



For Mutual Aid
& Solidarity

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Letters from imprisoned anarchists in Greece

*Letter from
Kostas Sakkas*

Kostas Sakkas and Alexandros Mitrousias were imprisoned on December 7th 2010, for allegedly being part of a "terrorist organization". Mitrousias was sent to Patras prison and Sakkas to Navplio. Four other people remain indicted under investigation. Firearms found in the possession of the two comrades did not prove to have been used in any "terrorist" actions according to all ballistic and forensic reports.

3/1/11

Because of the global economic crisis, which is a consequence of the bankruptcy of the capitalist model and neo-liberal economic policies of the western states and governments in particular, the biggest and most massive attack on the general population of the world, and mainly on the societies having the "weakest" links in the Eurozone of the new economically third world, is unleashed by large international (and not only) Capital.

The structural changes and austerity measures that are imposed by the mechanisms of support onto the "ill" economies, so that they achieve their "cleansing", have as a target and result the change of the world's economic governance, with terms even more favourable for the bosses.

For the bosses that are outside but also inside the national borders. For the bosses that express the large and small Capital. As in the case of Greece, the economy of a country that is included in the mechanism of support and applied austerity measures, has as a result the depreciation of labour and its labour potential.

And this happens in the large also the small enterprises. In the enterprises with foreign, but also in those with local interests.

The privatisation and the selling off of public fortune and beneficial public enterprises, which never really belonged to the Greek people and who never really exploited money from them, is not accidental. It does not depend on their sale, neither is it determined according to the terms of the memorandum, by the reduction of the deficit of the economy and the prices of the percentages of the GDP, as it could in some way be considered reasonable, but from whether it could pay-off the loans Greece has received, as now the Greek state is sinking continuously more and more into the mechanisms of the worldwide loan-sharks (International Monetary Fund, European Central Bank).

The otherwise awkward economic position to which the country has devolved to, is not so awkward for private Capital, but a investment opportunity so big, that it is hard for someone to believe that the handling of the government against the mechanisms of 'support' and the unconditional acceptance of the memorandum, is accidental. On the contrary it has been confirmed that the domestic bosses profit by the same economic situations with the international ones and their interests - at least economically- are in common.

The biggest part of society, maybe doesn't perceive the economic crisis in the terms of the world market, the role of the stock exchanges, the frauds and the relation of Euro and Dollar, however it clearly perceives the "crisis" of the Greek debt, that became a crisis of borrowing, which is translated into a memorandum, so that means cuts on wages, pensions, and benefits.

The attack on labour and welfare rights, the reduction of public spending and benefits, the increase of taxes, unemployment and general living standards, in connection with existential poverty, is immediately perceptible and very rapidly galloping.

However the anti-memorandum convulsion of the media that is so important for the maintenance of social "peace" in the sovereignty of the system, as much as an anaesthetist in a critical operation, cannot cleanse the corrupted operation of the State before the memorandum and the integration of the country to the mechanism of monitoring (structured bonds, empty insurance funds, "black holes", economic scandals, pay-offs etc.) and mainly it cannot render the Greek society free, while its biggest section, is under a hostage regime, not since the arrival of the Troika*, but from long before, since the Greek state existed and from the national bosses first of all.

The austerity measures and the orders of the memorandum that are imposed, cancel in practice the constitution itself. This has as a result the obliteration of every false conviction of the social character of the State, a thing that creates inevitably the prospect of a mass reflective social revolt.

Spontaneous, reflective, without ideological-political characteristics in its majority; however a revolt. For those that fight for the assault and destruction of the State and its structures, is a challenge. One more front for the disturbance of its orderly operation. The unprecedented abstention from the last municipal elections, taking into consideration the polls in which doubt dominates and the vote for "no one", the mass strikes and mobilizations with violent and aggressive characteristics, the lynching of various

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*(Tri-State' government of IMF, EU & ECB which is now running the economy.)

political people of every party mechanism in the street, are simply a sample of the mood of what's to follow.

For those that take into practice the side of the multiform struggle for revolution and the creation of a prospect for it. For those that fight the sovereignty of the State and the bosses, but also the submission that this presupposes for its existence. For those that fight eternally, beyond periods, seasons and economic situations, against all power and their representatives, whatever side of the social field its expressed by and reproduced, whether its from the side of the powerful, or from the side of the weak through consenting, every crisis cannot be anything other than another reason, another occasion for struggle, against Capital, large and small, against the powerful Euro but also the underestimated Drachma [previous unit of Greek currency], against foreign but also domestic bosses, the hostage situation of the exterior mechanisms but also internal mechanisms of exploitation.

FIGHT AGAINST STATE AND CAPITAL FOR REVOLUTION, FREEDOM AND SOCIAL AUTONOMY.

From 10/12/10, I am another hostage of the democratic regime and am kept in one of its cells in the correctional shops, of marginalisation, of isolation and vengeance of the State. Where the food is not always enough, but heroin is in excess. Where psychotropic substances are more than what is in the warehouses of hospitals. Where the disciplinary sentences are in daily provision and heating is a luxury. Where the presence of rodents, bugs and cockroaches is frequent, contrary to that of sanitary. Where in cells that their specifications are for 2 individuals, there's 4 beds and they make 6-7 people sleep, where the correctional code and the rights of the prisoners, are broken constantly and blatantly, but the hi-tech systems of safety and monitoring, work perfectly and the doors of the cells always close on time.

