

here be dragons...

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it has taken to much time for this shitty piece of paper to be finished.

too long i think because some of the things mentioned in it are pretty out of date, but especially because of some texts are not even in it because they went completely out of date. (so you're holding a reduced version) when i look back, it all lasted for too long, maybe

it was a too big bite to make a zine in 2 languages, but at least it helped me to improve my english.

the english version seemed pretty important to me because of many reasons, and the most important is; to expand the circle of people with whom i'd like to communicate, a sort of trying to escape from balkan ghetto, since i have a feeling that few of us trying to do anything in here are so fucking isolated and ghettoized from the rest of the comrades, and in most of the cases are not even aware of it, but also because i try to articulate my thoughts and affinities.

unfortunately these translations, corrections (a big, big thanks to my dear friend helping me with this) and a war with dyslexia and computer took too much time, so it all ended up a bit different than it was planed.

but finally it is ready and i only hope it will find a way to at least a number of people. it is needless to say that TI is absolutely @NTYCOPYRIGHT, so feel free to copy, reprint, distribute or share it as a whole or using parts of it.

before you read TI i would like you to keep in mind that this piece of paper was not supposed to be an absolute truth in which i would like people to believe in. these are just some of my thoughts put on paper, joined by thoughts of other people which seemed to be expanding and fulfilling the general conclusion of what i wanted to say through Terra\_Incognita. if you are not willing or capable to make your own conclusions after reading this, maybe it is better not to start to read at all.

i would like to see Terra\_Incognita as a starting point for discussion / action, a step into unknown / unexplored territory in which we step deliberately without burdens that this civilization/authority is constantly putting on our backs.

a little contribution to the insurrection which could lead to something.

it is 2009. and there are too many concrete proofs that this society is just a dead prison. dead society, builded on rotten roots that get so rotten by time that they are barely holding this dead giant robot (that is eating all our dreams and desires).

dead society, a plague which is killing everything that comes in contact with it. dead society which is killing the earth (and all her inhabitants) on such an unimaginable level.

but earth is not completely dead, and maybe there are still chances to do something, i'm not sure. but i'm sure of one thing; the more we wait passively, the less chances there are. there is no jesus to save you, and there is not a perfect moment for revolution to wait for, there are no arguments to stay passive, just a bunch of lousy excuses which are nothing else than a fuel to this deadly machine.

"it is time to draw the daggers with the existent its defenders and its false critics! to finally draw daggers with life."



we live here and now, and if we want to properly attack the existing system that we despise we have to be conscious of this time and the political situation that is inherent to it.

digging through the past and copying practices and theories which were more or less successful or in the faze of experiment in some other time and political, economic, social situation (even though these three terms cannot be separated, I point them out purposely) which is specific for that time, is bound to fail from the beginning.

political situations have been changing in high speed over the last few years.

what was efficient at the end of the 19th century, can hardly be applied to the first half of the 20th century, what was happening in the 60's (of the last century) is almost impossible to apply to the 70's, and especially to the 80's... this process accelerated by arrogant capitalist rampage (which is developing and progresssing by the speed impossible to follow), and the development of (especially informatic) technology, has made the theories and practices used in the 70's and 80's hardly appliable to the 90's, so relying on them now, at the beginning of the 21st century, makes almost no sense.

theories, analyses, discussions, reviews of practices from the past can help us only in self-education (and its importance is not to be ignored), but if we observe them exclusively in the context mentioned earlier, while every attempt of blind copying and trying to put them in practice now (which is very often the tendency of anarchist movement) is not only in the very beginning bound to fail, but it is also counter-productive.

# Insurrection

A considerable part of the anarchist movement shares insurrectional positions. But they are theoretical stands only. We think that a new way to consider insurrection is possible.

Apart from a few not very significant fringes, the international anarchist movement shares theoretical positions of a revolutionary character. The liberal democratic vein, important as far as it shows a possible line of involution, remains on the margins.

In turn almost the whole of the revolutionary anarchist positions - with different nuances - see insurrection as a necessary phase along the road to revolution.

But this insurrection is seen as a mass revolt due to certain socioeconomic forces that serve to set it off. The role of anarchist movement is to limit itself to understand these conditions and economic and social contradictions to make them more comprehensible to the mass. Basically, a role of propaganda and counter information.

Often even the anarchist comrades who see the need for violence struggle against the structures of the oppression without half measures, limit themselves to the part of this analysis and do not feel obliged to go any further. The mass - they say - must do everything themselves. Anything else would be authoritarian on the part of the specific anarchist organisation and could turn out to be disastrous.

This idea of insurrection might have been logical when nearly the whole of the anarchist movement was on positions of synthesis, i.e. in the dimension of the big (or not so big) quantitative organisations. Through the instruments of the syndicalist organisation they planned to address the whole of the social and economic struggles into a situation of waiting for a breaking out of the revolutionary moment.

There is a different way to envisage revolutionary struggle in an insurrectionalist key in our opinion.

We consider the anarchist organisation, so long as it is informal, can contribute to the constitution of autonomous base nuclei which, as mass organisms, can programm attacks against structures of social, economic and military repression. These attacks, even if circumscribed, have all the methodological characteristics and practises of insurrectional phenomena when not left to the blind forces of social and economic conflict but are brought into an anarchist projectuality based on the principles of autonomy, direct action, constant attack and the refusal to compromise.



In a word, this is the insurrectional conception that we are inviting all comrades interested to access with critiques, analysis and debate.

by Alfredo M.Bonanno, from the magazine Insurrection

# **Notes on Insurrectionary Anarchism**

Taken from Killing King Abacus & Willful Disobedience

Insurrectionary anarchism not an ideological solution to all social problems, a commodity on the capitalist market of ideologies and opinions, but an on-going praxis aimed at putting an end to the domination of the state and the continuance of capitalism, which requires analysis and discussion to advance. We don't look to some ideal society or offer an image of utopia for public consumption. Throughout history, most anarchists, except those who believed that society would evolve to the point that it would leave the state behind, have been insurrectionary anarchists. Most simply, this means that the state will not merely wither away, thus anarchists must attack, for waiting is defeat; what is needed is open mutiny and the spreading of subversion among the

exploited and excluded. Here we spell out some implications that we and some other insurrectionary anarchists draw from this general problem: if the state will not disappear on its own, how then do we end its existence? It is, therefore, primarily a practice, and focuses on the organization of attack. These notes are in no way a closed or of nongoing discussion, and we most certainly welcome responses. Most of this comes from past issues of Insurrection and pamphlets from Elephant Editions.

(see the anti-politics.net or 325collective.com for updated informations, links, internet library, PDFs...) for printed pamphlets / zines (in Europe and Balkan) you can contact neanderthal\_chaos@net.hr).

# 1: THE STATE WILL NOT JUST DISAPPEAR;

ATTACK

The State of capital will not "wither away," as it seems many anarchists have come to believe—not only entrenched in abstract positions of 'waiting,' but some even openly condemning the acts of those for whom the creation of the new world depends on the destruction of the old. Attack is the refusal of mediation, pacification, sacrifice, accommodation, and compromise.

It is through acting and learning to act, not

propaganda, that we will open the path to insurrection, although propaganda has a role in clarifying how to act. Waiting only teaches waiting; in acting one learns to act.

The force of an insurrection is social, not military. The measure for evaluating the importance of a generalized revolt is not the armed clash, but on the contrary the amplitude of the paralysis of the economy, of normality.

# 2. SELF-ACTIVITY versus managed revolt: from insurrection to revolution

As anarchists, the revolution is our constant point of reference, no matter what we are doing or what problem we are concerned with. But the revolution is not a myth simply to be used as a point of reference. Precisely because it is a concrete event, it must be built daily through more modest attempts which do not have all the liberating characteristics of the social revolution in the true sense. These more modest attempts are insurrections. In them the uprising of the most exploited and excluded of society and the most politically sensitized minority opens the way to the possible involvement of increasingly wider strata of exploited on a flux of rebellion which could lead to revolution

Struggles must be developed, both in the intermediate and long term. Clear strategies are necessary to allow different methods to be used in a coordinated and fruitful way.

Autonomous action: the self-management of struggle means that those that struggle are autonomous in their decisions and actions; this is the opposite of an organization of synthesis which always attempts to take control of struggle. Struggles that are synthesized within a single controlling organization are easily integrated into the power structure of present society. Selforganized struggles are by nature uncontrollable when they are spread across the social terrain.

# 3. UNCONTROLLABILITY versus managed revolt: the spread of attack

It is never possible to see the outcome of a specific struggle in advance. Even a limited struggle can have the most unexpected consequences. The passage from the various insurrections – limited and circumscribed – to revolution can never be guaranteed in advance by any method.

What the system is afraid of is not these acts

of sabotage in themselves, so much as their spreading socially. Every proletarianized individual who disposes of even the most modest means can draw up his or her objectives, alone or along with others. It is materially impossible for the State and capital to police the apparatus of control that operates over the whole social territory. Anyone who really wants to contest the network of control can make their own theoretical and practical contribution. The

appearance of the first broken links coincides with the spreading of acts of sabotage. The anonymous practice of social self-liberation could spread to all fields, breaking the codes of prevention put into place by power.

Small actions, therefore, easily reproducible, requiring unsophisticated means that are available to all, are by their very simplicity and spontaneity uncontrollable. They make a mockery of even the most advanced technological developments in counter-insurgency.

# 4. PERMANENT CONFLICTUALITY versus mediation with institutional forces

Conflictuality should be seen as a permanent element in the struggle against those in power. A struggle which lacks this element ends up pushing us towards mediating with the institutions, grows accustomed to the habits of delegating and believing in an illusory emancipation carried out by parliamentary decree, to the very point of actively participating in our own exploitation ourselves.

There might perhaps be individual reasons for doubting the attempt to reach one's aims

with violent means. But when non-violence comes to be raised to the level of a non-violable principle, and where reality is divided into 'good' and 'bad,' then arguments cease to have value, and everything is seen in terms of submission and obedience. The officials of the anti-globalization movement, by distancing themselves and denouncing others have clarified one point in particular: that they see their principles – to which they feel duty-bound – as a claim to power over the movement as a whole.

### 5. ILLEGALITY:

# insurrection isn't just robbing banks

Insurrectionary anarchism isn't a morality on survival: we all survive in various ways, often in compromise with capital, depending on our social position, our talents and tastes.

We certainly aren't morally against the use of

illegal means to free ourselves from the fetters of wage slavery in order to live and carry on our projects, yet we also don't fetishize illegalism or turn it into some kind of religion with martyrs; it is simply a means, and often a good one.

# 6. INFORMAL ORGANIZATION;

### not professional revolutionaries or activists, not permanent organizations

From party/union to self-organization: Profound differences exist within the revolutionary movement: the anarchist tendency towards quality of the struggle and its self-organization and the authoritarian tendency towards quantity and centralization. Organization is for concrete tasks: thus we are against the party, syndicate and permanent organization, all of which act to synthesize struggle and become elements of integration for capital and the state. Their purpose comes to be their own existence, in the worst case they first build organization then find or create the struggle. Our task is to act: organization is a means. Thus we are against the delegation of action or practice to an organization: we need generalized action that leads to insurrection, not managed struggles. Organization should not be for the defense of certain interests, but of attack on certain interests.

Informal organization is based on a number of comrades linked by a common affinity; its propulsive element is always action. The wider the range of problems these comrades face as a whole, the greater their affinity will be. It follows that the real organization, the effective capacity to act together, i.e. knowing where to find each other, the study and analysis of problems together, and the passing to action, all takes place in relation to the affinity reached and has nothing to do with programs, platforms, flags or more or less camouflaged parties. The informal anarchist organization is therefore a specific organization which gathers around common affinity.

# The anarchist minority and the exploited and excluded:

We are of the exploited and excluded, and thus our task is to act. Yet some critique all action that is not part of a large and visible social movement as "acting in the place of the proletariat." They counsel analysis and waiting, instead of acting. Supposedly, we are not exploited alongside the exploited; our desires, our rage and our weaknesses are not part of the class struggle. This is nothing but another ideological separation between the exploited and subversives.

