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# Contents

Italy: Scripta Manent trial (started on 16/11/2017) – Statement to the court by anarchist Alfredo Cospito . . . . . 3

Insurrection Cannot Be Negotiated . . . . . 8

Reflection – 325 static until Spring 2018 . . . . . 15

To a Trodden Pansy: Remembering Louis Lingg . . . . . 16

## Italy: Scripta Manent trial (started on 16/11/2017) — Statement to the court by anarchist Alfredo Cospito

*(translated by act for freedom now!, via anarhija.info)*

*On 16/11/2017 the SCRIPTA MANENT trial began inside the bunker courtroom of 'Le Vallette' prison in Turin. Imprisoned anarchist comrade Alfredo Cospito read a long declaration. Alfredo was not present in court as he was subjected to video conferencing from inside the AS2 unit in the prison of Ferrara.*

*Declaration to the Court:*

Benevento 14th August 1878- Turin 16th 2017

### **Malefactors on trial**

The Union of Egoists is your instrument, it is the sword with which you increase your natural strength; the Union exists thanks to you. Society, on the other hand, demands much from you and it exists without you; in short, society is sacred, Union is yours; society uses you, the Union—you use it – Stirner

O, gentlemen, the time of life is short! .. An if we live, we live to tread on kings — Shakespeare, Henry IV

I regret every crime in my life that I haven't committed, every desire that I have not satisfied – Senna Hoy

I want to be as clear as possible, so that my words sound like an admission of guilt. As far as it is possible to belong to an instrument, a technique, I claim my belonging to FAI-FRI with pride. With pride I recognize myself in its entire history. I am a fully-fledged part of it and my contribution carries the signature of 'Olga Nucleus'. If this farce had been limited to myself and Nicola, I'd have remained silent. But you have involved a significant part of all those who have been giving solidarity to us over these years, among them those I love dearly. At this point I cannot refrain from speaking my mind, to remain silent would make me an accomplice of your shameful attempt to strike an important part of the anarchist movement indiscriminately. Comrades dragged behind bars and put on trial, not for what they did but for what they are: anarchists. Tried and arrested not for having claimed, like I did, an action with the acronym FAI-FRI, but for having participated in meetings, written in papers and blogs, and more simply for giving solidarity to comrades on trial. I will not use these comrades as a shield. In an era when ideas don't count, to be put on trial and arrested for an idea says a lot about the explosive force that a certain vision of anarchy continues to have, and it also says a lot about the empty shells that democracy and so-called democratic freedoms are.

You have your reasons, I'm not denying that, after all good anarchists don't exist, in every anarchist smoulders the desire to hurl you off that bench. For my part, I make no attempt to pass off the FAI-FRI as a recreational association or a boy scouts club. Those who have made use of this instrument, or as you ignorant of anarchy would say 'those who are of the FAI-FRI', claim it with their heads held high like my brothers and sisters arrested in the past, like myself in Genoa years ago and in this courtroom today. It's our history that is teaching you that, a history that, never martyrs, never surrendered, we are paying with years of

prison and isolation over half the world. Those who are not part of this history of ours and are dragged before you in chains are keeping silent out of solidarity, love, friendship, feelings that are unimaginable, incomprehensible for you servants of the state. Your 'justice' is abuse perpetrated by the strongest over the weakest. I guarantee, you won't find any coward or opportunist among the defendants in this trial. The price of dignity is incalculable and its gifts are various and priceless beyond all limits and imagination, it's always worth paying that price, and I'm ready to pay it any time. It should be of no importance to you whether it really was me who placed those bombs. Because I feel an accomplice to those deeds and all the actions claimed by the FAI-FRI. Especially as the actions you accuse me of are all in solidarity with migrants and anarchist prisoners and I agree with them totally. How could I not feel complicity when these explosions were like flares in the darkness for me. However stupid it might seem to you, for me there is a before and after the FAI. Before, when I was fanatically and stupidly convinced that only unclaimed actions had any utility, reproducibility, convinced as I was that destructive action should necessarily speak for itself and that any acronym was the devil's shit. And after when, with the gunshot to Adinolfi I questioned these insurrectional dogmas to the point of making my new convictions real through an action. A small thing, some might say, and that would be so if behind that simple acronym there wasn't a method that could really make a difference for we anarchists of praxis beyond and outside repression and courtrooms. However limited my contribution, however late it came, I feel I am fully an accomplice of the brothers and sisters who began this road.