The minister of justice, the public prosecutors and the juridical servants should know, that where they throw people like the waste of society, there exists dignity and solidarity and these neither can be judged nor be jailed.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

Kostandinos Sakkas



Letter from Gerasimos Tsakalos

New letter from one of the imprisoned fighters of the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire, who was arrested in the 1st Nov. 2010 'letter-bombs' case, which was a Cells of Fire operation targeting international embassies, whose governments are responsible for repression against the anarchist movement.

WE HAVE RAGE

On the morning of November 1st we were moving around in the area of Pagkrati, in order to act in the framework of the campaign for international solidarity the organization had decided together with comrade and brother Panagiotis Argirou. Because, however, of the police-like curiosity of an employee of a courier company, certain personal errors and our being surrounded by the pigs of the DIAS group (*motorbike cops*) and other police forces that isolated the area, there was little choice and we were led to the building of GADA (*police headquarters building*) to the floor of the anti-terrorist police.

Despite the fact that my recognition was immediate, since one of the directors of some department amidst kicks and punches, the moment when I was sitting in a stationary position shouted "It's Makis", I denied to give my information for the first few hours, with the hope of gaining precious time in order to help my comrades. We refused to have our fingerprints taken, photographs, DNA and generally we refused to sign anything or to help in the least these pigs, holding the obvious attitude that every revolutionary should have.

The interrogation began with the usual offensive comments. That were decreased temporarily when they noticed a tattoo that I have with the word "Conspiracy", which made them change their attitude. Knowing that they would try to take photographs to publicize it, I sat with my head bent down in order to avoid it. Then pretending that they would transport me to the detention room, they took me out to the corridor of the 12th floor where, pulling my head, they told me to watch where I'm going. At that time I was photographed by the camera that was in the corridor. It is the photograph that was published after our arrest.

So began an interrogation that lasted roughly 3 days which fluctuated depending on what was happening outside. Annoyed by the constant repetition of my answer "I have nothing to declare" they began provoking me again with offences and provocations about individuals that I knew, or not. The interrogations took place in two rooms, and in one of the two, where I had communication with my lawyer and my mother, an officer of the anti-terrorist brigade informed me on the last day that they were both rooms with microphones and cameras.

As for my DNA, after the arrest, my socks were immediately confiscated for the corresponding sample, while even during my transport, while they had my head pressed down, somebody with surgical gloves forcefully pulled hair from my head, again for a DNA sample. Their stress and anxiety increased, seeing our negative attitude to their questions, while at the same time outside the incendiary parcels continued to be delivered to the recipients, according to the plan of the organization. The threats increased, – they talked about killing me on Imitos mountain and they would throw me from the window in the case that there was a problem with some plane. Obviously they meant the plane that was landed in Italy because of the [explosive] parcel for [Italian Prime Minister] Berlusconi.

Their rambling continued about my supposed presence during recent times in nightclubs, and that they had located me from there, that the employee of the courier company had died from the parcel and other inconsistencies, trying to make something out of nothing.

All this is not reported from the side of a victim of police violence, since I do not feel at all like this, but in order to transfer some personal experiences, so if a fighter has an "unlucky" moment, to have a better picture of the situation that they will face. The threats and the violence from the side of the cops is something expected and comprehensible as basic characteristics of their role. Moreover, thousands of prisoners have suffered severe torture in local police stations everywhere, that makes their behaviour towards me civilized. We do not ask for a better police or for their humanization, but its absolute destruction through the choice of continuous attack.

There are no good and bad police officers, they are only cops and Revolutionary Organizations should always attack them with all means.

I am a member of the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire, I belong to the anarchist-revolutionary movement and I am proud of it. I represent a new tendency, Revolutionary Nihilism and Anarchist Anti-socialism. I believe that power is not only the laws, the police, the judges, the prisons, the politicians. Not that this administration is innocent of responsibilities. The exact opposite. All these individuals that hold positions of power are a pile of creeps, liars, frauds, sadists, who take a series of devastating decisions for all of us. This fact is undeniable. Who, however, votes them? Who respects them by bowing their head? Who admires them and wants to be like them, either himself, or his children? Who keeps quiet in front of these gross injustices they commit? The answer is one. **SOCIETY.** It selected them, it gave them the power to take decisions on its behalf. And if we accept that everyone is entitled to a mistake, continuously making the same tragic mistake, to me seems deliberate. So, although the crowds often complain when it comes to their salaries, nevertheless they accept (and sometimes seek) the tyrannical commands of authority. **They allow it to spy on the city with cameras, equip the army with new weapon systems, fill the streets with cops, give orders through the TV screens, when it would be enough to just say No. One loud, decisive and practical no. No to oppression, no to exploitation, no to compromise.**

However, most hide their resentment in machismo expressed through acts of roadrage and domestic violence, hiding their cowardice and their unwillingness to take their life into their own hands. This is something that I do not tolerate. This resignation from life. **This is why I declare myself as an Anarchist Anti-socialist.**

Because I consider that what should be put under constant challenge are social relations themselves, as they have been developed today. I reject through action and criticism the crowd that supports and depends on these alienated relations.

I am an enemy of the regime and society itself in its existing form. The faith in the majority of the oppressed, in the "acquittal" of their passivity and the recognition of them as a revolutionary subject asleep given the oppression that exists, does not cover us any more.

Of this total mass, we must through our speech and our action strike at the characteristics of submission that dominate it, so as to create the minorities that will deny the values of the dominant culture through Revolutionary Conscience and Ethics. Only through dignity, pride, and honour can we reach the theoretical rigour in choices of action.