The active anarchist minority is not slave to numbers but continues to act against power even when the class clash is at a low level within the exploited of society. Anarchist action should not therefore aim at organizing and defending the whole of the class of exploited in one vast organization to see the struggle from beginning to end, but should identify single aspects of the struggle and carry them through to their conclusion of attack. We must also move away from the

stereotypical images of the great mass struggles, and the concept of the infinite growth of a movement that is to dominate and control everything.

The relationship with the multitude of exploited and excluded cannot be structured as something that must endure the passage of time, i.e. be based on growth to infinity and resistance against the attack of the exploiters. It must have a more reduced specific dimension, one that is decidedly that of attack and not a rearguard relationship.

We can start building our struggle in such a way that conditions of revolt can emerge and latent conflict can develop and be brought to the fore. In this way a contact is established between the anarchist minority and the specific situation where the struggle can be developed.

# 7. THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE SOCIAL:

# individualism and communism, a false problem

We embrace what is best in individualism and what is best in communism.

Insurrection begins with the desire of individuals to break out of constrained and controlled circumstances, the desire to reappropriate the capacity to create one's own life as one sees fit. This requires that they overcome the separation between them and their conditions of existence. Where the few, the privileged, control the conditions of existence, it is not possible for most individuals to truly determine their existence

on their terms. Individuality can only flourish where equality of access to the conditions of existence is the social reality. This equality of access is communism; what individuals do with that access is up to them and those around them. Thus there is no equality or identity of individuals implied in true communism. What forces us into an identity or an equality of being are the social roles laid upon us by our present system. There is no contradiction between individuality and communism.

# 8. WE ARE THE EXPLOITED,

### we are the contradiction: this is no time for waiting

Certainly, capitalism contains deep contradictions which push it towards procedures of adjustment and evolution aimed at avoiding the periodic crises which afflict it; but we cannot cradle ourselves in waiting for these crises. When they happen they will be welcomed if they respond to the requirements for accelerating the elements of the insurrectional

process. As the exploited, however, we are the fundamental contradiction for capitalism. Thus the time is always ripe for insurrection, just as we can note that humanity could have ended the existence of the state at any time in its history. A rupture in the continual reproduction of this system of exploitation and oppression has always been possible.



325 is an insurgent anti-prison zine of social war & anarchy, published underground for the last 5 years. It is an irregular platform for hidden news of the ongoing resistance against capitalises and the state, and the situations of the prisoners, who are imprisoned for their ideals.

Prison is the feature that unites all features of modern society. When you step outside from the cells you are not free- the streets, the buses, trains, supermarkets, libraries, workplaces are all under surveilance and control by a corrupt system of deadly machinery. You do not need barbed wire and bars to build a prison - You just need dominion. Right now, the economic system has not looked so fragile in decades, oil war and ecological collapse are hastening the global meltdown - we have to be prepared and educated about the emerging total police-state, as it attempts at all cost to preserve the rule of the elite. Let's organise to destroy this system with our close friends, in the areas we know and understand, with the means that are available to us - making direct action, raising awareness and organising ourselves using principles of mutual aid and solidarity - it will make mass imprisonment a thing of the past.

# Individual projectuality and affinity: of affinity groups

taken from "Saltar para o Desconhecido, #2"

Projectuality: starting position that tries to have, from the beginning till the end of the struggle, a global vision - but continuously looking at the changing of necessities – of the elements that compose and characterize it

Su gazetinu de sa luta kontras a sas presones #0

# The anarchist individual projectuality

For us to act on life, instead of it being something that happens to us, we need to know what we desire and how to try to attain it, we need to know who prevents us from doing it and who are our potential accomplices in this collective adventure for individual freedom.

The anarchist individual projectuality is born from this reflection and from the will and the disposition to act according to it. It is a question of taking the initiative over life, of acting to break and create contexts, and not to respond to a context. Developing an individual projectuality, the individual acts according to his principles and goals, be it before or after a given situation. That situation, instead of conditioning him to act in a given way, offers him cues that contribute to the development of his own project, according to which he continues to act.

In practice, I feel that the anarchist projectuality is a question of taking the initiative and of being prepared, because you have, from the start, a global vision of reality and of ourselves.

Therefore, we take the initiative because our actions are the beginning of other possibilities, and this beginning is born from the attack on the existent. Besides, this initiative has the essential characteristic of us not waiting for the "time to be ripe" to act, because waiting only brings more waiting. It's us ourselves that create the possibility of something else. At the same time, to be prepared means to know what we want to do in a given moment, analyzing the elements at play and how, starting from our own principles and goals, we want to act on them. Being prepared results, mainly, from a

perspective that we have over reality, a perspective that, very often, takes us into hypothesis, situations, methods, enemies and comrades long before we're there.

### The affinity group

Frequently our individual projectuality joins us together with other comrades in affinity groups to carry on a specific common project. We get together temporarily, and because during our own individual project we found comrades that found us during their own individual project, and in this encounter we discussed perspectives over the reality and over our own surreality, we discussed needs and desires. And in this discussion and knowing we discovered some specific affinity.

The affinity group is, by definition, made up by individuals that share a specific affinity. To know their affinities, the individuals need to know and discuss the ideas and wills of each one of them, and how each one sees reality and how he wants to act on it. It's a relation of deepening the knowledge among the individuals. And to have this knowledge between individuals, each one needs to know what he wants out of his life, what is the analysis he makes of society and how he wants to fight against it and for that which he wants. Everything begins, therefore, from an individual projectuality that, when expressed, can discover points of affinity we may have with others with whom we can discuss a specific common projectuality.

# The emptying of affinity and of affinity groups

When the common project diverges from the individual project, the affinity ceases to exist, and it's obviously time for the comrades to dissolve the affinity group. If this

dissolution isn't done, and the group keeps independently dragging itself the individuals and/or the individual wills involved, the group ceases to be based on affinity, at the same time that it starts existing for itself, reproducing the kind of permanent and formal relations that exist, for example, in an anarcho-syndicalist union and in the rest of society. And, in this way, everything that initially originated the affinity group is subverted, the affinity ceases to exist and the groups ceases to make any sense.

Frequently, we see comrades forming groups that, from the start, empty the concept of affinity and of informal organization. This is the case of the agglomeration groups (I don't find a better concept) that, taking an activity that somehow was decided to be done (or an organization that was decided to exist for itself), go afterwards picking people up to make numbers and/or to do that activity or to compose that organization. Then, these people agglomerate themselves in this group, having no mutual knowledge between the individuals and/or with no affinity between them. Then, we see the people that constitute these groups fighting each other at the same time they start discovering what each one really wants and how he wants it (and this when they even do these discoveries), while the group stagnates or drags and deteriorates itself, following what was decided from the start. Often we hear calling this kind of groups "affinity groups", even though there's no affinity between the agglomerated individuals, and the concept of agglomeration itself is opposed to the qualitative strength of a common anarchist project of a few comrades, to the deepening of knowledge and to the clarifying of affinities. There is a changing of qualitative relations for quantitative relations, sometimes against the will of some of the comrades involved in these groups that would prefer to develop different relations, but that can't see another way to do the things they'd like to see being done.

I think that the emptying of affinity groups have been growing in more recent years, specially since the anti-WTO demonstrations in Seattle, in 1999. Nowadays we've come to the point of having "affinity groups workshops", done by activists, where those who show up are invited to form "affinity groups" with people they don't know and/or with whom they don't have any affinity, for example around activities typical of this kind

of demonstrations (legal group, street medics group, noise-making group, window-breaking group, etc...). I think it is useless to refer the complete absence of any qualitative and revolutionary element in this kind of workshops, in the agglomeration groups composed in them and in the relations they propose, as well as the fact that they don't have anything to do with affinity or affinity groups.

### Final considerations

To sum up, it seems to me that, in different ways, the concept of affinity has been being emptied of its content with the passing of the years, and that in this way it has been losing all its revolutionary potential as the basis of informal organization.

If an individual projectuality developed by each individual doesn't exist, there is the tendency of his individual projects end up being outlined by the projects of the agglomeration group, and of existing a complete and practically uncritical identification with that group. If that individual projectuality does exist but diverges from the projects developed by the group, existing no between the comrades. individual ends up frustrated, enclosed in projects that say him/her nothing and that diverge from his/her analysis and desires.It is also possible that those individual projectualities exist but that the comrades prefer not to discuss them, for example, because of an attempt to not evidence differences that may put their union in jeopardy, an union that is based, therefore, on the silencing of the individuals. In any case, the individual is controlled/dragged by the collective, just like what happens in the rest of society.

The affinity group, on the other hand, is based on the discovered and developed affinities between comrades that deepen the knowledge of one another. This mutual knowledge, in its own turn, can only reach all potential if each comrade his/her own individual developing projectuality, his/her own way to look at reality and how he/she wants to act on it, based on his/her own personal desires and goals. In this way, two or more comrades can meet and coordinate themselves in a kind of organization informal that is directioned towards action, that emerges from their personal projects and that doesn't exist in time beyond the adequate.

# Solidarity is a Weapon

Solidarity is an act of mutual aid between friends, comrades, or simply people who might not even know each other in person, but share the same affinities. It is an act of help or support when there is a need for this, and this can be expressed in many different ways.

While practicing acts of solidarity, and also being in situations where others have shown their solidarity to me, I was able to experience the joy of breaking the walls that divide me from other comrades (no matter whether they are my friends, or simply people I share affinities with), but it also opened up new questions.

While doing this, am I actually helping someone—because it is not so hard to make a wrong move and instead of helping do absolutely the contrary—, and how can I make my action more effective?

# Solidarity is a weapon.

There are a few reasons why I see solidarity as a weapon.

First of all, it is exactly what is not expected of us by authority. By the rules of the system and capitalist reality that impose domestication and alienation upon us, we are supposed to be passive observers of our own misery. Just another brick in the walls that divide us and make it impossible to develop real honest relations between each other. By practicing solidarity we take another step into nonconformity and directly attack these rules, breaking down the walls that divide us. Let's not fool ourselves, these walls are many. some of them are obvious but there is still so much that we should take into consideration. because we are all affected by our particular surroundings...

Also, by solidarising with other comrades, be it with comrades in the clutches of State repression or with comrades working on some project, we help them to make their struggle possible or more effective. While trapped in the dungeons of the State, they can maybe continue some of their activities, or find another ways of struggle from inside. but without help from outside, I'm afraid that's hardly possible. Comrades working on some project are very often limited financially or by the infrastructure that is available to them, so helping them by raising money or by giving them space or infrastructure to use helps them to lose less energy and time in that direction and concentrate more on the project. It also helps them not to abandon their ideas through feeling weak or isolated from other comrades

Since I live in surroundings where the struggle for mere existence is an activity that takes up most of people's energy, and where infrastructure is not available unless you are highly privileged, (which reflects the number

of active people) and there is little space for activities that attack the existing order and the rules imposed by the system. I see a need for solidarity. And I can say for sure that without communication and support from comrades that are in "better" position I would be forced to stop most of my own activities. This simple and honest communication and support of comrades who recognized the need for it not only helped me in a technical way to be able to carry on the projects I'm involved in, but gave me additional motivation and energy. This is needed (believe me) when you live in narrow-minded surroundings where there are only a few people that you can count on, (or discuss with, to arm your desires, and articulate your beliefs and needs) where you are openly endangered not only by the repression of the servants of authority, but also by other political enemies such as Nazis or other fascists by whom you are outnumbered, in danger just because of the way you look, and especially your political (anti political) engagement.

This kind of reality is most common in east European countries where anarchist activities and the mere existence of the idea itself barely survives, and its survival in many cases depends on communication and mutual support (solidarity) between comrades very often placed at a great distance apart.

This kind of reality also attracts something that I certainly do not consider solidarity that is demonstrated by so-called comrades.

Eastern Europe is the destination of many travelers, many from western European countries and the US and Canada, where the "movement" is much more "developed" and bigger, and some concrete signs of its existence are visible on an everyday basis.

From my experience, most of these people come with the attitude "we know

better' and they act and behave according to that attitude. That is something which I absolutely don't see as solidarity, even though many try to call it such.