Whoever they are, wherever they are, I hope they won't blame me if I make their actions mine, they represent me. It matters little if I have never looked them in the eyes, I have read their words of fire, I agreed with them, I approve of their actions and that's enough for me, I have no wish to appropriate but rather a strong proud will to share responsibility. Judges, I would have liked to have spit my direct responsibility for the deeds you are accusing me of in your faces (as I did in Genoa), but I cannot appropriate merits and honours that are not mine, that would be pushing things too far. You will and I will have to be content with what you would define 'political responsibility' in your language impregnated with authority. Don't despair, as you are so good at inventing rock-hard evidence, however tortuous, and at resurrecting stupefying DNA, however made inconsistent from the oblivion of past files; you won't have any trouble in taking home a good haul of years in jail. And then, if you really want to know, a sentence against me is totally appropriate, even only for my adhesion to FAI-FRI, an adhesion to a method, not to an organization, not to mention my firm and concrete will to destroy you and everything you represent. You struck at random among my dearest ones, relatives, friends without pity. Moral scruples are not your strong point, you have blackmailed, threatened, taken children away from their parents as an instrument of coercion and extortion. Comrades who have nothing to do with FAI-FRI were dragged in front of you with dull accusations and evidence. One of the reasons, not the most important, for which I claimed FAI-FRI was so as not to expose the anarchist movement to facile criminalization.

Today I find myself in court to oppose your reprisal, your miserable attempt to put 'Croce Nera' in the dock, a historical periodical of the anarchist movement, which with its ups and

downs has since the sixties been carrying out its role of support to anarchist prisoners prisoners of war. In your fascistoid delirium you are trying to pass 'Croce Nera' off as FAI-FRI press organ. They didn't even go that far in 1969 in the full anti-anarchist campaign. At the time your colleagues, once they had their pound of human flesh with the murder of the Italian 'Croce Nera' founder Pinelli, limited themselves to incriminating individual comrades for specific deeds, and we all know how that ended up. Now that blood is in short supply you don't limit yourself to accusing a few comrades for specific actions, you push further to the point of criminalizing a whole part of the movement. All those who belonged to the Croce Nera editorial group, who wrote in it or even only participated in their public presentations, are all part of FAI-FRI in your inquisitorial optic. My proud participation in the 'Croce Nera' editorial group and in other anarchist periodicals doesn't make these journals FAI-FRI press organs. My participation is individual, every anarchist is a monad, an island of its own, his/her contribution is always individual. I avail myself of the FAI-FRI instrument only to make war. The use of this instrument, the adhesion to the method that follows doesn't involve my whole life as an anarchist, and in no way does it involve the other editors of the journals with which I collaborate. One of the characteristics of my anarchy is the multiform nature of the practices used in the field, all of them quite differentiated. I respond only for myself, each one responds for themselves. I'm not interested in knowing who claims with the acronym FAI-FRI, I only communicate with them through actions and the words that follow them. I consider it would be counter-productive to know them personally and I don't go looking for them either, even less to do a journal together. My life as an anarchist, also here in prison, is far more complex and varied than an acronym and a method and I shall struggle to the end so that the umbilical cord that links me to the anarchist movement is not cut by isolation and your jails.

Get it into your heads, without detracting anything from counter-information, the FAI-FRI doesn't edit journals or blogs. It doesn't need spectators or fans or experts in counter-information, it's not enough to like it to be part of it, one has to get one's hands dirty with actions, risk one's life, put it at stake, really believe in it. Even heads twisted by authority like yours should have understood, the FAI-FRI is only made up of anonymous brothers and sisters who strike using that acronym and the anarchist prisoners who claim to belong to it, the rest is generalization and manipulation by the repression. I am taking the opportunity that you are giving me with this trial to remove the suffocating gag of censorship and have my say on topics that I really care about in the hope that my words will reach my brothers and sisters beyond these walls. The 'community I belong to' is the anarchist movement with all its facets and contradictions. That rich and varied world in which I have lived the last thirty years of my life, a life that I wouldn't change for any other. I have written in anarchist papers, I continue to do so, I have participated in demonstrations, street clashes, occupations, I have carried out actions, practiced revolutionary violence. My 'community of reference' are all my brothers and sisters who use the FAI-FRI method to communicate, in my case, without knowing each other, without organizing themselves, without coordinating themselves, without giving up any freedom. I never confused the two levels, the FAI-FRI is simply an instrument, one of the many at anarchists' disposition. Uniquely an instrument for making

war. The anarchist movement is my world, my 'community of belonging', the sea in which I swim.

My 'community of reference' are the individuals, affinity nuclei, informal organizations (coordination of a number of groups) that communicate, without contaminating one another, through the acronym FAI-FRI, talking with one another through the claims that follow the actions. A method this which gives me, anti-civiliser, anti-organizer, individualist, nihilist, the possibility of joining forces with other anarchist individuals, informal organizations (coordination of a number of groups), affinity nuclei without giving up my freedom to them, without renouncing my personal convictions and tendencies: I define myself anti-civilizer because I think the time at our disposal is very limited before the technology, becoming aware of itself, will ultimately dominate the human race. I define myself an anti-organizer because I feel part of the anti-organizer illegalist tradition of the anarchist movement, I believe in fluid relations, free relations between anarchists, I believe in free agreement, in the given word. I define myself individualist because by nature I could never delegate power and decisions to others, nor could I be part of an organization, be it informal or specific. I define myself nihilist because I gave up the dream of a future revolution in favour of revolt now, immediately.

