

This is the second edition of Rumoer. With the first, we have begun a new project. 500 copies in Dutch and 300 in English have been distributed, in the Netherlands and beyond. They went quickly and even generated some discussion. Skkkrrrrtttt!

In this edition, besides the ongoing anarchist interventions we will also discuss several other topics: the struggle against Shell, postgentrification, the use of the app Signal, and the expanding Covid-19 virus, as well as the hysteria, control and fake-security that comes with it.

Rumoer has a specific perspective on all these topics, which could definitely generate reactions or lead to discussion. Rumoer calls for agitation and action, which is evident when you look at its contents. A first step towards action

is building affinity. So come together, organise a meeting or evening of discussion, secretly or publicly, to start working on this. Perhaps, then, the contents of Rumoer could become starting points for your own struggle. As such, a discussion is not an academic dispute, but rather a first step towards subversion.

Consider this, with or without Rumoer, and organise yourselves. Take what you need and burn the rest!

And to be clear: we do not provide subscriptions, so whoever emailed asking for this, send us another email (to get this edition)! Or pick up a Rumoer at your local social centre. There is a donation jar in the Fort van Sjakoo in Amsterdam if you want to leave some cash to support the costs of Rumoer. (We are, of course, in favour of everything always being for free, but since this is unfortunately not always the case donations are very welcome.)

PS. Despite Corona, the graffiti-competition has now officially been opened! Check page 18 and Corona or no Corona, always cover your face and wear gloves as usual!

Radio on
Smartphones on
Films on
Tablets on
Travels bought
Cars bought
Houses bought
Furniture bought
For what?

Trains going
Dollars flowing
Machines going
People toiling
Motors made
Canons made
For whom?

Destroy what destroys you

Bombers flying
Tanks rolling
Cops hitting
Soldiers falling
Stocks protected
Managers protected
The state protected
Against us?

Destroy what destroys you

* Free after Ton Steine Scherben

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BURN SHELL TO HELL

From 16 to 19 May 2020 a large-scale action of civil disobedience will take place in The Hague, the Netherlands, against Shell, whose headquarters are also located in The Hague, at the Carel van Bylandtlaan. The aim of the action is to disturb the yearly Shell shareholders-meeting on May 18 and 19, which will take place in the AFA's Circustheatre in Scheveningen. The action is a campaign of the Code Rood group in collaboration with several other climate-action-groups, and has been named Shell Must Fall! (SMF).

Code Rood has carried out actions like this in the Netherlands before, against the coal-harbour in Amsterdam and against gas extraction in Groningen. A recalcitrant attitude among anarchists and autonomen, however, has emerged towards Code Rood. Certain statements in the media, in order to rid themselves of the stereotype image of "activists", as well as the imposing of a so-called "action consensus" have contributed to this. Hence, the majority of the anarchists is now not involved in this group and its initiatives. A missed opportunity...

As opposed to previous actions of Code Rood, the SMF actions will take place in urbanised areas. There is a call-out for a "mass disturbance" of the shareholdersmeeting with the expectation that hundreds, perhaps thousands of people will participate. This publicly announced plan, orchestrated well in advance, is reminiscent of the Ende Gelande actions and the summit protests against the G20, G8, WTO, etc. Also during these protests anarchists have always attempted to transform traditional, predictable, and controllable forms of protest into resistance.

There are numerous examples from which we can take experience and ideas. The G20 in Hamburg, the opening of the European Central Bank in Frankfurt, the NO EXPO demonstrations in Milan, etc. These protest-meetings were also composed of an amalgam of institutional

groups,

NGOs, initiatives of civil disobedience and demonstrations. Let's call this the centre of protest, as it attracts the largest amount of people. These groups are its core, and this is how they present themselves also, while using the territory in a traditional way: starting on a square where long speeches are held, then a long march with as much "public outreach" as possible, and ending on a square with music.

On the periphery of these protests a different dynamic emerged: in Hamburg, groups appeared everywhere that launched attacks against the symbols and infrastructures of capital, during the ECB a group of autonomen went into the city just after dawn to block roads with burning car tyres and to attack a cop station, and in Milan thousands of people managed to leave the traditional union-demonstration to subsequently engage in hours of destruction of one of the most expensive urban areas in the world.

The protests against G-summits have long ago been transformed into symbolic theatres. This renders the SMF action even more interesting: it has a specific objective and numerous reasons to attack it. Shell is destroying the climate, but it is also the epitome of capitalism and corporatism. The company has a history of sponsoring paramilitary groups, supporting the apartheidsregime in South-Africa, lobbying for wars and coups, et cetera, et cetera. These are all themes which SMF is emphasising, in contrast to other groups that are only preoccupied with climate(change). This provides opportunities for both the initiatives of civil disobedience and possible actions in the periphery which are completely separate from the organisational forces behind the

protest. The only thing they have in common is the motivation: one of the dirtiest companies in the world is having a meeting in The Hague, and it should be destroyed.

We are not obliged to join an action which from the outset has a closed objective, tactic and method. Our possibilities are everywhere, we only have to organise them...

CORONAR PERSPECTIVES, THOUGHTS AND PRISON REVOLTS

In these bizarre times of the proliferating Corona virus, there are many perspectives on our autonomy, the virus itself and the repressive measures that accompany the state that imposes all kinds of measures. It certainly gives food for thought and discussion. That is why we have chosen and translated three of the many anarchist articles and perspectives at the last moment of the release of the second edition of Rumoer. This does not mean that we endorse all perspectives or fully share these opinions. Take good care of yourself and others.

CANADA: RECLAIMING AUTONOMY OF ACTION DURING THE VIRUS

This article from Canada was previously published on the website: north-shore.info

The situation changes quickly. Along with everyone else, I follow it avidly and share updates, watch our lives change from day to day, get bogged down in uncertainty. It can feel like there is only a single crisis whose facts are objective, allowing only one single path, one that involves separation, enclosure, obedience, control. The state and its appendages become the only ones legitimate to act, and the mainstream media narrative with the mass fear it produces swamps our ability for independent action.

Some anarchists though have pointed out that there are two crises playing out in parallel — one is a pandemic that is spreading rapdily and causing serious harm and even death for thousands. The other is crisis management strategy imposed by the the state. The state claims to be acting in the interest of everyone's health — it wants us to see its response as objective and inevitable.

But its crisis management is also a way of determining what conditions will be like when the crisis resolves, letting it pick winners and losers along predictable lines. Recognizing the inequality baked into these supposedly neutral measures means acknowledging that certain people being asked to pay a much higher cost than others for what the powerful are claiming as a collective good. I want to recover some autonomy

and freedom of action in this moment, and to do this, we need to break free of the narrative we are given.

When we let the state control the narrative, the questions that are asked about this moment, we also let them control the answers. If we want a different outcome than the powerful are preparing, we need to be able to ask a different question.

We mistrust the mainstream narrative on so many things, and are usually mindful of the powerful's ability to shape the narrative to make the actions they want to take seem inevitable. Here in Canada, the exaggeration and lies about the impacts of #shutdowncanada rail blockades was a deliberate play to lay the groundwork for a violent return to normal. We can understand the benefits of an infection-control protocol while being critical of the ways the state is using this moment for its own ends. Even if we assess the situation ourselves and accept certain reccomendations the state is also pushing. we don't have to adopt the state's project as our own. There is a big difference between following orders and thinking independently to reach similar conclusions.

When we are actually carrying out own project, it becomes easier to make an independent assessment of the situation, parsing the torrent of information and recomendations for ourselves and asking what is actually suitable for our goals and priorities. For

instance, giving up our ability to have demonstrations while we still need to go work retail jobs seems like a bad call for any liberatory project. Or recognizing the need for a rent strike while also fear mongering about any way of talking to our neighbours.

Giving up on struggle while still accomodating the economy is very far from addressing our own goals, but it flows from the state's goal of managing the crisis to limit economic harm and prevent challenges to its legitimacy. It's not that the state set out to quash dissent, that is probably just a byproduct. But if we have a different starting point — build autonomy rather than protect the economy — we will likely strike different balances about what is appropriate.