"We have come to show you how things should be done..." without trying to understand the situation of the surrounding area (they are visiting at that moment), which is certainly very different from the one they are coming from where they have gained their experience. This kind of approach is not simply stupid and naive as it seems at first glance. It is a pure expression of racism. The same idea is in school. that people economically developed countries are worth more because of their education and better living standards, and that they should be on a mission to "help" those less developed.

No, we don't need any anarchist experts, anarchist organizers, anarchist missionaries...

We need comrades and friends with whom we can act together, discuss, and learn from each other, and we can help each other if it's needed and possible. But these relations must be free from any kind of hierarchy and false morality. It has to be spontaneous and based on mutual understanding...

Very often solidarity is expressed in situations like imprisonment of comrades, or threats of evictions of squats, or other forms of repression imposed by authority.

Should we wait for these things to happen in order to start to solidarise with each other? To improve solidarity as a weapon we should not let ourselves to be timed and guided by the actions of authority, this is something that will constantly keep us back. For sure I do not mean that those affected by the dirty hands of the repressive apparatus (whatever way it is demonstrated) should be forgotten at any moment.

To end my observation I quote the Italian comrades "Il Silvestre" who explain this very well in their periodical "Terra Selvaggia": Repressive plans brought about by the Italian government against anarchists aim not only at stopping the many acts of sabotage that are continuously carried out all over the country, but they are also and mainly aimed at destroying any internal enemy of the State and securing a long period of social peace. Article 270bis is the most effective means they have to achieve this goal. Moreover repression, besides striking hard, is also taking a series of preventive measures.

The huge investigation used by judge Marini is now split into a great number of small

investigations resulting in preventive arrests, closure of anarchist places, etc. It is no longer a question of 270bis, but of a great number of smaller investigations conducted in many towns, which are apparently different from one another but actually come from the same source and have only one goal, to inflict the greatest possible damage on the anarchist struggle.

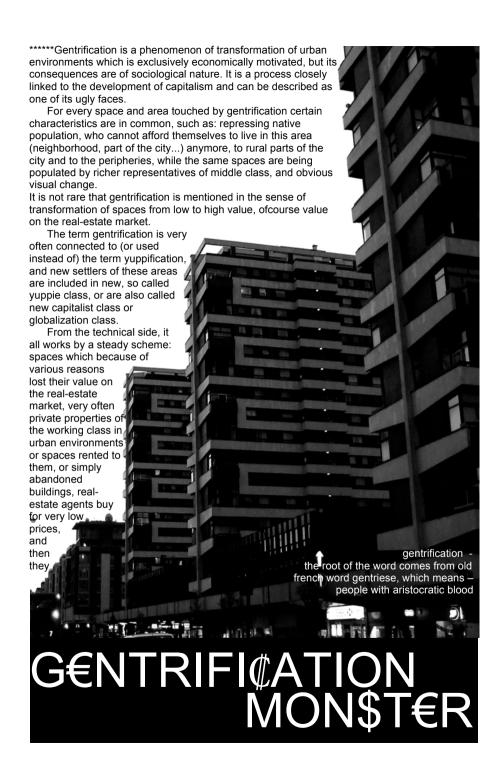
To consider the question of article 270bis as a unique repressive project, however, would represent a partial and quite dangerous approach. In fact, if we remain stuck to a defensive strategy, we risk running behind repression and inevitably remaining behind it. Furthermore, to focus all our energy on anticampaigns would result in neglecting the struggle. This does not mean to forget the solidarity towards those hit by repression. It means, on the contrary, that when a squat is closed down or a paper is persecuted, instead of organising gatherings among anarchists, we should try to conquer that squat back and to support that paper. Solidarity is a weapon, not a shield behind

Solidarity is a weapon, not a shield behind which to hide oneself. destruktor



### article 270bis

'Whoever promotes, creates, organizes or leads associations whose aim is to carry out acts of violence in order to subvert the democratic order of the State is sentenced to from 7 to 15 years' imprisonment. Whoever takes part in such associations is sentenced to from 4 to 8 years' imprisonment.'



renovate them or build new ones on places where the old ones were standing and in the end sell them for the price which is three or four times more expensive, and this price is never in proportion with the amount of money invested in renovation, but are capitalized by imaginary values like design (in modern or retro stile) and technical devices which should serve as protection from attacks by the poor neighbors. The speculations are inevitable.

In the nineties of the last century, and at the beginning of the new millennium, this process becomes very obvious and all of us can witness its fast and aggressive performance which is closely linked to development of capitalism, increase of corporative power, and to transformation and delocalization of industry.

Big cities, which were also industrial centers since the second half of the last century, are constantly losing its former sense and character which is enhanced by development of capitalism and new corporational logic, whose consequence is delocalization of the industrial plant on areas with cheap labor and unlimited power (exploitation of resources, and non regulated ecological regulations) pushed capital forward to find new ways to reproduce itself. Computerization development and computer sciences have just determined and accelerated this process.

While for the previous identity of cities as industrial centers population of workers was welcomed because of better effectiveness in production, from the second half of the last century this logic is losing its sense step by step, and since the nineties complete needlessness and undesirability of the working class in the cities became obvious, in the old sense of this word.

Gentrification is the process, which, obviously not accidently, has a role of pushing the working class (\*8) as an unwanted element from the urban surroundings. It is so because it does not represent an element of system profitable enough anymore, and also because it represents а possible threat to the established social order and capitalist logic.

As a proof to this statement there are many facts to count, starting from those obvious, like changing of the demographic picture of many areas \*1, putting cities into permanent building-cites \*2, purposely neglecting and dereliction of old buildings (with intention to ruin them as fast as

possible and by this losing the value on the real-estate market, which is perfect for real-estate agents) \*3, and also those elements not so easily visible by bare eye, but all of us can be their witnesses just if we look and analyze our surroundings a bit more carefully; privatization and big changes in the school system, as the way of indoctrination \*4, social control \*5 ...

For so big and numerous building-sites building companies are needed, so thanks to this fact building engineering has become a very important field. It has become a perfect field for production of capital, since it is a simple process of changing of natural resources (that can be taken for free \*6) into concrete, building iron, building wood, gravel... almost free labor \*7 turns them into building elements, which is then turned into buildings/road/railroads by again using almost free labor...

The final price of buildings is much higher than it should be according to the real relation to the resources used in the getting these building materials, machines, and in the and labour power which carried it all on its backs, and in the end built these buildings by its own hands.

When we look to the gentrification it should never be seen as an isolated phenomenon, even though it can be easily described and its elements can be easily recognized. This kind of approach would be superficial and doomed to failure in any trying of confronting it. Capitalism has developed itself to an unimaginable extent and ensured itself a possibility for an even faster development.

Building of high speed railways (TAV) trough european territory, installing (and expanding already existing ones) more and more airports, enormous concourse of banks, insurance offices, real-estate agencies, overpriced boutiques, fancy expensive restaurants... aggressive imposition of the internet as the only way of communication, credit cards... privatization of prisons which are becoming a source of free labour... it is just a path towards a new world order (whose signs and obvious elements all of us can recognize).

The world order in which, if you don't possess the privilege of requested IT literacy, privilege of possessing a credit card (\*9), or generally a permission for possessing it, you automatically become excluded.

The world order where classes exist no more, but people are divided to the included and the excluded ones.

Mad Lud(d)

- \*1 Many neighborhoods that were mostly populated by immigrants only a few years ago, (which were more than welcome as a cheap work force, before the process of delocalization of industry had taken clearer shapes) now are mostly populated by white population, and the previous population is pushed into poorer (cheaper) parts of the cities.
- \*2 in bigger or smaller extent, all the cities were (even before this process), permanent building-cites, but in the last few decades this practice is just strengthening in its intensity, and the development of technology and power that civil engineering lobbies possess today (with obvious support of local and state governments) had just strengthen and fasten this same practice.

All of us can witness the complete visual change of cities or certain areas in cities in just a few years. Old neighborhoods (mostly working class neighborhoods, gardens (mostly on squatted peaces of land (a very good example for this is Zagreb)), abandoned industrial plants ... in just a few weeks disappear under the bulldozer tracks, and those same spaces are becoming building-sites, where luxurious hotels, business buildings, parking lots, sport and shopping centers, multiplexes... are growing like mushrooms.

The native populations of this areas have no power in bringing decisions about shaping and changing the area in which they live, and in most of the cases they are forced to move to cheaper areas of cities. Those who stay are forced to more expensive life costs in abstractly shaped modern living blocks, concerning the fact that after gentrification the value on the real-estate market is growing, and so do expanses of mere living.

\*3 neglected spaces and buildings purposely left to ruination (it's often a case with the so called monuments of culture, which had been (not so long ago), at least declaratively protected) are rotting, and at the same time their price on the real-estate market is falling down, those real-estates are then bought by real-estate agents or straight ahead building companies (but this two fields are very closely connected and dependent on each-other). This way old cinemas become supermarkets, youth centers become garages, gardens parking-lots ... This process is possible only with direct support of

the local governments, state governments and banks, which are a part of the whole business, and it is not rare that the representatives of local or state government are also the owners of big building companies which on the keep monopoly at the labour market.

- \*4 Glorifying professions like designers, architects..., economists, real-estate agents..., exactly those professions that are the basis for keeping and improving this kind of established order, occupations of the new gentrification class. Privatization of schools, and (disastrous) Bolognese system established an obvious way towards the state in which education is becoming the privilege that only few can afford.
- \*5 Demonization and criminalization of any kind of opposition to this kind of established order, and especially squatters movement (which is a side effect in many elements of this process), of immigrants in search for a "better life" who come from places where capital has relocated industrial plants, and any kind of self-organization and citizens' autonomy.

Surveillance systems and plenty of police in the streets, bobbies.

\*6 whole parts of mountains and hills are gradually driven away by trucks to be transformed into building stone, cement..., river channels and streams are transformed into dead canals because of constant digging out of gravel and sand, ancient forests are cleared in addition to get a quality wood for building...

This is just one of the examples that shows how gentrification is a process which not only has a bad effect on the urban environment. but also on the rural, because of ecologically negative effects, which affects the local economy too, and this all influences the cost of quality of living for the local population. For example, the process of cement production is very simple and cheap, because it is just stone grinding, but it has a very negative ecological sideffect because it spreads clouds of grey or yellow stone dust at least 10 km around, and only in a few vears negative manifestations of this are visible. Grey/yellow roofs of houses, grey trees, grey lungs of the local population. As whole pieces of mountains or hills are disappearing, it automatically affects soil

erosion. Because of the improvement of the material performances together with natural stone dust, chemicals are mixed and this exponents the negative effects. Its result is cheap building material on one side, and on the other extinction of flora and fauna, lowering quality of water and air, and in the end, obvious worsening of living conditions for the local population, in terms of health, but also economical because local population has no benefits from this (they are just used as a cheap labour), while profit is taken by big building companies belonging to the state or private companies belonging to local sheriffs.

\*7 Most of the people included as labour in this process, no matter if it includes office iobs like finishing drafts, making static budgets (latter in much better conditions than following) or if it includes working on buildingsites, like working on machines, masons, carpenters... are exploited and underpaid to an unimaginable level. Because of development of capitalism, which is also increased thanks to syndicalist methods. workers are trapped in a helpless position. Every worker has become almost unnecessary and replaceable by another one, more susceptible who is willing to work in worst conditions and for less money. In the EU, because of the extreme demonization and criminalization of immigrants, which were the big majority of the labour in building companies, a very big percent of them is still working, but now after establishing of the EU they are in far more

susceptible position than they were before. Especially those working in black, live in constant fear of inspections and controls, which would mean losing their job and deportation, this people are forced to accept to work in unimaginable conditions. Also, most of the labour in building companies in croatia consists of bosnians who, because of extremely bad working conditions and underpayment, accept to work in just a bit better conditions in croatia.

\*8 The term working class in this text represents all the people exploited by the elite or the representative of an upper class. Maybe in most of the cases that it has been used the expression ex working class would fit better. Anyway, it is not exclusively about workers, and it is really questionable if the usage of this term nowadays can still be relevant concerning the fact that with development of capitalism and delocalization of industry this term lost its meaning comparing to what it has meant before.

