



# Contents

- 2** **FIES en lucha, a short history of the prison struggle in Spain**
- 13** **The prison inside the prison. From talks by Patxi Zamoro Duran**
- 18** **The 1999 Communique**
- 20** **Posthumous letter of Paco Ortiz**
- 22** **Excerpts from Amanda Cerezo Garcia's letter**
- 23** **Letter from Carol Forne Roig**
- 25** **Letter from Michele Pontolillo**
- 29** **Message from Gabriel Beo Sampedro**
- 30** **From the other side– Gabriel Pombo da Silva**
- 32** **Contribution to the Debate– Claudio Lavazza**
- 34** **Critique and Analysis of Anarchism Today– Collective of Libertarian Prisoners of Jaen 2**
- 36** **The Prisons of Democracy**

# FIES EN LUCHA

## A short history of the prison struggle in Spain

At the end of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies there was a revival of social and revolutionary struggle across the whole of Europe. In Spain, strikes, occupations of factories, and the formation of independent workers' councils ("asambleas") arose, together with the renewed armed struggle, like that of the MIL and the Autonomous Groups. The transition of the fascist dictatorship to a "democratic state" in the middle of the 70's made no difference, at least on this point: the repression was severe, and the prisons were overpopulated. The struggle for the liberation of political prisoners transformed quickly towards a struggle for the liberation of all prisoners and the abolition of the prison system.

In January 1977, with the 'Manifiesto of the prisoners of Carabanchel', the mainstream prisoners intervene in the struggle. Rebellions in prisons all over the country break out, with 35 uprisings and a number of protest actions. The prisoners organise the struggle in general meetings in the prisons and in Feb 1977 the COPEL (Coordinadora de Presos Españoles en Lucha - Coordination of Spanish Prisoners in Struggle) is established. After a hundred young people are severely beaten and 3 inmates stabbed, a bloody uprising begins in one institution. The moment the police arrive 26 prisoners slit open their stomachs, others swallow foreign objects, and one prisoner who is moved to the hospital, manages to escape. In the hallways of the prison, a wounded prisoner writes the word COPEL on the walls... The day after, 98 prisoners are transferred to several prisons and 40 of them disap-

pear into segregation. From then until 1979, uprisings, hunger strikes, work strikes, etc follow each other all over the country. The demands of COPEL contain an amelioration of the prison conditions, amnesty for all 'social prisoners', and the end of all laws and structures inherited from the Franco era.

The answer of the state was, like always, double-handed; on the one hand, negotiations, on the other, brutal repression. COPEL is infiltrated and the most active members are eliminated. Many of them are locked up in the newly built prison of Herrera de la Mancha. Herrera de la Mancha is the first of a series of prisons (inspired by the German political prisons) specially constructed to observe, divide, and isolate the prisoners, where physical and psychological terror is practised systematically, and where we already find characteristics of a prison within a prison, or what will later become the FIES. In these places, in the words of the general director of prisons Carlos Garcia Valdès, the 'maladjusted' are locked up, or those considered to be the "most dangerous" detainees. The management of these prisons is also guaranteed by the Guardia Civil, rather than regular guards. Upon arrival at Herrera de la Mancha, the prisoner is put in the 'first degree' of observation (total isolation). If no infringement is made, he goes over to the 'second degree', where the differences in treatment are minimal (a little bit longer exercise, with a couple of other prisoners.) When the prisoner has gone through all the different degrees without infringements, he will be transferred to another prison.

In spite of these very repressive conditions, uprisings also break out in these prisons. For example in Meco (Madrid), at the beginning of the 1980's, where the prisoners set up the APRE (Asociacion de Presos en Regimen Especial - Association of Prisoners in Special Regime.) The struggle is ferocious, the prisoners refuse every form of dialogue, and a radical minority wants only one thing: to kill the guards and policemen, arm themselves and fight to the death. The repression that follows, and the fact that in the 80's the revolutionary élan ebbed away, meant that there was almost no struggle in prisons for nearly a decade.

At the beginning of the 1990's there is a revival of the collective prison struggle. On the 27th of June 1989 an uprising breaks out at Puerto de Santa Maria; the insurgents are transferred to Herrera de la Mancha and put into isolation. In the same year the political prisoners of GRAPO also begin a hunger strike that will last 435 days and will attract a lot of attention. On the 14th of February 1990 the prisoners take guards as hostages in Alcala-Meco. They demand the release of Juan Redondo Fernandez and of the prisoners of Herrera de la Mancha. In March, uprisings follow in Daroca, Nanclares de la Oca, Caceres II, Alcala-Meco and Fontcalent. In October of the same year, from within the dungeons of Herrera de la Mancha, APRE is reconstituted (APRE (r) reconstituida) by the prisoners Javier Avila Navas, Laudelino Iglesias, Luis Riva Dávila, Vicente Sánchez and Antonio Losa López. The APRE (r) manifesto circulates in the prisons of the Spanish State. On the 18th of March 1991, the prisoners in Herrera finally take action, hostages are taken, and a list of 18 demands is released. The revolt is crushed, but the APRE(r) is on everyone's lips and minds, and more revolts, hostage taking, escapes, take place in several

prisons throughout the country (in Zamora, where the juvenile prisoners from Herrera were transferred to; in Herrera again on the 11th of July 1991; in Tenerife, where Juan Redondo and Xosé Tarrío take hostages and succeed in broadcasting their demands to the general public, etc.