Self-organization, solidarity and rage arm our desires. The practical theory of the destruction of the existent in all its forms, should become the means that will unite minority subgroups towards a Revolutionary perspective. We wage war against this system and its vassals. We wage war with a society that is characterized by its faith in electoral delusions, by its fear of disorder and in the end by its terror of the step to change to something new, something unpredictable. Petty-bourgeois, proletarians, bourgeois, and immigrants are different subgroups to which power, functioning more insightfully than the cynicism of its oratory possessed in previous decades, offers the possibility of 'social inclusion'. A prospect desirable for many, but feasible for just a few. A prospect which appeases everyone, maintaining faith in systems closely connected to their personal ambitions. Thus, disparate social groups share the same desire to maintain the existent, making it a key characteristic of their choices.

Certainly with the new data of the economic crisis and knowing that it is still at its beginning, we get the sense that now that the privileges of the middle and lower classes are offended, it is again timely to view the proletariat as a revolutionary subject. For us the dominant ideology of the system is economy, that leads a mass of individuals and "offers" them either the promise of plenty of material goods, or the fear of scarcity and poverty. If these negative consequences reserved for the future by the economic crisis bring these minorities closer to the refusal of this system, this is surely something positive.

The review, however, of the last century and the conditions after such crises, as of the economic one we are living these days, shows that temporary dissatisfaction almost never transforms into total refusal and rupture. For this reason we do not seek the diffusion of our words and our action using as a spearhead only the ugliness of the economic situation, something that could be simply a transitional phase of capitalism itself, but we emphasize the ongoing existential poverty, which is a permanent consequence of this world.

We promote a transition to a more total critique and attack on the poverty of communication, artificial feelings, the lack of dignity, the small and big expressions of dominating social relations, the lack of desire to risk seeking and the fear of rupture for a freer life.

We wish to create a revolutionary network of dozens of illegal organizations and individuals, that with continuous attacks and moves will support the diffusion of the new revolutionary guerilla warfare. Away from the taboos that slander means and choices of struggle. The Molotovs, the bombs, the stones, the guns, are simply the means that the subject that uses them gives the characteristics that he chooses. So let's make them ours, and let them become a piece of multiform and diffuse urban guerilla warfare. We do not believe in "experts of violence", in revolutionary pioneers, nor in the hierarchy of means based on legal consequences or fetishism. Conscience and results define the means which you will use on each target. There was, there is and there will continue to be individuals that collectivize their refusals, share experiences, are organized into revolutionary formations, prepare and attack. They totally deny the existing system, risking their life and their freedom for what their conscience and their dignity represents. Diffused guerilla warfare is a method that everyone can become a piece of it and evolve. With conscience, responsibility, disposal and imagination, drawing information and using materials that are in wide circulation, even more effective attacks can be made. The constant upgrading of the material and technical infrastructures is our task, as is the constant theoretical search and the development of revolutionaries and their formations. It is our task to become more reliable, more direct, more targeted and more dangerous. Theory to practice is what we represent and we will be absolutely consistent with it.

Regardless of whether or not there is a prospect of direct mass conflict within the system, we live and act for now. For the satisfaction of our Ego and for the individual materialization of our desires that are collectivized through the infrastructures of diffused revolutionary guerrilla warfare.

We promote the establishment and self-organization of illegal groups with, as a spearhead of their moves, the destruction of material symbols and the representatives of the system. We want, also, to include as an integral piece of the new urban guerrilla warfare, the refusal to work as one more act unbreakably connected with the rest of the choices of struggle. The robbing of banks and capitalist targets, the organized looting in the temples of consumption, the theft of products from super-markets and other large department stores is nothing more than the application of theory to action.

We refuse to live in conditions of wage slavery and we choose another life, that of pillaging the guarded wealth of the banks and the rich, and illegality in a world where unfairness and exploitation is law.

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Letter from Christoforos Kortesis

*Christoforos Kortesis is held hostage accused of membership of the armed group, **Revolutionary Struggle**, of which, Kostas Gournas, Pola Roupa and Nikos Maziotis have claimed responsibility from prison, and called for solidarity and continued struggle. Christoforos never denied being an anarchist or his involvement in social revolutionary struggle and the daily living environment of friendship, but denies responsibility for "membership of terrorist group".*

18/11/10

Seven months after my arrest and the well advertised TV, and not only, delirium of the authorities and the anti-terrorist police, I am still imprisoned for participation in Revolutionary Struggle. I am convinced that my persecution has a clear character, with an obvious target the penalisation of the political movement to which I belong, my comrades and friendly relationships, and at the same time the exemplification and terrorisation of wider parts of society who are already fighting, or will choose to resist, the current economic and social conditions of oppression, imposed with an increasingly intensified pace.