For me, a starting point is that my project as an anarchist is to create the conditions for free and meaningful lives, not just ones that are as long as possible. I want to listen to smart advice without ceding my agency, and I want to respect the autonomy of others - rather than a moral code to enforce, our virus measures should be based on agreements and boundaries, like any other consent practice. We communicate about the measures we choose, we come to agreements, and where agreements aren't possible, we set boundaries that are self-enforceable and don't rely on coercion. We look at the ways access to medical care, class, race, gender, geography, and of course health affect the impact of both the virus and the state's response and try to see that as a basis for solidarity.

A big part of the state's narrative is unity — the idea that we need to come together as a society around a singular good that is for everyone. People like feeling like they're part of a big group effort and like having the sense of contributing through their own small actions — the same kinds of phenomenons that make rebellious social movements possible also enable these moments of mass obedience. We can begin rejecting it by reminding ourselves that the interests of the rich and powerful are fundamentally at odds with our own. Even in a situation where they could get sicken or die too (unlike the opioid crisis or the AIDS epidemic before it), their response to the crisis is unlikely to meet our needs and may even intensify exploitation.

The presumed subject of most of the measures like self-isolation and social distancing is middle-class — they imagine a person whose job can easily be worked from home or who has access to paid vacation or sick days (or, in the worst case, savings), a person with a spacious home, a personal vehicle, without very many close, intimate relationships, with money to spend on childcare and leisure activities. Everyone is asked to accept a level of discomfort,

but that increases the further away our lives are from looking like that unstated ideal and compounds the unequal risk of the worst consequences of the virus. One response to this inequality has been to call on the state to do forms of redistribution, by expanding employment insurance benefits, or by providing loans or payment deferrals. Many of these measure boil down to producing new forms of debt for people who are in need, which recalls the outcome of the 2008 financial crash, where everyone shared in absorbing the losses of the rich while the poor were left out to dry.

I have no interest in becoming an advocate for what the state should do and I certainly don't think this is a tipping point for the adoption of more socialistic measures. The central issue to me is whether or not we want the state to have the abiltiy to shut everything down, regardless of what we think of the justifications it invokes for doing so.

The #shutdowncanada blockades were considered unacceptable, though they were barely a fraction as disruptive as the measures the state pulled out just a week later, making clear that it's not the level of disruption that was unacceptable, but rather who is a legitimate actor. Similarly, the government of Ontario repeated constantly the unacceptable burden striking teachers were placing on families with their handful of days of action, just before closing schools for three weeks — again, the problem is that they were workers and not a government or boss. The closure of borders to people but not goods intensifies the nationalist project already underway across the world, and the economic nature of these seemingly moral measures will become more plain once the virus peaks and the calls shift towards 'go shopping, for the economy'.

The state is producing legitimacy for its actions by situating them as simply following expert reccomendations, and many leftists echo this logic by calling for experts to be put directly in control of the response to the virus. Both of these are advocating for technocracy, rule by experts. We have seen this in parts of Europe, where economic experts are appointed to head governments to implement 'neutral' and 'objective' austerity measures. Calls to surrender our own agency and to have faith in experts are already common on the left, especially in the climate change movement, and extending that to the virus crisis is a small leap.

It's not that I don't want to hear from experts or don't want there to be individuals with deep knowledge in specific fields — it's that I think the way problems are framed already anticipate their solution. The response to the virus in China gives us a vision of what technocracy and authoritarianism are capable



of. The virus slows to a stop, and the checkpoints, lockdowns, facial recognition technology, and mobilized labour can be turned to other ends. If you don't want this answer, you'd better ask a different question.

So much of social life had already been captured by screens and this crisis is accelerating it — how do we fight alienation in this moment? How do we address the mass panic being pushed by the media, and the anxiety and isolation that comes with it?

How do we take back agency? Mutual aid and autonomous health projects are one idea, but are there ways we can go on the offensive? Can we undermine the ability of the powerful to decide whose lives are worth preserving? Can we go beyond support to challenge property relations? Like maybe building towards looting and expropriations, or extorting bosses rather than begging not to be fired for being sick?

How are we preparing to avoid curfews or travel restrictions, even cross closed borders, should we consider it appropriate to do so? This will certainly involve setting our own standards for safety and necessity, not just accepting the state's guidelines.

How do we push forward other anarchist engagements? Specifically, our hostility to prison

in all its forms seems very relevant here. How do we centre and target prison in this moment? How about borders? And should the police get involved to enforce various state measures, how do we delegitimate them and limit their power?

How do we target the way power is concentrating and restructuring itself around us? What interests are poised to "win" at the virus and how do we undermine them (think investment opportunities, but also new laws and increased powers). What infrastructure of control is being put in place? Who are the profiteers and how can we hurt them? How do we prepare for what comes next and plan for the window of possibility that might exist in between the worst of the virus and a return to economic normalcy?

Developing our own read on the situation, along with our own goals and practices, is not a small job. It will take the exchange of texts, experiments in action, and communication about the results. It will take broadening our sense of inside-outside to include enough people to be able to organize. It will involve still acting in the public space and refusing to retreat to online space. Combined with measures to deal with the virus, the intense fear and pressure to conform coming from many who would normally be our allies makes even finding space to discuss the crises on different terms a challenge. But if we actually want to challenge the ability of the powerful to shape the response to the virus for their own

interests, we need to start by taking back the ability to ask our own questions. Conditions are different everywhere, but all states are watching each other and following each others' lead, and we would do well to look to anarchists in other places dealing with conditions that may soon become our own. So I'll leave you with this quote from anarchists in France, where a mandatory lockdown has been in place all week, enforced with dramatic police violence:

"And so yes, let's avoid too much collectivity in our activities and unnecessary meetings, we will maintain a safe distance, but fuck the confinement measures,

we'll evade your police patroles as much as we can, it's out of the question that we support repression or restrictions of our rights! To all the poor, marginal, and rebellious, show solidarity and engage in mutual aid to maintain activities necessary for survival, avoid the arrests and fines and continue expressing ourselves politically."

From "Against Mass Confinement" ("Contre le confinement généralisé"). Published in French on Indymedia Nantes

GERMANY: HEADS OUT OF THE SAND! REAL ESTATE COMPANIES ATTACKED

Two Real Estate Company Cars in Bremen Destroyed. Bremen: 21.03 to 22.03

We should stay at home and avoid any contact with others. We should show solidarity, because if we don't, the deadly virus will spread. We get lost in the news. We go into shock.

The pandemic is a reality and we all have a responsibility. Responsibility to contain the disease. But also responsibility for social development. We are not all "in the same boat" just because we can all be affected by the virus. The pandemic, or rather how we deal with it, exacerbates the already precarious living conditions. Many will get into debt, have no or much lower income and still have to pay the high rents. Real estate companies will continue to profit and the burdens of the crisis will be transferred to those who are marginalized anyway. At the same time, government measures to combat the virus are accelerating authoritarian developments; we can see three key points here:

- An intensification of the technological attack... The switch to web-based homework, the relocation of cultural encounters such as concerts or parties to virtual spaces, online school lessons, the displacement of retail stores by online commerce, and the analysis of mobile phone date for biopolitical population control, to name just a few examples.
- Testing of counterinsurgency measures Military action at home, the closing of borders, curfews, increased powers for the police, the complete disappearance of the liberal counterpublic in the form of demonstrations and rallies, all these measures – regardless of their usefulness in containing the pandemic – are also important experiences for combating coming insurgencies.

Aggravated precarization

It is becoming clear that the crisis of the virus is being replaced by a crisis of the economy. Beyond the redistribution of the taxpayers' money to corporations and companies, it is difficult to predict the effects of the coming economic crisis. But if we look at the past crisis, it is clear that we have to expect the whole range of neoliberal reforms.

All in all, there are many reasons (offline) to act, analyse and observe. We were on the streets to find out whether it is still possible to move at night. And lo and behold, it is still possible.

Our first actions are two destroyed real estate company vehicles:

- a burnt-out Smart car from IMMO-BREMEN
- destroyed windows on a small Engel und Völkers car

Against resignation and isolation: Heads out of the sand!

Autonomous Groups

Note: According to the press, a hedge was set on fire by the burning Smart car, which in turn damaged the windows of an apartment building and led to the temporary evacuation of two people. There is nothing nice about that. We apologize! And we will be even more careful in the future! All nocturnal activists: Be careful in narrow streets!