As a reaction to these revolts the state installs the FIES. The most active members of the APRE(r) are locked up under the FIES regime; and a lot of those who now have started the fight again, are already in their 10th, 15th or 20th year in the darkest dungeons of the Spanish prison system.

## **F.I.E.S**

The FIES was introduced through a simple administrative circular under the management of the General Director of the prisons Antonio Asuncion, now leader of the Socialist Party of Alicante. Although the Constitutional Court temporarily put an end to the FIES regime in 1994, after a complaint by 2 prisoners, it still exists until this day. The new penitentiary regulations, under article 93, provide a regime that consists of:

-ISOLATION: Exercise in an individual cage for a maximum of 3 hours per week, together with no more than one other person.

-WITHOUT TIME LIMIT: Normally the status gets revised every 3 months, but in reality it gets prolonged every time so that the isolation can last years, even decades.

-LIVING CONDITIONS: Totally handed over to the whims of the penitentiary centre. They can introduce censorship and limit correspondences, refuse visits, exercise only in a cage, no personal clothing, strip search and the arbitrary use of X-rays, continuous physical and psychological torture, etc.



## **F.I.E.S. en lucha**

Struggle against the FIES has always been there, from the first day, by individuals or small groups, with legal and 'illegal' means (direct action), but by the end of the 90's a number of FIES detainees have realised the necessity of coordination, and through letters to other prisoners and support groups they start to organise the struggle.

What also contributes to a greater awareness and willingness to fight and must be mentioned, is the publication in 1996 of the book by Xosé Tarrío, "*Huy hombre huy. Diario de un preso FIES*", and the liberation of Patxi Zamoro Durán, FIES prisoner who was transferred to Catalunya, where the FIES was not imposed, got his freedom and travelled around, with the book of his friend, Xosé, talking about what happened inside. And then there was, also in 1996, the arrest and imprisonment in FIES units of some Italian anarchists, which drew a lot of attention (the "Cordoba 4" – case.)

The first coordinated action of the prisoners consist of 'txapeos' (refusing to leave the cells for exercise),

but they quickly see that if their struggle didn't expand to other prisoners and if there isn't enough radical support from outside, the consequence of their action would only be increased repression. Through actions, letters and communiqués the struggle expands to other prisoners and groups outside the walls, such as the AFAPP (Association of Friends and Family of Political Prisoners, linked to GRAPO), the Mothers Against Drugs, Association Against Torture, etc, and after a while an agreement on 3 basic demands is established:

- 1) Abolition of the FIES regime and every form of isolation
- 2) Ending the dispersion of prisoners (to prisons far from their homes, families, and friends; dividing the prisoners from each other by moving them to different prisons and within the prison itself)
- 3) Immediate release of all terminally ill prisoners.

With these demands a collective hunger strike starts from the 16th to the 19th of March 2000. In spite of all the difficulties about 400 prisoners participate in 21 different prisons. It is a symbolic action (4 days like the 4 walls of a cell), a way of testing the balance of power, after the unexpected growth of the movement during the previous weeks both inside and outside of the walls, in Spain and beyond its borders.

In Barcelona the creation of AAPPEL (Asamblea de Apoyo a las Personas Presas en Lucha – Assembly for the Support of Imprisoned People in Struggle) contributes a lot to the cause; information is spread through conferences, radio, demonstrations, and several support actions. Also in the Basque country and Galicia the information is disseminated and support actions are carried out. In Madrid a FIES dossier is put together and, in spite of a good deal of friction between the sup-

port groups, there are demonstrations and actions carried out. Also in France and Italy support groups are set up, and information is disseminated and actions are carried out. Here prisoners also join through solidarity statements, or, especially in Italy, by turning to actions themselves.