Revolt is my revolution and I live it every time I clash with the existent with violence. I believe that our main task today is to destroy. Thanks to FAI-FRI 'struggle campaigns' I give myself the possibility of making my action more powerful and effective. 'Struggle campaigns' that must necessarily come out of actions that lead to other actions, not out of calls or public assemblies, so that the political mechanisms of authoritativeness of which movement assemblies are full, are cut off. The only word that counts is that of who really strikes. In my opinion the assemblar method is a blunt weapon for making war, inevitable and profitable in other contexts. Adhering to the FAI-FRI 'struggle campaigns' with my efforts, in my case as an individualist with no part in any informal organization (coordination of a number of groups), I make use of a collective strength that is something more and different from the mere mathematical sum of the single strengths unleashed by single affinity groups, individuals and informal organizations. This 'synergy' makes it possible that 'the whole', FAI-FRI, is something much more than the sum of the subjects it is composed of. All this while safeguarding one's own individual autonomy thanks to the total lack of direct links, knowledge, with the groups, informal organizations and single anarchists who claim with that acronym. One gives oneself a common acronym to allow individuals, groups, informal organizations to adhere to and recognize themselves in a method that safeguards their particular projects in an absolute way, those who claim FAI-FRI adhere to that method. Nothing ideological or political, only an instrument (a claim through an acronym) as the product of a method (communication between individuals, groups, informal organizations through the actions) that aims to give strength in the moment of the action without homologating, flattening. The acronym is important, it guarantees continuity, stability, perseverance, quantitative growth, a recognizable history but in fact the real strength, the real turning, consists in the simple, linear, horizontal, absolutely anarchist method of direct communication through claims without mediators, without meetings, without knowing one another, without exposing oneself

excessively to repression, only those who act communicate, those who put themselves at stake with action.

The real innovation is the method. The acronym becomes counter-productive if it spills over the task for which it came to life i.e. to recognize one another as brothers and sisters who adopt a method. That's all. Practice is our litmus paper, it is in practice that the efficacy of an instrument is tested. One has to acknowledge that the FAI-FRI experience, in constant evolution, puts us in the front of fast, chaotic transformations; one should not be taken aback. Immobilism and stagnation represent death, our strength is the exploration of new roads.

Certainly the future of this experience lies not in more structuring, but in an attempt, full of perspectives, at collaboration between single anarchists, affinity groups, informal organizations, without ever contaminating one another. Coordination instances must remain within the single informal organization, between the single groups or nuclei that form it, without overflowing beyond, without involving other FAI-FRI informal organizations and most importantly FAI-FRI groups and single anarchists who would otherwise see their autonomy, freedom, the very sense of their acting outside organizations and coordination being undermined at the base. In this way only if authoritarian dynamics are created within a group, an organization, they will remain confined there where they were born, thus avoiding contagion. There's no whole, there's no organization called FAI-FRI; there are individuals, affinity groups, informal organizations all of them well differentiated, that communicate through the acronym FAI-FRI, without ever coming into contact with one another. Much has been written and said about the internal dynamics of affinity groups, about informal organization and individual action. On the contrary communication between these practices has never been explored, never taken into consideration. FAI-FRI is an attempt at putting this communication into practice. Individual actions, affinity groups, organizations are all part in equal way of those instruments that anarchists have historically always given themselves. Each of these instruments has pros and cons. An affinity group unites operational speed due to a deepened knowledge between the individuals in affinity and a certain force due to the union of more individuals. Its great merits: freedom of the individual guaranteed and significant resistance to repression. Merits due to the scarce number of individuals in affinity and to the great affection and friendship that necessarily links them to one another. Organization, in our case informal, (coordination of a number of groups), guarantees a very strong availability of means and strength, but also high vulnerability due to the necessary coordination (knowledge) between the groups or nuclei, because if one is hit the risk has a 'domino' effect, everybody falls. From my point of view individual freedom will necessarily clash with collective decision-making mechanisms (the 'rules' of the functioning of the organization). This aspect represents a drastic reduction of freedom and autonomy, indigestible for an individualist anarchist.

Individual action guarantees high operational speed, high unpredictability, very strong resistance to repression and above all total freedom, the individual doesn't need to relate to anything or anybody other than his/her own conscience. A big defect: low operational potentiality, one probably has fewer means and possibilities to carry out complex operations

(which on the contrary an informal organization can achieve fairly easily if there is will and firmness).

To experiment with ways of acting so radically different, this is the innovation, the new that can destabilize and make us dangerous. No ambiguous mixing, groups, individuals, informal organizations must ever come into direct contact. To each his/her own, hybrids would weaken us. United more by a method than an acronym. FAI-FRI makes it possible to unite forces without losing one's own nature. No moralism or dogmatism, each one relates freely, probably it will be the mixing of all this that will make the difference.

