigger action, such as questioning, placing under surveillance, detention etc). In conjunction, Europol (Centralised European Police) is asked to “generate lists of those involved in radicalising/ recruiting or transmitting radicalising messages and to take appropriate steps”.

The document which the Council Conclusions are based is entitled: “Instrument for compiling data and information on violent radicalisation processes” (EU doc no: 7984/10 ADD 1). This new EU instrument to tackle those who “promote terrorism” only mentions one reference to “terrorism”. It is also odd that the terminology used flips between referring to “violent radicalisation” and “radicalisation” as if they are the same. “Extremism” and “Terrorism” are frequently used interchangeably in modern policing jargon, but we are not going to cry about that, nor about our supposed civic “right to demonstrate”. It has gone too far for that. What a lie these “civil liberties” are. Democracy is a fraud and only a total break with all existing power structures will change this intolerable situation.

The target for this new “instrument” is clearly not people or groups who have or are planning to commit terrorist acts nor those inciting terrorism, because both come under the criminal law (arrest, charge, sentence etc.). This new database is targeted at all those in the mass society who hold different ideas than those permitted and expressed by the mass media. And who is going to be using this “instrument” placing a very wide spectrum of people and groups under surveillance? EU police forces, security and intelligence agencies plus “EU institutions and agencies”. How are these bodies and agencies going to compile and use the information gathered? The aim is to exchange information and increase the quantity “obtained by other, non-specific means or instruments” (by any means possible?). Apart from providing analyses (termed “ISSUES”) the information gathered would result in assessments and “tactical operational... decision making” (a security euphemism for targeting, undermining, destabilising and eliminating). The information, or rather ‘intelligence’, to be gathered will be drawn to complete a standardised list of 70 questions, covering ideologies, dissemination channels, factors influencing behaviour and impact of “RMs” (“Radical Messages”). Within the “semi-structured data compilation approach” each agency or body will be able to add their own categories or definitions. The 70 questions will presumably be based on intelligence-gathering of personal data (from state and commercial sources) and surveillance (eg: examining the content of e-mails, surveillance of all major

internet providers, vehicle tracking, covert operations) and be interpreted and passed on by police and security agents in each country or EU body. To which will be added suspicions or suppositions and second-hand information (eg: hearsay). Moreover, the interpretation of this information/ “intelligence” will vary greatly from state to state in the EU – and vary according to the political presumptions in each state as to which individuals or groups to target. (\*See appendix on page 65.)

No-one should be under any illusions as to the intent and enormity of this plan. Another earlier, and also secret document (5692/1/10 REV 1) explicitly states that the purpose of the instrument is: “purely operational” with all the agencies across the EU free to amend or adjust the 70 questions in order to “optimise the results”. Each agency in every state will be free to work to their own definitions and assumptions on individuals and groups and freely circulate these around the EU. What is being planned is a large-scale, automated, risk profiling system to target so-called “agents” of “radicalisation”. There are millions of people in the EU with “radical” ideas (in the eyes of the state) who may easily, in their own terms, use arguments which are also used by so-called “radicals”, without any intention whatsoever of using or encouraging “violence”. This shows once again, that any effective action, “violent” or “non-violent”, will be countered by the state using crude repressive methods backed up by a disruptive intelligence program which aims to be as comprehensive as possible. The online forums, social networking websites and news-feeds will come under as close scrutiny and policing as the physical environments of “radicalisation”, the people using these services and spaces acutely monitored and profiled. Older generations will increasingly be painted as “ring-leaders” and other such idiocies.

Furthermore, this initiative comes on top of plans under the ‘Stockholm Programme’ to create an EU-wide database on all political activists (“protestors”) under the guise of tackling “violent troublemakers”. Under both plans anyone deemed “radical” would be targeted and everyday social life could become contaminated by unseen and unaccountable suspicions manufactured by agencies of the state.

These mechanics of the repressive machine cannot resolve the contradiction: Modern industrial capitalist society itself is our ‘laboratory’ of “radicalisation”. Here in the ‘community’ where ‘citizens’, soft-cops, snitches, nationalists and the religious attempt to lord over us. Here in the

workplace where we are humiliated everyday in a thousand different ways. Here in the cold meaningless exploitation of daily life. You cannot travel to escape this void. You cannot remain ignorant if you have seen past it. If nothing will change, it will just all get much worse.

All the police with all the information technology in the world cannot stop the realisation of the broader picture happening here on Earth, a storm is coming which cannot be stopped.

## Part three.

# A free society starts with the individual.

Decentralised informally federated diverse small groups of 2-3 people operating in conditions of mass struggle, which understand their operating environment can defeat standing armies, masses of police and technological infrastructures of control. A starting point of the new urban social war is to become unpredictable and chaotic, by taking up new forms of struggle and constantly spreading into new areas of contagion. An internationalist perspective is essential if we are to defeat the interlocking cartel of nation-states, multi-national corporations, industrialists and bankers.

The capitalist system and its systems of surveillance and policing are based on patterning and habitual behaviour, but the contradiction is that the dictates of the economy mean that our lives are unstable, and have the potential to be mobile in a way they were not traditionally. We

are compelled to change jobs, town or countries to the demands of survival. It is easy to place under surveillance some-one who lives all their life in one place and is tied there. Not so easy if they change social circle, friendship group and job every 6 months, as is frequent for the young exploited. Austerity measures of the neo-liberal reforms in line with the economic cuts mean a broad attack against social services, health and welfare, and although this means that immiseration will become widespread, it also means that the state has less control over the exploited and new alliances will be created amongst those struggling to survive in the face of these capitalist manoeuvres. So, the transience and precarity that has been forced on us is also our weapon. But we have also to learn how to handle this. And this means becoming strong individuals uniquely at war with that which oppresses us, individuals capable of coming together and moving apart like mercury.

**“The ability of anarchist groups to translate violent ambitions into action seems to have grown stronger.”**  
- EU Terrorism Situation and Trend Report (TE-SAT 2010)

Informal organisation is not only a component of anarchist-insurrectional methodology, it is the key facet of the successful "asymmetric" (unequal) urban warfare model which is being studied and respected by conventional military forces worldwide in their war against "terror".

The mobile new generations of exploited proletariat are coming to consciousness of their situation increasingly fast due to cheap availability of decent telecommunications, the new online self-publishing formats and new low-cost print technologies which are becoming available. The new technologies are enabling the co-ordination and spread of our ideas deeper than ever before during this critical period and although anarchists and autonomous left radicals are few in number, through organisation we can realise our collective strength in mass terms. The contradictions of using the new medias, topographic/mapping software, social networking sites and self-publishing platforms, is that although they let the state plan better their demographics of control, they are also leading to the demise of conventional print media like newspapers, magazines etc., and people are transmitting and receiving information in a much more direct way. Of course, the new paradigm is not without it's dangers and there is much to be written about the impoverishment of language and social relationships, but essentially, these tools are useful for the *distribution and informal organisation of the attack*, and they have largely kept the mass media on the back-foot in terms of direction and focus. Now usually all major media companies offer 'comment', 'forum' and 'contribute' sections to their racketeering operations. Internet self-publishing and new medias are going to make corporate journalists largely irrelevant. The plethora of direct actions and armed urban groups in the 1970's and 1980's were held back by lack of effective communication with the base population, and the anti-capitalist struggle constantly undermined by the Cold War and Soviet Union. These no longer exist, whilst there exists this acute and seemingly irreparable total crisis at all levels, the nature of which is being communicated ever quicker. Whilst we don't have any interest in making any predictions, there are some matters that are as sure as the Arctic becoming a blue ocean.