Massive bomb attack against Athens Administrative Court. (Greece)

Conspiracy of Cells of Fire : Commando Horst Fantazzini have taken responsibility for a huge bomb attack against the central Athens court which took place 30 December 2010. The attack was dedicated to **Gerisimos Tsakalos, Panagiotis Argirou and Haris Hajimihelakis**, [Conspiracy of Cells of Fire : Imprisoned Members Cell], as well as to **Giannis Dimitrakis, Giannis Skouloudis** and the **4 wanted comrades** of the same case, **Kostantina Karakatsani, P. Giannou, P. Massouras** and **"to the brilliant criminal minority who do not bow their heads and walk with dignity as their guide"...**

To clarify my position, from the first moment of my arrest I said I am an anarchist. I deny to renounce my political identity and for years now I made a conscious choice to openly participate with hundreds of comrades in all social struggles. I deny renouncing my comrade and friendship -as with many comrades- with the Anarchist fighter Lambros Foundas. The 'strong', 'incriminating' evidence that the prosecution throws against me, is as follows: a fingerprint of mine on a political pamphlet in the house of L. Foundas and an alleged visit to the house of a friend and comrade, co-accused, of mine. My application for release was denied because of the fingerprint mentioned above and one more 'strong piece of evidence': a fingerprint of a co-accused of mine on a 'suspicious' object in my house, a DVD of an American movie.

Since when is it illegal to possess and exchange leaflets with a political anti-authoritarian content? Since when are visits to friends' houses persecuted? What morbid imagination baptises the house I've lived in permanently in Nea Filadelfia, a 'safe-house'? Let's get serious. For those that forgot or for those that don't know, forbidding people to go out after 10pm, or forbidding gathering in groups of 3 or more, to freely distribute pamphlets with a political content, belongs to other regimes, which those as well (accidental? I don't think so) call themselves democratic.

My refusal to give a DNA sample is due solely to my political beliefs and values, and not dictated by any fear to prove my 'guilt', as its being implied. Of course, I refuse to cooperate with the authorities and their repressive mechanisms in their attempt to collect biological (and any other) data with the obvious aims of social control.

At this point I would like to clarify that I am not possessed with the logic of victimisation, since I have no illusions about democracy, neither about the 'fairness' of Justice. As an anarchist, I do not condemn any form of struggle - postering, actions of counter-information, political texts, occupations, protests, dynamic actions, expropriations, urban guerrilla warfare- which historically has been chosen and used by fighting people (anarchists, communists, wider resisting parts of society).

I am not willing to give away to the authorities any information of my personal life and no 'print' of my comradesly relations and my political choices.

And the carousel of the operation is not only about targeting specific people, but ultimately about the concept of comradeship itself, and the wider choices of solidarity. Dozens of comrades from the anti-authoritarian movement are called in as witnesses with always the same reasoning (fingerprints on books, CDs, doors and windows... now in the houses of friends and comrades imprisoned for participation in Revolutionary Struggle) culminating in the indictments of four more people from the friends and even the family of the arrested!

The attack by the Regime- with its current spokesmen the 'anti-authoritarian' PASOK (socialist party) and the fellow governing political parties- of course, is not aimed exclusively at the anarchist movement, but the generalised explosions that are being prepared by wider sections of society, as healthy reactions to the economic misery (wage and pension cuts, degradation of working relationships, thousands of redundancies etc.) and the complete degradation of human dignity. The images of the violent treatment of the strikers, unemployed, protesting workers (like the gathering of workers at the Acropolis and outside government ministries), are neither fragmented actions, or 'unfortunate' incidents of police brutality.

The State arms not only its repressive arms (hundreds of new recruits to the security forces) but also its legal arsenal. How else can you interpret the new anti-terrorist law that qualifies as 'terrorism' even basic trade union actions (with such an obvious target as rank-and-file workers, and not of course the 'militant' GSEE*), the participation in dynamic protests and brings back the anonymous prosecution witnesses- does this remind anyone of those collaborators with the hoods and their fingers stretched out? Who exactly does the infamous 'dogma of security' want to protect with the police filled cities and neighbourhoods, if not the system itself? And who purposely cultivates the fear (e.g. of a coming bankruptcy for which everyone supposedly has a responsibility!) in order to obtain a social consensus insidious plans?

Christoforos Kortesis

Court prisons of Corinthos.

*(*GSEE - National Trade Union Organisation. Dry sarcasm from Christoforos.)*



Text from the 3 imprisoned members of Revolutionary Struggle

Anarchist revolutionaries Kostas Gournas, Pola Roupa and Nikos Maziotis have claimed responsibility whilst imprisoned under investigation for their role in the armed group, Revolutionary Struggle. This is a call for social revolution:

LETS MAKE THE BEGINNING IN GREECE OF A WORLD- WIDE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

"If someone today wants to open a profitable business, they should make guillotines".

With the above phrase an American journalist describes the size of social rage in the USA. It is the first time historically, where the total of the developed capitalist world boils in rage and desperation for the rulers, for those that are to blame for this crisis, which not only are not punished but continue enjoying their privileges and increasing their profits. It stems from the rage at the expanding poverty, at the marginalization of wider and wider parts of society, at the injustice, since the rulers require that the people are sacrificed in order to face the crisis.

This rage is expressed in the last few months with more and more intensity all over Europe. In one European city after another, millions of people go to the streets with the youth in the front line, in order to express their opposition to the hard neo-liberal attack that the rulers have unleashed against the social and labour vested interests. In France because of the social security changes, in England because of the educational measures, in Greece, Italy, Spain, Ireland, demonstrations are turning into revolts. One revolt causes another one and progressively, all over Europe the big social ignition is expected. The phrase "us or them" becomes more and more a common conscience and will become the slogan that will determine the result of the next bigger revolts.