No coordination outside the single informal organization (because coordination includes the physical knowledge between all the groups and organizations making them prone to repression), no homologating, hegemonic superstructure, which crushes individuals and affinity groups. Those who experiment with the informal organization in their acting must not impose their own ways of acting outside it, just as the single individuals of action and 'solitary' affinity groups must not cry betrayal of the idea if brothers and sisters act in tight organized ranks. Of course this is only my point of view for what it's worth. And to top this off, I'll say that I piss on your penal code carefree and lighthearted. It matters little what you will decide for me, my fate will stay firmly in my own hands. I am strong, or at least I fancy I am, and your jail and isolation don't scare me, I'm ready to face your retaliations, never tamed, never surrendered.

Long live FAI-FRI

Long live CCF

Death to the State!

Death to civilization!

Long live Anarchy!!

*Alfredo Cospito*

## **Insurrection Cannot Be Negotiated**

From Mpalothia by Imprisoned Conspiracy of Cells of Fire FAI-IRF Member Panagiotis Argyrou

Time is the illness of reality. In prison, time seems to poison the atmosphere. The air thickens as though it is flooded with lead filings and each and every day our lungs are infested with this oxygen so toxic that it weighs on us again and again, more so with each passing day.

You feel so burdened that at some point you begin to think that every step you take, removes a day from your life; each step and a day less, each step and a day less

During these almost 6 years and a half of my imprisonment, I always felt like I was killing so many days while moving endlessly back and forth in courtrooms. I have seen the despicable ritual of trials taking place in the name of Democracy too many times repeatedly and every single time I walked away with packs of decades of sentences on my back.



However, it is not only the harsh sentences imposed on me by all this bureaucratic barbarity which has been grinding lives in the millstone of justice that bothers me the most, but also the arrogant and self-righteous style of the judges that execute our freedom while maintaining the illusion of representing something special.

We now, therefore, are in the process of a new round of trials, where the judicial decisions of the proceedings at first instance are being reviewed on whether they were correct or not. Personally, I didn't attend this process to beg for mitigating or commutation. I did it to confront the propaganda of authority, a propaganda that is trying to legitimize morally and politically our convictions. For sovereignty, it is quite important and wise not only to eliminate its enemies by holding them hostage for years but also to deconstruct their personalities so that their motives and their actions appear selfish, dark, dirty and anything other than actions that aim at the very core of sovereignty: power.

For Democracy, we are just some common law criminals. Although they call us terrorists, vote for special laws for our prosecution, create special troops in order to pursue us, although we are tried in special courts by special judges selected specifically for these occasions, although they keep us, occasionally, captives in special solitary confinement or make sure to impose on us every possible or improbable scenario of exemption to several acquired rights of the prisoners, they above all consider us common law criminals. At this point we are seeing the following exceptionally uncommon. Even though our actions theoretically fall under the common criminal offence, the entire political system feels the need to condemn it politically on a continuous basis with expressions of outrage. The same goes for a whole mob of journalists, academics of all kinds, figures of the left-progressive artistic stage and generally various high profile and acknowledged personalities of society.

All of them tend to affirm repeatedly how very detestable the culture of violence is and how Democracy has no deadlocks. There has never been such a fuss, of course, about any other common law offences and we will surely not see any surprises in the future.

Still, at these judicial proceedings, prosecutors often feel the need to add some political positions to their, usually, rambling discourses, apart from all the legal statements.

Frequently, in courtrooms of that kind we have heard prosecutors rushing to comment politically on what terrorism means, what political crime means and for which reasons, in Democracy, protesting must have limits.

More royal than the king, prosecutors present themselves with the Royal Purple clothing of Democracy preaching its moral, political and cultural superiority, only to conclude finally in the classical ancient well known verdict that there is no greater evil than anarchy.

They may not repeat, of course, the words that Sophocles put in Creon's mouth in his famous work Antigone, but the meaning always remains the same. Prosecutors with their judgements, representing authority's universe of values, do not content themselves with the adoption of the usual convictions but also seek to crush the practical opposition to Democracy's authority and the violent contest of its laws and institutions. So these special courts officially refuse to admit that in reality we are prisoners of war, while at the same time are anxiously striving to defend Democracy's highest values, as the latest bulwarks of sys-

tem's moral legality. And that, if anything, could only constitute even an indirect admission that these trials are in reality trials of values.

In the real world, the material world, perceivable through our senses, the ideas that are lacking of related actions are hollow, empty, deprived of substance and meaning. If today I am a hostage of authority tried again and again, either at first or second instance, it is because I have let the idea of anarchy find its way inside me and have chosen to live fighting in various ways against authority.

In love with the value of absolute freedom, believing strongly deep down that any kind of power – even if presented under different guises each time – is nothing but a noose around the neck of people that tightens and strangles their freedom, I have hated laws, rules and the morality of your world.

I disdained every authority, loathed any sense of discipline and loved the idea of rebellion as a continuous practical opposition to power. Being charmed by the beauty of absolute freedom as a value was not just a caprice of my adolescence, neither a juvenile paroxysm created by some easy adrenaline-based excitement and it certainly wasn't a result of some random passage along the corridors of a library of anarchist writers.