In the following months the actions continue both inside and outside the prison walls. Of course there is a reaction from the State. On one hand there is heavy repression: mass transfers, censorship, beatings, torture, etc. The communiqués of the prisoners are alarming; there are even a couple of deaths. On the other hand there is a media campaign full of lies: the prisoners in struggle are represented as dangerous criminals, the papers claim that they are led by ETA, etc.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of April 2000 a letter bomb is sent to the 'journalist' J.M. Zuloaga of the paper 'La Razon', someone who has been particularly active in writing lies about the struggle. The action is later claimed by 'Los Anarquistas'. After this claim several prisoners in Villanubla engage in an exercise strike in solidarity with those who sent the bomb. In the period from May to July several letter bombs are sent to fascist newspapers. None of these bombs explode effectively. On the 9<sup>th</sup> of November, 2 anarchists, Eduardo Garcia Macias and Estefania Maurete Diaz, are arrested; they are charged with involvement in the letter bomb campaign. Also in several cities houses are searched. The media do their best to disseminate the lies of the police: Eduardo and Estefania are accused of forming an armed group together with prisoners (in isolation!) and would have organised the assaults. Estefania gets released, acquitted of all charges. She is the friend of Santiago Cobos, one of the most active prisoners, and this is probably an attempt to break him by arresting her. Eduardo gets released conditionally, but on the 17<sup>th</sup> of

November, after serious pressure from the government, he is arrested again and locked up in Soto. He's a member of the Anarchist Black Cross and that could be convenient for the police, zealously looking for a nonexistent 'international conspiracy' or an 'international criminal organisation', to fit up a lot of individuals on that basis, a common practise.

In the meantime, in the prisons, the call for an unlimited hunger strike is getting louder and louder. A couple of prisoners have already started this, like Laudelino Iglesias and Gabriel Bea Sampedro. On the 1<sup>st</sup> of December 2000, a collective unlimited hunger strike begins. This strike will end after a month, 50 prisoners participate while 150 others carry out support actions. It seems that the repression and the total media black out caused a degree of demoralisation. But the evaluation is not all negative, a more sober and realistic assessment of the situation is made now. A "communiqué from the resistance fighters in La Moraleja prison, issued in January 2001, reads as follows:

*"Greetings comrades,  
Our evaluation of the hunger strike of last December is rather positive in relation to the Movement of Prisoners in Struggle and the solidarity in the street. That we make a positive estimation, doesn't mean that we are not aware of the fact that our mobilisation force in prison and our possibilities to put "pressure" via the street are still very limited... Let's try to be objective. But remember that this is a reflection at a certain moment in the development of our movement of struggle and that as a movement we have only made our first steps, laid the foundation to move forward in a coherent and effective way, and that if we can pursue this line of organized resistance we will broaden little by little the reach of our actions and will gain a greater strength as well*

*inside as outside. There is no other way if we want to move in the right direction; from the perspective to make our struggle a continuous activity against the capitalist system, we take the struggle against the prison apparatus as point of departure.*

*For the first time since COPEL we have taken a stand against the criminal policy of the State in the prisons, in a collective and organized manner, with clear objectives in the short, middle and long term, and in order to win this movement persists and appropriates itself the methods of struggle.*

*In our opinion it is crucial to lend continuity to our struggle and to secure a basis that would make it possible to hold on to the objectives we have set ourselves.*

*Further, it is a fact that our struggle has brought about a dynamic with the consequence that a solidarity movement in the streets has been born which expanded every day and delivered the proof of citizenship. Because of this great diversity there are within this movement many contradictions; these came to the fore especially in the weeks before the hunger strike of December, but nevertheless, it was demonstrated that with our "mobilisation" these contradictions can be tempered and that unity in action prevailed. This solidarity movement in its turn is made up of different sections of the Resistance Movement, which broadens even more the small margins from which we depart; anarchist unions, associations of family members and friends of political prisoners (AFAPP), unemployed committees, anti-imperialist committees, neighbourhood committees (as Amaitu), etc. actually did support our struggle. And then include those from beyond our borders. As we strengthen our bonds with them and join their struggle, our drum will meet more response, will be more diffi-*

*cult to silence, to isolate, to suppress...*

*The combination of these two aspects, this of the inside and this of the outside of the prisons, has given an important extra value to this strike. We are sure that a lot more people than only our comrades can appreciate or observe this. The State for sure can't let all this happen, and tries to break the movement with all means at its disposal. That's the origin of the political frame up against the anarchist comrades in Madrid, the house raids in Barcelona and other places to instil fear, the ruthless criminalisation campaign meant to deactivate and undermine the support for the strike, the absolute information blackout during the strike, etc.; without speaking about the repression in the prisons itself. Of course there are other cocks who crow now, such as the humanists, the Christians and all those reformists who previously monopolized the "struggle" in the prisons and thereby used those who run and control the stable. Now they can't do anything against us anymore and finally can't infect us neither because of their means nor because of their influence, we have to fight them too. As we said already in a former communiqué, they are part of the social mechanism of the State/Capital and with our struggle we have come in direct confrontation with them.*