Anarchist-nihilist-communist insurrectional methods are the only real threat to the all encompassing capitalist system, there is no other way out. When our methods are successful we can expect opposition from this totalitarian prison society, the technological aspect of which far surpasses anything dreamt of by the classical fascist regimes. The key to the future is to unlock new dimensions of acting and communicating, that spark mass incidents of rupture, chaos and self-organisation. All the boundaries between the anti-system rebels are being reconfigured, new enemies and comrades are emerging. Many of these activist 'social centres', political platforms,

'movements', 'federations' and labels are impediments to the mass struggle, as they are eclipsed during the necessarily uncontrollable insurrectional clash. If these political organisations were organisations of struggle there would be a greater dimension to their participation and critique, and they would expand in quality instead of trying to defend their own territory. In the moment of rupture, many more previously unknown comrades and new centres of exchange and dialogue outside these left-activist identities/spaces open up and surpass the fictional movement. Often this fictional movement responds by seeking to defend its status-quo. Repression is usually also dealt with in a similar way, waiting for a moment to conveniently point and delineate, which always helps to prepare the repressive work of the police. Through denunciation seeking to find a moment to express their own conforming identity, which of course can only become the worn-out plea of social management, because they have nothing to offer anyone any more. These people are the ambulance chasers of the social democratic illusion, their time is over.

These people, regardless of what they call themselves, and without naming some, for the purposes of withholding from them our energy, and our consideration, could never be satisfied. If they try to back down from confrontation with the class enemy, try to impose limits and regulations from above or repeat smears and lies against any part of the movement they cannot control they can expect answers. They know nothing about our revolutionary struggle nor social insurrection, in short - they know nothing about the real anarchist-nihilist-communist movement which is not mediated through political or ideological fictions.

How does the conscious mass respond to state repression? By moving away from the leftist political model and refusing to describe other peoples' actions in terms of an outdated methodology and political approach. Finding our autonomy in the streets means respecting and allowing other people theirs, not fixing people into hypotheses which ultimately benefit the system. The real movement is beyond all spaces, 'revolutionary organisations', councils, assemblies etc and is the motion of all.

The repressive forces of the state and corporations constantly depict the individuals in struggle and the new urban guerillas, as having no respect for life, as "insane", "criminal", "fanatical". Nothing could be further from the truth. Imagine what would happen if the masses of people were communicated with in a way they could understand the truth of what had been denied to them? Deceitful propaganda is endemic and is obviously not a new thing, and does not only concern anarchists and the autonomous left, where they exist. Capitalism aims to debase every aspect of life with its

double-speak. The corporate media has attempted to set the agenda around 'immigration', 'crime' and the 'war-on-terror' to such a disgusting and reprehensible degree that it is clear who they serve. Language is twisted to signify whatever power and hierarchy want it to mean. The changing social conditions, communicative nature of revolt and intractability of the economic and environmental crisis not only escapes the mainstream media, but almost everyone else involved in social control and police propaganda. The spread of anarchist-nihilist-communist direct action across Europe and beyond is the consequence of the development of a new generation of interlinked militant social struggles based in mass unease with existing power structures.

Who would have thought after the G8 Genoa summit of 2001 the *Carabinieri (Italian paramilitary police)* would head the Europol's anti-anarchist unit? Only the sane. Of course, despite Carlo Guillani dead, hundreds beaten, degraded, tortured and imprisoned in a cruel theatre, the democratic masters gave the dogs the bones. In due course, now 50 *Carabinieri* arrive in Athens, an anti-anarchist unit, advising on "anarchist-insurrectionalism", the media in tow. Media terror-hysteria has always been the speciality of the *Carabinieri*. In such a reversal of fortunes is it possible for any collaborating journalist to expect anything other than disdain? No. Mainstream media formulates the 'truth', it does not report it.

For the sake of illumination: we could look at the phrase "Eco-terrorism", which prevails to allegedly describe environmental direct action. This terminology is a more apt description of the colossal horror BP (British Petroleum) have caused in the 'Deepwater' incident in the Gulf of Mexico, not a description of eco-anarchists who have a deep regard for all life. To know the ex-boss of BP, Tony Hayward, who is responsible for the 'Deepwater' catastrophe, is to walk away with a £10 million pension fund plus bonus, is enough to seal fury into bullet-chambers. "Eco-terrorism" is not only this coastal ecology in collapse, it is the entire biosphere plundered and destroyed for profit world-wide.

Anarchists respect life in ways that remain unequalled, the restraint shown by our tendency is exemplary. For all the grief and damage inflicted and looted from devastated forests, broken peoples, ruined oceans, there has not been nearly enough revenge from the heart of the Earth. Our compassion is that heart.

Anarchists make the future using methods that represent the free society that they embody. Even when we use pistols and explosives we'll use them with consciousness and imagination, and without apology, and always aiming at the exploiters, for not a single one of the excluded must be harmed.



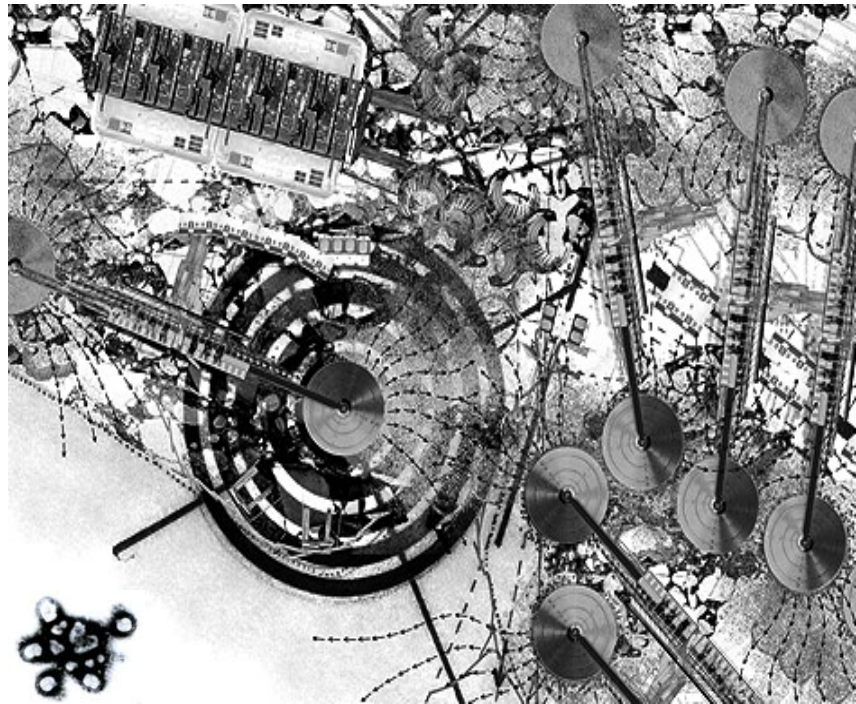
If we act as urban guerillas, we act because *we define ourselves* to be the co-creators of future libertarian realities defining new values, which are expressed by our state of being in a *social war*.

An anarchist-nihilist-communist assassination is not a faceless random murder. It is not indiscriminate, *it does not threaten the mass*. It has a specific motive, and a considered target. And it is not faceless in the sense that, although one individual may not claim responsibility for it, the anarchist cadre who have undertaken the act will often claim collective responsibility. How different this is from the state or the corporate boss who controls a labyrinth of orders and procedures that allow the back-handers paid to death squads, the blind eyes turned to poor work practices which lead to so many 'accidental deaths' and the acts of general devastation of human, animal and ecological life described above? This is faceless random terror - never owned, untraceable, and utterly indiscriminate. When an anarchist kills, each anarchist takes that blood onto themselves, carrying that responsibility, in a very deep and noble way. Each anarchist who fights and takes life chooses to live with the consequences of taking life, refusing to hide behind anything. The anarchist 'terror' only threatens those, we might say, with something to hide. *Attentat* is in fact the diametric opposite of state terror. It is an expression of our historical struggle against all oppression, using the methods that are most identical to our libertarian vision.

The role of the individual within mass struggle is to comprise a nucleus of destruction and creation, to find others who share the rebellion and immediacy, to collectively organise effective methods of revolutionary struggle, not within the anachronistic model of the political left, but within the social and economic dimension of our lives.

Each method of struggle depends on the continuation of all the others - radical media, popular dinners, reading circles, non-hierarchical assemblies, occupations, armed expropriations, riots, attacks, direct action and so on... The projects of widespread subversion which are growing around the world aimed at a new libertarian society of mutual aid, voluntary co-operation and free exchange cannot be stopped by terminology, computers or violence, although the authorities will most assuredly try. Reality is beyond quantification and limitation, or to speak directly: some things are worth more than money, and rebellion is priceless!