\*9 neighborhoods, parts of the cities in which you can not set your foot without permission (possession of the special card or whatever) already exist, more and more airport companies start selling tickets through internet only, which requires the privilege of IT literacy, and also the privilege of possession of credit cards, the same case is with high-speed trains... internet banking... it is just a matter of time when money will become completely virtual, which automatically excludes all the ones who...



# by guerra soicale

# Thoughts on the City

# Progress never destroys as thoroughly as when it builds

The necessity for space is eminently political. The places in which we live condition the ways in which we live, and, inversely, our relationships and activities modify the spaces of our lives. It's a question of daily experience, and yet we seem incapable of drawing the tiniest result from it. One only

needs to take a walk through any city to understand the nature of the poverty of our way of life. Almost all urban space responds to two needs: profit and social control. They are places of consumption organized according to the increasingly strict rules of a market in continuous expansion: the security market.



The model is that of the commercial center, a collective privatized space, watched by the people and instruments provided by the appropriate agencies. In the commercial centers, an increasingly "personalized" sociality is built around the consumer and his family; now, one can eat, play with children, read, etc. in these neon places. But if one enters without any money, one discovers that it is a terrifying illusion of life.

The same thing happens, more or less, in the metropolises. Where can one meet for discussion, where can one sit without the obligation to consume, where can one drink, where can one sleep, if one has no money? For an immigrant, for a poor person, for a woman, a night in the city can be long. The moderates, comfortable in their houses, don't know the nocturnal world of the street, the dark side of the neon, when the police wake you up on the benches, when everything seems foreign and hostile to you. When the middle classes are enclosed in their bunkers, cities reveal their true faces as inhuman monsters.

Cities increasingly come to resemble fortresses, and houses, security cells. Social war, the war between the rich and the poor, the governors and the governed is institutionalized in urban space. The poor are deported to the outskirts in order to leave the centers to the offices and banks (or to the tourists). The entrances of the cities and a great many "sensitive" areas are watched by apparatuses that get more sophisticated every day. The lack of access to determined levels of consumption - levels defined and controlled by a fixed computer network in which the data of banking, insurance, medical scholastic and police systems are woven together - determines, in the negative, the new dangerous classes, who are confined in very precise urban zones. The characteristics of the new world order are reflected in metropolitan control. The borders between countries and continents correspond to the boundaries between neighborhoods or to the magnetic cards for access to specific private buildings or, as in the United States, to certain residential areas. International police operations recall the war against crime or, more recently, the politics of "zero tolerance" through which all forms of deviance are criminalized. While throughout the world the poor are arrested by the millions, the cities assume the form of immense prisons. Don't the yellow lines that

consumers have to follow in certain London. commercial centers remind you of those on which some French prisoners have to walk? Isn't it possible to catch a glimpse of the checkpoints in the Palestinian territories in the militarization of Genoa during the G8 summit? Proposals for a nightly curfew for adolescents have been approved in cities just two steps away from ours (in France for example). The houses of correction reopen, a kind of penal colony for youth; assembling in the inner courtyards of the popular condominiums (the only space for collective life in many sleeping quarters) is banned. Already, in most European cities, the homeless are forbidden access to the city center, and beggars are fined, like in the Middle Ages. One may propose (like the Nazis of yesterday and the mayor of Milan today) the creation of suitable centers for the unemployed and their families, modeled after the lagers for undocumented immigrants. Metallic grids are built between rich (and white) neighborhoods and poor (and... nonwhite) neighborhoods. Social apartheid is advancing, from the United States to Europe, from the south to the north of the world. When one in three blacks between the ages of 20 and 35 get locked up in cells (as occurs in the United States, where two million people have been imprisoned in twenty vears), the proposal for closing the city centers to immigrants here can pass almost unobserved by us. And many may even applaud the glorious marine military when it sinks the boats of the undocumented foreigners. In an interweaving of classist exclusion and racial segregation, the society in which we live increasingly looks like a gigantic accumulation of ghettoes.

Once again the link between the forms of life and the places of life is close. The increasing precariousness of broad layers of society proceeds at the same pace as the isolation of individuals, with the disappearance of meeting spaces (and therefore of struggle) and, at the bottom, the reserves in which most of the poor are left to rot. From this social condition, two typically totalitarian phenomena are born; the war between the exploited, which reproduces without filters the ruthless competition and social climbing upon which capitalist relationships are built, and the demand for order and security, produced and sponsored by a propaganda that is perpetually hammered home. With the end of the "cold

war", the Enemy has been moved, both politically and through the media, into the interior of the "free world" itself. The collapse of the Berlin Wall corresponds to the construction of the barriers between Mexico and the United States or to the development of electronic barriers for the protection of the citadels inhabited by the ruling classes. The criminalization of the poor is openly described as a "war of low intensity", where the enemy, "the exotic terrorist", here becomes the illegal foreigner, the drug addict, the prostitute. The isolated citizen. tossed about between work and consumption through those anonymous spaces that are the ways and means of transport, swallows terrifying images of treacherous young people, slackers, cut-throats – and an imprecise and unconscious feeling of fear takes possession of individual and collective life

Our apparently peaceful cities increasingly show us the marks of this planetary tendency to government through fear, if we learn how to look for them.

If politics is defined as the art of command, as a specialized activity that is the monopoly of bureaucrats and functionaries, then the cities in which we live are the political organization of space. If, on the other hand, it is defined as a common sphere for discussion and decisions regarding common problems, then one could say that the urban structure is projected intentionally toward depoliticizing individuals in order to keep them in isolation and lost in the mass at the same time. In the second case, therefore, the political activity par excellence is revolt against urban planning as police science and practice; it is the uprising that creates new spaces for encounter and communication. In either sense, the question of space is an eminently political question.

A full life is a life that is able to skillfully mix the pleasure of solitude and the pleasure of encounter. A wise intermingling of villages and countryside, of plazas and free expanses could render the art of building and dwelling magnificent. If, with a utopian leap, we project ourselves outside of industrialism and forced urbanization, in short outside of the long history of removal on which the current technological society is built, we can imagine small communities based on face-to-face relationships that are linked together, without hierarchies between human beings or domination over nature. The journey would

cease to be a standardized transport between weariness and boredom and would become an adventure free of clocks. Fountains and sheltered places would welcome passers-by. Wild nature could once again become a place of discovery and stillness, of tremors and escape from humanity. Villages could be born from forests without violence in order to then return to being countryside and forest. We can't even imagine how animals and plants would change when they no longer feel threatened by human beings. Only an alienated humanity could conceive of accumulation. profit and power as the basis for life on Earth. While the world of commodities is in liquidation, threatened by the implosion of all human contact and by ecological catastrophe, while young people slaughter each other and adults muddle through on psycho-pharmaceuticals, exactly what is at stake becomes clearer: subverting social relationships means creating new spaces for life and vice versa. In this sense, a "vast operation of urgent demolition" awaits us.

Mass industrial society destroys solitude and the pleasure of meeting at the same time. We are increasingly constrained to be together, due to forced displacements, standardized time, mass-produced desires. And yet we are increasingly isolated, unable to communicate, devoured by anxiety and fear, unable, above all, to struggle together. Any real communication, any truly egalitarian dialogue can only take place through the rupture of normality and habit, only in revolt.

In various parts of the world, the exploited refuse every illusion about the best possible world, turning their feeling of total spoliation against power. Rising up against the exploiters and their guard dogs, against their property and their values, the exploited discover new and old ways of being together, discussing, deciding and making merry.

From the Palestinian territories to the aarch (village assemblies) of the Algerian insurgents, uprisings free spaces for social self-organization. Often the rediscovered assembly forms are like applications of old traditions of face-to-face relationships hostile to all representation, forged in the pride of other struggles, to the current agenda. If violent rupture is the basis of uprisings, their capacity to experiment with other ways of living, in hope that the exploited elsewhere will stoke their flames, is what renders them lasting, since even the most beautiful utopian

practices die in isolation.

The places of power, even those that are not directly repressive, are destroyed in the course of riots not only because of their symbolic weight, but also because in power's realms, there is no life.

Behind the problem of homes and collective spaces, there stand an entire society. It is because so many work year after year to pay off a loan simply in order to keep a roof over their head that they aren't able to find either the will or the space to talk with each other about the absurdity of such a life. On the other hand, the more that collective spaces are enclosed, privatized or brought under state control, the more houses themselves become small, grev, uniform and unhealthy fortresses. Without resistance, everything is degraded at a startling speed. Where peasants lived and cultivated the land for the rich as recently as fifty years ago, now the people of rank live. The current residential neighborhoods are the most unlivable of the common houses of thirty years ago. Luxury hotels seem like barracks. The logical consequences of this totalitarianism in urban planning are those

sorts of tombs in which Japanese employees reload their batteries. The classes that exploit the poor are, in their turn, mistreated by the system that they have always zealously defended

Practicing direct action in order to snatch the spaces for life from power and profit, occupying houses and experimenting with subversive relationships is a very different thing from any sort of more or less fashionable alternative juvenilism. It is a matter that concerns all the exploited, the leftout, the voiceless. It's a question of discussing and organizing without mediators. of placing the self-determination of our relationships and spaces against the constituted order, of attacking the urban cages. In fact, we do not think that it is possible to cut ourselves out any space within this society that is truly self-organized where we can live our own way, like Indians on reservations. Our desires are far too excessive. We want to create breaches, go out into the streets, speak in the plazas, in search of accomplice for making the assault on the old world. Life in society is to be reinvented. This is everything

# The exercise of control

The instruments of repression are only in minimal part related directly to repression as such.

Most of them function as preventative instruments of control.

This consequently has an effect on all potential forms of illegality - through a series of measures - and on all forms of different behaviour.

Potential illegality is within the law today, allowing the far-seeing eye of the censor to calculate a possible outlet. The same goes for "different" "deviant" behaviour (a move away from that imposed by the producers of consensus), today a possible object of study or wonder, but real danger points of social subversion in the future.

Now, the exercise of control is based on the accumulation of data: behaviour, deviance, taste, ideology, actions, etc. The greatest amount of data possible and its relative elaboration is at the root of any extensive project of control.

Without these elements the latter would not be possible, it would be circumscribed and not very dependable in the wider, participatory perspective of control.

Considerations on Illegality - Alfredo M.Bonanno



# POISONING THE WAVES.

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# the wonderful little world of Köpi



In the summer of 1989, the East German government celebrated its 40 year anniversary and declared that the Berlin Wall would remain standing for all times. It was one of their last misjudgments as history took a slightly different turn!

Half a year later, the Wall came down and thousands of East Berliners were roaming West Berlin in search of the promised land of milk and honey (they preferred Coca Cola and McDonalds though). But traffic went both ways, some enterprising West Berlin radicals grasped the signs of the times and saw the chance that a rapidly collapsing social order presented. For a short time, everything seemed possible. There was a wide-spread confusion concerning the ownership of derelict houses and the East German authorities were extremely passive, unsure of their role in the "New Order". Ideal conditions for squatting!

Joining together with a group from East Berlin, a house was found wery close to the Wall. It has been let to rot by the East Berlin housing authorities. The only remaining "occupants" were a group of bowling fans that used the alley in the cellar. So the house now known as Köpi was squatted n February 23rd, 1990. Already the first weeks, when it was still necessary to pass the border guards to go from West to East Berlin, a peoples kitchen was set up on the first floor. Soon after the first parties and gigs took place.

Throughout the following months, over

100 houses were squatted in different parts of East Berlin, attracting people from all over the world in search of unrestricted freedom. As soon as the legal procedures of reunification were completed by October 1990. clear that the West German government was going to put an end to these lawless times. The breaking point was reached in November 1990 when several days of heavy street fighting resulted in the eviction of 12 squats in Mainzer Strasse, a hotbed of radical squatters at the time. After this, all other squats were faced with the option of either military-style eviction or legalization. This turn of events forced the squatters of Köpenicker Strasse 137 to sign preliminary rent contracts in summer of 1991. The kitchen and the events being organized on the first floor were starting to attract more and more people which quickly lead to a lack of space. When bowling enthusiasts finally decided to jump ship in 1993, the rooms in the cellar and ground floor became available for new use. The left side of the ground floor was quickly turned into a sports room, while the cellar established itself as a venue for underground techno music.