CHILE: AN ANARCHIST PERSPECTIVE ON THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC

On a particularly chaotic Friday afternoon, Piñera inaugurated the nationwide chain reaction to the pandemic. Since the beginning of March, fear of the virus has slowly entered the conversation: between the agitated return to classes that seeks to be a replica (like an earthquake) of the October Revolt, the massive feminist demonstrations, the radicalization of the reactionary sectors and the imminence of the plebiscite, it is taking on more and more importance.

The international situation is no less complex. Last year saw the beginning of a new worldwide wave of revolts against capitalist normality, and the much manipulated "institutionality" seems to be collapsing from all sides, leaving room not only for insurgent creativity but also (and never so easily differentiated) for populism and fascism of all kinds.

The economy has been losing speed for some time, but the trade war between two declining powers, the manufactured rise in the price of oil, and the paralysis caused by the coronavirus, built the perfect storm to leave the stock market and its tangle of speculative fictions in free fall.

It is in this context that the disease arrives in our territory, with the state of exception still fresh in our memories. It starts in the upper classes, and we almost rejoice before remembering that they will not be the only ones to suffer its consequences. The government, always late, announces its measures. Clearly they are not enough, and their only objective is to ensure the free movement of capital. Some (the ones who see conspiracies at every corner) whisper that it is a strategy to cancel the plebiscite, that is apparently so dangerous. But we are clear that the intelligent fascist votes to approve, and that the government's incompetence requires no more justification than its own class interests.

However, we have also seen how the situation has developed in other countries with a more advanced stage of infection. Simulations of insurrection, urban warfare and absolute states of emergency have been deployed on the streets of China, Italy and other parts of the world, with varying degrees of success. The Chinese state, famous for its repressive capacity, concentrated all its efforts on the containment of ground zero but, juggling to keep its economy afloat, left its regional governments free both to resume production and to sustain the quarantine. Beyond this it has been by far the country whose quarantine has

been most efficient and effective (we won't mention the United States, whose public policy is reduced to covering its ears and shouting loudly).

The Italian case is notable, more than anything else, for its resistance to quarantine measures and "social distancing", a nefarious euphemism that refers to self-isolation, forced precarization disguised as "tele-working", hoarding of essential goods, and the denial of any form of community. When the prisoners (who have always been overcrowded and immunocompromised) were banned from receiving visits, the biggest prison revolt of this century began: 27 prisons were taken over, many people were killed, police and prison officers were kidnapped and hundreds of prisoners escaped.

In Chilean territory, the situation is uncertain. Pharmacies and supermarkets that were recently looted will soon be out of stock due to widespread panic. Public transport, a permanent battleground since the beginning of the revolt, will soon be avoided like the plague. The government has already banned gatherings of more than 500 people, but by now anyone who is listening to the government is listening. The military, who we assume have refused to leave again to keep what little legitimacy they have left and to be able to preserve their privileges in a new constitution, will not have so much shame if they can disguise their actions as public health. Real public health, on the other hand, weighs less than a packet of cabritas (translation note: a popular popcorn snack). And we have no idea what will happen with the plebiscite.

If elsewhere the pandemic was a trial of insurrection, here the insurrection seems to have been a trial of pandemic and economic crisis. Let's keep the flame of revolt alive, and organize to survive.

We will now outline some measures that we consider worthy of generalization, more of an inspiration than a programme:

- Looting and organized redistribution of basic acods
- The use of student occupations as collection centres, shelters for homeless people and, of course, street fighters.
- The boycott of any form of distance work or study, so that the quarantine becomes a general strike.

- The immediate release of all prisoners as a central demand.
- Mass evasion in private clinics, free medical care for all
- Rent strike, taking over empty houses.

The hood is the best mask! Evade the isolation of capital! Deny immunity as a police device! The crisis is an opportunity, raise your fist and attack!

ITALY, LECCE: INTERRUPTIONS...

There is nothing new about social life taking place at a distance. For a long time now people have been persuaded that the best way to communicate and relate is through the use of a device. Prostheses of the human being, the smartphone and its like, have transformed the way of being together, of being informed, learning, communicating, writing and reading.

The next step is the robotization of living, technique pervading every place, every aspect of daily life. An overcoming of nature and the natural in favour of artificial beings and places. Such a scenario needs no social life, it does not need relationships, feelings, thoughts, it only needs order, discipline, regulation, machines. Maybe Dominion is trying to take a step forward and use a health problem, the spread of a virus, to reach generalized regimentation at least, the rest will then take care of itself. Science fiction comes to mind, but States have centuries old instruments to draw on without having to resort to the unknown.

The social distancing imposed by laws prohibiting kisses and hugs and the suppression of most social activities, recalls states of emergency in which the rules of social life are imposed and must be obeyed so as not to run up against getting charged or being arrested. And indeed the establishment of red zones and checkpoints, limitation of freedom of circulation, obligation of home isolation for those coming from areas considered infected controlled by police, but above all the ban on gatherings, i.e. public meetings, is the police management of a health problem. Not surprisingly it is foreseen in the ten rules recommended by the Italian State to avoid the spread of the virus that in case of fever the carabinieri must the first to be contacted. But states of emergency are also the measures provided for in situations of conflict or insurrection, as happened recently in Chile.

The State decrees by law that citizens are its property and it can dispose of them as it sees fit. States of emergency are not imposed for health reasons or the population's welfare, but to make rules become introjected, to instill discipline. And indeed, the surest way to obtain obedience is to spread terror, fear. Create anxiety and panic, continually divulging data, making everything sensationalistic and exceptional. Frightening is a practice of war and torture as well as of government, and States are specialized in this too. And war has forcefully come back into voque after being removed and cancelled out for many years. Today the war is here, indeed everywhere. Heads of State are declaring themselves at war against a somewhat singular enemy, a virus, but their real adversary or target is not that, it is their very subjects. For this reason the issue at stake, perhaps the most important, is to keep critical thinking alive without downplaying anything. Having, arm in arm with the Economy, industrialized and devastated nature and desertified thought, now feelings are being cancelled out. No kisses, no hugs.

However, if Dominion wants us totally dependent on it, if the State cancels social and in part also economic life, that means that we don't need the State. That we can self-organize our initiatives, our forms of education, our economies, our leisure. And also in this case we don't need to resort to science fiction but to experience, memory, our will and courage.

The prisoners fighting in the Italian prisons that this state of emergency would like to see buried alive are showing a way. That normality be interrupted, yes, but by revolt.

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REVOLTS IN ITALIAN PRISONS

In the evening of March 8th a fire works its way through the prison complex in Modena, in the region Emilia-Romagna. Prisoners manage to spring their cells, chase away the guards and occupy the roof of the prison where they start a fire. In the early morning of March 9th a dozen people appear on the roof of the San Vittore prison in Milan. They drop a banner reading "indulto" (an Italian rule for early release) and shout "Liberta! Liberta!" (Freedom! Freedom!) and "Vergogna!" (Shame!) at the authorities standing below. As a measure against the rampaging Covid-19 virus all prison visits have been cancelled until the end of May, visits by psychiatrists and medical volunteers are also ruled out. As a result the ticking time-bomb in the Italian prison system explodes.

By Monday afternoon the police union announces that there are 27 prison uprising across the Italian territories. In Rome and Naples family members clash with riot police at the prison gates. In cities like Bologna, Milan and Turin anarchists and family's gather to support the revolting prisoners. Meanwhile the imprisoned occupy the roofs, destroy the prison facilities and set fire to their cells and cop cars inside the prison premises.

The Covid-19 virus has crushed the facade; the

social tensions have been laid bare. In the past few months a couple of revolts have occurred in the CPR (deportation prisons) of Turin, where a couple of people were killed. Last year anarchists went on hunger strike after two arrestees of the anti-terrorist operation "Scintilla" did the same in the highly restricted woman's prison in L'Aquila while being held under the 41bis-regime. There have been rumblings in the Italian prisons for a while, but now the straw broke the camel's back.

Despite the fact that social life has been called to a halt the factories are still turning. By Tuesday afternoon wildcat strikes are reported across the country. Workers refuse to put their health and life on the line for the sake of capital. Some self-organised unions also declare their solidarity with the prison uprisings, which keep smouldering until March 12th before the state re-announces control over the prison.