Mass means of communication and co-ordination, are critical. To this end, cohesion, foresight and organisation are needed if we are to enter a new dimension of international struggle. Permanent conflict and cross-border subversion has been achieved through relatively simple means: through identification of



intermediate struggles by specific informal networks of people leading to continual individual and mass social clashes.

The new realities are approaching, it seems like it is too late for anything other than a catastrophic outcome, which looms over post-industrial civilisation a short distance into the future.

In the face of this chaos, we find our precious refusal, sabotage and resistance is based in a loss of hope in this human-world, which might never recover from the exploiters, but joy and free will are found in fighting back. All those who do not know the price of this take note.

**For social insurrection and the destruction of all prisons.**

#### ANTI-SYSTEM CORES

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#### \* APPENDIX:

The individual or groups on which the information is to be gathered and exchanged are called "AGENTS" and: *"data assessment will therefore automatically be built into tactical operational decision-making, with the measures and steps considered appropriate here being taken."* The standardised list of 70 questions demonstrate just how intrusive the database will be. Under 'ideologies' it is asked: *"Are any of these RMs (radical messages) also supported by other ideologies or movements that do not support violence?"*

*"Is there a prior relationship between the agents? Schoolmates, neighbours, friends, relatives, shared time in prison, etc."*

*"Administrative position? Original nationality, acquired nationality, illegal resident, temporary residence, work permit, study permit, etc."*

*"Economic situation? Unemployed, deterioration in economic position, loss of scholarship or financial assistance, etc."*

*"Relevant psychological traits? Psychological disorders, charismatic personality, weak personality, etc."*

*"Level of direct personal support? Family, civil status (single, married, widowed, divorced, separated), children, friends."*

*Relationship with the various institutions/ government bodies at State level, regional level and local level?: Social services, educational establishments, security services (immigration, police, prisons, intelligence, etc.), other."*

*"Social environment in which VR (Violent Radicalisation) occurs? Family home, friends, Internet, educational centre, religious or prayer centre, prison, workplace, leisure centre, etc."*

*"How does the person consider or interpret the relationship between that collective identity and other agents, and the social, cultural, religious, political or economic situation? Terrorist groups exaggerate situations of injustice, inequality, oppression, etc."*

*"Has the person made oral comments on: intention of taking part in violent action?"*

*"Has the person made oral comments on: other issues, mainly of a political nature, using arguments based on RMs?"*



# Letter from Gabriel Pombo da Silva

Gabriel is an anarchist from Spain who escaped from prison and is now locked up in Aachen, Germany.

## ABOUT THE DEATH OF DIANA

I just got the flyer about the death (murder) of Diana Blefari Melazzi... it is sad and hard. Independently from the fact of knowing that prison and death contribute to our choice of struggle and our commitment to fighting, it always provokes pain to get to know about the tragic death of our comrades (no matter if we share an affinity with them or not, if they would be known or not etc.). I have been updated about Diana's "case" through RAI 1 (*note: one of the main Italian TV channels*)... Updated rather than informed, since TV represents an integral organ of dominion's propaganda. In this sense, what the RAI spread about the circumstances of her death and the figure of this communist militant is repugnant. Diana has been murdered **three** times: *once when she was arrested; twice when she was undergoing the 41 bis special prison regime; and, thirdly when isolated and dead they aimed to cover her figure and dignity with mud, by treating her as a repentant.*

As somebody who survived the F.I.E.S.\* genocide I can perfectly understand the reasons which motivated Diana's drastic decision... I say it that way: decision rather than choice... One can make a choice only in freedom... and therefore a person who is deprived of freedom decides what to do in relation to the circumstances he/she finds him/herself in. If she had been in freedom or under other prison conditions, she would have not decided to cease to exist. When one **survives** worse than a beast, isolated and constantly undergoing a strong psychological pressure within an oppressive environment, encircled by criminals in uniform who make you feel in a thousand different ways that you are nothing and you do not have to expect ANYTHING...

What is the logic? The logic and the final aim of prison, isolation, torture and dominion's propaganda is death... We who met (and survived) the merciless ferocity of such a logic, we do not have problems in declaring war without end to all the ones who torture us, murder us, rape us etc... Radical? All of us who go towards the root of what brutalizes, poisons, murders and tortures, we all necessarily radicalize.

The prison walls are high enough to prevent the common mortal looking inside. This is in order to stop them having an opinion about

what's going on here. This news would not be manipulated by the propagandists of the media... The isolation units (like the different forms of isolating) are what is **deepest** and most **enlightening** about this selective system of proletarian extermination. The mass media is in the hands of Humanity's enemies, and therefore it is "logical" that they will not be "neutral" during the course of "information" or social war ... [also class struggle... there where the class carries a self-consciousness as such.]

The questions which a proletarian will always have to ask are: from where is the information coming? What are its aims? Who "chooses" which news and why? Which political and economical interests are **behind** each organised project?

But coming back to Diana... What is it that the "people" do not understand about her radical decision to cease to exist inside a place where **hope** has no place? Which is the difference if one chooses to put a rope around his/her own neck or whether it is the screws who do that? Nobody puts a rope around his/her neck in the case that he/she carries some minimal hopes... If you have brothers and sisters around who love you and take care of you, if you own a calendar which has significant dates which define pleasant moments (a visit, a call, a letter, a date of struggle etc...) or funny ones where one can share a laugh, words, ideas... What happens when even inside prison (which is already a hard punishment itself) they separate you (disperse you) from your comrades and the external environment where the ones who support you and love you live... When they play perversely with your post, the press, the visits, the calls and the other "Rights"? What happens when, in the end, you understand that all that you can do is to remain vegetating like a plant: although without water, light, sun and air?

For the western state-governments and their means of communication it is rather easy to demand "Human Rights" for the African or Asian countries without having to look inside their own garden... Like that sentence about the finger and the moon: some look at the finger and others at the moon. When we forget that the "economical prosperity" we have in "Europe" comes from centuries of imperialist and colonial exploitation of the African, Asian and Latin American continents, the discourse of "our politicians" can only offend us...

But when we own a clear conscience and a historical memory (of class struggle), then the propagandistic revisionism and coyness of capitalist dominion wounds us...

Personally, I do feel pain at the death of comrades (even if I do not share an affinity with them), for the consequences of their own decision but also for the direct or indirect action of our enemies, because a revolutionary militant can not be "recruited" by putting an announcement on the tv or in a newspaper (as it happens with a soldier or a cop/screw). A revolutionary cannot be formed (or "uniformed") inside an Academy. The military, the Cop and the Screw have their jobs **because of the money**, the revolutionary **because of his/her beliefs**...

The revolutionary does not define their activity as "work", but as commitment.

I could write hundreds of pages to explain/say why we have to carry on the commitment and the struggle of all the fallen ones around the earth and throughout history, and without much "moderation" in the **words, arguments** as also in the **means**...

*Gabriel Pombo Da Silva*

Aachen, 16.11.09

About **Diana Blefari Melazzi**: a militant of the new Italian Red Brigades/ Communist Combatant Party (BR/PCC), accused of participating in the assassination of Marco Biagi in the year 2002 (Biagi was a consultant of the Italian government, a minister in so-called "workers rights", who was pushing further the destruction of the few workers "rights" remaining.)

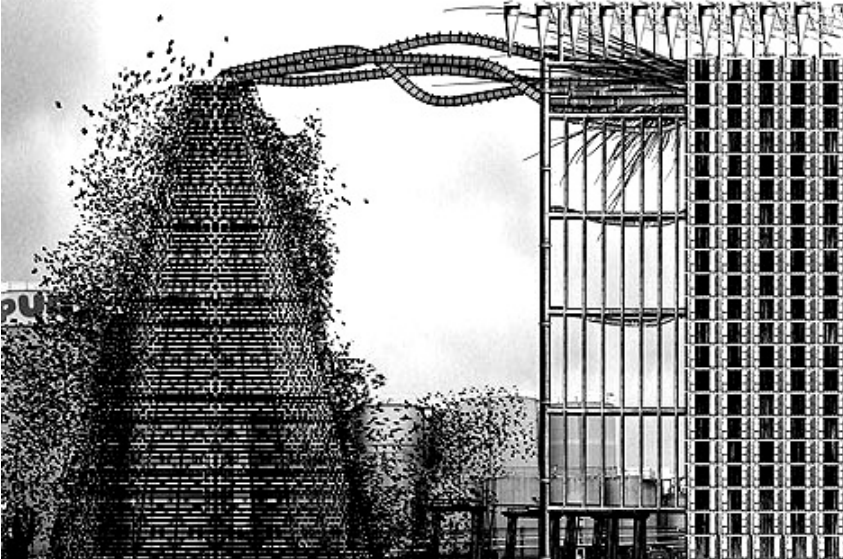
Diana was arrested in December 2003. Sentenced to life imprisonment on 27/10/09, she was imprisoned under the infamous 41 bis regime, similar to the Spanish F ES.