FIGHT THE FASCISTS

It's the first time historically, that in all European countries - and mainly in those that are affected worse by the economic crisis- every day more and more the fascist face of the modern regime is revealed. Because today the fascists are not only the nationalists, those reminiscent of the Nazis, the military coup d'etat and dictatorships. Fascists are also those that govern us, those that possess the social wealth. Fascists are those same "democrats" that possess the power, the political and economic elite. It's those that participate in the executive bodies of political power and the economic organisms, like the IMF (International Monetary Fund). It's these entities that possess the power of money and we meet them in the central banks, like the ECB (European Central Bank) and the FED (Federal Reserve System). Fascists are also those that participate in the major media and that consciously attempt the configuration of consent in the biggest historically social robbery and in the biggest operation to terrorize the people.

In Greece the socialist-fascists PASOK, the government controlled trade unions, such as GSEE (workers trade union), and the major media, that have undertaken with the most blatant way the political cover-up and legalization of political efforts "to rescue the Greek economy", collaborate for the completion of the big crime that is attempted against the social majority in this country. GSEE, under the fear of out of order social reactions, had declared in September that "the policies that are proposed by the memorandum have been applied and there no other obvious alternative solutions", in an attempt to stop the antagonistic mood of the social base and plant defeatism, while the media in Greece have made an almost formidable wall of consent around the governmental policies, repeating the blackmailing dilemma "bankruptcy or austerity", with which the government for roughly a year now has been terrorizing the Greek people.

Fascism in Greece, because the terrible place in which the country has fallen with the economic crisis, has acquired the rawest face, while the international economic and political oligarchy has stepped on the neck of Greek society with the help of its people in the government. The repeated coup d'etats that were caused by the Greek government under the orders of the Troika do not have any support from the social base. The government, as any dictator, is indifferent to the absence of social consent in the criminal plans that it imposes in the name of "national

salvation". It is also indifferent however to the political consent and "by-passes" henceforth the parliament completely, when it is to ratify the detestable memorandums, the agreements and contracts that are dictated by the Troika and which it takes to the Parliament only for "discussion and briefing" and not for voting. Papakonstandinou (Greek finance minister) has been promoted by the dictator (Prime Minister) Papandreou to a supreme authority, since he has been granted with absolute power and his signature is enough to ratify the commands of the economic elite, that are transported via the Troika to Greece for application.

Parliament might have always been the field of ratification of the orders and commands of the economically and politically powerful, the neo-liberal globalization might have essentially abolished it as a field of decision-making regarding the mapping out of a national economic and political strategy -since the real power has passed into the big centres of decisions that are controlled directly by the international elite-, today however it has formally been abolished, since it exists only in order to legalize the governmental coup d'etat, in order to deter the political collapse of the regime. This is why the role of the parties that participate today in the parliament is that of aid and stabilisation of a weak system, because of the crisis and the political devaluation, and they basically support modern fascism.

As for who is really the big power in this land, it was reminded to us by Dominique Strauss-Kahn (Managing Director of the IMF) with his recent visit to Greece and his revealing presence in the Greek parliament, where all the ridiculous politicians dictated, like in an interview, questions for the next policies that the IMF and the rest of the Troika will impose. He admitted that Greece is a guinea-pig for the IMF, since these detestable policies are applied for the first time in a country that is not in the capitalist region, while it brought back memories of the junta of the colonels, when he compared Greece with a patient and himself as a doctor, reminding us of the fascist deliriums of dictator Papadopoulos (Colonel dictator of the junta in Greece 1967-74). Both the presence of Strauss-Kahn as well as that of European delegate Ollie Rehn in the Greek parliament was a reminder of who the big bosses are today.

It has therefore become a conscience for the majority of Greek society that "they are all the same" and this is shouted in the demonstrations, it's shouted in front of the parliament, which has become the red rag (to a bull) in this period for those that participate in the mobilizations. This was also imprinted in the last local elections, which were a hard slap for the political regime and the parties that support it, since the majority turned their back to all of them, with abstention reaching 54% and the invalid votes 10%. The political system is supported henceforth by a social minority, while the governmental policies are

supported by a very small percentage of the Greek population, which in the last local elections did not exceed 10% of the electoral body. If this isn't a junta, then what is? If these aren't dictators, then who are? Regarding the left wing drivers of the system, Synaspismos (Left Coalition) and KKE (Communist Party of Greece), are nothing more than political adventurers that, despite the blatant fascism of the rulers, continue legitimising them in order to not lose their possibility of tasting a little power.

YES TO THE BANKRUPTCY OF THE SYSTEM

Seven months after the subordination of Greece to the power of the Troika, the social fascists of PASOK have accomplished imposing a long series of memorandums, bills and measures in the frames of *"shock-treatment"* that the international economic elite dictate. Wages and pensions are constantly decreasing, the 13th and 14th wage (Christmas and Easter holiday pay) in the public sector are cut, public expenses everywhere are minimized, the age limit for a pension is increased. In only three hours, dictator Papandreu with his ministers reversed labour conquests that took long-lasting and often bloody struggles to win, abolishing the collective contracts and establishing the regime of individualized labour contracts.

This way the bosses are exempted from any restriction in the reduction of wages and redundancies plus the labour conditions soon will begin to compete with those in Asia. Whatever public fortune has not been sold, is being sold now- any activity social or economic that has not been privatized, is privatized now.

This attack on Greek society is for the loan of 110 billion Euros that the government has received from the Troika in order to *"save Greece from bankruptcy"*. However, these neo-liberal recipes not only have not prevented the bankruptcy but bring it closer and closer. Maybe by continuously decreasing the expenses the government seeks the reduction of the deficit, however the economic strangulation that lead to the closure of the enterprises, the redundancies, the wages of hunger and the recession render impossible the increase of income in the government owned funds, a fact that anyone can realize. The unemployment is expected to reach or even exceed 20% by the end of year, the redundancies and the seizures in the enterprises increase, the people in this country that fall under the limit of poverty and those that are marginalized become more and more. The homeless and the poor that resort to the state shelters for a dish of food are so many that the picture of occupied Greece has come alive again.