The state speaks of 40 injured police officers and heavy damages in all the prisons affected by the revolt (the prison in Modena is considered a lost cause due to the damage). 14 prisoners lost their lives during the revolt, according to the state all fatalities were caused by a methadone overdoses.



INTERVIEW WITH GRAFFITI-MAKER SPAZ UND FROM LEBANON



EPS - EXIST - SPAZ: "I am not a prince"

In our last edition we wrote about the continuous protests and uprisings in, among others, Iraq, Algeria and Iran. We also wrote about the situation in Lebanon

In the autumn of 2019 Lebanon saw a new wave of protests, in Beirut, but also in many small cities. The protests escalated quickly, enormous amounts of people took to the streets. At the same time a wave of repression hit. The protests are an answer to the consequences of the economic crises and people in power who are only filling their own pockets. Lebanon is, since the end of the civil war in 1991, governed by a political system that is based on the many religions the region knows; since then this system has not changed. Even after the uprisings of 2011 the government has kept the country in an iron grip.

The people are faced with another wave of taxes and a weak economy. The daily reality is a lack of food and no water from the taps. This made the people take to the streets again. They demanded a life in dignity, which was answered with brutal police violence. Characteristic for the protests are international solidarity, and a for Lebanon unusual approach in which the separate struggles and groups are connected above all sectarian separations. Below you find an interview with graffiti-maker Spaz Uno.

Rumoer:

What was the spark for the recent uprisings?

Spaz Uno:

The government proposed a tax on the use of WhatsApp. Also, there were very big wildfires, in several places in Lebanon. This was just short after the forest fires in Australia. These two things made that everyone took to the streets, within a couple of hours. These were not the main reasons for the protests though, only the sparks. The actual reason is the accumulation of things that have been happening in Lebanon since 30 years. A corrupt government, corrupt politicians that use the country to do business. Lebanon has investors from different parts of the world, from the US for example, but politicians use this for themselves. Recently they have started digging for oil, but the money does not go to the people.

The protests now are not as active as before, because people are fighting day-to-day to have food and a roof over their heads. More then 50% of the population is poor now. The whole situation is getting worse. The rate of the money is low and there is a limit on money you can take from the bank (100 dollar per week).

Rumoer:

How do you feel about the interconnectedness of the struggle?

Spaz Uno:

Well, everyone is suffering from the same stuff, they have the same problems. Before, there was sectarianism. Everyone lived closed off in their own neighborhoods. Now it is more open, since the revolution started people started to be more aware of their surroundings, of the people around them, of the actions going on. They became aware that they have to work together, while before it was everyone and every place for itself. We share the basic demands: freedom and freedom of speech, but also the basic living conditions. We are paying for electricity that we don't actually get.

All the different groups come together in this, there are feminists, communists, people that are free of any political line, all of them are united for one purpose. Some people used to follow political parties, but now they see they have been stealing their money and sending them in the wrong way. So it is everyone, except for the political parties. The main focus now is how to get food on the table.

Rumoer:

What should we know about the repression?

Spaz Uno:

A lot of things happened since the revolt started. We already knew that the police are government followers, but they should actually be for the people. When the revolution started, it was clearly the other way around. The police and even the army, which should not be involved in internal problems, oppressed the people to defend their territories. For example, the banks are protected now constantly by the police. It's a police state now. There is oppression in different ways, instagram and facebook are closely watched by the authorities. Also, the people on the frontlines of protests are being arrested and tortured. In the streets there is lots of police violence, beatings, teargas and ammunition, both real and rubber bullets.

Rumoer:

We like painting on the street a lot. How does street presence with paintings and slogans play a part in the uprisings?

Spaz Uno:

Painting is essential in these moments. It's never far from the revolution, you don't paint because you just want to paint, you paint because you have something to say. In this revolution, painting and graffiti have been main elements, even since the first day we painted the first wall on the 18th of October. After that, everyone was holding a spraycan. There is graffiti all over the country now. It made an impact on

everyone, some politicians even tried to use graffiti artists to paint over the insults that people wrote about them on the walls.

We write sentences from local hiphop on the walls, like 'there is something on the streets for us, we are going to take it.' People were also writing on the walls about women's rights, LHBTQ*, legalization, and insults to any and every politician of the country. Before graffiti was used in Lebanon as an art form, it was used by political parties to mark their territory. After 2006, graffiti started to grow, also because of Fish, the first graffiti writer of Lebanon. Now the writers' movement grew a lot, but after the uprisings even more.

Rumoer:

Do you see any anarchy or anarchists around?

Spaz Uno:

Mostly there are anarchists in Beirut, there is an anarchist community. I don't know people from that movement because they mainly don't speak but just go to the streets. There are a lot of them that are somehow organized. They are attentive to each other. But how I see it is that everyone was an anarchist since day one, because everyone was struggling for the interest of everybody. And against the government of course. This movement is more than a facebook group. Acting against this system, whatever you do to fuck the system, that's what makes you an anarchist.

Rumoer:

What felt as the strongest moment so far?

Spaz Uno:

There were lots of strong moments. But for me the strongest moment was when all these people went out for the first time together in downtown Beirut for this shared purpose. Most of them had their eyes wide open and knew what they wanted and what they were going to do. For me this was very touching, I wont be able to forget it my whole life.

It extended to the whole country, there were protests in the North, in the South, in the Center... The strongest moment was when all the people took to the streets, of course there were different stages that we went through and for sure it will happen again very soon. As the basic things are lacking, like bread, its a matter of time. There are lots of evictions and suicides among young people.

Rumoer:

What is your biggest wish for the future?

Spaz Uno:

I wish to maintain unity with each other, being aware of ourselves and surroundings. Once we have unity we have everything. Revolution is not about raging against the corrupt regime, it's something much bigger, it's coming from deep inside every one of us. Once we know we can have a revolution deep inside

of us, we know we can make a revolution against the system.

REPRESSION AND TORTURE IN RUSSIA

The text below is a compilation of various texts from rupression.com

In the run-up to presidential elections and the FIFA World Cup, repressions against antifascists and anarchists started in Russia. In Autumn 2017, 6 people were arrested in Penza; several of them had weapons and explosives planted on them. FSB officers then tortured the antifascists right in the detention facility: they applied naked wires to the activists' various body parts and turned the electricity on, they beat them up, hanged them upside down. While torturing them, the agents made the activists learn by heart the story the FSB needed: they were supposed to confess of having founded and belonging to a terrorist organization called "The Network". In late January 2018, two more antifascists were arrested in Saint-Petersburg. They, too, were beaten up, tortured with electric current, and forced to incriminate themselves by confirming they were members of the "Network".

PENZA. THE ARRESTS

In October and November 2017, five antifascists were arrested in Penza.

It was most probably Zorin's testimony that provided a formal cause for opening the case

gor Zorin, a Penza State University student, never came home on October 18 and his friends started to worry. It later turned out that FSB operatives had him. Apparently, it was his testimony that was used as a formal ground for initiating the case of the antifascist "terrorist organization". It is most probable that Zorin was brutally tortured just as the rest of the detained. However, he hasn't since contacted either his friends or journalists. According to available information, Zorin is currently under house arrest. All the other defendants in the case are held in pretrial detention facilities.

On October 19, Ilya Shakurskiy, a prominent local activist and Zorin's classmate at the university, started searching for him with a group of friends. He found no trace of Zorin and went home. As soon as he descended from his bus, he was knocked off his feet, and in a couple of seconds FSB officers shoved him into their car. They beat Shakurskiy up and pulled him by the hair to force his phone password out of him. He ended up telling them the password. 20 minutes later, the antifascist was brought into a building where more FSB officers were waiting for him. They told Shakurskiy he was suspected of organizing a terrorist group. When the activist denied the accusations he was beaten on his head and back, threatened with rape and a life sentence. All the time he could hear someone scream next door. At some point, a masked man walked in with a bloody scarf in his hands. One of the FSB officers mentioned the name: "Kuksov".

Vasiliy Kuksov was also detained on October 19, probably almost at the same time as Shakurskiy. Kuksov's wife, Elena, came back from work to an empty home and called her husband on his mobile phone. She could hear the ringing signal but nobody picked up. After a couple of hours she heard somebody open the door with a key. Ten FSB agents stood before her. One of them was holding a beaten up Vasiliy by the neck. The antifascist could barely stand, his forehead and nose were badly bruised, his pants and jacket torn and bloody. The FSB agents quickly searched through the apartment and went over to search Kuksov's car.