In the space on the right hand side of the ground floor, the AKZ (autonomous cultural center, later ironically renamed antisocial inn) was founded. From the beginning, the activists of the AKZ collective had 2 main aims: to provide a location for radical political activists to meet, plan activities and put on benefit events. The second aim was to organize concerts and other events to showcase DIY, non profit culture without dealing with managers, government sponsors, music biz scoundrels and other scum. Most of the activists had a background in anarcho punk / DIY hardcore and wanted to create the alternative to the commercialization that had a grip on the underground scene of he times. No financial considerations were calculated to cover only the costs, no salaries were ever paid to anybody involved.

In the mad rush of real estate speculation that followed the German government's decision to move the German capital from the West German Bonn to Berlin. the house ended up being bought by the Petersen & Partner Company i 1995. Their grand schemes of gentrification and high class living were soon left in ruins as the company went bankrupt, leaving the property as collateral of the bank that loaned the money for the real estate sale. Several attempts to auction off the property were unsuccessful as campaigns to keep Köpi caused quite a stir. A highpoint were several demonstrations with up to 2000 people showing their support.

The second part of the 90ies was marked by several big renovations. The plumbing in the cellar was old and useless. It was not uncommon to have to stand waistdeep in water after another pipe burst. So the entire building got a new plumbing system, paid and installed without any help from the legal owners - which we didn't want anyway. In these new spaces, the video cinema PELICULOSO was set up, dedicated to underground cinema and helped to its popularity by its morbidly-cuddly charm. Another new addition was situated below the left side of the house, KOMA F. Originally intended to serve as a cocktail bar, it is now being used as a regular venue foe small DIY gigs. All these new projects follow the same DIY, non-profit guidelines that have been so central to Köpi from the start.

Other additions followed with further renovations of the left side wing of the building. The AQUARIUM serves as a meeting place for political groups working on their projects. The last additions was addition was 3 years ago on the ground floor of the left side: KOMMANDANTUR, a DIY screen printing facility, open to everyone who wants to be creative.

The relatively calm, untroubling years at the beginning of the new millennium also gave us the chance for extensive renovations in the AGH venue which has proved to be the most long-lasting and popular continuous project in the house. The venue is known throughout the world, having hosted gigs with thousands of bands coming from at least 4 continents. Bands like DIRT, Oi Polloi and Beyond Description from Japan have even recorded live records here. the regular highlights are yearly anniversary festivals (the house in February and the AGH venue in October) that draw hundreds of people each year.

In the beginning of 2007, dark clouds started to gather on our horizon. In January, the local authorities tried to close down the venue, claiming that we didn't have the necessary bureaucratic permits. A wonderfully incompetent police operation to officially seal up the spaces ended with their hasty retreat as a number of rabid supporters gathered to show their disapproval of any government interference.

The far more disruption is the fact that the bank managed to auction of the house in a cloak and dagger operation in May 2007. All the conspiring parties did their best to keep this fourth auction a secret, fearing protests and sabotage of their plants. It's painfully obvious that the bank, the city court in charge of the auction and the prospective buyer had conspired to sell the building way below its expected property value and didn't want any public attention. A bogus company had been formed prior to the auction to create a legal smokescreen to mask the real owners who feared retribution. It has been





established in the meantime that the puppet master pulling the strings in background is a dodgy real estate speculator under investigation from the police from defrauding various workmen fixing up his other properties. In a sweet stroke of poetic justice, the police raided 25 offices and houses of people suspected of being involved in this fraud conspiracy one month after the Köpi auction.

In the following months, the owner has made it clear that he intends to have all the legal residents and DIY projects removed from the building to tear it down and build luxury apartments in its place.

All the megalomanic plans will not get far though as the residents and users of the building intend to struggle to continue to act on their ideas of alternative living in this money-obsessed society. A flood of international solidarity actions following the auction has shown that we can count on our friends throughout the world to help us in our struggle to keep our dreams alive.

(this text is taken from covers of 12' record compilation / benefit for Köpi / released 2008)

www.koepi137.net behind-the-scenes.org

# "all squats must go"

since the beginning of squatting, it was an act through which people showed their will to not obey the law, not to follow the logics of capital, and take a step into nonconformity.

as a mass phenomenon in some areas and because of the will of people to resist the authorities, the existence of squats was possible, making no difference if it's about houses, land, ex-industrial plants, abandoned villages,...

squatting is linked to economic and political turbulences, because in many cases

people could not see any other option, so they decided to step into nonconformity in relation to what is expected from them by the imposed logic of capital, which is also the logic of every government, logic of state. these kind of activities and relations of the state towards them are a perfect basis for more deep questioning of capital/state logic, proprietary relations, and in the end of a system based on authority, but also it is a basis for developing real resistance. resistance based on acting, and not empty

theorizing.

this was more than clear to every government and because of that squatting has always been their target.

in the end of the seventies of the last century in some German cities the whole streets and neighborhoods were squatted.

by the end of the century most of the squatted spaces were taken away by the state, no matter if it's about the so called legalization of those spaces, which is nothing else then a way of getting them back to the function inside the logic of capital, or if it's a matter of real evictions what at some places caused more mild or no resistance at all, or furious revolt when the real battles and street wars took place in order to keep the place.

In many cities \*1 existed only places which the authorities did not see as any kind of threat \*2, or those places which managed to resist. But for every place that manages to resist, the state is desperately trying to find a way to evict it, and not cause reactions that could evolve to mass resistance or even an attack on the capital/state.

most of the squats that managed to resist until today are social centers which are gathering a wide spectrum of people. those are places in which the noncommercial and informal culture and art is developing (even though it could also be discussed), and not so rarely resistance is planned, together with attacks against capital/state (in million

different ways, which are once again topics for further discussion and analysis). civilization and its alienation, which inevitably follows in a capitalist society, have become a powerful element used by those in power to dominate and manipulate the masses. civilization is a peak of a system based on authority, where people are alienated from earth, alienated from each other, and from themselves, in civilized societies communication is reduced to standardized forms (implanted through indoctrination) which again serve to only one purpose, and that is keeping and further developing the civilization. authoritarian system, and in the end capital which is a peak of development of civilization. squatted social centers in this kind of system have become the only place where communication outside of the logic of authority/capital is possible, they are meeting places to people who share the same affinities, a basis for everyone who wants to communicate openly with all people who share their or similar affinities, places where every single person can come and communicate with others, develop and articulate its real needs and affinities (outside of implanted doctrines), a basis that enables something specific to be built. this way they have become a threat to the established order, and that's the main reason why those in power are trying to put it to an

\*1 concerning the fact that in most of the cases squatting is linked to urban city areas, but not exclusively.

\*2 or the existence of the latter makes it easier for those in power to demonize squatters and squats and to implant the negative attitude (towards squatting and squatters) to all those who are not linked or introduced to the topic. in this course the state is "ignoring" junky squats or those occupied by groups of people who don't have any connection to the anarchist movement, and their activities are more mafia style. existence of that kind of spaces is of interest to the state because of many reasons, but one of the main is the fact that those kinds of spaces (and people who use them) inside any social community can be very useful to the state propaganda in demonizing (and alienating from the rest of the society) the squatters and presenting them as a dangerous and unwanted element of any

social community.

demonization of squatters has always been a successful tactic for every repressive machine. with intention to ghettoize and isolate the squatting movement even more.

but also to justify all repressive measures used against it. it is not so easy to send police and army to fight against people, without causing the rapturous reactions. the ones towards whom the repression is addressed to, first have to be isolated and represented as guilty, criminals, evil, dangerous, and then can repression be represented as a benefit to the society.

and squatters in many cases help this by deliberately insisting on putting themselves in selfsufficient, ritualized and repetitive subculture. which is nothing else than ghettoizing and alienating themselves from the rest of the society and their potential allies.

dirty squatter

END.

# **berlin**in flames

since the end of the 90's the EU has decisively started with a new war against any form of freedom, and under this trance of fascistic hateridge, in service to capital, a big wave of repression hit the squatting scene in europe. new laws are installed, the police is now equiped with means unimaginable for the time before, like new gadgets (teargas, "robocop" suits and weapons, ...), but also with new entitlements which granted them to break any of the so called "human rights" on which the democratic europe is so proud of.

the New inquisition, this time called "war on terrorism" is a well made plan with manifestations of which we can all be witnesses to right now.

every state, as a member of or on the membership waitinglist of the EU, put effort in the contribution to the inquisition, this resulted to the fact that in the last 10 years it has become almost impossible to occupy a new place, and all the surviving squats are in a constant war to survive. a big number of especially the politically active autonomous / social centers are evicted, in the nineties and in the beginning of the new millennium a lot of places accepted the so called legalization because it seemed the only way to keep the place, but in the end even the legalized ones were not spared (only the government took some money from "squatters" before the same house was evicted and demolished).

capitalism has developed itself to an unimaginable extent and capital has no mercy. to make the war against freedom as productive as possible, new laws against "terrorism" were approved, and parallel to that a new demonization of every unwanted way of expressing the revolt to this system and sticking to the same epithets of "terrorist" to justify every attack started. a new organization was founded with the exact role of gaining the war on terrorism. this organization allready existed but in 2001 it had its first not so public meeting. the organization is named EUROPOL,

a special international organization that has unrestricted rights and accesses to all databases, but also to all advanced tools and devices, and one of its main goals in "war on terrorism" is to destroy the anarchist triangle Spain-Itally-Greece. europol is the european version of COINTELPRO (a program of the CIA which is for some decades active in north-america) and there's an obvious cooperation between Europol and CIA.

as a result of this, a lot of squats in this triangle are evicted, and a very big number of anarchists found themselves in the strong grip of the different judical frame-ups that took "freedom" away from many of them, and they find themselves behind bars left to the nomercy of the jail system.

that was not enough for the capital, so the "triangle" became bigger. in the europol report of 2008 germany was also introduced like a country with very high terrorist activity. and (so accidentally) the same methods were used, from judical frame-ups and cooperations between government and fascist organizations (even those so called illegal ones), to unimaginable repression (searches in the homes of anarchists, constant abasement, phonetapping, checking of the mail and e-mail, calling-ups for so called informative conversations, and even open threats...)

germany was in the last few years field of much turbulent political activities, from a revolt against the G8 summit, when anarchists (black block of 6000 people) propound alot of troubles to the authorities, to the obvious radicalization of the squatters movement (to which contributed also happenings in Denmark, linked to the eviction and ruination of Ungdomshuset, a 25 years old squatted social center in Copenhagen) and an increase of direct actions, ...

the situation in germany is already for some time more than tensed, and especially in some cities like Hamburg or Berlin.

Berlin, as one of the bastions of the squatters movement, first in WestBerlin, but after the fall of BerlinWall in EastBerlin, when hundreds of the empty houses "alived" again by wide spectrum of people, artists, immigrants, poor citizens of the east berlin, autonomes, anarchists... to bring this to an end, governments (in service to capital) put on service infamous "berlin low" which says that every squat can be evicted within 24 hours. the squatters movement from west berlin was destroyed in the same way in the beginning of the 80's.

the area with the biggest concentration of places in berlin autonomous Friedrichshain - Kreuzberg, at the moment it is the area where the struggle for autonomous places has erupted, as in quality, but also in quantity, constantly in confrontation with the well known gentrification monster, the citizens of this area faced with growing yuppification of their neighbourhood with constant installing of modern boutiques, fancy-alternative bars, commercial artists looking for a new ambient to "express" themselves, and huge projects like Media Spree, what is rearranging the area around Spree river (which is separating Friedrichain and Kreuzberg and where the Wall used to stand) by building offices for foreign companies like Universal, and where the Arena (for the concerts and other mass happenings) is opened in november 2008, in addition to attract thousands of consumers in this area, in the meanwhile old-fashioned working-class houses are exchanged by the posh buildings with luxurious apartments

which the most of the native citizens can't afford themselves. and exactly in this environment many autonomous places are still fighting for their survival, and growing discontent has already reached its peak.

different forms of revolt are shown on an almost everyday basis, from mass-demonstrations with a big number of people (some with open confrontation with the police), to the individual direct actions like graffiti, destroying and burning expensive cars, banks, bank-machines and especially real-estate offices, attacks on the property of the companies directly involved in this process, but also private property of the people involved...