The *"curing of the patient"* according to the major criminal Strauss-Kahn will come only through the economic and social extermina-

tion of big parts of the population in this country.

What those who have the power are doing one more time is the application of the same recipe that was also used during the big crisis 1930, which had been described by the American minister of finances with the following words: *"We liquidate the excess labour, we liquidate the stocks, we liquidate the farmers, we liquidate the automobile market, we remove the rot from the system"*.

A policy of hard austerity for the *"abstraction of the rot from the system"* or for the *"cure of patient"* according to our modern Strauss-Kahn is the practical application of the same economic tendency. It is the one that is euphemistically named *"economics of offer"* and according to which, the austerity, the reduction of wages, the increase of unemployment lead to the reduction of prices and the increase of demand. Despite the fact that this particular recipe not only does not deter the recession but accelerates it (the same happened 1930, the same is happening today), the *"specialists"* of economic affairs, as the extreme neo-liberal adviser of Papandreu Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa (banker and economist who was Italian Minister of Economy and Finance), claim that *"austerity does not lead to recession"* and insist that these devastating policies *"lead to growth and prosperity"*. as we have said before we don't think they are stupid, that they are simply following a bad policy.

The reduction of the deficit is basically achieved by the government only with continuous cuts in the public expenses, while on the other side, basic income, because of the recession, is impossible to increase, as widespread as the squeezing of citizens with taxes might be, as much as they might decrease the public wages, as much as they increase the redundancies and cut the funding of public services, such as health and the education.

After the revision of the deficit that reached 15,5%, the required money in order to reduce it to 7,8% this year is impossible to find, while the objective of its reduction to 3% in 3 years is unachievable. On the other hand, the public debt will increase continuously and, since it is calculated as a percentage of the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) which is decreased because of the recession, sooner or later it will reach levels that will be impossible for Greece to manage. For 2012 the debt is calculated to reach 156% of the GDP (the IMF examines the possibility that by the end of 2013 the debt reaches 176% of the GDP),

while in the next 5 years we will have to pay interest of over 240 billion - roughly as much as the current GDP -something absolutely unachievable.

The above is evidence that concerns a bankrupt country. The only thing that remains is for it to be formally broke and this will happen when the political heads of the Greek government in the Troika decide to. We remember Papandreu speaking of *"the gun on the table"*, the markets that *"would soften"* with the subordination of Greece to the mechanism of support and with the loan of 110 billion Euros. When the Greek government signed the memorandum of long-lasting subjection to the markets, the spread of the Greek bonds were around 400 units of base.

Today, seven months later and while Greek society is sinking deeper and deeper towards hell so that the government pays out the instalments of the loan, the disputed but nonetheless real bankruptcy of Greece has *"completely infuriated the markets"*, launching the spread even above 1000 units of base and have classified the Greek bonds to the *"junk bonds"* (a bond that is rated below investment grade at the time of purchase), along with those of the Sub-Saharan countries of Africa. Despite all this the Greek economic and political elite continue whistling along, declaring that this take off of the spreads *"does not have a practical result"*, since we are borrowing with the *"friendly"* interest-rate of 5% from the EU. Also, the decision to prolong the time to settle the debt, which in reality is a confession of failure to pay off the loans, the fraudulent Papandreu presented it as a *"reward of our efforts"*, meaning the extreme neo-liberal attack that he has unleashed against Greek society.

As has been admitted recently by one of the *"specialists"* that we pay to direct the government to more neo-liberal directions, Schioppa, we have entered a long period of austerity, half of a generation will be sacrificed for the salvation of the system and we can henceforth speak clearly of a permanent memorandum -the fairy tales about measures only until 2013 are not believed by anyone-, for a permanent situation of economic, political and social war of the state and capital against the Greek social majority.

We repeat that neither the IMF or the EU or the government are idiots that do not understand the dead-end. Greece is wiped out long before the elections, a fact that was known not only in the then government but also in that of the PASOK, which was also the board of salvation to the system, since they used deceit to undertake power and with a careful approach opened the way for the subordination of Greece to the power of the Troika.

With the issuing of loans the Greek economy is just given an extension of life, so the viability of the Greek banks is ensured and the European banks have invested in the Greek debt to cover their bad debts. The objective that is to say of the international economic and political oligarchy is not the *"salvation of Greece from bankruptcy"*, as is claimed by the fraudsters in the government - something that would be useless anyway -, but the salvation of the banking system.

While therefore the underprivileged have gone under a detestable regime of unprecedented poverty and marginalization, the Greek governments do not give sparingly when it comes to maintaining the fluidity of the banks. So, after the package of 28 billion that was granted by the government of "New Democracy" (previous right wing government), PASOK went on to a further banking aid with extra guarantees of 15 billion after the memorandum gets voted in. And while the major investors proceeded to a mass withdrawal of capital of 23 billion from the Greek banks, placing the banking system in greater and greater danger, the social-fascists of PASOK deposited an amendment in August with which they increased the package of guarantees to the banks by 25 billion extra, by command of the Troika that set it as a condition for the payment of the second dose of the loan. If we also add the 10 billion from the loan of the 110 billion that the Troika gave, the total package of support of Greek banks reaches the amount of 78 billion.