Diana committed suicide on the 1/11/09. Since her sentence began, she manifested clear signs of physical and psychological deterioration due to the hard prison conditions, by refusing water and food and often destroying the cell.

However, she always refused either to collaborate with the State or to disassociate herself from the struggle and her political ideas.

\* Supermax security prisons in Spain.

# AGAINST TALOS



“Machines do not win wars, people do” **Mao**

Transportable Autonomous Patrol for Land Border Surveillance (TALOS) is a robotic system which is to be implemented to address the ‘problems’ of surveillance along the large land border of the EU. The aim of TALOS is to help in detecting persons trying to cross the land border. Like existing surveillance systems, TALOS is going to use sensors to detect, track and intercept people, vehicles and hazardous substances crossing the unregulated land border between existing border crossing points. However these sensors will be carried by unmanned robotic ‘drone’ vehicles having a high degree of ‘autonomy’.

TALOS is an international research project co-funded by the EU. The main objective of TALOS is to develop and field test the innovative concept of a mobile, autonomous robotic system for protecting European land borders. The conventional border protection systems are based mainly on expensive ground facilities installed along the entire length of the border used only to observe, detect and warn. This infrastructure is complemented by motorized and foot patrols. The system developed within the TALOS project aims to observe the border, and improve communications, enabling Border Guards to react quicker.

The character of the eastern border of the European Union (EU) has changed in consequence of EU expansion in recent years, when more than 10 countries, mainly from Central and Eastern Europe, have joined the Union. The frontier in its current shape extends from Finland in

the North to Bulgaria in the South of Europe. It is extremely diverse in regard to topographic characteristics, climatic conditions, as well as probability of occurrence and intensity of ‘illegal activities’. The borders of new member states, shared with the former Soviet Union countries, are particularly exposed to ‘illicit trafficking’. This part of the eastern EU frontier is a buffer between the relative prosperity of the West and the poverty of the former Soviet Republics. The average salaries on its west side are five or six times higher than the ones on the east side. The border is known for being the Union’s backdoor, known as an area of which is difficult to control. Border security is one of the main priorities recognized by the European Security Research Advisory Board (ESRAB) and European Commission. FRONTEX, with its headquarters in the capital of Poland, is one of the agencies that were established in order to co-ordinate EU activities related with border protection. EUROSUR (European Surveillance System for Borders) is another initiative aimed at preventing and counteracting illegal immigration.

The complete TALOS system consists of three basic elements: Unmanned Ground Vehicles (UGV) and Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAV), used for border patrolling, sensor antennas mounted on mobile platforms, and the command and control centre, providing communication between all the elements on the site and the relevant Border Guard unit.

The ground platforms will be the watching stations and the first reaction patrols, which will, upon identifying an ‘intruder’ will both inform the Control and Command Centre of their presence and intercept the intruder within minutes before the arrival of manned forces and inform them about their ‘illegal trespass’.

TALOS architecture will be composed of the Unmanned Unit Command Centre (UUCC) and two Unmanned Ground Vehicles (UGVs). Unmanned Air Vehicle (UAV) and transportable Sensor Tower will be integrated into the system.

The Unmanned Units Command Centre (UUCC) will be used to control and monitor the operation of the Unmanned Units. These will allow Border Guard officers to plan the surveillance mission and control the vehicles, and provide also an operational awareness. The commander will be presented with a visual map of the mission area, including position of the system elements, patrol routes and data from all the sensors, on different map layers.

Commands and data flow between the command centre and system’s end units will be ensured by the communication network. Wireless network for TALOS system is going to be implemented. The main goal of its design is the ‘network

reliability’, which is crucial to the whole system’s performance.

Unmanned Ground Vehicles (UGVs) will be designed to constantly patrol the border section. The UGVs will be equipped with long-range detectors of

Border control is the major project of converging technological advances attempting to create areas of total state control through surveillance and drone-robotisation.

moving vehicles and people, as well as sensors allowing the operator to recognize the detected objects. They are going to be controlled from the UUCC: either ‘driven’ by the operator, using a kind of ‘joystick’ and cameras carried by the vehicle or, in semi-autonomous mode of operation, being ordered to drive from one point in the mission area to another without ‘hands-on control’. The latter will be possible owing to state-of-the-art robotic navigation systems and advanced mechanisms of obstacle detection and avoiding.

Two types of UGVs will be implemented: the Observer, used for patrolling the given section, and the Interceptor, used for engaging the intruder before arrival of the manned forces.

An Unmanned Air Vehicle (UAV) will be responsible for the aerial surveillance and can be used as communication node in particular situations. Sensor Towers will be deployed in places requiring ceaseless 24/7 surveillance, or in places not accessible to the vehicles. The towers can be used both for sensor placement and as communication nodes. They will be transportable together with the whole system. To meet the requirements connected with the diversified nature of the Eastern EU land border, the system will be adaptable, transportable and cheap. These features are going to be achieved by using unmanned patrolling vehicles with a high level of autonomy and controlled from transportable centres, in place of the fixed infrastructure consisting of fences and static sensors. Semi-autonomous operation of the vehicles will allow to efficiently inspect large areas without engagement of large human resources.

### Innovation Developments

The main 'innovation' concepts for the development of the prison society introduced by the TALOS project are as follows:

- Adaptability of the system – the intended versatility of the system allows a high degree of adaptability, with regard to topographic conditions, scale, intensity, probability and type of 'illegal operations'. The system can also be scaled to almost any area or target density, supervised and commanded by a transportable Theatre Command Centre;
- Autonomous and Semi-autonomous operation – autonomy of the vehicles patrolling the border is the key success factor of the concept behind the TALOS system. A surveillance system can be effective only when the operator is engaged and focused. This is connected with the effectiveness of the system, both of 'human resources' and economy. Autonomy of the Unmanned Ground Vehicles (UGVs) in TALOS system is a particular challenge. The vehicles are going to operate in a complex and variable environment. The UGVs will use precise terrain modelling, laser scanners and state of the art navigation modules. Programmed into the computers of the UGV's and the Command & Control system will be sets of rules which are actually a translation of procedures used by the border guards in the daily routine and emergency operations. These rules will be modified from time to time, to adapt the system to new emerging 'threats', even day-by-day.

- Mobility/transportability - The whole system will be easily transportable installed in standard containers (20 ft and / or 40 ft), transported on trailers for fast deployment in selected border zones (according to intelligence). The system will be moving in convoys to the designated location, where possible (ground access), but can be airlifted by helicopters to locations not accessible and is transportable by air in C-130 aircraft (or alike) to provide air deployment, within the country and between countries, all over Europe. The Command Centres, the UGVs and UAVs will be installed in containers and mounted on trailers, the Sensor Towers (transmitters), are also mounted on trailers. Once reaching the deployment area, the trailers are disconnected from the Trucks, located, fixed in place, etc., and system components are connected with all the necessary command cables, power supply cables, support equipment, etc.

- Tactical Learning/Adaptation behaviour - During the development process, the system will be adapted to local operational requirements. TALOS uses adaptive artificial intelligence to respond to and implement tactical techniques, in the specific patrol scenario, area of operation, border topography, etc.

- No need for fixed infrastructure or fences - TALOS system owing to its mobility and transportability do not require any fixed infrastructure. Sensors and cameras can be installed on UGVs. All UGVs and UAVs, including their supply and maintenance equipment will be stored in their own containers, as well as all crew equipment, dormitories, kitchen, toilets, supplies etc. After deployment, the containers will be camouflaged, and from there they will be launched to missions (automatically) and return to them after mission completion, for refuelling, servicing and maintenance.