Different profiles of people from different backgrounds had come together and made the revolt even stronger, this is in contrary to what capitalist logic is constantly seeking: to make people strangers to eachother, incapable to communicate and come together these sort of situations like.



berlin is in flames and as much as the authorities try to put it down, it just explodes again.

the girl with the matches

"All of the models and structures in which we've taken refuge must be fiercely examined and critically dismantled, and we must learn to depend on ourselves. If we do not wish to find ourselves in a world where no one really lives, where no one really knows anyone else, where everyone has become a mere cog in a machine meshing with other cogs but remaining truly alone, then we must have the strength to attack alienation in every way we can. Otherwise, we may just find there is no place left where we can meet face to face".

Killing King Abacus



# **Berlin - In Chaos!**

A personal report from last week's action days for autonomous spaces in Berlin. This report reflects the thoughts and opinions of the authors, not of any campaign, although these opinions may be shared by others.

(Report from) Action Days for Autonomous Space May 27 to June 1, 2008.

"We believe for a space to be truly autonomous it must first be liberated. Liberated in our sense doesn't just mean taking something out of the hands of capitalists (the mere reappropriation of a building) but rather taking space and finding ways to use it as a weapon against the State and Capital."

Last week, anarchists set their own dates for a confrontation with the State and Capital. Not prepared to be crushed by increasing repression against the spaces in which we live, plot and fight from, the Action Days for Autonomous Spaces put Berlin in chaos.

Following the three-day 'Interspace' meeting in Kesselberg (a previously squatted land project outside Berlin) from May 24-27, many people headed into Berlin to put theory into practise and to join forces on the streets with

those already preparing for the Action Days. An info-point was set up at the Kopi, radical left projects provided voku (people's kitchen) for the week as well as hosting theoretical and practical workshops.

But, most importantly, hundreds of people from Berlin and from elsewhere went on the offensive and instigated 6 charged days of diverse and often militant action. In a city which has one of the harshest anti-squatting policies in Europe - the Berlin Line - where squats can be evicted immediately and brutally, people showed they were undaunted and defiant.

The focus of these action days in many ways remains the defence of certain threatened physical structures. However, as the diversity of actions that took place demonstrates, what was being fought for is not confined to or by the walls of such buildings. By expanding the definition of what we understand by 'free space' we are able to broaden our attack beyond these physical spaces to an attack against social control as a cornerstone of capitalist logic - from autonomous space to liberated space.



# Highlights of the week taken from the info-ticker:

- 4 cars burnt and caltrops (bent-nail devices used to puncture tyres) left on the surrounding streets to deter cops and the fire brigade from getting there in order to put the fires out
- Construction crane burnt.
- A truck and four more cars burn.
- Squatting of building on Michael-Kirch Platz.
- 8 cars burnt as a response to eviction of Michael-Kirch Platz and in solidarity with those arrested.
- Anti-Gentrification Rally at Bethanien.
- Parts of Rigaer 84 squatted and opened to public.
- Luxury apartment attacked with paint bombs and stones.
- Bike Tour of Media Spree buildings, the company responsible for much redevelopment in Berlin.
- A Mercedes, a rental car and 2 cars from a telecommunications/security company burnt out.
- Windows of bank Sparkasse smashed.
- 8 luxury cars, 2 bins and billboards burnt or destroyed.
- Offices of estate agent Oliver Rohr who works for Rigaer94/Liebig14 landlord Beulker attacked with graffiti, paint bombs and glue in the locks.
- O2 advertising screen at Warschauer Strasse attacked with paint bombs.
- McDonalds in Kreutzberg- trashed.
- 2 unfinished lofthouses have their windows smashed- one attack takes place in broad daylight.
- Cop car windows smashed by Mauer Park.
- 18 windows of SAP, a software company connected to arms trade, smashed.
- Windows of Verdi Hotel by Kopi smashed.
- Cops attacked with stones and bottles outside Kopi.
- Banner drop in support of Rigaer94 from the roof of the cathedral Berliner Dom.
- Barricades built in Friedrichshain, Kreuzberg and Wedding.

- There was also a pirate radio (originally set up for the April Days of Action in Defence of Free Spaces) and a web-based real time info-ticker which provided up-to-the-minute information on everything from demos, actions, arrests, police locations and detailed descriptions of undercover cops and their vehicles.

The constant prowling of undercover cop cars and a rumoured 250 civil police (as well the politically motivated crime unit) deployed in Kreuzberg did not deter people from taking action, and nor did brutal attacks on crowds of demonstrators or the imposition of "Platzverweise" or "banning orders" from particular areas on anyone who looked 'autonomous' - the use of these was ruled illegal by a judge later in the week. Despite beatings and arrests, the cops were finally unable to contain, control and crush the spirit, energy and daring of the week-long revolt.

After years of simply responding to dates set by institutions, governments and trade fairs etc, those acting to resist the repression of free space - which extends to the totality of what we conceive as freedom - are left with a revived feeling of strength and energy. Discussions and analyses have been sparked; creative, autonomous participation has been inspired and face to face affinities built on. Above all, what has emerged from and what underpins these elements is the offensive action that people have taken which has let loose the reins of our imaginations and our resistance.

We hope it does not stop here, and that the quality and diversity of attacks, as well as a deepening understanding of what it means to liberate space in lives held hard in the velvet claw of capitalism, continues everywhere.

# Put Berlin in Chaos! Put Everywhere in Chaos!...

One note of sadness and anger from last week is the state-murder of an 18 year old boy in custody on May 29. Not known to be connected to the autonomous scene, he was arrested with two friends after attacking traffic lights and a car and was found hanged in his cell at 1.20am, only 3 hours after the time of his arrest. It is unlikely that it was suicide - as the cops have stated - because of the design of the cells in Templehof nick and the short amount of time that would have been available to him while being driven to the police station and processed.

For more information on the free spaces campaign in Berlin, go to wba.blogsport.de

### communiques: some of the communiques for the actions during the week:

### \*\*\*\*Construction machine set on fire

"As open-up for the action days for autonomous spaces, on the night to tuesday 27 we set ablaze a construction machine in the Diestelmeyerstr. (Friedrichshain), which was partecipating in the building of luxurious townhouses. Stop the neoliberal city-plans! Against Capitalism!"

### \*\*\*\*SAP attacked

"18 windows are not enough! On the 28.5.8 we smashed the windows of SAP in the Rosenthalerstr SAP is worldwide on the frontline for what concerns businessdevelop software. They software for repressive/security authorities organizations involved in war businesses. also for the NATO and the German army. SAP is about logistic to management. So that the companies involved in the war can work good together, SAP provide them software for connecting among each other. SAP is one very important global player within inner and foreign army and surveillance industries.

Such a security is for the rich ones, who have to secure themselves from the growing impoverishment of people around the world, through war, exploitation, exclusion and oppression. Our action is in the context of the action days for autonomous spaces, because free spaces mean to us a life free from capitalist exploitation, repression and war. No peace with the war!!! Destroy militarism!!!"

# \*\*\*\*Housekeeper of Rigaer94 and Liebig14 attacked

"In order to support the ongoing struggle of Rigaer94 against its eviction, we visited last night the offices of Rohrimmobilienverwaltung, glued the locks, threw color and left the graffiti "fingers off the R94 and L14". Rohr manage all of the houses owned by Beulker, landlord of Rigaer94 and Liebig14, therefore he is directly responsible in the case of an eviction. Fight and defend autonomous spaces!"

### \*\*\*\*Surveillance company cars set ablaze

"End with Big Sister! Two cars of the company Lipinsky have been torched on 29.5 night. Lipinsky is a company involved in telecommunication and surveillance issues. They offer advices, projectizing, installation, care-taking from surveillance systems: video surveillance, remote control, alarm systems,

mobile surveillance-robots and more. All such small or bigger playgames for capitalists make us puking during our daily life. We attacked Lipinsky because we do not want a society where each movement is going to be under control. Towards a borderless freedom of movement and against the controlwahn and exclusion poliic of capitalists. No control! No surveillance! Freespaces in all the world! Smash all cameras everywhere!!! No secure house for the dominants!"

### \*\*\*\*O2-Screen made nicer

"The "O2 screen" at the Wahrschauer Bridge has been made nicer by some paintbombs, exactly on its inauguration date!"

# \*\*\*\*Loft-complex got attacked

"Such a thing comes from such a thing! Again it happened to the windows of a luxury-complex in construction, this time "Carloft" in the Liegtnitzerstr. (Kreuzberg). "It was very easy", decidely affirms Carlo from the group "bonzenpack wegscheppern", "they have so much fear about their cars, that they even want to lift them up with a lift directly into their apartments (ndt. in this loft one can bring his/her own car up in front of the apartment...)".

You can imagine, who has some spare money for such a thing. "In the case that they will win space here around, we can soon prepare our luggage's and we are not ready for this at all!". We stay all! Freedom instead of capitalism!"

# \*\*\*\*Surveillance company cars set alight

"End with Big Sister! Two cars of the company Lipinsky have been torched on 29.5 night. Lipinsky is a company involved in telecommunication and surveillance issues. They offer advices, project management, installation, care-taking of surveillance systems: videosurveillance, remote kontrolle, alarm systems and mobile surveillance-robots. All such small or bigger playgames for capitalists make us puking during our daily life. We attacked Lipinsky because we do not want a society where each movement is going to be under control.

Towards a borderless freedom of movement and against the controlwahn and exclusion poliic of capitalists. No control! No surveillance! Freespaces in all the world! Smash all cameras everywhere!!! No secure house for the dominants!"

# A hot summer... of revolt

While most people try to enjoy their holidays, the temperature inside the cells of the Belgian democracy hasn't lowered. For two years now, prisoners break the routine of the incarceration machine, with collective and individual revolts. occupations. last escapes...The facts spoke themselves once more. At the beginning of July, an uprising broke out in the closed asylum centre of Steenokkerzeel, one of the real camps from where the State deports those who are not wanted. Five recalcitrant prisoners were put a bag over their heads by the Special Intervention Squad and were spread to other camps. In the middle of July, two prisoners crawled upon the roof of the closed asylum centre of Merksplas to protest against the circumstances inside the centre. Meanwhile two wings of the centre revolted. Two police charges crushed the revolt. The same day, a prisoner in Turnhout jail set fire to his cell which damaged the whole corridor. Five days later, two young prisoners retained a guard in Leuven prison. They demanded freedom. After they had let her go, they barricaded themselves in the library and lit fire. A raid by the Special Intervention Unit restored the order. Both guys were moved to Leuven's second prison and put in isolation. On the last day of July, prisoners of the Merksplas prison refused to return to their cells. Some were armed with knives and sticks and barricaded themselves in a wing. They destroyed the prison furniture and set fire to the barricade, causing smoke damage to the whole wing. At night time, the Special Intervention Team managed to overpower them and the riot cops restored order.

Facing so much liberating violence, the State remained very quiet while they let their lackeys start another indoctrination scene. Rebellious prisoners are hostage takers, blackmailers, violent, lunatics, and, why not terrorists. Even though the heat of alienation and exploitation tries to confuse our intellectual capacity, some questions suffice to understand what it's all about.

### WHO ARE THE HOSTAGE TAKERS?

All the newspapers headlines 'hostage taking of guards' while covering the action of the two prisoners from Leuven. But what is a

prison other than a permanent hostage taking of thousands of people by the State? What are the judges other than the hostage takers receiving blood money from their masters? The demand from the biggest hostage taker, the State, towards the hostages and the rest of the population is very simple; accept your part in the system. Accept that you will always have to work to make the rich even richer, accept that misery and subjection is your faith. Accept that in life, there are winners and losers. The winners are those who, protected by laws and police, make money on our backs. The losers are we who the system constantly tries to force to accept this world. And losers we will remain as long as we don't stand up and fight. As every prisoner knows very well, the only way to keep your head high and remain yourself inside the grey walls of democracy, is to take up confrontation with the prison authorities, in thousand-and-one means the revolt provides us with

# WHO ARE THE LUNATICS?

The rebels who climbed on the roof of the deportation camp of Merksplas and the interned rebels who lit the prison infrastructure with the fire of freedom, were portrayed as 'lunatics'. But are the 'lunatics' not just those who try to sell us a life of television and boredom? Aren't the 'lunatics' just those who destroy our environment with their office buildings, their High Speed Trains, their nuclear plants, their unliveable house blocks? Aren't the 'lunatics' those who expose us daily to the harmful radiations of mobile phone pylons and wireless internet connections, to the poisonous emissions of their chemical factories? But their 'insanity' is not blind, it is rational: the well thought and purposeful planning of the deadly project of gaining more and more profit.