At a time when social protest and any social struggles were considered at best old-fashioned, dated, a remnant of an old graphic era that had to be placed in an honorary mausoleum or an enhancement field for unionism advocates of the rights (both of workers and students) who brought any political clientele and a despicable cheap politicking together, the only social dynamic that stood up in combative terms was the world of anarchy and the wider anti-authoritarianism. I made the decision to become part of this dynamic, however the social conditions of this era have greatly shaped my general worldview as well.

In the mid-2000s, when I began to take part in the various events of the anarchist movement, the socially shaped reality radiated an absolute gloom. The political hegemony of the system had actually built two strong pillars on society:

1) On the one hand, the systematic corruption and bribery of the lowest social strata, applied as a central policy by the Social Democratic administration of power from 1980 onward, created a whole chaotic universe of 'class-based inconsistent views', which brought a radical restructuring of the social classes of that time.

That volatile social mobility developed, out of the blue, new categories of upstarts while the formerly detestable (even for the former political left) class of the petit bourgeois rose to inconceivable dimensions, as within fifteen years the civil servants, small and medium sized rentiers, property and agricultural land owners, entrepreneurs (the so-called 'small bosses') and self-employed increased by thousands.

The shortage of cheap labor (i.e. slaves that have nothing to lose but their chains) created by this informal social democratic social reform was later covered by the open border policy which has been conducted from 1990 onwards with huge migratory flows overwhelming the entire Greek territory. The holes that appeared in the productive sector were covered by the willing and cheap labour of thousands of immigrants, who built with their sweat and sometimes with their blood, under the most terrible exploitative conditions (mainly undeclared

work), the small miracle of the Greek society, while at the same time the vast majority of society enjoyed blithely the days of abundance, frequently sharpening its racist instincts.

This strategy of the Greek social democracy was apparently aiming at the ceasing of the social rage that was breaking out till 1980 and the regular maintaining of the social contract without any radical agitations. Although these social democratic strategies were not new – on the contrary they have been extensively developed in the past, even by prominent figures of the communist pantheon such as Marx and Lenin (who talked about the capability of social democracy to corrupt broad parts of the working class, creating a “labour aristocracy” with indistinct borders in relation to the working class itself, which constitutes the social pillar of the bourgeoisie or the social basis of opportunism) – there was no substantial political bulwark against this advance of social corruption, since only some revolutionary urban guerrilla organizations stood against all this, and so did anarchy along with some parts of the younger generation who formed a lighthouse of insurrection and resistance to all this decay.

And besides, that is the reason why they received a relentless state repression.

Of course even though the Greek state was, from the very beginning of its establishment, nothing but a pathetic country of dependence tied with the noose of external indebtedness around its neck to the geopolitical interests of other powers or, even so, a state lacking of any advanced industrial development with no exploitation in other third countries, still the Greek social democracy managed to accomplish in absolute terms the formation of one of the most disgusting and cruel “labour aristocracies” that perhaps has ever existed.

On the one hand, they made use of the European subsidies and financial allocations and also of the unaccountability led by the financial sector while stepping on the backs and the bodies of “slaves-immigrants” on the other hand, the Greek “social opportunism basis” was expanded so much that the differences between class interests were brought into line.

It was under these circumstances that the common identity of the “modern Greek” was born in the social field.

The values of corruption, stinginess and absolute social cannibalism reigned, as wherever you looked around you could see the confirmation of the existential proverb of Kazantzakis: “man is beast (.) If you harm him, he respects you and trembles in fear of you. If you treat him nice, he will rip your eyes out.”

II) On the other hand, we now have the brutal imposition of the predominant ideology used as a cultural nutrition. The premiere of the private television channels began to write a whole new article in the history of the political life of this country, as various business groups behind every channel stood shoulder to shoulder with one group of authority or another each time. That of course was one part. The other part was that, at the same time, an unprecedented cultural brain washing slowly began to establish the dictatorship of mass culture. The western civilization and life style were extremely promoted as a one-way street, while simultaneously an incredible oversupply of multinational firms’ products filled the storefronts and shelves of abundance with a bunch of merchandise, both basic necessities and goods entirely constructed on a consumer cultural basis that soon became an ideology (I consume therefore I exist).

The effect of advertising on the common emotive and subconscious did not just bring an artificially increased money circulation, but it also reinforced decisively the imposing of aesthetic standards, stereotypical societal roles as well as a general perception of lifestyle, way of thinking and entertainment. And that was also reflected in the urban construction. Coffee bars, fast foods, shopping centres like Village, Mall etc. growing like mushrooms along with the unrestrained industry of night-time entertainment caused the urban transformation of many areas, which became overnight trading zones or zones of alternative, folk, upscale or trendy type of entertainment.

Of course, the modernization of public and semi-public transport during this whole process of urban regeneration was not innocent either.

Furthermore, the interactive effect of spectacle on the collective imaginary began to deform further and further the social majority's conscience, through a disgusting civilization that produced lifestyle, a glamorous star system and various reality and talent shows.

So this monstrous way of thinking, that distorted every real value (solidarity, mutual assistance, etc.), came into being, while people's perception regarding the form of social relations was dramatically altered.