- Enables response to intrusion in minutes - system will respond to intrusion in the matter of minutes, not hours.

- Usage of "green" energy - the energy in remote locations (where it is impossible to connect to standard power lines) will be coming from the natural sources e.g. solar panels (sunny area), wind towers (windy area), water wheels (near to rivers). Moreover electrical generators will be used when none of these sources is available. These distributed energy sources in isolated areas are still susceptible to sabotage and according to intelligence this poses a problem for the 'successful' implementation of TALOS.

The TALOS project will also establish the End User Advisory Board (EUAB), consisting of Border Guard representatives from EU member and candidate states, responsible for particular segments of the EU land border (Estonia, Greece, Poland, Romania and Turkey). EUAB task will be advising and supervision of the design and development of the system.

TALOS is being developed by experts working for 14 institutions from 8 EU member states (Belgium, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Poland, Romania, Spain) as well as 1 EU candidate (Turkey) and 1 associated country (Israel Aerospace Industries) consisting of a consortium of industrial companies, research institutions, small and medium enterprises and a technical university. Project budget sums up to about 20 million Euros, 13 million of which has been granted by the European Commission.

Let the gaze of the living sever the cables of control.

### ANARCHIST CELLS





# FIND YOURSELF A REVOLVER!



Find yourself a revolver!  
Understand?

Find yourself a revolver. The sooner the better. Buy, borrow, or steal one. The point is that you should be armed. Perhaps you think the social revolution is going to be made with streamers, like during carnival?

Do you think the capitalists are going to hand over the fields and factories, like they hand over their daughters to millionaires?

Are you so foolish that you believe in the possibility of harmony between bosses and workers?

Don't you see how - every day, all over the world - when workers demand some improvement, tin soldiers carrying rifles and bayonets appear?

Didn't you see how, during the strike by our comrade tramway drivers, the entire army moved in to protect the traitors?

Well, if that happens when a complaint is made or some improvement is requested, what's going to happen when we demand the right to land, life, and liberty?

Think about it.

Find yourself a revolver and learn how to use it. Make a target to shoot at. Draw Astorquiza's, Zañartu's, or Gonzalo Bulnes' head on it, or your own if you like. Shoot and shoot some more.

Prepare yourself for the coming Revolution. Advise your other comrades to do the same. The ones who talk about "peaceful evolution" and "harmonious solutions" alongside the capitalist class are woefully deceiving you.

Don't you see how the workers in Russia had to arm themselves in order to overthrow all the tyrants?

Don't you see how they now live as they please, enjoying every kind of comfort?

For over 100 years, you have peacefully endured all sorts of humiliation, and what benefits have you gained from your masters?

The miserable shack you live in and pay a fortune for, the diseases that bring premature death to you and your children, the wars that spread hunger and pain to your doorstep, and the scraps you get when you demand a little food and justice for your family and children. This, all this, is the reward for your efforts and sacrifices.

Believe it.

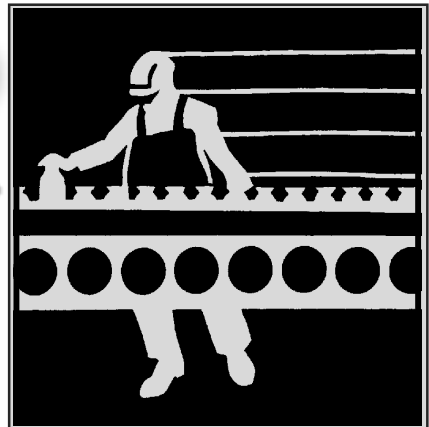
Find yourself a revolver. The sooner the better. Buy, borrow, or steal one. The point is that you should be armed. When the conscious, armed working class demands its right to life and liberty, then you will see how the rulers and tyrants fall.

While you keep shouting on the streets like an idiot, begging for bread and justice, you will see how the bullets rain down on your head.

That's all. By finding yourself a revolver and advising others to prepare for the Revolution, you will see the rebirth of a new dawn for the world.

Find yourself a revolver!

*This text was originally published in 1921, in the Santiago Bakers' Union newspaper 'El Comunista', under the pen name of 'Juan Levadura', thought to be the alias of the infamous Chilean anarchist Efraín Plaza Olmedo.*



## ANARCHIST MANIFESTO (1880)

1. Utter destruction of existing institutions by force.
2. Every possible effort must be made to spread the revolutionary idea and the spirit of revolt through deeds.
3. Desert the legal terrain in order to focus action upon the terrain of illegality, which is the only road leading to revolution.
4. Technical and chemical sciences having already rendered services to the revolutionary cause, we urge upon our organisations and the individuals belonging to these groups that they place great store by the study and applications of these sciences as a means of attack and defence.
5. The autonomy of groups and individuals is acceptable, but in order to retain unity of action, each group is entitled to enter into direct correspondence with the others, and in order to facilitate such relations, a central international information office is to be set up.

~

**Vevey, Switzerland, 1880. Tactical statement signed by Kropotkin and over 30 other anarchists of the period, setting out the methods to bring about anarchist communism. This was the beginning of the 'Propaganda by Deed' era. The Internet has now become the "central international information office".**

# Repression & Reports

Some news from the frontlines.



## **Tuscany, Italy - About the trial of anarchist comrade Leonardo Landi.**

On July 20, the last day of Leo's trial took place in Lucca. The public prosecutor requested 6 years for robbery 'with the aggravation of terrorism'. The court however, excluded the aggravation but confirmed the sentence of 6 years imprisonment. A long trial, a decision already decided, not just in the five minutes of deliberation that served the judges to decide, but for the repressive atmosphere that has characterized Tuscany for many years now and for the more general trend that sees power increasingly able to impose itself in trying to eliminate every enemy that stands more or less consciously in front of it. It inevitably makes us angry to know that Leo will remain in jail, not surprised that they wanted to charge him with being an anarchist, to have always carried forward his ideas with pride, struggles with determination, his love of freedom in practice.

Very often we have had to speak out about and deal with repression when we would rather be devoting our energies to struggles without "chasing" the deadlines that were "imposed". But these years have made us think much about what was and is fundamental active and concrete solidarity to comrades and companions, especially if they are imprisoned. They, in fact, are made to pay the price of a declared war against unacceptable reality. We support them and still prefer the attack on the enemy to the sterile whining about its ugliness. ... The anger is not subsiding, minds and hearts to Leo.

**Source : Anarchists of Via del Cuore.**

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## **Lisbon, Portugal - End of trial for anti-authoritarian demo of 2007.**

Today, July 14th, 2010, the trial ended against the 11 people arrested (one girl unfortunately died in the meantime) at the anti-authoritarian demo against fascism and capitalism of April 25th 2007. Due to lack of evidence, contradictory evidence or doubt, the court decided as non-proven the facts presented by the public prosecutor as having been done by the defendants, and which fitted the categories of qualified aggravated physical offence, aggravated verbal offence and coercion and resistance of state agents (all crimes against police officers). All of the defendants were acquitted of all charges. On the 25th of April 2007, in Lisbon, an anti-authoritarian demo against fascism and capitalism happened. Close to 500 people took part on a march through one of the city's richest areas, where paint was thrown at shops, banks and a riot cop van and slogans were spray painted on walls. To this shamelessness the guards of democratic order replied with a police charge and beatings against the demonstrators and everyone who was passing by. As a result of this charge and of a few Hollywood-style chases throughout the city centre 11 individuals were arrested, charged among other things with insults and assaults on police officers.

We know that the real point is more than a few damaged windows and offended cops. It is the attempt to grab the totality of life and of using all the tools we want in the struggle against a social order that consumes and destroys individuals, our relationships and the world we inhabit. It is precisely because this democratic order can not tolerate all the beautiful and wild things and people that still exist, in the last few years we've seen and felt a growing criminalization in the media, and the persecution by the forces of repression, of many of our and others' actions and daily activities. In the struggle for the liberation of our lives, we know who our comrades are and who are our enemies,

and we go on finding all the others with whom we can meet in the joy of revolt. The solidarity with the accused is not limited to that court nor to the dates set by others: it must spread and become part of a struggle that doesn't have as a point of reference the steps taken by repression, but the steps that we in our own rebellion want to take. Their attempt to stop us through fear, to isolate us or to make us change our discourse can only have as a result the merciless attack on a power that has no borders.