### WHO ARE THE BLACKMAILERS?

The new magic word of those in power is to qualify the conflict that takes place in the different kinds of prisons and in the streets as 'blackmail'. A conflict, in which the rebels do not restrict themselves to the democratic rules of the game that are made to maintain the existing order, is 'blackmail'. The

occupation of several cranes in Brussels to the deportation machine according to the politicians, just 'blackmail'. Social struggle can never be blackmail or terrorism, the blackmailers are elsewhere. It's the banks that suck us dry with loans we need to survive. It's the bosses who threaten us with possible dismissal if we don't accept their tyranny. It's the State that blackmails us with prison sentences if we don't arrange ourselves to her thirst for domination. The powerful of this world know very well that, when this blackmail gets broken by those who don't take it anymore, something is at stake for them. In such moments, we find back the strength that is hidden within ourselves: only through social struggle and revolt, the blackmails of this world loose their enchantment.

### WHO ARE THE VIOLENT ONES?

In Belgium, every year, 200 people die on their work place. Every year, dozens of prisoners die behind bars or during deportations. Every year, dozens of people get shot by the cops, like recently in the city of Charleroi. At least the third time in six months, a car thief got executed by the police with several bullets in the head. The daily violence of the State, authority and capitalism knows no boundaries. When they portray our revolt as 'violent', it only makes us smile. When they claim that social struggle is 'terrorism', we see through them, we know that they say this to present their terrorism this system of money, prisons, police, borders, internment, misery,...- as the best of possible worlds. Far away from the illusion that things will change by begging to

politicians, by voting, by formulating demands and handing over petitions, we put forward that the social struggle will only become ours when we decide for ourselves how we want to shape it. By organising outside of unions, political parties and institutions, by choosing how we want to hit the enemy outside the categories of 'legal' and 'illegal'. Opposing the violence of this system, we put forwards the revolt in all its forms. That's why it fills us with joy when prisoners burn their cells, saw through the bars and try to escape, when they refuse to say any longer 'Thank you boss' to the uniform that locks their cell day after day.

We have to refuse everywhere possible the blackmails of this system and fight the terrorism based on dominance and exploitation. May not one single revolt stay isolated within the prison walls, behind the barbed wire of closed asylum centres, behind the fences of a factory on strike, within the boundaries of a rebellious neighbourhood, in the cabin of a crane!

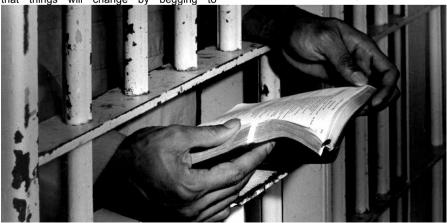
# SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLE AGAINST ALL PRISONS AND DEPORTATION CAMPS

### FREEDOM FOR ALL

# NO WALL HIGH ENOUGH FOR THE REBELLION NO ENEMY TOO WELL PROTECTED AGAINST THE REVOLT

[Pamphlet distributed in different parts of Brussels, translated from La Cavale n 14, November 2008]

www.escapeintorebellion.info



# "A BALL BOUNCES BACK WITH FULL FORCE..."

This text was written because of the process concerning the detention circumstances of Farid Bamouhammad. Farid was transferred to the isolation section of Bruges last summer, this in clear line up with their entire strategy. The Belgian state built the isolation especially for prisoners with section "strongly expanded misbehaviour". And what the spectacle calls misbehaviour, is in reality an ongoing conflict with the prison; a conflict that expresses itself against its guards and its infrastructure. Farid has now spend 25 years in different Belgian prisons, a great part of which in isolation. Recently a book of his writing appeared, in which he accuses the detention circumstances in various prisons. In the spring of 2008 the torture and isolation he suffered in the prison of Lantin reached its peak. In June the state had to correct itself while a judge decided that the torture of Lantin had to come to an end, and that Farid had to be transferred to an average size prison. After a short stay in the prison of Leuven to lower the tempers, he was anyway transferred to the dungeons of Bruges. The appeal against that decision was on Monday February 6th in Liege.

The verdict is expected to be at March 10th. Farid was presented to the judge accompanyed by some masked and heavily armed cops of the anti-riot unit COBRA, and he spoke. He spoke about the madness of the detention circumstances in the isolation section, and finished with "This cannot be about improvement anymore; this has just got to stop".

# "A BALL BOUNCES BACK WITH FULL FORCE..."

"In the mid evil centuries they threw people like me in the forgetting well. Nowadays the same happens, only you won't die of starvation. I feel like a laboratory where people like to test how far they can go."

Ashraf Sekkaki, from the isolation section of Bruges, November 2008

"All this, as well as this place that freezes you, that exhausts you and destroys you, made me expel myself with grieve, full of discontent. This place that looks like a concentration camp, a correction facility institute or a laboratory where I serve as a test rabbit. But I got out of it, and remain as good and as bad as I can stoical, imperturbable against this cutting, oppressive and lawless system. I remain and I am like a straw that bends sometimes out of despair, but straightens itself quickly."

Farid Bamouhammad from isolation section of Bruges, January 2008

The prison is nothing more than a reflection of the society in which we live. A society that resembles a great prison in which the majority of the population are locked up because of the necessity to find money, because of the lack of perspective in life, because of roles such as "housewife" that were imposed by the ruling values. Just like in the street there are people in the prisons, psychiatric institutions, detention centres who do not come to peace with this, that do not burry a certain taste for freedom, for a better life, because the judge imposes that.

People that refuse the humiliation every day to obey the guards and chiefs.

For whom the walls and the barbwire of the prisons are not yet marked in their brains, and rather observe them as obstacles that have to be overcome. Because the punishment society gave them,





through its judges, only is a reflection of a world that is based on the power of money and obey.

Since three years a small storm of revolt blows through the tens of Belgian prisons and detention centres. By rising up, by burning the prisons infrastructure, by attacking guards, by escaping, some prisoners found back what the system tried to take from them period: courage, a desire for freedom, a rebellion that dreams of finishing with at least a part of the mess this society brings.

The state will build seven new prisons to temper also this rage and to lock up more people that, with the ever sharpening exploitation possibilities, would no longer accept the laws of the powerful and the rich. And for the fighting prisoners the state recently opened two isolation sections in the prisons of Bruges and Lantin, real prisons within the prisons, cages of white torture, to finish with those whose hearts bring them rather to revolt than to peace?

These sections are compiled of ten cells, which look like freezers, in which the prisoners are locked up for 23 to 24 hours per day. In a cage of a few square metres, they are "walked". Inside the cells hardly any materials are allowed. A special and temporary approval is required for using for instance a ballpoint. At night the lights are turned on frequently. The cells itself are sound isolated. These places look like moratoria, in which the state wants to finish with those that want to disturb the well oiled detention machine where people are being broken.

In the last months the prisoners who are currently locked in these cages revolted several times by destroying the very little that is there (the lights for instance) inside the cells. Every time, the guards called for the anti-riot unit of the federal police, which are permanently located near the prison. They come with sticks, shields, pepper spray and dogs to control the rebellious spirits. These acts of revolt show that even in the most repressive situation there are people who refuse to adjust, to disavow themselves, to shape after the despicable authority.

With building these cells, the state attempts to sweep away every critique in word and act by the use of white torture and tries to break every individual that chooses the path of holding their head up high. rather than hide behind the masses, thinking to so restrict the whiplashes of repression and oppression. To obstruct those deadly plans we have to emphasize the critique on the prison and the world that needs it. The critique on the prison becomes real, when it becomes capable of clarifying of what she exists and who accomplish in her tracks. In that sense we will not forget that Hans Meurisse, general director of the prison facilities in Belgium, decides who is put in these isolation sections. We will not forget that the prison directors Jurgen van Poecke. Sybille Haesebrouck and Ronny Vandecandelaere control the prison and maximum-security unit of Bruges. We will not forget the guards who do the dirty job to make this hell machine work and who are proud of their uniforms. We will not forget the judges and the entire magistrate that impose the imprisonment of thousands. We will not forget who make a fat profit by cooperating with the construction and maintaining of the prisons. Because forgetting is the waiting room for submission.

Some lovers of freedom

"They forget that the endurance of people is not endless. They could end up in a painful situation. A ball that you try to keep under water comes back above with full power." Ashraf Sekkaki, november 2008.

# <u>to end with<sup>the</sup>image</u> of<sup>the</sup>anti-prison struggle

It's a well known topic. Revolutionaries have always been confronted with it and will probably always be.

It's about the tension between the analysing of the reality of the struggle and the methods of organization and struggle that you make your own. And about the evidence that almost every method of organization that is not based on reciprocal knowledge, affinity and informality ends with producing a caricature and stimulating certain detrimental behaviours. Even more, it is impossible to separate the question of organisation from the content of a specific project or perspective.

It's in this much schematised order that we want to clarify some of our choices and ideas. We don't intent to point the finger towards comrades or to deny certain dynamics' natural development (meaning time, experiences and mistakes). On the other hand, we're only deceiving ourselves if we wouldn't dare to criticise certain problematic realities within what one could call, with some good will, the 'anarchist movement'. Maybe we differ ideas with a number of comrades that struggle on the same terrain (prison in all its forms) and then it's good that these differences find their expression. On this theme, a series of texts and critiques have circulated that inspired us in the development of our project. We hope that the different comrades, each of them in his context and with her ideas, can use these experiences and considerations to sharpen their project.

It's not a coincidence that the social ice age that we're living at the moment, also has its consequences within the anarchist movement. Seen the lack of clear perspectives and lost force to "storm the heavens", it's almost logical that a part of the movement is reduced/reduces itself to a form of cheap folklore. One of the terrains where this misery flourishes abundantly is that of the struggle against prison. It seems to have become one of the chosen terrains to surround oneself with an aureole of radicalism and importance. Usually, certainly for those that aspire for a little more than easily consumable solidarity declarations, the emptiness and lack of perspective festers out quickly. It's very easy to give the image to the inside that you're 'active', because prisoners happen to have less means to grasp what is happening outside, to put it in the context and to possibly oppose it. This image suffices to gain credit of other comrades while, in reality, contact with imprisoned comrades are not maintained, real will to fight against prison is lacking (or is almost extinct after so many negative experiences and so much pose instead of real struggle), promises are made but not kept and necessary continuity is lacking (prisoners are most of the time a little longer imprisoned than for some months). While promising logos continue to flourish abundantly, some take their conclusions.

The so-called struggle against prison sometimes resembles more a sort of anti-repression activism. Information has become the only goal and the diffusers of information are the guardians of solidarity. And this information loses more and more of its meaning, because there's made use of less and less. It's not being discussed, nor thought about how blows against comrades could be forged to an intensification of the struggle. The only thing that seems to matter is the diffusing of the information that stands on itself and there, the logos also flourish abundantly. One repressive story follows the next, the blow against the movement is consumed as a spectacle with only spectators and the imprisoned comrades are often detached of their struggle context and ideas.

Solidarity cannot be reduced to the 'spreading of information'. We understand solidarity as a permanent attempt or tension to on the one hand continue the struggle of the imprisoned comrades and

on the other hand to actively involve prisoners in discussions, in struggles outside,... To use a slogan which content has been so eroded in many 'anti-prison milieus': "Our solidarity is not charity". Indeed, our solidarity is based on a shared revolt, shared ideas, shared perspectives. That's for us the starting point and one of the only ways to fight against the isolation that the State tries to impose on certain comrades.