*If the enemy starts to “worry” so much about our little world, that is only because of one thing: we are on the right path. It is always distressing not to be rewarded despite the hard work, as was the case during the hunger strike of December. But we would never think to put “opportunisticly” our immediate objectives before our ultimate objectives, because we are aware that our hard struggle has been transformed into a really inspiring and binding force for a whole range of diverse concerns which begin to unite in the struggle against the yoke of oppression and capitalist exploitation which began somewhere between these damned walls... and which might in time grow into a “material force”. From the spark comes the flame. Unity and struggle gives power! Resistance inside and outside!”*

It is thus clear that the struggle will be long and harsh, and that such a prolonged struggle will ask determination and a whole range of tactics that leave room for individual and local initiatives, according to the circumstances (e.g. many prisoners are seriously ill and most of them cannot participate in long term hunger strikes.) All prisoners can take action, talk about their own situation and put their own demands forward, but they will always connect with the movement by adding the principle demands: end of FIES, end of dispersions, release of all incurably sick prisoners. In the beginning of 2001, also a 4<sup>th</sup> demand is agreed upon: the release of all prisoners who have completed 20 years of imprisonment (which should be, according to Spanish law itself, the maximum term), and a call is made to go on fasting every month. Besides that, on the outside, AAPPEL is transformed into ACOP'S (Assembleas Contra les Prisons), building a network to support the prisoners in struggle, “to break the isolation and silence and to go beyond

the concrete demands (which we consider necessary) and to denounce the Penitentiary System as a tool of the groups in power to maintain their hegemony and the existing situation of social injustice”.

The unity and continuity of the movement are thus secured by the four basic demands, regular collective actions (such as the monthly chapeos and hunger strikes), the broadening and strengthening of the coordination inside and outside, debates about the prison struggle and its place in the social and political struggles going on. The whole of the following year, and until today, one can see a steady stream of letters, communiqués, testimonies; of prisoners in struggle talking about the daily horrors and repression they have to endure and about the resistance and struggles going on inside (chapeo's, hunger strikes, work strikes, letter campaigns, sabotage, etc). Also in the streets a whole range of actions take place all over Spain – demonstrations, info-meetings, conferences, and direct action.

Internationally, the prisoners connect with support groups and other prisoners in France, Italy, Greece, Portugal, Belgium, Britain, the U.S., where prisoners join with them by writing solidarity statements and/or by participating in the monthly hunger strikes. Many also participate in the solidarity actions with the prisoners in struggle against the introduction of the F-type prisons in Turkey. The struggle in Turkey (with the ongoing death fasts, the brutal military assault on the prisoners on the 19<sup>th</sup> of December 1999, the struggle of the families), as well as the struggles of prisoners in the U.S., such as a collective hunger strike in the isolation units of Texas in September 2001, make clear that the struggle against isolation units really is worldwide.

In March 2002 another collective

hunger strike takes place in 38 prisons, in which close to 500 prisoners participate. Besides the increased number of prisoners participating, an important new factor is also the mobilisation of women prisoners (e.g. in Alcala.) The silence of the press, imposed by the Ministry of Interior, is deafening... On the 28<sup>th</sup> of May 2002, a huge uprising takes place in the Quatre Camines prison in Catalonia. Following another senseless beating of two young inmates by the guards, more than 250 prisoners decide to start a work strike. A strike committee is formed which formulates 12 demands and asks to speak to the Director of the Penitentiary Institutions, also the presence is requested of the counsellor of the Justice department of Catalonia and of the Red Cross. Negotiations start, but it is clear that the prison directorate doesn't want to give an inch. The next day the Mossos (Catalan anti-riot police) storm the prison and the rebellion is crushed with brutal force. The media this time can't ignore what is happening in the prisons. But, as always, they only repeat the official State-sanctioned version of the facts: About a "group of dangerous prisoners" who rebelled because they didn't want to work and which was "contained" by the police and the prison authorities. Not a word about what the prisoners themselves have been saying for almost three years. One prefers to look the other way if the prisoners talk themselves, and another believes what they want to believe; that there is no violence and torture in the prisons, no isolation regimes, no exploitation of prison labour, no transfers far away from their

families and friends, no inhuman incarceration of people who are terminally ill, no prisoners who are held for decades, and so

## **Repression and Radicalisation**

Except for some armed attacks on the outside (such as those carried out by 'International Solidarity' and "Los Anarquistas"), all actions have been non-violent. The answer of the State though is nothing but violence. In the legal domain, the Aznar government introduces in May 2003 – in the midst of the antiterrorist hysteria, the start of the war in Iraq, etc - a criminal justice reform which provides among other things an increase in the maximum prison sentence from 20 years to... 40 years. For many prisoners this means that they will not leave prison alive: the "silent death penalty".... Inside, the repression continues unabated, with constant transfers, censorship, denial of visits, humiliations, abuses, beatings, torture, death. On the 14<sup>th</sup> of February 2002, Antonio Falces Casas dies in the hospital of Terrassa, after being transferred from the prison of Quatre Camins, from a cancer that wasn't treated properly. On the 4<sup>th</sup> of January 2003, Ruben Gonzales Carrío commits suicide in the prison of Pontevedra. On the 17<sup>th</sup> July 2003, Paco Ortiz, from the prison of Badajoz, writes his last letter; he too commits suicide. Several prisoners go on strike to express their sorrow and anger about the loss of a dear comrade and to protest this umpteenth forced suicide – 'every suicide in prison is a murder by the state'. Since 1991, 14 comrades have died in the Spanish prisons.