**Source : A few anarchists from Lisbon.**

## **Zurich, Switzerland - 3 anarchists imprisoned for allegedly planning an attack on IBM.**

Costantino Ragusa, Silvia Guerini and Billy (Luca Bernasconi) were arrested in Switzerland on April 15 during a traffic control by police. The cops found a large amount of explosives in the car they were travelling in. They are accused of planning to attack a huge IBM nanotechnology/biotechnology research facility under construction near Zurich. Costantino and Silvia are anarchists from the radical ecological collective 'Il Silvestre', which produces the paper "Terra Selvaggia", which is frequently the target of repressive operations and media smears.

**Source : Earth Liberation Prisoners Support Network.**

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3600 Thun  
Switzerland

For information about Luca (AKA Billy) contact: **senzagabbie@yahoo.it** or  
**silviabillycostaliberi@riseup.net**

### Zurich, Switzerland - Call for an international solidarity campaign for Marco Camenisch.

Marco Camenisch, known for his active role in the anti-nuclear movement during the seventies, has been a political prisoner for almost 20 years. As a militant green anarchist he has been taking part in struggles, campaigns and protests in and outside prison during all these years. In two years time he can apply for conditional release that should be granted since in the Swiss prison system, conditional release is the rule. However Marco's situation is a particular one. All special privileges and preparatory measures for release are refused. The medical treatment he needs because of his cancerous disease continues to be insufficient. The release which would be usually granted is refused on the grounds that he does not renounce his political convictions and has too many friends all over the world who might help him escape. The judicial authorities give the strong impression that conditional release is only granted for broken and/or conformist prisoners. This tendency can be observed with nearly all political prisoners. Prisoners defending their political identity are buried alive in prison although they have served their sentence already - with the intention to weaken them and the progressive movements they come from and to keep up the fear of prison as a weapon of those in power. Some examples among many are the situation of Leonard Peltier in the USA, the prisoners from Action Directe in France or the Basque prisoners in the Spanish state. Together with International Red Aid, we therefore call for an international solidarity campaign for Marco Camenisch coordinating with the struggles for the release of long-standing prisoners in other countries. Meanwhile we do not want to lose the

prospect of a society without prisons. That is why we set the international day of action for antagonist prisoners and against prisons, on Sept 18 2010.

**Source : Friends and supporters of Marco Camenisch**

**Marco Camenisch**  
postfach 3143  
ch-8105 regensdorf  
Switzerland

Contact:  
**marco\_camenisch@yahoo.de**

### Osaka, Japan - Comrade 'Y' finally released after prison term.

ABC Osaka and the Free Workers Federation (FWF) have released a statement confirming that Comrade 'Y', a member of the FWF, is now free from the Kakogawa jail and is fine. Comrades from the ABC Osaka / FWF spoke with him on the night of his release and gave the message from Comrade Y: "Please say thanks to all comrades/affinities supporting me all over the world." Comrade 'Y' was in jail since July 2008 for attacking police in the Kamagasaki riots against police brutality which occurred at the time of the G8. International solidarity with all social fighters. **Source : ABC-Osaka/FWF.**



### Val di Susa, Italy - GPS tracking device found under the truck of a member of Nunatak Journal.

On May 17, under the van of an editor of Nunatak (*a journal of history, culture and struggles of the mountains*), we found a transmitter with a Vodaphone SIM chip and 4 torch batteries, of 3,6 volts each, in series. All placed with a magnet behind a back wheel of the vehicle. This time, just not to boast, it should be said that it didn't take too much effort to notice that "someone" had placed a device to spy on our movements. Moreover, for some time now, unfortunately, it is as well to take into consideration forms of technological control that are

increasingly invasive and capillary. In fact, among all the manoeuvres and repressive attacks that the State puts into effect against those who still have the courage to raise their heads, this is just the latest sign that the review Nunatak has become an object of attention of who knows which Procurator or investigative body. Monitoring, home visits and a whole series of other more or less concealed pressures have been gravitating for some time around the review and whoever collaborates with it with the intention of burning the earth around it and preparing an eventual repressive intervention in the near future. It seems pointless to us to stress once again that their "attention" will not make us take one step back from our projects, but we can only admit that, for as long as uniforms and authority are concerned about our presence, of our way of thinking and acting, we have confirmation that we are moving in the right direction. **Source : Nunatak.**

### Leon, Mexico - Entire city to track people with public eye scanners.

Research and development company Global Rainmakers Inc, in partnership with the Mexican government, are installing public eye scanners that can identify 50 people per minute, in motion, across the city of Leon. There are different kinds of machines being installed, from large scanners- capable of identifying 50 people per minute in motion- to smaller ones that range from 15 to 30 people per minute. These devices are being installed in public places, like train and bus stations, and connected to a database that will track people across the city. These real time biometric iris scanners don't require people to stop and put their eyes in front of a camera. They work in real time, as people walk. The retinal scanning of Leon's one million population has started already with its convicted criminals. People with no criminal records have been offered the opportunity to "voluntarily" scan their eyes. This, however, is just the beginning. According to the propaganda of Global Rainmakers Inc, everyone in the modern world will be connected to the iris tracking system in 10 years. If you've been convicted of a crime, you will be permanently marked. If you're a known shoplifter, for example, you won't be able to go into a store without being flagged. Freedom of movement will become increasingly difficult in the control grid future the capitalists want to build. In the future,



whether it's entering your home, opening your car, entering your workspace, getting a pharmacy prescription refilled, or having your medical records pulled up, the system wishes to validate and control everything via that unique key that is your iris. Every person, place, and machine on this planet will be connected within the next 10 years, unless we destroy this interlocking network of exploitation and control.

**Source : Various**

**Santiago, Chile - Anti-anarchist repression - Freedom for the 14.**

Early in the morning of Saturday, August 14, in Santiago, agents of the Chilean state raided the self-organized social centre Jonny Cariqueo and the squatted social center and library Sacco and Vanzetti, shutting down the latter. Several homes were also raided, and 14 comrades taken into custody, with charges of illicit association and placing bombs. 6 of these comrades have been released on bail due to lack of evidence. The raid is the work of the new State's Attorney Alejandro Pena, who claims to be going after a terrorist anarchist organization, which he has largely invented with the complicity of various judges. Under his watch, international solidarity has become "terrorist financing" and anarchist libraries have become safe houses or centres of power. For some time now, the Chilean state has presented the anarchists as public enemy number one. These arrests and all the fear-mongering carried out by the media, as always complicit with Capital, is meant to distract people from the plight of the 33 miners and their families (an ongoing potential disaster), and from the Mapuche indigenous struggle, which includes prisoners on hunger strike, fighting for their lands and freedom. The State/Capital wants to cover up its inability to catch anyone for the over 100 bombs that have been placed against targets of the powerful, as part of the ongoing social war in Chile. The bombings targeted banks, the offices of foreign companies, embassies, churches and police stations in Santiago and other cities.

The social centre Jonny Cariqueo calls for solidarity and says it will struggle to remain open and mobilize and agitate in the struggle against State and Capital, and in particular against the anti-terror law. At the request of the Chilean authorities, the German Federal Research Service (*Bundesnachrichtendienst/BND*) is



attempting to locate 'Matthew Rossi', an Italian citizen, who is suspected of having sent money to Chilean anarchist groups involved in the placement of explosive devices. The collaboration of the Germanic body is made on the basis of a request for Chilean authorities under the government case against 14 suspected members of the network involved in the attacks. According to reports, the BND has large databases of European anarchists and the Italian suspect is thought to have lived previously in Germany.