A second and very important target, that the international economic and political elite set by providing an extension of life to the Greek economy, is the complete metamorphosis of life in this country. With the dilemma "austerity or bankruptcy and destruction" the fascists of the government unleash a constant and escalating state terrorism, reversing one after another the social, political and labour gains and they attempt to break every social resistance, to transform the proletariat into weak-minded and compliant slaves and Greece into a utopia for bosses.

When finally the banks that have profited with the Greek debt, which up to a while ago did offer a big payout because of the high interest-rates, manage to get away from this, then the Greek governments bankruptcy will be announced officially, something that won't take long to happen. Our exit from the EMU (Economic Monetary Union) is considered a given, in order to ensure the viability of the euro. However, with the crisis of debt deepening and with one European country after another collapsing economically in the near future, it is difficult not only for the EMU to survive but for the EU as well. The most optimistic scenario for the future of the union is the creation of a superstate, where the powerful and more economically healthy countries will lead and the bankrupt countries of the European region will be transformed into protectorates, since they will cede entirely their economic and political authority to the political and economical directorial of Europe. This treaty is being promoted in the EU with the creation of the mechanism of controlled bankruptcy.

Since along with the Greek bonds, we, the oppressed of this country, are also thrown in the garbage and while the confession of the Greek bankruptcy is expected, the attack of the economically and politically powerful not only will not stop but will intensify for many years. Greek society has passed under the possession of the international economic and political oligarchy, in order to keep alive this rotten system and this treaty will not be reversed by any government.

As it will not stop the biggest transfer of social wealth from the base to the top of social hierarchy, that is being made by the governments in this historical period because of the worldwide economic crisis.

Therefore to the fake dilemma "bankruptcy or austerity" - let's answer "yes to the bankruptcy of the system".

THE ONLY WAY IS SOCIAL REVOLUTION

Since there is no neutral analysis about the economic crisis and since economy is not numbers, diagrams and statistics but is mainly relations of power, it is obvious that every position taken on the crisis, its origin, the reason it happened and the ways out of it are a product of the political and class position from which it is expressed. In other words, every analysis about the crisis includes also the answer to it and every proposal to surpass it includes the political expectations and aims of who expresses it. The positions taken by the neo-liberals and social-democrats are nothing more than two different views on the method that should be adopted in order to restart the blocked capitalist machine. Even if the possibility existed of the reintroduction of the "economy of demand" we should deter it, since it will be one more short break or even more so a small deviant behaviour in the normal functioning of capitalism, that finds its real substance with its complete release from all kinds of social control.

Regarding the position of the "communist" parties, such as the KKE (Communist Party of Greece), that see as an answer to the crisis the central control of the economy, it is known historically that this model leads to another totalitarian economic and political organization, where the party-state becomes the absolute dictator. This model of state owned capitalism has historically failed not only as an economic system but also because of the blatant social and political oppression on which it supported its perpetuation.

For us, the economic crisis, as we have written in our previous texts, is a result of the class nature of the system itself that exists and is perpetuated through the inequality of the class system. The intensity of inequality and the increase of poverty on the planet is what capitalist growth leaves behind. With neo-liberal globalisation, the divisions have deepened, exploitation becomes more raw than ever, poverty, hunger and death prevail. The social and class divisions are the substance of the system, it is also however the reason

that makes this system permanently morbid and the crisis an almost permanent condition with continuous booms and busts. The final exit from the crisis is not in any proposal as progressive as it might be, as much as they propagate the reallocation of wealth in favour of the non-privileged and the delivery of social justice, since that proposal does not aim at exiting the system.

Because for us, the only way to ensure not only a perhaps temporary exit from the current economic crisis, but that we will never again live in crisis, is the abolition of the capitalist system, the market economy, parliamentary democracy, the dissuasion of appearance of any young "progressive and more humane" system in the place of the existent, and the guarantee that what will be born will never again encourage the emergence of social and class divisions, the growth of inequality, but will be based on economic equality and political freedom for all.

This is why our own answer to the crisis is **social revolution**, which we also consider as the only realistic proposal for the exit from this systemic crisis. A social revolution where the people will expropriate the fortunes of the rich, the multinationals and major Greek companies. Where they will expropriate the total of the church and state owned fortune. A social revolution that will abolish once and for all the state and every hierarchical and bureaucratic organization and will create social structures that will deter the reappearance of any form of organized economical and political power. That will socialize everything: The means of production, land, trade, health, education, transport.

A social revolution that will have as a core of social organization the community or commune. That will put every social and economic activity under the management of a network of popular Assemblies and Councils, where each one us in labour, the city, the village, the neighbourhood through these collective bodies of management and decision-making will take our life in our own hands.

That will completely leave behind it the industrial society and the current way of life, which is characterized by the greed and the dominance of people over nature.

A social revolution that will abolish every national, racial and religious discrimination, that will bring together populations respecting their diversity, that will finally abolish social classes and their divisions.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION FOR FREEDOM

*Pola Roupa, Nikos Maglitis,
Kostas Gournas*

Protests should acquire a conflictual character where this is feasible and comrades should put to use the crowd of "indignant" petty bourgeois that flood the protests - epitaphs of the trade unionists - so that they can accomplish even more severe blows on targets that are in central points in the streets with the strategy of "hit and run".