They told Kuksov to open the car door. He noticed straight away that the car door lock was broken and stated this loudly. When the FSB agents took a gun out of the car it became clear who had broken the lock and why: the gun had been previously planted there by the operatives. After this Kuksov was taken away, probably to the FSB bureau, where they started beating him up. It was his screams that Shakurskiy heard in the next room.

Dmitriy Pchelintsev left his home to pick up his grandmother and was arrested on October 27. Four FSB agents attacked him by his car, beat him up, threw him on the ground and took his apartment key.

They opened the door and broke into his apartment. During the search they turned everything upside down. They took smartphones, all data storage devices, two hunting rifles and two nonlethal pistols. All the weapons had been officially registered by Pchelintsev who worked as a gunnery instructor.

After the search, the agents got down to Pchelintsev's car which had long had no functioning instrusion alarm and took two grenades from under a seat. It would not have been any trouble for them to plant grenades in an unprotected car.

At first Dmitriy Pchelintsev was not beaten up, even though he refused to incriminate himself. On the next day, he was arrested as a member of a "terrorist organization". On the same day, his wife Angelina was called to the FSB, supposedly to witness her husband's interrogation. In the bureau, two officers met her, one of them playing meaningfully with a stab awl in his hand. Another mentioned they "needed to shoot somebody in the leg" to make Pchelintsev confess.

In early November 2017, Andrey Chernov was arrested in Penza, and Arman Sagynbaev around the same time in Saint-Petersburg. The latter was subsequently brought to Penza. Their comrades have as yet no information on the circumstances of their arrests. Sagynbaev who has several broken ribs refuses all contact with his comrades, journalists and human rights activists; having met Pchelintsev by chance, he asked for his forgiveness for having incriminated Pchelintsev and others under torture. We have virtually no updates on Chernov.

PENZA. THE TORTURES

All the arrested activists were most probably tortured, but only two of them have until now chosen to talk about it openly and in detail: Ilya Shakurskiy and Dmitriy Pchelintsev. What happened to them only became known in January 2018, because prior to that their families were afraid that public disclosure might make their situation even worse.

Shakurskiy has accounted of several times he was brought to FSB operatives who would beat him up, requiring that he sign the confession of membership in a "terrorist organization" made up by the agents. Not only did he hear Kuksov scream there, but he also met his comrade and saw blood on his face. Shakurskiy refused to confess of what he never did for a long time. Then one day he was taken out of his cell in the detention facility and brought into the cellar.

"After a while, three masked men came in. They told me to face the wall and take off my jacket. A thought crossed my mind at that moment: "They are going to kill me." They told me to sit down on a bench without raising my head. They tied my hands, blindfolded and gagged me. I thought they were going to make me touch something to get my fingerprints on some object. But then they attached wires to my big toes. I felt the first electric discharge and couldn't help but groan and shake. They did it again and again until I promised to say what they told me. Since then I forgot the word no and said everything the operatives told me," Shakurskiy told afterwards. He signed everything the FSB agents gave him. Dmitriy Pchelintsev said that on October 28, immediately after the court ruling on his arrest, he was brought into the detention center cellar. Seven masked FSB officers came in after him and ordered him to undress. They tied his hands, cellotaped his feet to a bench and gagged him.

An FSB operative in white medical gloves took out a generator and put it on the table. He took a box cutter and stripped the two wires coming out of the device with well-practiced movements. He told Pchelintsev to stick out his big toe, attached the naked wires to it and turned the generator handle. The current went through Pchelintsev's body. He felt terrible pain, started to scream, thrash and beat his head against the wall. The operatives took the precaution to put his jacket between his body and the wall to prevent him cracking his skull open. During the tortures one of them stood next to Pchelintsev and watched his pulse. They took 10 seconds to subject him to the first discharge. To him, it seemed like an eternity.

After the first discharge one of the officers told Pchelintsev he had to forget the words "no", "I don't remember", "I don't know". After that they gagged him again and subjected him to electric discharges four more times. The pain was so terrible that Pchelintsev's teeth crumbled as he was clenching his jaw. The frenum of his tongue tore, his mouth was full of blood. The operatives gagged him with a sock.

"When they tortured me with electric current, my mouth was full of tooth crumbles because I had clenched my jaw so much with pain, and the frenum of my tongue tore, my mouth filled with blood, and at some point one of the torturers put a sock into my mouth." Dmitriy Pchelintsev "Then I was thrown to the floor, and because one of my feet was tied to the bench foot, I fell down, hurt my knees and bled profusely. They pulled my pants down, I was lying with my belly on the floor, they tried to apply the wires to my genitals. I screamed and asked them to stop hurting me. They were repeating: "You're the leader." To make them stop the tortures, I answered: "Yes, I'm the leader." "You've been planning terrorist attacks." I said: "Yes, we've been planning terrorist attacks." The one who had checked the pulse on my neck put his balaclava on me so I wouldn't see them.

At some point I passed out for a while. <...> After they left, a detention officer came in and told me to dress, he brought me back to my cell," Pchelintsev told his lawyer.

On the next day, to stop the tortures, Pchelintsev smashed the toilet cistern and cut himself at the elbow creases and at the neck. "Caring" wardens gave him first aid.

Pchelintsev was tortured in the detention center for over a month and sometimes he heard Arman Sagynbaev scream. The screams made it clear to him that Sagynbaev was being tortured too. Pchelintsev was still subjected to electric current, sometimes hanged upside down or given unknown injections and pills. He wrote to his wife Angelina that it was "worse than death". Pchelintsev and his lawyer told journalists about the tortures and filed an application at the Investigation Committee. A few days later FSB agents tortured Pchelintsev again and forced him to retract his words.

THE FSB'S **ACCUSATIONS AGAINST ANTIFASCISTS** THE

Due to these methods, five out of six activists arrested in Penza pled guilty. Kuksov is the only one apparently refusing to testify.

It seems that the grounds for the FSB manufacturing "terrorist organization" case against the activists was the fact that all of them played airsoft. They trained together in the woods, learned how to provide first aid and survive in the wild. However, not all of the arrested were actually friends (Pchelintsev and Shakurskiy, for instance, had long had a personal conflict) and they even played in different airsoft teams: one of them was called Sunrise (Voskhod),

the other 5.11 (after a popular outdoor sportswear brand). In the FSB version, the teams' names turned into codenames for "cells" of a supposed "terrorist organization" named "The Network". According to the FSB, it also had cells in Moscow, Saint-Petersburg and in Belarus.

The FSB claims that the antifascists trained to

organize explosions during Russian presidential elections and the Football World Cup, in order to destabilize the situation in the country and "trouble the masses". Their targets were supposed to be United Russia party quarters, post offices, and law enforcement officers. All the arrested were subsequently accused according to Art. 205.4 Part 2 of the Russian Criminal Code (participation in a terrorist organization).

SAINT-PETERSBURG. THE ARRESTS AND **TORTURES**

Sagynbaev who was arrested in Saint-Petersburg knew several activists there. Under torture in Penza, he probably was forced to incriminate his Petersburg comrades. Igor Shishkin and Viktor Filinkov must have been among the had named. This is how two more "terrorists" were to the "Network" case. added

Late on January 23, 2018, antifascist Viktor Filinkov

was waiting for his flight at the Saint-Petersburg airport: he was going to Kiev to see his wife. Just before the takeoff he was accosted by six FSB officers. He was handcuffed and brought to a medical exam for some reason-probably a routine FSB procedure before tortures.

After the exam. the antifascist was put back into the minivan where they immediately started beating him up with their hands. Soon he felt an electric discharge. His body arched involuntarily, he cried out with unendurable pain. He was being hurt with a taser. This first electric shock was followed by more discharges into his handcuffs, the back of his head, his back, then to his leg and the handcuffs again, to the groin. Filinkov

RUPRESSION.COM

screamed and was gagged.

After ten minutes of torture he groaned: "Tell me what to say, I'll say everything!" But the tortures did not stop. Soon when Filinkov was ready to agree to anything, the FSB officers made him learn by heart a testimony stating that he was a member of the "Network" "terrorist organization".