Therefore, every relationship that could involve pure selflessness (such as friendship, love, companionship) was distorted, and as a result the most widespread perception of all kinds of relationships became that if they are not purely instrumental, they are no good.

This way of understanding things as well as life itself and people's relationships became dominant in such an absolute way that even the appearance of a deviation from this norm (conscious or subconscious) collided on a powerful social racism and a multitude of social prejudices, expressed sometimes in the form of a collective devaluation, disdain, mockery, etc. others in the form of an open hostility, hatred and cannibalism of every personality that differs.

So, aware of the social gloom of my time, a gloom that shaped a widespread, collective identity of cannibalism, a collective cannibalistic "we", hostile towards anything different, anything that doubts, questions, anything that revolts and attacks the existing, I realized that simply the choice of wanting to be an anarchist was nothing less but an antisocial choice as it rejects the dominant trend.

Therefore, I stood against a society, which I understood not as an undivided sum of people, like many that attack scarecrows of our positions would think, but as a breeding machine of all the prevailing ideologies, views, relationships, values. Against a society-laundry of democracy's ruling tyranny, of its laws and institutions, against this relentless, collective "We" that crushes and butchers every diversity, in every possible way, I chose to defend an "I", an insurgent "I", an anarchist "I", an "I" willing to stand up for values, even if this alone would be enough to turn everyone against it. An I that appreciates more the value of a beautiful forest than an endless concrete jungle where human ants are moving continuously living to work, working to consume, consuming to exist and existing to work. I know that when I refer to the twosome "we-I", I surprise many and irritate their argumentativeness. Let them bear in mind that Fascism as well as Nazism, on their path towards dominion, attracted

the collective We. On the other hand, the anarchist radical federalism has never regarded that We is above the I, but that there is an equal harmonious co-existence between them.

So, in my own mind very soon I reached the view that defending and fighting for a value, for an ideal, for a dream or just for whatever it is that you consider ethical and fair, cannot be a subject of negotiations that depends on how many you have on your side or how attractive this way of life is to the majority of society.

Defending the things that you consider highest of value may as well be a personal choice which doesn't lose its worth at all, on the contrary it makes it so much more beautiful, even though harder.

You don't need the social content or the popular support to openly stand up for the position that "the world is turning", since the moral superiority of such an attitude to life is rated on moral terms and not on sloppy ones. From this point of view, defending freely that "the World is turning", even when the entire society wants to see you burn at the stake, what else can it be than a choice against society, therefore antisocial?

So, what was of value to me, what I thought was worthwhile to defend and fight for was exactly the value of anarchy, the value of total freedom. I, too, have spent innumerable moments daydreaming about a free world, where completely free people conclude among themselves entirely free relationships, but when I woke up from this daydreaming and faced the social reality, I would leach into a cynical political realism about how nothing of all this is achievable without the entire destruction of society, the womb of all these conditions forming the dire straits that crush our existence.

Considering that I now live in a hostile environment where everyone around me is willing to turn themselves against people like me just because we are different, I have adopted this cynical political realism also as a view of things, and this very realism is what I, personally, call nihilism.

So, as an anarchist I adopted logics and methods of personal and collective insurrection by choosing to establish a relationship of rupture with the existing and its political structure and also with the society that reproduces it, since its legalization in society's conscience is more than given.

I understood and experienced my affiliation and involvement to the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire as my embarkation to a pirate ship that had no intention of ending up in a secure and safe port, but planned to cross the unexplored and uncharted waters of wild freedom and anarchist attack by plundering the modern colonization of our lives, which I consider a beautiful and moving experience that I'll never regret.

The Conspiracy of Cells of Fire, at least in the way I experienced it, offered me the possibility to turn the desires for denial, attack and destruction into collective action, although at the same time it was something much more.

More important that the dozens of attacks on targets of the sovereignty and the system (which I will avoid mentioning once again) was the fact that I experienced the opportunity of coming together with other companionships in order to clash head-on with the Dictatorship of the mass culture and dominant ideology that had taken roots deep inside society like a cancer with multiple metastases.

Avoiding the traps of a lame populism which was incapable of calling a spade a spade because of the need to appeal on society and on ears already hostile and prejudiced towards us, we made all together the decision to proceed with a critical outline of society, of the dynamics that have unfolded and the social parts that have been swirling on the inside.

This critical position had no intention to propose a general and blind holocaust but a skeptical and disputable approach regarding various social behaviors that after all have been described by prominent communist personalities, famous existentialist philosophers, anarchist individualists and nihilists of other times, neo-Marxists of different schools, situationist theorists as well as a large number of politically minded writers and poets of the social ethnography trend.

I may have regretted a lot of things in my life but the choice to serve a strategy is not and will never be one of those things.

Now, as far as my presence in the notorious house at Chalandri is concerned, the one thing I can say for sure is that it does not fall within the rest of the broader, friendly and family relations that other people happened to have, resulting in them being charged with entirely arbitrary accusations.