And although Eduardo was released on conditional bail in November



2001, after 11 months in custody, the repression against the movement outside grows quickly.

On the 15<sup>th</sup> of October 2002, 4 anarchists (Ivan, Isaac, Jordi and Pasky) active in the squatters' movement are arrested in Valencia. They are charged with "disturbance of the public order" and "property damage" (related to an anti-fascist demonstration a week before) and later, after the interference of the Chief of the Information Brigade of the Spanish Police, with "terrorist association" ... They risk 10 to 15 years of imprisonment. The evidence seems, again, to be based on the contacts the 4 had with some prisoners. At the end of November, one of them, Isaak, is released on bail. On the 11<sup>th</sup> of March 2003, the Audiencia Nacional decides that the accusation of terrorism cannot be held, the other charges though remain; also Ivan, Jordi and Pasky are released after posting bail.



Weißer Terror 1932

On February 28, 2003, 5 anarchists are arrested, 4 in the Barcelona region (3 in Viladecans, 1 in Besós) and 1 in Almeria. They are charged, by the super judge Garzón, with forming a terrorist cell. Three of the Catalans are soon released (on bail), the fourth, Fernando, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of March 2003, and Emilio, from Almeria, on the 29<sup>th</sup> of March, after he had seen 8 prisons in one month. They too will have to stand trial later (for one of them 11 year sen-

tence is demanded) .

Also in March 2003, in a verdict of the Central Court n°5, presided by Garzón, on the PCE(r)-GRAPO, the Cruz Negra Anarquista/Anarchist Black Cross – Iberico is named as a "recruiting machine for the GRAPO" (sic). This means that the Anarchist Black Cross of the Iberian Peninsula falls under the 'law of parties and organisations', and as such could be de-

clared illegal. It is the first time since Franco that an anarchist organisation can be effectively forbidden. Before this, it was also discovered that the CNA/ABC-Madrid had been infiltrated by an undercover police agent who also worked within the support group for the GRAPO-PCE(r) prisoners.

Early in July 2003, 4 anarchists are arrested in **Valencia** again, **Amanda, Eduardo, Jordi, and Miguel**. All four are charged with sending a letter-bomb to the fascist organisation España 2000, but the device

exploded prematurely on the 24<sup>th</sup> of April in the post office, slightly wounding two postal workers. They are also suspected of five other attacks on real estate offices and banks, and of sabotaging a machine of a building industry. Jordi and Miguel are released a few days later without further charges. Amanda in the mean time has taken responsibility for some of the attacks, before the judge she declares that it was "a response against capitalism that

destroys the El Cabany neighbourhood". She remains, together with her 20 year old friend Eduardo, considered to be her co-accused, in prison.

In the early morning of Tuesday September 16, six people are arrested in Barcelona during a large-scale police operation by a special unit of the Guardia Civil. They too are anarchists and are arrested under the anti-terrorist laws. The six are presumed to be members of a "clandestine anarchist group" which has set up an urban guerrilla campaign in Barcelona. They are said to have sent a letter-bomb to the Greek Embassy in Madrid, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of September 2003, in solidarity with the prisoners of Thessalonica, and to have carried out several attacks against banks and other institutions. The six anarchists are: Carolina Forné Roig en Rafael Tomás Gaspar (both 25 years old and from Tarragona); Joaquin Garcés Villacampa (43 year old anarchist prisoner who had escaped from prison some months earlier), Igor Quevedo Aragay (25 years old, from Guipuzcoa), Teodoro Hernández Martínez (26, from the region La Rioja) and another anarchist comrade, Roger (21 years old, from Barcelona). After five days "incommunicado", those arrested appear before the Audiencia Nacional, presided by super judge Garzón. Only Teodoro is released. It turns out that a seventh person is wanted and that an international arrest warrant against him has been issued.

At the beginning of October, Xosé Tarrío is arrested again and locked-up in the prison of Teixeira. Xosé was only released 5 months before; on the 16<sup>th</sup> of May 2003 he was released after more than 15 years of imprisonment, of struggle, solidarity and dreams of anarchy. After his liberation he continued the struggle, amongst other things within the CNA/ABC. He is charged with some robberies, and is sentenced to 11 years.