Then they mopped up the blood from his face with his hat and brought Filinkov for a search of his home, and then into the Saint-Petersburg FSB Bureau. There he told the investigator the exact phrases of confession he had learned under torture.

On January 25, he was arrested in court and sent to a detention facility. As soon as he was visited by human rights activists and a lawyer, Filinkov retracted his testimony and told them about the tortures. He showed the activists the many traces the taser had left all over his body.

On January 26, three days after Filinkov's detainment, antifascist Igor Shishkin went missing in Saint-Petersburg: FSB agents took him while he was walking his dog. His family could not find him for two days. The FSB claimed to know nothing of Shishkin—in fact, he was being tortured by special agents all that time.

The court arrested Shishkin on January 28, he looked badly hurt at the hearing, and the FSB officers covered his face with a scarf and a hood. He, too, signed a confessionary statement.

Doctors diagnosed Shishkin with an orbital floor fracture, multiple bruises and abrasions. Human rights activists also found taser burns on the back of his thigh, on his back and arms. However, he did not tell them anything about tortures. According to them, he was very subdued. Prior to that, he was forced to sign a paper in the FSB stating that he had sustained all those injuries while working out. Ten days after being detained and tortured, Shishkin officially stated he was ready to cooperate with the investigation.

Late on January 25, FSB officers detained Ilya Kapustin, an industrial climber. They tortured him with a taser inside a car for several hours and demanded that he tell them everything about the antifascists he knew. They threatened Kapustin to take him out into the woods and break his legs but in the end they let him go after searching his home.

DEFENDANTS IN NETWORK CASE RECEIVE UP TO 18 YEARS IN PRISON

The Volga District Military Court, [sitting in Penza], has [convicted and] sentenced seven defendants in the Network Case.

Dmitry Pchelintsev was sentenced to 18 years in a maximum-security penal colony. Ilya Shakursky was sentenced to 16 years in a penal colony and fined 50,000 rubles. Investigators claimed they were organizers of a "terrorist community." Both men alleged that FSB officers had electrocuted them in order to obtain confessions.

Maxim Ivankin was given 13 years in a maximum-security penal colony, while Andrei Chernov was sentenced to 14 years, and Mikhail Kulkov, to 10 years. They were found guilty of involvement in a "terrorist community" and attempting to sell drugs. Vasily Kuksov was sentenced to 9 years in a penal colony. He was accused of involvement in a "terrorist community" and illegal possession of a weapon. Another defendant, Arman Sagynbayev, received 6 years in prison.

SOLIDARITY. "THE FSB IS THE TERRORIST"

Eight of the nine defendants in the criminal case against antifascists are currently under arrest in detention facilities where they are still in danger.

The repressions against the antifascists became public knowledge only in late January when Viktor Filinkov reported the tortures. Soon Ilya Shakurskiy and Dmitriy Pchelintsev reported the same. The Investigation Committee has finally initiated an investigation—at the moment only into Filinkov's complaint. Whether this investigation will bring any results remains unclear.

Actions of solidarity with the arrested antifascists and anarchists started across Russia as well as in many other countries under the main slogan: "The FSB Is The Terrorist." We must continue to express our solidarity by attacking repressive organs and spreading the stories of those affected.

UPDATE: THE PARK BENCH 3 CASE IN HAMBURG |

Last July three anarchists were arrested in a park in Hamburg. Since then, two of them have been in pre-trial detention; the third person was released to await the court case on the outside. Their court case started on 8 January. In the last Rumoer we published a text in solidarity; now it's time for an update.

On the night before the first day of court there was a large solidarity-demo with around 500 people in front of the prison where the two are locked up. Many friends and comrades were also present on the first day of trial. The trial generally takes place in a heavily secured room - on the first day it took approximately two-and-a-half hours before everyone was inside due to the elaborate checking of people going in. Not much happened that first day except officially stating the accusations.

Two people are accused of preparing an arson attack; one is accused of arson. Furthermore, one of them is accused of breaking the weapon-and-ammunition law; the other two of participating in this.

The past few months have not shed much light on the case. A lot of the court sessions are brief, there is chaos surrounding parts of the file (such as lost photographs taken directly after the arrest or images of which only the cops have the originals, and the court and defense merely the black-and-white versions) and everything, as per usual when it comes to court cases, proceeds in an incredibly slow fashion.

What has become evident is that the surveillance and observation of the homes of the three already began in 2018, and was extended in 2019. At least one person had been under surveillance for 8 months before the actual arrest. This was done under a "prevention of danger" legislation, which circumvents the necessity of a court order and only needs a decision of the police (similarly, in the Netherlands, different rules are in place for cops and the state when it comes to "counter-terrorism").

Their locations were logged continuously and social spaces such as the LiZ (social/autonomous/free centre with an anarchist library) and the Schwarzmarkt (bookshop/social space) were under observation.

In the meantime, the interrogation of cop-witnesses has also begun. However, up until now a large part of the questions asked by the defense about the methods of the police have remained unanswered due to the refusal to "reveal police tactics" or because the witnesses claim they do not remember...

For those on the tribune, it is somewhat hard to follow the case, as the judge has decided that the evidence (69 pieces of evidence in total) will not be read out in court, but only by the different parties themselves. The media, of course, continues their witch hunt and judgement of the three.

Detailed reports of the court days (mostly in German) can be found at parkbankprozess.blackblogs.org. Other news, planned days of court, solidarity actions and messages from inside prison can be found at parkbanksolidarity.blackblogs.org

Letters to the two in prison are very much appreciated and can be sent to:

"Die 3 von der Parkbank"

Libertäres Zentrum LiZ

Karolinenstraße 21, Hinterhaus

20357 Hamburg

DUITSLAND

There have been expressions of solidarity in various European cities - direct action, sabotage... have a look at the blog under the heading "Solidarity actions" for inspiration!

SIGNAL FAILS

This is a compact version of a zine published in May 2019, you can find the full version on: https://north-shore.info/2019/06/02/signal-fails/ Contact the author at signalfails@riseup.net

Signal is an encrypted messaging service that has been around in different forms for about 10 years. Since then, I have seen the software widely adopted by anarchist networks across Canada and the United States. More and more, for better and for worse, our interpersonal and group conversations have moved onto the Signal platform, to the extent that it has become the dominant way anarchists communicate with each other on this continent, with very little public debate about the implications.

Signal is just a smartphone app. The actual paradigm shift that's happening is to a life increasingly mediated by smartphone screens and social media. It only took a few short years for smartphones to become mandatory for anyone who wants friends or needs work, outside of a few scattered pockets. Until recently, the anarchist subculture was one of those pockets, where you could refuse to carry a smartphone and still socially exist. Now I'm less sure, and that's fucking depressing.

So I'm going to stubbornly insist throughout this text that there is no substitute for real-world face-to-face relationships, with all the richness and complexity of body language, emotion, and physical context, and they continue to be the most secure way to have a private conversation. So please, let's leave our phones at home, meet up in a street or forest, conspire together, make some music, build some shit, break some shit, and nurture offline living together. I think this is way more important than using Signal correctly.

When I was visiting friends in another city and we were joking about the ways Signal conversations back home turn into trainwrecks. The patterns were immediately recognized, and I started to realize that this conversation was happening in a lot of places. When I started asking around, everyone had complaints and opinions, but very few shared practices had emerged. So I came up with a list of questions and circulated them. I was pleasantly surprised to receive more than a dozen detailed responses, which combined with several informal conversations, inform the majority of this text.(1)

I'm not an expert – I haven't studied cryptography and I don't know how to code. I'm an anarchist with an interest in holistic security, and a skeptical relationship with technology. My goal with this piece is to reflect on how Signal has become so central to anarchist communication in our context, appraise the implications on both our collective security and social organization, and advance a few preliminary proposals towards developing shared practices.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF SIGNAL

25 years ago, the technological optimists among us saw enormous potential in the emerging internet as a liberatory tool. It's clear that state and corporate entities are gradually capturing more and more of the online space and using it to subject us to increasingly intense forms of surveillance and social control.