In that respect, I can do no other than take full responsibility concerning the presence of the explosive device inside that house, since it was something completely known to me.

I am really sorry that such an operational mistake of an explosive device being kept even for a few hours in a house completely legal where dozens of irrelevant people come and go, in which I obviously was involved personally, caused the set up of an entire industry of prosecutions of people that had nothing to do with the CCF. However, the moral burden of this construction of dozens of indictments will lie forever on the anti-terrorist unit and also on the political authority and the constitutions of justice that made sure that the Machiavellianism and the collateral prosecutions rationality that we witnessed all those years since 2008 were covered up.

Now you, as part of this abscess, from which side will you judge my own attitude to life? In what way can the fact that I chose to arm my desires and adopt the insurrectional violence against all forms of tyranny be morally judged by personalities like you, acting in the name of the world of authority? However, the use of brutal force provided by your position is not enough for you, you are not settled with adjusting the time of my stay in the cells of your democracy but you want to wash out morally and politically the gravestone that you try to put on my freedom, you want all this to happen in the name of some supposed higher values and moral advantages. But there are none, not even as a sample. It would be sufficient for any person that hasn't sold out entirely their dignity to watch this procedure in order to detest immediately you and your supposed higher ideals. It would be sufficient for such a person to embrace the idea of burning to the core or even blowing a courtroom apart, even though it was something inconceivable before, only by watching this procedure, that visibly washes out and covers up shocking contradictions of the chosen prosecution authorities.

This conflict is not only between us and this courtroom, as it can't be isolated from the overall human history. In this conflict the reconstruction of the ancient conflict between Power and Insurrection, between Discipline and Disobedience is inherent. It is true that I have

chosen the way of violence and that I committed violent acts. I have clothed my disobedience and my insurrection in fire and gunpowder and I have directed it to everything that Power symbolizes and serves.

When they say "violence is the same no matter where it comes from" I spit disgusted.

Because the arrogance of Power that seeks the monopolization of violence is hidden in that phrase.

Because how can someone compare the violence of insurrection, no matter how cruel and merciless it may be, to the violence of authority? How can those two be put under common denominator, how do they dare to equate those two forms of violence? How can the violence of the insurgent slaves of Rome be equal with the violence of the Roman Empire? How can the violence of the insurgent slave against the lash of the slave trader be the equal? How can the violence of the tyrannicide be compared to the violence of the tyrant? How can all the courts of the world, burnt down, be compared to human freedom rotting, buried somewhere in a concrete grave?

Therefore you have no moral advantage, no higher value on which you can wash your hands of the decapitations of freedom that you are signing for. I, on the other hand, have the moral vindication that rose against authority on my side. And this is quite enough. And it is rather beautiful in itself, so that I don't regret the consequences of such a choice. And yes it is true that the consequences are severe. The deprivation of freedom, the disablement of the senses, the loss of all those you took for granted and that you appreciate only when they disappear are a burden, which weighs more and more while time in jail passes. So much that with each step you feel like killing a day of your life...

Still, the beauty of choosing to fight back against authority weighs more. And that's the reason why I don't regret this choice, for I was never willing to bargain over it.

I never ever calculated my values in accordance with realism or the attainable. The value of anarchy, the value of total freedom is one of the most beautiful things to fight for.

And every time I asked myself if I would make the same choice against all odds, the answer would always be "Yes". I would make the same choice, even if it would be like a punch in the knife from the very beginning. I would make it, even if I was the only living person in the world that believed in it, even if everything seemed to be in vain and aimless, even if I knew that it would all be buried in the dark and that no one would ever find out that such a desperate fight existed, even then I would make the same choice. Because, quite simply, the value of insurrection cannot be negotiated.

**Panagiotis Argyrou, member of the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire - FAI/IRF**

*Translated by Nihil Admirari*

## Reflection – 325 static until Spring 2018

via 325.nostate

Anarchist and insurrectionary autonomous counter-information is one more method of subversion aiming at the attack against the dominant paradigm of the existent and its at-

tempt to control generalised narratives and perceptions. It is a tool to spread radical and critical ideas which can add to and create campaigns of direct action internationally.

Our project is just another group in an informal network of counter-information and translation where groups can communicate and exchange. Since 12 years we have been running this site where we have added to the anarchist war against the many states and corporations which want to wipe us out.

Understanding that the internet is in the hands of the enemies and one more tool of social control we use their means against them, as just one more method at our disposal, never separating ourselves into just a 'news-site' of semi-professionalised activist journalism intending to carve a niche into the 'movement'. The limitations of the counter-information sites have been written about previously by other groups which have changed, evolved and closed their sites and blogs over the last years, each writing their reflections, critique and self-critique.

With this in mind, although we could write more about those years where we have collected experiences and reflections, this will happen at a later date. Periodically we close our site for lesser or greater time to concentrate on other projects, talk and self-critique. This is part of our effort to make ourselves more dangerous and is not a closure. We believe that the proliferation of counter-information projects is the key to the resilience of our struggle, but to remain focused that the war begins and ends with action in the streets of the cities and in the defense of the natural world.