On the 17<sup>th</sup> of November 2003, more than 3 years after his arrest, the trial against Eduardo Garcia Macias began. He is still charged with a double murder attempt (two parcel-bombs) and possession of explosives; the public prosecutor demands 22 years. Finally, on the 19<sup>th</sup> of January 2004, after a trial where there was a particular lack of evidence and 'amnesia' and contradictory evidence by the police witnesses, Eduardo was acquitted of the murder attempts, but convicted of the possession of explosives, for which he gets 4 years. Eduardo, who always maintained his innocence, will almost certainly appeal.

The arrest of Eduardo (and Fani) at the end of the year 2000 was the start of the criminalization campaign and the repression of the anarchist movement in Spain, in particular of the prisoner solidarity movement. This movement grew and radicalized quickly, tore off the democratic mask of the Spanish state, and became slowly a menace for the established order. Also, the struggle moved from support for the prisoners in struggle to support for the struggle against prison itself, and against the whole society of control and repression.

This repression, and the radicalisation, are of course not separated from the broader context and other events in Spain and the rest of the world.

With the appearance on the European continent of the so-called "anti-globalisation" movement (Prague, Göthenburg, Genoa, Brussels, Barcelona, Thessalonica, etc), the second Intifada and the brutal military assaults by the Israeli army (which moved and mobilized also the Arab and Muslim communities in Europe), the popular revolts in Latin-America, September 11 in the States, the war in Iraq, etc, it seems that the party of the ruling classes of the world is over, and that they seriously start to worry and to prepare themselves for a next reactionary

assault. The new laws against “terrorism” mean undoubtedly a ‘fascistisation’ of the whole state and society, and it is no coincidence that it was Spain and Italy (and Turkey) who eagerly followed the United States and urged the European Union to accept the laws – as such they can now legitimize and intensify a “dirty war” which has in fact been going on for years. The last couple of years we have witnessed a wave of arrests; dozens of members, ex-members or alleged members of the (old) armed groups (GRAPO/PCE®, ETA, RB, N17, DHKP-C, ...) have been arrested and imprisoned. In the last year we have also seen increasingly the support groups becoming a target of the repression machine. The outlawing of all political groups related to ETA is the most obvious example, but also members of the AFAPP, the Socorro Rojo, the Cruz Negra Anarquista are subject to surveillance, arrests, and imprisonment because of their involvement with “terrorist groups”... In the end, the war against terrorism and the new security laws are aimed at all dissidence against Capital and the new world order, and the complete subjugation to and acceptance of the ruling system is demanded.

In this context a sometimes heavy discussion has grown within the movement about the meaning of solidarity, about prisoners and criminality, about prison and prison society, about repression and il/legality, about violence, about freedom, rebellion and revolution...

Confronted with the full violence of the State, the creeping fascistisation of the minds of the people and society, the growing contradictions and tensions world wide, it is the case that within a part of the movement a certain paralysis has appeared, while at the same time small groups of anarchists have made the step towards clandestinity and armed resistance.

Against this paralysis (which expresses itself in different ways: the eternal waiting for the right ‘objective and/or subjective conditions’, the pathetics of the holy innocence and victimisation, the self confinement into the alternative ghetto, the escape into drugs and alcohol, etc), they have chosen for the individual revolt, complicity and revolutionary solidarity. Against the creeping pacification and disarmament, they have chosen to arm themselves; with stones, molotovs, (small) bombs, guns, but also with critical reflection and theory.

In their search for ways to escape



from the daily experience of powerlessness and from the suffocating grip of the State on society, they have searched to connect with past experiences of struggle against prison and with a current of anarchism which is forgotten or denied by many but was always an integral part of it. Therefore the renewed interest in COPEL, MIL-GARI, the 1<sup>st</sup> of May group, the anarchist guerrillas after 1945 (Sabate, Facerias, Massana, etc), Durutti and the FAI, etc.

Besides this there is for sure the influence of the *insurrectionalists*. So called insurrectionalism today is a current within anarchism which became better known thanks to the writings of Alfredo Bonano and others, but especially since the Marini case in Italy. And with the arrest in Cordoba in 1996 of Claudio Lavazza, Michelle Pontollilo, Giovanni Barcia and Giorgio Rodriguez, the ties with Italy (and Greece) have undoubtedly been tightened and strengthened.

Under the name "Cinque C" ("Five C's"): "Contro il Capitale, il Carcere, I Carcerieri e le Isole Celleri", several attacks were made in December 2002 and June 2003 against Spanish targets, in solidarity with the FIES prisoners. In October 2003, a failed attack is committed against Iberia in Rome, this time in solidarity with the prisoners of Valencia and Barcelona and in remembrance of Paco Ortiz. In the period October-November 2003, more than a dozen attacks are carried out in Athens. The reasons are the protests against the Olympic Games, solidarity with the 7 prisoners of Thessalonica (of which two are Spaniards, Carlos and Fernando), with the 6 of Barcelona, as well as with the imprisoned alleged members of the 17 November Movement and the Revolutionary Peoples Struggle (ELA). On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of December 2003 two fire bombs explode in two garbage containers near the home of the President of the European Commission, Prodi. The

attack is later claimed by the Informal Anarchist Federation (FAI) – which unites some of the other groups. It seems to be the beginning of a real anti-Europe campaign: in the beginning of January 2004, several European politicians (Prodi again, and some right-wing members of parliament) and institutions (Eurojust, Europol, the European central Bank) receive parcel-bombs. Although they're again rather 'harmless' bombs, merely symbolic, the campaign is world news. According to the authorities themselves, since 1999 some seventy attacks have been carried out against banks, political parties, security services, etc by what Europol calls the "anarchist Mediterranean triangle".