The internet has always been an arms race. In 1991, Pretty Good Privacy (PGP) was created, an open-source application for file encryption and end-to-end encryption for email. I'm avoiding technical details, but basically the importance of end-to-end is that you can

DIRTY GRAFFITI CONTEST

We love dirty streets, in every town and city! Fuck the clean, pristine, consumerist bubble! Which is why ... we are announcing a graffiti competition: write, as disgusting, pretty, wild, perfect, as you want RUMOER somewhere on a wall, a bin, train or cop car and win eternal ROEMur!* Take a photo of it and send it to us; the best entries will be included in RUMOER #3. Two birds, one stone: everyone will be curious what the fuck this RUMOER everywhere means, and you'll have fun with some wellmeant vandalism. Love it.

Don't forget:

- See if you can find a partner who'll be on the lookout for you
- Wear gloves (check RIVM for additional security tips)
- Don't take a photo with your smartphone, i.e. snitch-device, it'll be too easy to trace it back to you.

It's also a good idea to email us from a server which isn't owned by google or something and from an account that isn't linked to your full name, date of birth and favourite meal. Or email us via PGP - our key can be found on the website.

- May the best one win, survival of the dirtiest

securely communicate directly with another person, and your email service can't see the message, whether it's Google or Riseup. To this day, as far as we know, PGP encryption has never been broken(1).

My biggest security concern (2) with PGP is the lack of Forward Secrecy, which means that if a private encryption key is ever compromised, all the emails ever sent with that key can be decrypted by an attacker. This is a real concern, given that the NSA is almost certainly storing all your encrypted emails somewhere, and one day quantum computers might be able to break PGP. Don't ask me how quantum computers work — as far as I'm concerned, evil fucking magic.

Sometime around 2010, smartphones started to popularize and everything changed. The ubiquity of social media, constant instant messaging, and the ability for telecom companies (and thus government) to track users' every move has completely transformed the threat model. All the work people put into computer security was set back decades: smartphones rely on a completely different architecture than PCs, resulting in far less user control, and the advent of completely unfettered app permissions has made the idea of smartphone privacy almost laughable.

This is the context that Signal emerged from. People started working on software to bring end-to-end encryption to smartphones, working on the idea that mass surveillance should be countered with mass encryption. Signal was designed to be usable, pretty, and secure.

Understandably, anarchists are more likely to trust their communications to Signal – a non-profit foundation run by an anarchist – than they are to trust big tech, whose main business model is harvesting and reselling user data. And Signal has some advantages over these other platforms: it's open-source, encrypts most metadata, stores as little user data as possible, and offers some very useful features like disappearing messages and safety number verification to guard against interceptions.

But Signal only really protects one thing, and that's your communication as it travels between your device and another device. That's great, but it's only one piece of a security strategy. The first questions for any security strategy are who is your expected adversary, what are they trying to capture, and how are they likely to go about getting it. The basic idea is that things and practices are only secure or insecure relative to the kind of attack you are expecting to defend against. For example, you might have your data locked down with solid encryption and the best

password, but if your attacker is willing to torture you until you give up the data, it doesn't really matter.

For the purpose of this text, I would propose a working threat model that is primarily concerned with two types of adversaries. The first is global intelligence agencies or powerful hackers engaging in mass surveillance and intercepting communications. The second is police agencies, operating on territory controlled by the Canadian or American government, engaging in targeted surveillance of anarchists. For the police, basic investigative techniques include monitoring email lists and social media, sending undercovers to events, and casual informants. At times when they have more resources, or our networks become a bigger priority, they escalate to more advanced techniques including longer-term infiltration, frequent continuous physical surveillance (including attempts to capture passwords), bugging devices, intercepting communications, and house raids where devices are seized and subjected to forensic analysis.

If your device is compromised with a keylogger or other malicious software, it doesn't really matter how secure your communications are. If you're hanging out with a snitch or a cop it doesn't really matter if you take the battery out of your phone and talk in a park. Device security and security culture are two concepts not covered by this text that have to be considered to guard against these very real threats. I've included a few suggestions in the Further Reading section.

It's also worth mentioning that Signal is not designed for anonymity. Your Signal account is registered with a phone number, so unless you register using a cash-bought burner phone or an online throwaway number, you're not anonymous. Primarily for security reasons, Signal has become the standard communication medium in anarchist circles over the last 4 years. But just as "the medium is the message," Signal is having profound effects on how anarchists relate and organize together that are too often overlooked.

Towards Shared Practices There are some obstacles to shared practices. Some people don't have Signal. lf that's because building they're relations without smartphones, have only respect for that. If it's because they spend all day on Facebook

but Signal is "too hard," I don't buy it. If nothing else, Signal is easy to install and use for anyone with a smartphone and an internet connection.

I also disagree with the Orwellian-fatalist perspective that sees encryption as pointless: "The cops know everything already!" It's super disempowering to understand government this way, and thankfully it's not true – resistance is not yet futile. CSEC or the NSA do have nightmarish capabilities, including many that we don't know about yet. But there is also ample evidence that encryption is frustrating police investigations, which is why governments are passing laws to thwart these tools.

A FEW PROPOSALS FOR BETTER PRACTICES

- **1.** Keep it IRL (In Real Life) Face to face communication builds whole relationships, including trust, and continues to be the most secure way to communicate.
- **2.** Leave your devices at home at least sometimes? Especially if you're going across the border, where you can be forced to decrypt your data. If you need a phone when you travel, purchase a travel phone with your friends that doesn't have any sensitive data, including your contact list, on it.
- **3.** Secure your devices Most devices (phones and computers) now have the option for full disk encryption. Encryption is only as good as your password and protects your data 'at rest', i.e. when your device is OFF or the data is not being used by programs. Your lock screen provides some protection while your device is ON, but can be bypassed by a sophisticated attacker. Some operating systems force you to use the same password for encryption and your lock screen, which is unfortunate as it's not practical to enter a long password 25 times a day (sometimes in the presence of prying eyes or surveillance cameras).
- **4.** Turn off your devices If you leave your device unattended, or you're going to sleep, turn it off. Buy a cheap alarm clock. If your house is ever raided overnight you'll be glad you did. If your device is off and encrypted with a strong password when it's seized, cops are far less likely to be able to break into it. If you really want to go the extra mile, acquire a decent safe and lock your devices inside when you're not using them, which will reduce the risk of them being covertly physically tampered with.
- **5.** Establish boundaries We have different senses of what's safe to talk about on our phones and what's not. Discuss and develop collective boundaries, and where we disagree, respect other people's boundaries even if you think it's safe.

- **6.** Agree on a vouching system If you're in a group discussing sensitive things, develop an explicit collective understanding of what constitutes a vouch for a new person to join. In an era where anarchists catch conspiracy charges, miscommunications about this can land people in jail.
- **7.** Ask first If you're going to add someone to a thread, thereby revealing their phone number to the entire group, ask for their and the group's consent first.
- **8.** Minimize decision-making Consider leaving decisions other than yes/no for in person meetings, if possible. In my experience, Signal impoverishes any decision-making process.
- **9.** Defined purpose Ideally, a Signal group will have a specific purpose. Each new person added to that group should have that purpose clearly explained to them. If that purpose has been served, leave the group and delete it.
- **10.** Disappearing messages Very useful for housekeeping. Ranging from 5 seconds to 1 week,
- **11.** Delete Old Messages Either by enabling thread trimming or manually deleting completed conversations, don't keep messages around that you don't need anymore.

CONCLUSION

I continue to insist that smartphones are doing more damage than good to our lives and struggles, because it's important to me. We need to preserve and build other ways of organizing ourselves, especially offline, for both quality-of-life and movement security. Even if we stick with smartphones, it's dangerous when our communications are centralized. If anarchists ever pose a major threat to the established order, they will come for us and our infrastructure without mercy, including suspending 'legal protections' we might be depending on. For better and for worse, I believe this scenario to be possible in our lifetime, and so we should plan for resilience.

The techies among us should continue to experiment with other protocols, software and operating systems, sharing them if they prove useful. The holdouts should keep holding out, and find ways to thrive offline. For the rest of us, let's minimize the degree to which we're captured by smartphones. Along with a capacity to struggle, we should build lives worth living, with a quality of relationships that potential friends and co-conspirators find irresistibly compelling. It might be the only hope we've got.

ENDNOTES

1. Court cases against the Red Brigades in Italy (2003) and child pornographers in the U.S. (2006) have shown that federal police agencies failed to break into PGP-secured devices and communications. Instead, agents have resorted to bugging devices, passing legislation requiring you to surrender passwords, and of course, informants and undercover infiltration.