To this end, this site is static until next year.

For now, we affirm our solidarity, although through the minimal means, our words, to the anarchist comrades under repression in the Operation Scripta Manent in Italy, the Anarchist Black Cross, RadioAzione, and complicity to all those who fight the state and the existent, with their words and actions in that territory. Also our hearts are with those who resist in the prisons of Korydallos, Athens, Greece; the imprisoned comrades of armed revolutionary organisations, the anarchist prisoners and all those who rebel.

**For the next generation internationalist anarchist urban guerrilla**

**Long live FAI/IRF**

**Long live CCF**

## **To a Trodden Pansy: Remembering Louis Lingg**

From Plain Words

Louis Lingg was born on September 9, 1864 in Mannheim, Germany. Early in his life, he began working as a carpenter, eventually involving himself in revolutionary struggles. His politicization compelled him to evade military service, so he fled Germany for Switzerland, only to be expelled in 1885. That summer, Lingg immigrated to the United States, settling in Chicago, one of the epicenters of the vibrant German-American anarchist movement.

On May 3, 1886, police attacked a strike at the McCormick Harvesting Machine Company plant, killing two workers. The following day, during a rally against this brutal repression, police attacked demonstrators. In the melee that followed, an unidentified person threw a



bomb into the crowd of police, killing seven of them and injuring many others. At least four other people were killed in the ensuing firefight between police and demonstrators.

In response, police, with little evidence, began rounding up anarchists who they claimed played a part in the bombing. Eight prominent anarchists – among them organizers, orators, and editors of popular anarchist newspapers – were sought by police: August Spies, Samuel Fielden, Adolph Fischer, Albert Parsons, Michael Schwab, George Engel, Oscar Neebe, and Louis Lingg. Initially evading capture, Lingg was discovered in hiding on May 14. Not one for willing submission to the state, Lingg fought the two police who tried to arrest him – first with a gun, then with fists.

While Lingg was not present at the Haymarket the day of the bombing, the state's dogs claimed he was involved in making the bomb. Though no evidence links him to the bomb thrower – whose identity remains a mystery to this day – Lingg was a prolific producer of bombs and an intransigent enemy of authority. In a search of Lingg's apartment, investigators discovered two spherical and four pipe bombs.

After a notoriously prejudiced trial, the judge sentenced seven of the Haymarket defendants to death by hanging and Oscar Neebe to 15 years in prison. At his sentencing, Lingg remained defiant, proclaiming "I die happy on the gallows, so confident am I that the hundreds and thousands to whom I have spoken will remember my words. When you shall have hanged us, then they will do the bombthrowing! In this hope do I say to you, I despise you, I despise your order, your laws, your force propped authority. Hang me for it."

On November 10, 1887, the day before their execution date, the Governor of Illinois commuted Samuel Fielden's and Michael Schwab's sentences to life in prison (Fielden, Schwab, and Neebe would all be released six years later after being pardoned by Governor John Altgeld). Albert Parsons, August Spies, George Engel, and Adolph Fischer were murdered by the state on November 11, 1887.

Louis Lingg chose a different response to his impending execution. Days after four bombs were discovered in his cell, Lingg placed a lit blasting cap in his mouth, blowing off his lower jaw. Before the guards could enter his cell, he scrawled "Hoch die anarchie!" ("Hurrah for anarchy!") on the prison cell stones in his own blood. Lingg died six hours later, refusing with his own suicide state authority's control over his life.

For more information on Louis Lingg and the Haymarket, read Paul Avrich's exhaustive and engaging book *The Haymarket Tragedy*.

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To honor Louis Lingg's rebellious life, we present an unpublished poem he wrote in 1886, discovered in the Labadie Collection.

### TO A TRODDEN PANSY

A broken stem, a pansy blossom crushed  
In dirt, yet naught in all of Nature's store  
Revels in scorn at what we all deplore  
In it. Wert thou where careless footsteps rushed?  
'Neath wanton lust wert thy fair petals brushed  
E'en when thou smiled thy loveliest, before  
Dark destiny had rolled its shadow o'er,  
Ere yet thy innocence for cause had blushed?  
Canst we read naught not writ in Custom's scroll?  
Living and human, cast in a finer mold,  
E'en while we mouthing boast a 'deathless soul,'  
Yet still more wise than Nature, far more bold—  
Regarding what in Nature is no loss  
E'en while Hope's brightest mintage we call dross!

## The Anarchist Library Bookshelf

ANEWS

ATUBES November 2017

Digest of the Anarchist Tubes, Volume 3, #11

2017, December

<https://anarchistnews.org>

Everything has bias. The bias of [anarchistnews.org](https://anarchistnews.org) is to promote an anarchist culture by providing a non-sectarian Digest of the Anarchist Tubes source of news and commentary about and of interest to anarchists. ATUBES is a sporadically produced digest of some of the articles and commentary featured on [anarchistnews.org](https://anarchistnews.org), illustrating some of the breadth of anarchist thinking

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