The verification of the suspect's real identity is the focus of the collaboration by the German intelligence service requested by the Chilean government. It is possible that the prosecution request to interrogate the suspect abroad through an international warrant, or even come to seek his extradition for funding terrorist groups. Police say overall financing likely came from Italy, Greece, Mexico and Argentina. At the first court hearing regarding the 'conspiracy', the courthouse in Santiago was surrounded early in the day by three security rings manned by about 150 police officers equipped with water cannons and tear gas. The security perimeter was extended to a nearby Metro station, where a checkpoint was set up to check the identification of people using the facility. The tight security for the hearing, allowed only one relative of each of the anarchists to be present, as well as only one reporter from each news outlet, causing a delay of more than one hour in the start of the proceedings. The

relatives and anarchists protested against proceedings, to which the police beat them furiously. The real terrorists are those who keep the state running smoothly and the manipulative capitalists who benefit from the class system. We'll never forget Mauricio Morales, the anarchist fighter who died on route to attack the state in Chile, a brave young comrade with rage and compassion. We will not allow the system to dishonour his name through this frame-up - it is time to continue the struggle and fight together, regardless of distance. There have been a few letters released from several of the prisoners and resistance actions have happened against the repression, you can find a collection of letters and reports in the **Dark Nights #8**, anti-prison update available on **325.nostate.net**.

Don't let this repressive wave be left to the Chilean comrades alone to face! Let's spread international solidarity and take action against Chilean financial interests, embassies and consulates to protest this 'conspiracy' in the strongest possible way.

**Source : Various**



### **UK - British police trials crime predicting software.**

Computer program reveals where criminals are most likely to hit. British police forces are trialing computer software which is able to pinpoint potential criminal hot spots from data fed to it. The system leverages statistical history and evaluates patterns to predict the places where crime is most likely to occur. Known as CRUSH (Criminal Reduction Utilising Statistical History), the program was developed by IBM with help from the University of Memphis Criminology and Research department (USA). The system has real time access to a wide variety of data including, but not limited to crime reports, police intelligence, offender profiles or weather forecasts, which it combines with past crime patterns to accurately pinpoint crime hotspots. The system was used successfully by the Memphis Police Department for a long time, where it allowed resources to be allocated efficiently to decrease law enforcement response times. Such proactive actions are said to be responsible for a crime reduction rate of 31% in the areas targeted. Two British police forces have secretly begun trialing the software. The methodology behind such programs is known as "predictive analytics" and encompasses various data mining and statistical analysis techniques. The technology has long been used in certain industries, particularly financial services, and in various fields of research. However, applications in the justice system, like for determining which prisoners are most likely to become repeat offenders, has been strongly criticized by human rights activists. IBM explains that the CRUSH system does what police officers were already doing, but on a whole new level and with much more speed. Current development efforts aim to increase the number of sources the program can process, with CCTV camera feeds and Facebook posts being strong candidates. **Source : Various**

### **Israel - Robots remaking the battlefield, unmanned military vehicles in the air, land and sea**

Israel is developing an army of robotic fighting machines that offers a window onto the potential future of warfare. Sixty years of near-constant war, a low tolerance for enduring casualties in conflict, and its high-tech industry have long made Israel one of the world's leading developers of military robotics. Over 40 countries have military-robotics programs today. The U.S. and much of the rest of the world is betting big on the role of aerial drones: Even

Hezbollah, the Iranian-backed Shiite guerrilla force in Lebanon, flew four Iranian-made drones against Israel during the 2006 Lebanon War. When the U.S. invaded Iraq in 2003, it had just a handful of drones. Today, U.S. forces have around 7,000 unmanned vehicles in the air and an additional 12,000 on the ground, used for tasks including reconnaissance, airstrikes and bomb disposal. In 2009, for the first time, the U.S. Air Force trained more "pilots" for unmanned aircraft than for manned fighters and bombers. U.S. and Japanese robotics programs rival Israel's technological know-how, but Israel has shown it can move quickly to develop and deploy new devices, using Palestine as a testing ground for export. Among the recently deployed technologies that set Israel ahead of the curve is the Gurdium unmanned ground vehicle, which now drives itself along the Gaza and Lebanese borders. The Gurdium, developed by G-nius Ltd., is essentially an armored off-road golf cart with a suite of optical sensors and surveillance gear. It was put into the field for the first time 10 months ago. In the 2006 Lebanon War, Israeli soldiers took a beating opening supply routes and ferrying food and ammunition through Lebanese territory to the front lines. In the Gaza conflict in January 2009, Israel unveiled remote-controlled bulldozers to help address that issue. Within the next year, Israeli engineers expect to deploy the voice-commanded, six-wheeled Rex robot, capable of carrying 550 pounds of gear alongside advancing infantry. The Protector SV, an unmanned, heavily armed speedboat today makes up a growing part of the Israeli naval fleet. Unlike the U.S. and other militaries, where UAVs are flown by costly-to-train fighter pilots, Israeli defense companies have recently built their UAVs to allow an average 18-year-old recruit with just a few months' training to pilot them. Military analysts say unmanned fighting vehicles could have a far-reaching strategic impact on the sort of asymmetrical conflicts that the U.S., U.K and Israel face. In such conflicts, robotic vehicles will allow modern conventional armies to minimize the advantages guerrilla opponents gain by their increased willingness to sacrifice their lives in order to inflict casualties on the enemy. When nation-states no longer fear losing soldiers' lives in combat thanks to the ability to wage war with unmanned vehicles, they will prove more willing to initiate conflict. In coming years, engineers say unmanned air, sea and ground vehicles will increasingly work together without any human involvement. Israel, U.K. and

the U.S. have already faced backlash over civilian deaths caused by drone-fired missiles in Gaza, Pakistan and Afghanistan. Those dilemmas could increase as robots become more independent of their human masters.

**Source : Various**

### **UK - Drones could be used for mass civilian surveillance in the UK as early as 2012.**

Police in the UK are planning to use unmanned spy drones, for "routine" monitoring, in a significant expansion of covert state surveillance. The arms manufacturer BAE Systems, which produces a range of unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) for war zones, is adapting the military-style planes for a consortium of government agencies led by Kent police. Documents from the South Coast Partnership, a Home Office-backed project in which Kent police and others are developing a national drone plan with BAE, reveal the partnership intends to begin using the drones in time for the 2012 Olympics. Police officers have talked about selling the surveillance data to private companies. A prototype drone equipped with high-powered cameras and sensors is set to take to the skies for test flights later this year. Five other police forces have signed up to the scheme, which is considered a pilot preceding the countrywide adoption of the technology for "surveillance, monitoring and evidence gathering". The partnership's stated mission is to introduce drones "into the routine work of the police, border authorities and other government agencies" across the UK. BAE drones are programmed to take off and land on their own, stay airborne for up to 15 hours and reach heights of 20,000ft, making them invisible from the ground. Far more sophisticated than the remote-controlled rotor-blade robots that hover 50-metres above the ground – which police already use – BAE UAVs are programmed to undertake specific operations. They can, for example, deviate from a routine flightpath after encountering 'suspicious' activity on the ground, or undertake numerous reconnaissance tasks simultaneously. The surveillance data is fed back to control rooms via monitoring equipment such as high-definition cameras, radar devices and infrared sensors.

**Source : Various**

**NEW WAYS TO  
SEE & CONTROL**



# \* 325 Distro

**325 Distro** > On our website you can download issues of 325 and there are booklets and posters to download as PDF, for printing and reproduction. Our Distro also stocks a small selection of anarchist, anti-capitalist and anti-industrial books, pamphlets and magazines, plus CD's, DVD-R's etc. Bundles of 325 magazine are £1 each in multiples, i.e £5 = x 5 (postage extra). If you run a distro or produce a zine that you think we would be interested in, please contact us and arrange an exchange. We want to especially thank everyone that has made this project their own, all those known and unknown to us, without you this project would be nothing.