From this angle, the question of 'political' and 'social' prisoners could be undermined. It's not enough to proclaim that there wouldn't be a difference. The only criterion that we want to use for our solidarity is whether we share something of revolt or ideas with certain prisoners (detained for revolutionary or survival practices). In this sense, we made the choice not to twist and turn in order to express specific solidarity with imprisoned members of authoritarian groups or famous 'criminals' which criticisable aspects are persistently put aside. We think that the choice to base solidarity on shared revolt offers more than other choices the possibility of putting forward in a clear way the anarchist perspective of the destruction of prison and its world. Not only towards other prisoners, but also towards oppressed and excluded in the street.

While some circles' demagogy of 'political prisoners' makes us puke ever more, on the anarchist side, it sometimes seems to incline towards the contrary. Every prisoner that rebels is put on a pedestal and gets the etiquette with 'social rebel'. This is a logical consequence of the detrimental mentality of not leaving from an own, autonomous perspective, but attempting to obstinately discover 'subjects' everywhere. We try to develop a struggle of our own, even with few, with a clear basis and practice. We no longer want to fool ourselves by putting etiquettes no matter where. Moreover, this image that is given of certain prisoners impeaches any real discussion, so any development of a shared perspective. Prisoners are made to something that is put above us and to the inside we send a complete falsified image of the outside movement's determination and strength. In this way, we're not only deceiving imprisoned comrades, butm first of all ourselves. The result is bitterness and aversion, inside and outside.

Finally, we also think that we should do everything to avoid that the struggle against prison and solidarity with imprisoned comrades is detached from other struggles. We have to look for possibilities and occasions to insert the question of prison in other struggles and vice versa. Concretely, it has always seemed absurd to not combine the struggle against prison with for example the struggle against detention centres for illegalised people. It puts us in a dead end to, for example, only talk to prisoners about prison, we should also bring up other aspects of dominion, we should talk about everything that includes our anarchist perspective. Even though this can sometimes lead to ruptures (what we wish to do with money is for example not likely to appeal to many thieves). In this sense, we are very aware of the limits of a publication like La Cavale and we take it as a challenge to surmount those limits. On the other hand, La Cavale has always been a – moderate – instrument in our activity around the ongoing agitation in Belgian prisons, because we have never considered counter-information and analyses as an ending point but only as a first step, a start.

We want to continue in the direction that always seemed the most fertile: basing our relations on shared perspectives in relation to the struggle against prison, on real affinity, and not on an image that keeps eroding itself irrevocably. That's why we've decided to stop using the logo Anarchist Black Cross. We see this not as a step backwards or a step back but as a step forward to further deepen and sharpen our project, a project that is directed towards prison and its world and that connects with the agitation in Belgian prisons and the every day struggle of imprisoned comrades.

Ex-"Anarchist Black Cross Antwerp"

Contact for further correspondence and discussion:

Boîte postale 187 Rue du progrès 80 1210 Brussels uitbraak@gmail.com



# At feathers drawn D.I.Y. anarchist infoshop

- a place where you can get the pamphlets/books/zines/@info-propaganda... also various benefit stuff like T-shirts/patches/pins/ videos/music for as cheap as possible or for free...
- a place where you can borrow anarchist literature for free.
- a meeting place
- a part of the Autonoom Center de Noodzaak

\*\*\*\*\*the project is strictly D.I.Y. and noncommercial/profit, so we would like you to keep in mind that no copyright/barcode/NGO/or any kind of government supported materials (or financial support of this kind) are welcome.

(if you don't understand why this is, there is allot of anarchist literature explaining this in infoshop).

\*\*\*\*\*the project is still in development and if you gain affinities to this kind of approach any help and support is welcome.

- you can help in many ways: by donating literature for library / or by donating money for printing and getting new materials / also if you want to help to run the space by spending your time and making the space available to the people... or if you have any other idea how to help don't hesitate...
- also if you can donate a computer for an internetcafe, it would be great

\*\*\*\*\*if you make a zine / run a publishing project / run infoshop-infotheke-library / run a distro... feel free to contact us.

- there are for sure the ways we can help each others.

\*\*\*\*\*this is a public / autonomous space, so if you are a part of a group that needs a place for meetings, or as an individual you think you have a need to use this kind of space, don't hesitate, get in contact, and we will see what we can do...

\*\*\*\*\*any kind of authoritarian/sexist/macho/fascist attitude or behavior is not welcome and will not be tolerated.

\*\*\*\*\*the infoshop is open to the public every thurseday 19.00. - 22.00. o'clock (even later if there is need) / or if there is any other public happenings in ACdeNoodzaak at any other day and there are people willing to make it open.

at\_feathers\_drawn@net.hr

[deNoodzaak

http://denoodzaak.tk/noodzaak@yahoo.com Gérard Willemotlaan 69 / 9030 / Mariakerke / Gent / Belgium



One part of this society has every interest in continuing to rule, the other in it all collapsing as soon as possible.

Deciding which side one is on is the first step.

But resignation, the basis of agreement between the parts (improvers of the existent and its false critics) is everywhere, even in our own lives? the authentic place of the social war? in our desires and resoluteness, just as in our little daily submissions. With all this it is necessary to draw daggers,

to finally draw daggers with life.



the leaflet originally circulated in dutch, translated to english

# ists?

The living conditions, every day more unbearable, which are imposed on us, rely on fear. Fear of not having a job and of not making ends meet at the end of the month. Fear of the police, fear of prison. Because at its foundation, the baton and its acceptance are what quarantee social relations.

In this world upside down, terrorism is not forcing billions of human beings to survive under unacceptable conditions; it's not poisoning the earth. It's not continuing a scientific and technological research which everyday further subjugates our lives, penetrates our bodies and modifies nature in an irreversible way. It's not imprisoning and deporting human beings because they don't have an adequate little scrap of paper. It's not killing and mutilating at work for the enrichment to infinity of the bosses. All that is called economy, civilization, democracy, progress, public order.

Politics is in reality the art of disguising facts by changing words. Their planetary scale "war on terror" is just a propaganda weapon to legitimize all exterior military aggression and all interior repression.

In a mirror effect, the State wants all of us to be obliged to be the reflection of what comes out of its dirty authoritarian mouth. Friendships, affinities and the sharing of a same idea of freedom become an "association of malefactors in relation to a terrorist enterprise". The links woven within struggles become an "anarchoautonome tendency". A smoke-bomb becomes a bomb.

And yet, to organize yourself is not necessarily constituting an Organization, just like a strike is not a hostage-taking. An attack against a bank, a prison, an office of the National Employment Agency, an election office, a detention centre, or an act of sabotage against the circulation of trains or the machinery in a factory, is not "terrorism". An abyss separates those who insurge for freedom and those who strike out randomly to defend, consolidate or conquer power, namely the States and their competitors, the bosses, their mercenaries and their laboratories of death.

In this social war which unfolds at work as in the street, at night as in the day, the enemy is every individual who puts an obstacle in the way of the radiant march of capital.

May each one, in the manner that one estimates is most adequate, oppose the terrorism of the State and its totalitarian democracy. We will not undergo this declaration of war with our heads down.

MAY <sup>THE</sup> BEST <sup>OF</sup> WORLDS DIE!

Economy -- the domination of survival life -- is essential for over maintenance of all other of forms domination. Without the threat of scarcity, it would be difficult to coerce people into obedience to the daily routine of work and pay. We were born into an economized world. The social institution of property has made scarcity a daily threat. Property. whether private or communal, separates the individual from the world, creating a situation in which, rather than simply taking what one wants or needs, one is supposed to ask permission. permission generally only granted in the form of economic exchange. In this way, different levels of poverty are guaranteed to everyone, even the rich, because under the rule of social property what one is not permitted to have far exceeds what one is permitted to have. The domination of survival over life is maintained.

Those of us who desire to create our lives as our own recognize that this domination, so essential to the maintenance of society, is an enemy we must attack and destroy. With this understanding, theft and squatting can take on significance as part of an insurgent life project. Welfare scamming, eating at charity feeds, dumpster diving and begging may allow one to survive without a regular job, but they do not

in any way attack the economy: they are within the economy. Theft and squatting are also often merely survival tactics. Squatters who demand the "right to a home" or try to legalize their squats, thieves who work their "iobs" like any other worker, only in order to accumulate more worthless commodities - these people have no interest in destroying the economy...they merely want a fair share of its goods. But those who squat and steal as part of an insurgent life do so in defiance of the logic of economic property. Refusing to accept the scarcity imposed by this logic or to bow to the demands of a world they did not create. such insurgents take what they desire without asking anyone's permission whenever the possibility arises. In this defiance of society's economic rule, one takes back the abundance of the world as one's own -- and this is an act of insurrection. In order to maintain social control, the lives of individuals have to be stolen away.

In their place, we received economic survival, the tedious existence of work and pay. We cannot buy our lives back, nor can we beg them back. Our lives will only be our own when we steal them back -- and that means taking what we want without asking permission.

by feral faun / from Willfull Disobedience #2



# when shall we begin this dance

Invitations were made. To dance together. Coming from different parts, maybe the same of always. Invitations to the ones who never stopped and don't wish to stop, in the face of all the attacks against the rebels who know no authorities.

Invitations for a new effort, for a new storm on the heavens.

Invitations that arrived at different parts, and that are being replied. We too desire to dance. With you. And you. And also you. As long as we can; as long as we have any breath left; as long as we desire to dance together.

Because it never worried us to dance alone, but we want to dance with you and want you to dance with us, comrades. In this dancing that we started when we felt that our freedom is impossible in this context. As long as we don't destroy the existent, opening up infinite possibilities.

Because anarchy... we don't see it as a future goal, but as something we want to live here and now. Because we see it not as a new society, not as a new state, not as one big union, not as a new equilibrium... anarchy is not order...

We see it as moments we live and moments that we want to live, time and time again. As free individuals. With each other, with whom we want and with whom wants us. Because the most beautiful dances are those which take us to a chaos... of people and exaggerated actions... and emotions...

The best dancers in the world dance without rules. They follow the music they have in the hearts.

Anarchy is not order.

And so we dance; and yes, on the ruins of this society. Every time we can. As long as we have any strength left.

Because the attack was never a whim, but a necessity.

The destruction was never something secondary, but the inevitable step for us to dance in the unknown. For brief moments. In tension.

To those who claim to build alternatives in this rotten world, good luck. We'll be elsewhere, trying to destroy. Everything. Also your alternatives.

And then... we'll see. Each one of us will decide.

We go on searching for comrades, in this marvelous rebellion for the freedom of each one of us.

Nothing is granted, and that's what makes us move. It's the certainty of that which we don't want that makes us take a step, "even though the arrival is uncertain"... The goal is not far away, it is already in the way we try to reach it. As free individuals.

The invitations were made. We accept them, and reach out our hands.

When shall we begin this dance?

a few dancers in Lisbon



- 4 Insurrection
- 5 Notes on Insurrectionary Anarchism
- 8 Individual projectuality and affinity
- 10 Solidarity is a Weapon
- 12 G€NTRIFI©ATION MON\$T€R
- 16 Thoughts on the City
- 20 the wonderful little world of Köpi
- 22 "all squats must go"
- 24 berlin in Flames
- 29 A hot summer... of revolt
- 31 "a ball bounces back...
- 33 to end withtheimage
- 36 Who are the terrorists?
- 37 steal back your life
- 38 when shall we begin this dance

there are some links previously mentioned inside the zine, but i'll stress few more in here.

links worth of checking, for updated informations on social struggles, and angry news around the globe, but also about upcoming events and ongoing discussions.

all of them leading also to other interesting sites, but don't waste too much time on internet. we need you in real world. don't forget there's war going on!

directactionde.blogspot.com directactiongr.blogspot.com confrontation.wordpress.com bombsandshields.blogspot.com anarchiststrategy.blogspot.com zinelibrary.info

zinelibrary.info
www.alphabetthreat.co.uk/elephanteditions
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www.greenanarchy.org
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also any comments / critics / proposals are more than welcome.

it is really questionable if the new issue ever sees the daylight, but any texts and materials that you think could be useful to it are more than welcome. maybe that will be an extra motivation

It goes without saying that the copy will be sent on request to those in the clutches of State repression.

terra\_incognita@whoever.com