2. Until very recently, PGP didn't encrypt metadata (who is emailing who, on what servers, at what time), which was a huge problem. An NSA lawyer once said, "if you have enough metadata, you don't really need content."

SELL OUT, GENTRIFICATION AND SABOTAGE

Let's make a time-line. Do you remember, when we were throwing all kind of things at the cops and weren't worrying about camera's or DNA-traces? When around the station it was full of junkies and graffiti, while the only controllers were cops and public transport workers? That we were in shock, when they put private security in the streets and were suddenly obliged to always be able to identify ourselves?

Stupid start of a text of course, to just focus on the past, and vaguely having the feeling it was all better then. But for sure it was different. The city was more traditionally divided, rich and white in that neighborhood, workers and trash in the other, migration wave 1 in that area, migration wave 2 in the other. Now everything within the city ring is dominated by money. By rich tourists, yuppies, expats, companies, hotels, experiences. These

streets make you miserable, you'd better not come around there, unless you have a good idea to trash some things.

Internationally there is lots of attention for gentrification, within the leftist scene mainly. But there have always been poor neighborhoods, which were taken over by some commercial or state interest. Usually that is because of keeping poverty invisible (lots of my friends from outside who visit me, but also friend from around, say there is no poverty in my city, but they simply don't move around in the neighborhoods where you can actually see it), or there should come some kind of subway or company area. My point is actually that gentrification is not a disease, but a symptom of a disease which is destroying the whole world: capitalism. Making profit of homes, people, demolishing of nature. You know. And there is even some kind of Capitalism 2.0



apparently (Amazon, Uber, Google, Apple or locally: thuisbezorgd.nl) which first makes a lot of loss but keeps on becoming bigger, until they are so big that no one can compete with them anymore. And this companies are also not paying taxes (haha me neither).

But back to the city. So, I'm not calling to create a nice, leftist, democratic happy bubble in a world full of war, pollution and misery. No more free-spaces, no more escapes and separations, no isolated alternatives. The state by now does not tolerate this, and the ones who are still in this projects, after years of isolation, are not at all capable to resist this anymore. I'm calling for SABOTAGE for everything that is causing misery.

Where to start? Your choice! The whole fuckin' mess is inter-connected, if one falls, the others will follow. Like domino stones in a circle. Whether its an avocado-bar, the AirBnB's, yuppie-coffee bars, spectacular attractions or the mass consumption in the streets that nowadays are just meant for shops.

Imagine all the camera's to be gone? What would happen? What would start to move?

Make a 'tag-war' with the local yuppie bars (and the city cleaning service. And of course the legal bullshit). Organize a nice bring your own beer party in the middle of the street with all your friends and some pretty music. Nice car? Do some adjustments (real creativity is not appreciated enough)! Meet each other in public, the streets are not private property, the streets are ours!

And in the end of writing this article, the craziness around this one virus is reaching a boiling-point. Social isolation, desires for a strong state and a total lack of attention for what is happening in the rest of the world. Momentums to build new settlements, throw some more bombs and take heavy measurements. Why would you still worry about the refugee camp, as long as they don't come to infect you. We don't know what's all gonna happen. But keep solidarity and sabotage on your mind, try to prepare, defend and use the possibilities!



Below you will find an incomplete chronicle of anarchist attacks and interventions. The chronicle runs from December 16, 2019 to March 9, 2020.

16th of December: In this night 40 luxury boats are set on fire in the port of Marseilles, France. This is the second arson attack in the last two months.

23rd of December: In Berlin, the Greek consulate is occupied in solidarity with the anarchists and migrants in Athens who are facing a heavy wave of repression.

29th of December: In the Ukranian city of Kiev, a cellphone-tower is set on fire. This is the fourth time that a tower like this gets attacked.

20th of December: In the German city of Leipzig, a

communication tower from the police and a couple of police vehicles are set on fire. This in solidarity with the Indymedia Linksunten which is being prosecuted by the German state.

30th of December: In the Greek city of Thessaloniki, a car of a Turkish diplomat is set on fire. This is done in solidarity with the Kurdish and all who fight for freedom in Rojava.

31st of December: In several countries there are solidarity actions at prisons, to break the isolation of the prisoners. Also in the Netherlands there are

actions at the women's prison in Nieuwersluis and at the mega-prison in Zaandam.

6th of January: In The Hague there is a wild demo against yuppification. Around twenty people take to the streets and disappear again before the police can intervene.

6ht of January: In Berlin, Germany on the crossing of Liebigstrasse and Rigaerstrasse a banner is hung with the text: Solidarity with squats in Greece-

Revenge 4 Koukai Eviction. When a police car arrives, it is attacked with stones. This attack was done in solidarity with the anarchists in Athens, Greece, which are just like in Berlin fighting against the eviction of squats.

22nd of January: In Milan. Italy, several vehicles of the police academy are set on fire.

29th of January: In the night, a Shell gas station is covered in green paint. "With this 'green washing' action we want to bring the attention on the diaphanous attempts by Shell to change their reputation of most polluting and destroying companies in the world, with so-called green alternatives for fossil fuel."

1st of February: In Berlin, Germany, a cop car is attacked with stones. This was a revenge because the cops attacked a spontaneous demo earlier.

2nd of February: A solidarity demonstration takes place at the deportation-prison in Rotterdam, to support locked up migrants and a squatter arrested in the Tweebosbuurt in Rotterdam.

4th of February: in Vancouver, Canada, a CGL office is covered in paint. Fire extinguishers filled

with paint ar eused. The action is in solidarity with the struggle against the construction of an oil pipe-line.

5th of February: In Ghent, Belgium, about 60 car park machines are covered in paint in solidarity with the uprising in Chile.

18th of February: In Basel, Switzerland, the Italian consulate is attacked with paint. The action is in solidarity with Italian dockers who went on strike to protest the use of Italian ports by ships bringing weapons to the Middle-East.

18th of February: In Montevideo, Uraguay, a private security car belonging to Prosegur is set on fire.

22nd of February: A solidarity demonstration is held at the Russian embassy in Dublin, Ireland, in solidarity with persecuted antifascists and anarchists.

23rd of February: In Athens, Greece, four tourist taxi's are set on fire as retaliation for the police violence during the re-squatting of a previously evicted building in the neighbourhood Koukaki.

25th of February: At night the Mexican embassy in The Hague is targeted with paint bombs in solidarity with the uprising taking place in Mexico against the murdering patriarchal state.

25th of February: Multiple windows of the housing corporation Vestia are smashed and paint bombs are thrown on the building as an act of solidarity people struggling against gentrification in the Tweebosbuurt in Rotterdam and as retaliation for multiple squat

evictions.

26th of February: In Hamburg, Germany, 12 Tesla's are smeared with bitumen in solidarity with forest occupiers in Grunheide. Tesla is targeted because they participate in the ecological bubble but at the same time cut down forests to build a new factory.

26th of February: On the German-Danish border 22 metres of fence are removed. Parts of the fence are later found spread across different cities in Flensburg, Suderlugum, Ellhoft and Kiel.

29th of February: In Santiago, Chile, two explosives are placed at the Transoceanic Real Estate Corporation, in the middle of the rich neighbourhood of Vitacura. Transoceanic owns its money with the building of luxury residences.

5th of March: Heavy riots break out in Athens after an off duty police officer threatens a migrant and pulls his weapon after anarchist students intervened.

7th of March: Banners are hung in The Hague in solidarity with tortured and imprisoned Russian anarchists.

8th of March: On international woman's day around 70 people take part in a solidarity demonstration at the Nieuwersluis prison in The Netherlands.

8th-9th of March: Prison revolts take place in Italy due to the implementation of different restrictive measures because of the Corona virus, visits are banned. A total of 27 prison revolts take place. Screws are held hostage and prisons set on fire. 8 prisoners are killed during the revolts.

9th of March: During the international week of solidarity with antifascists in Russia the Russian embassy in Melbourne, Australia, is covered in slogans.

17th of March: In Kiev, Ukraine, a phone mast belonging to Lifecell/Turkcell is set on fire. Lifecell/Turkcell is a telecommunication company that supports Erdogan in his repressive fight against antiauthoritarians in Kurdistan.