To what extent the "insurrectionalists" within the anarchist movement have a chance to provide a perspective for anarchism and the revolution we all want, depends on the capacity they have to learn from past revolutionary struggles, and are able to avoid, for example, the mistakes made in the 1960's and 70's. It also depends on the extent to which the broader anarchist movement can achieve real solidarity with those who have decided not to let themselves be pushed against the wall, but on the contrary to take a step forward. This solidarity must first begin with learning who these people are, their writings, ideas, experiences, and the criticisms which motivate their activities and actions. Only then can an open and honest debate take place which advances the movement as a whole, and confronts the hypocrites who hide within our ranks, the yellow-spined, 'white block' liberal, 'soft cops', and de-maskers, who spread only fear, keep divisions in place, and serve reaction.

Then each of us have to decide for ourselves. That is our fate and that is our freedom.





## **FIES: THE PRISON INSIDE THE PRISON**

*Patxi Zamoro Duran finally left prison after serving 18 years, a good part of them as a FIES prisoner: the following is in his own words, taken from the talks he gave in Likiniano Elkarte and the Colegio de Abogados de Bizkaia:*

Prison has two basic functions. One is that of pure intimidation. It's a gun they point at society and they say if you deviate from the established rules you'll pay for it with a prison sentence. The second function is that of punishment. And the same thing happens in prison. If, once in prison, you don't accept the established rules, you go to a prison within the prison. As they saw that the prisons they had didn't fulfil a total intimidatory role they took them to the logical conclusion..... Inside the prison system there are distinct levels. Beneath the surface, which is the second and third grades, to the intermediate level which is the first grade, and finally to the mud, which is the prison basement, the isolation wings, and particularly the FIES units.

### **The Excuse-**

In the summer of 1991 a wave of mutinies took place, to say "Enough!" to the poor conditions inside prison (overcrowded, wide spread of illnesses HIV, etc.). But in the mass media, instead of our demands appearing (such as the release of terminally ill

prisoners, and end to torture, or allowing prisoners to serve their sentences in the areas they come from), they worked themselves into a frenzy. Talking about prisoners as murderers, heavily built rapists, criminals who chop peoples' heads off and kill people. In this way a climate of fear was created, along with demands for the state to intervene and stop all of this. This was the moment for the Prison Administration to use all the information they had compiled over the years on specific prisoners who particularly interested them. Facts such as who they usually walked around with in the yard, what kind of mood they got up in every morning, who they had connections with, whether or not they took drugs, what kind of attitude they had with the guards, who came to see them, who they wrote to, whether or not they smoked, etc etc.

This file was divided into five sections. In the first were included those prisoners who questioned the system, who had taken part in attempts to escape, made demands etc. In the second, FIES 2, the drug traffickers were put, but they also put people who were in prison for four joints in this category, just to have a reason for the person being in the FIES

system. In FIES 3 they gathered the members of armed groups such as GRAPO, ETA, etc. The fourth brought together members of the state security forces and prison guards (in this case it was used for what it was created) “

We have to make a special effort to protect normal prisoners from this people as because they face greater dangers in prison (spread of ideals), and as well, they're our people aren't they? They're here accidentally. They only killed their wife during a nervous breakdown, or tortured four crooks in a in van.” And finally, FIES 5, where the conscientious objectors are.

As far as the prisoners associated with mutinies, escapes and so on were concerned, they sent us to specific prisons, where they had built special blocks- the FIES units. There the doors were automatic, in the galleries the doors opened electronically, with absolutely no contact with the wardens except when they came in to search you or attack you. They referred to us as “dangerous” prisoners, but the truth was that what we had in common was our demanding and rebellious character.