**Anti-Copyright Network:**  
(Nameless Hardcore Unknowns...)



## ANTI-INFO & RESOURCES FOR ACTION

### Angry News From Around The World:

<http://sysiphus-angrynewsfromaroundtheworld.blogspot.com/>

### Act For Freedom (Greek anarchy + more)

<http://actforfreedomnow.blogspot.com/>

### Culmine (Multi-languauge radical news)

<http://culmine.noblogs.com>

### Digital Elephant (Elephant Editions)

<http://digitalelephant.blogspot.com>

### Direct Action News From Germany

<http://directactionde.ucrony.net/>

### Hommodolars (Chilean radical news)

<http://hommodolars.org/>

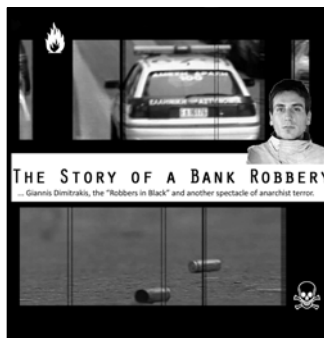
### Informa-Azione (Italian radical news)

<http://informa-azione.info>

### Suie & Cendres (Belgian radical news)

<http://suieetcendres.blogspot.com>

**Appeal for monetary help:** Producing this zine costs a lot of money, please consider donating to 325. There is always a need for financial solidarity and laptops/mobiles/office equipment. If we had more cash at our disposal, we would be able to focus more on widening our distribution schedule, supporting revolutionary prisoners and helping out anarchist and autonomous groups in South East Asia. Contact us via our webpage.



### THE STORY OF A BANK ROBBERY

20 mins. Athens, 16 Jan 2006: A bank robbery is distrubed by a zealous security guard, which leads to the capture of Giannis Dimitrakis. This DVD is about the state and media terror spectacle which was used as a platform to attack not only those who had dared to steal from the vaults of the bosses, but also the widespread and active anarchist movement in Greece.

*English subtitles. DVD-r*



### PRISON WORLD

25 mins. This DVD is about the prison society. The capitalist system which is our modern consumer democracy. On the 23 April 2007 an intense rebellion started in Malandrino prison, sparked by the beating of Giannis Dimitrakis. Soon the uprising had spread to all parts of the prison and outside. Includes a brochure giving background, chronology etc. *English subtitles. DVD-r*



### NAGAI PARK ELEGY

60 mins. A beautiful and moving film about the homeless liberation movement in Osaka, Japan. Based around the eviction of an autonomous community in Nagai Park, 2006, the film offers a critique of activism and Japanese society through the actions of those who organised a strange and curious show of resistance.

*English subtitles. DVD-r*

Texts for consideration, etc....

### I know who killed Chief Superintendent Luigi Calabresi - Alfredo M. Bonanno / Elephant Editions

Important essay reprinted for the first time on the Kaleidoscope mini-series. Milan, Italy, 1969, was the victim of the "Strategy of Tension", a vicious terror campaign planned and executed by fascist agents under the guiding hand of NATO's GLADIO project and P2 (Freemasonic group). A bomb exploded near the Piazza Fontano, killing and wounding dozens of people. This horrific act was attributed to anarchists, and Guiseppe Pinelli, member of the Anarchist Black Cross and trainworkers union, was interrogated and fatally thrown out of a window by Calabresi. 2 bullets formed the revenge for the murder of our comrade, and Calabresi met his destiny. Alfredo writes about the incident, his own feelings and those of others.

### Nihilist Dictionary - J. Zerzan / Verde

Verde, a new anti-civilisation press, offer the first free UK print run of this short early classic, by the anarchist-primitivist Zerzan. Radical critiques of "Community", "Society", "Technology", "Culture", "Division of Labour", "Progress", and more, offering starting points for negation.

### King Mob Echo - Anon / Verde

A collection of early texts from the antagonistic British nihilist anarchist communists. A surreal dream of hooliganism and class revolt.

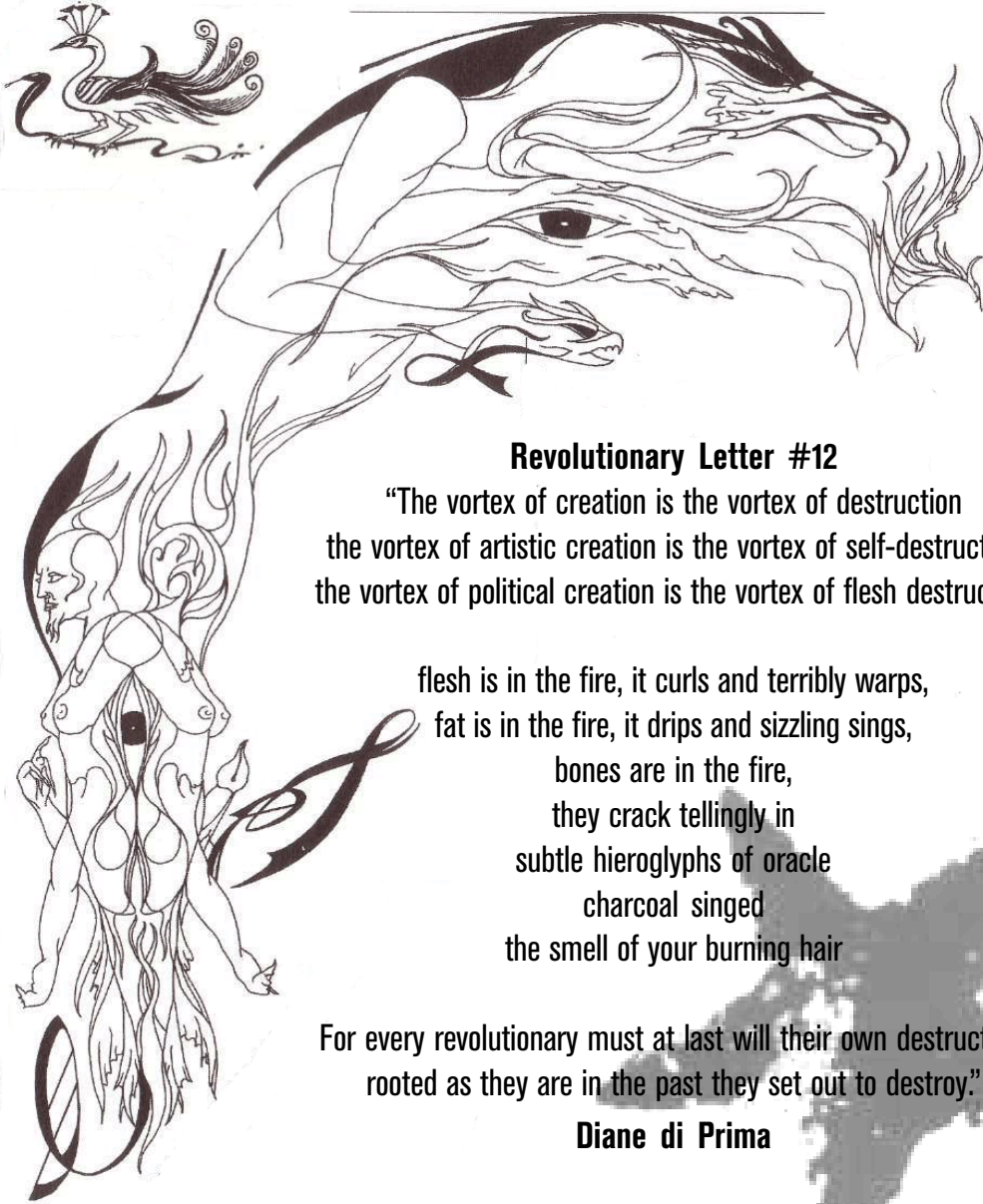
### Surveillance & Counter-Surveillance - Workshop Handbook / Little Sister

Short useful guide produced for an activist security conference in Vancouver, Canada.

### Anti-History: An Indigenous Anti-Capitalist Analysis / Zig Zag

Interesting document about emerging globalisation trends, militarism, environmental chaos, resistance and more. From 2001, proven to be relevant.

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### **Revolutionary Letter #12**

“The vortex of creation is the vortex of destruction  
the vortex of artistic creation is the vortex of self-destruction  
the vortex of political creation is the vortex of flesh destruction

flesh is in the fire, it curls and terribly warps,  
fat is in the fire, it drips and sizzling sings,  
bones are in the fire,  
they crack tellingly in  
subtle hieroglyphs of oracle  
charcoal singed  
the smell of your burning hair

For every revolutionary must at last will their own destruction,  
rooted as they are in the past they set out to destroy.”

**Diane di Prima**