Revive the barricades and surpass whatever guilty feelings which after the 5th of May (*mass protest where the arson of a bank while employees who had been locked in by their boss under threat of dismissal resulted in the suffocation and death of 3 people*) play their role as a bulwark against insurrectionist violence.

Revive the creation of illegal infrastructures and the organization of and careful, continuous preparation of attacks to avoid such incidents in the future. The general condemnation of means of struggle cannot be but a closed-minded point of view behind which lurks compromise with the reformist forms of "struggle" that the system itself allows.

Multiply, therefore, the revolutionary groups, and bring to the limelight of everyday life the beauty of direct action. Do not give away even a centimetre to the enemies of freedom, let's go on the attack first with all means transferring the fear to their "safe-houses" from where they control our lives.

From the position of a hostage now, I would like also to refer concisely, to how I perceive the matter of solidarity.

Solidarity is a significance on which real comradely relations should be built and become the beginning for the creation of revolutionary processes. It should not move in the frequently adopted pattern of victimizing the hostages and limit itself to the expression of condemnation of police arbitrariness. Perhaps it is the logic of some anarchists who in their anxiety to achieve an approach to the decadent social majority select this painless position of defence in order to propagate certain cases of anarchist hostages. Certainly there are fabrications and cases where relationships between individuals are criminalized, but this does not mean that our role as revolutionaries is to focus on that without substantially acting ourselves. We are revolutionaries, not lawyers whose speech should be limited to the legal arbitrariness of cops and judges.

Moreover, this is their role, not ours. Neither should we consider solidarity as only about friendship, leading thus often not to the judging of the case or the attitude of the arrested, but how liked or known he is to the movement. In this way, individuals with a decent attitude that are not, however, known, or liked by some, are forgotten and sacrificed to the altar of those "privileged" relationships. Solidarity should be an aggressive procedure set aside from the

stock level of friendly relationships that cannot be the criterion for the mobilization of people on a case. Because this way we lead to models and relations that reproduce the dominant culture and not revolutionary anti-authoritarianism. For me, solidarity is a constant proposal to struggle, it is the continuation and the development of the revolutionary action for which the comrade was captured.

It is a constant attack against the system and society, an act where the words - fabrication, innocent, guilty, - do not fit. Because as revolutionaries it is our duty to always be guilty for this system, always dangerous and always proud of our choices.

We are not persecuted for our ideas, but because it seemed poor to us to not turn them into actions.

Finishing, I would like to repeat what our organization wrote, and I agree absolutely, far away from us the "hyenas of solidarity". This dreary minority which like permanent thorns parasite the movement and its processes. They spread rumours and gossip in "clusters" in cafés, or even on their mobile telephones, being indifferent to the fact that in this way they put individuals at risk, turning into a joke the condition of conspiracy for the existence of an infrastructure or the completion of an action. Irresponsibility and suburban residues lead these individuals to feed the police, where thus, these conversations lead to on such terms. A recent example was the handling of the incident of the 5th of May from a part of the movement. An act that, of course, I support - the arson of a bank - was executed in the worst possible way and led to the dreary result of three deaths. Certain anarchists, influenced obviously by the tactic of the Media, turned the amphitheatres into "courts" where they were chairmen, these known scum of the anarchist movement, and their "verdicts" led to investigations from the cops to locate individuals. This was the reason why the new generation of the anarchist movement was targeted, when their only "error" was that they had turned their back on all of these anarcho-patriarchs of the amphitheatres, and organized alone, expressed themselves in the street, lived the experiences that make you a real denier of this system and passed to the attack. To all these slimy politicians, we say the obvious - such behaviour is not forgotten - this is why they should not even dare to deal with the case of the Conspiracy or to show up at our court for any reason.

Otherwise there will be a matter to face there or elsewhere. Those very few followers that want to be like them should fuck off and give space to a lot of new individuals with a healthy way of thinking and the revolutionary dignity to act.

With this extra explanation all understand that I am not talking about the whole Anarchist/Anti-authoritarian movement, but a miserable minority of snitches and gossipers. Whoever believes that we are against actions of solidarity for hostage fighters, probably has never read our communiques. Whether through my action as a part of the Co-ordination of Action for the Imprisoned Fighters, or through the texts of our organization, the matter of the prisoners was and is in our daily discussions and has a special weight on our thought. Because whoever forgets the prisoners eventually forgets the war itself. Thus, I respect the anarchists that using different means, but based on healthy revolutionary processes, act giving strength to all us in here and at the same time develop the rupture against the existing system. Undertakings that promote the multiform aggressive solidarity I support absolutely, since I consider them the best starting point for fermentation and development of perceptions and proceedings.

Finally, I send my respect and my friendship to the Revolutionary-Nihilistic armies that give a dynamic present in the latest protests in Athens and I raise my fist to them from behind the walls. Guerrilla signals to the organizations of the new urban guerrilla warfare and to the raging comrades of Thessaloniki and the Countryside, that show that nothing is over but on the contrary new urban guerrilla warfare is now beginning...

**NOTHING LESS THAN EVERYTHING
FIGHT FOR THE REVOLUTION**

**RESPECT AND SOLIDARITY TO THE
GUERRILLAS OF THE 17N ORGANIZATION
AND TO THE CRIMINAL AND POLITICAL
HOSTAGES WHOSE DIGNITY GUIDES
THEIR STEPS**

WE ARE AT WAR

Gerasimos Tsakalos

*Conspiracy of Cells of Fire : Imprisoned
Members Cell*

Dark Nights is an irregular anarchist & anti-prison publication of resistance reports and repression news.



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