The objective of the FIES Regime was to be a tool with which to neutralize psychologically and to destroy these who bothered the authorities, whether for political reasons or because of making demands in prison. The cells didn't have furniture or mirrors, just bare walls or large rings underneath the beds (so you wouldn't be able to sleep). They took away your clothes and gave you overalls, they systematically controlled and supervised your correspondence and the changes of cells were continuous, that is to say today you're going to be in number 16 and if they don't take you to another tomorrow then you can be certain that you'll be moved the day after. It was the same with movements between prisons. They have you for one

month, two months, three; four, five, six and then they carry you off to another prison. They say that this is for security reasons and I say that this is a lie, and nobody can tell me otherwise. They say that you don't have a mirror because of security concerns, but the basic clear plastic in the windows, or the TV screens they allow those without bad reports as a privilege, are just as sharp. They say they do it so you can't cut yourself up, or attack a guard or another prisoner. The idea of attacking another prisoner is ridiculous because you're in isolation 24 hours a day. And they idea of attacking a guard is impossible, because the cell has an automatic door which only opens when they're going to come in, and when the come in they do it in a group of ten or eleven, protected with shields and clubs.

What is lies behind this is depersonalisation, pure and simple. Could you imagine what it's like to spend a year or two of your life without seeing your face? Or that the memory you have of your face is the one you see through the partial reflection of a windowpane? The effect this has on your personality is... something brutal. When I spent the night in Torrero prison because I was going to trial for the mutiny in Daroca I had a chance to see my face in the mirror. I had gone two years without seeing it. I found wrinkles that I didn't know. I was amazed and fascinated by each and every part of my face. They had made me lose a little of my identity. And this added to the fact that, for security reasons, they take away your ring, your necklace. The rule says that you can't have valuable objects because you could deal with them, but a FIES prisoner doesn't have the opportunity to do these things. You can't sell anything to anybody, because you're not with anybody. It's an attempt to uproot your

emotional memories. If you have your mail inspected, if they take the four photos you have, of you with your partner, your mother or your daughter, if they take away the ring that symbolises your moments of union and they take away the chain that your brother gave you, what they are taking away is your emotional memory. If on top of this they take away your clothes and give you a boiler suit as your only item of clothing, that is the essence of depersonalisation.



But to all this, a mountain of continued attacks must be added. From treating you with an arrogance far from normal, to beatings. In prison, beatings occur for two reasons – to develop the role of the jailer which is to be a torturer and dehumanise you, and also (and when we speak of continual, systematic beatings, I'm talking about the practice in the FIES units) for the destructive function of the FIES regime I mentioned earlier. It is an evidential fact that the beatings are systematic. If you read any letter, absolutely any letter from a prisoner (prisoners who don't know each other, but who are living in the same situation), they all say the same thing – beatings, beatings. All of them. They also all say the same thing about the mirrors, and this isn't from organized people, be-

cause the guards are doing what they're doing precisely because the prisoners *aren't* organized. But also, there's proof that for me is very obvious – my own experience. I've had five stomach operations I stabbed myself 5 times as I couldn't take any more, to demand an end to the torture, to beatings. I've had my forearms cut, my head cut open because they smashed it against the wall, I've suffered countless hunger and water strikes, they have given me savage beatings, they've fought amongst themselves to be first to beat me. I know that sometimes this was down to tensions that came about spontaneously, but other times it followed a plan sanctioned by those higher up.

I'm not trying to say the prison wardens are evil, but they perform a role which brutalises them. In the USA, an experiment was carried out on psychology students which simulated a prison unit. Some students played the role of prisoners while others were guards. The objective was to discover the development of behaviour, roles, leadership etc. After three days they had to end it. Those playing the role of prisoner had become shy, frightened, isolated and those playing the role of prison guard had become vindictive, torturing, sadistic... But in reality, certainly, he or she who stays long enough in prison has to become bad. After four or six months in prison, nobody is innocent, nobody ignorant.

### **Doctors Are Also Prison Guards**

Doctors, with a few rare exceptions, also function as a complicit cog in the machine. Doctors truly belong with the guards, guards who practise only as doctors, but who have the same antagonism towards prisoners. In the hunger

strikes, in the water strikes, after any beating, with very rare exceptions there was always a report in the favour of the institution. Besides, in their daily lives, when they're having a coffee or changing clothes with their fellow guards in uniform, they'll hear – that little bastard so and so, who did this to me. They live like this as well, they experience the same process of brutalisation and it makes them feel no shame, whether it's not filing a report when they've seen you've obviously been beaten, acting with unbelievable indifference during hunger strikes or when you tell them your hair has been falling out in clumps and they answer, "Yes, well, I'm losing my hair, too...". If you had to make a picture to portray prison, put in two guards beating you with clubs and a doctor waiting behind for them to finish so s/he can tell you there's nothing wrong with you.

### **Prison Supervision Tribunals**

When they created the Prison Supervision Tribunals in 1979, there were high hopes amongst prisoners. Somebody was looking after our rights, they were going to protect us from the Prison Administration's attacks. The Supervision Tribunals were the 'make up' applied to prisons at a time when it was necessary, for political reasons, to make prison look better. It was about painting the prisons, changing the gallery system to a modular system, changing the uniforms that reminded us of fascism – those green uniforms changed to blue ones. It was about changing the language used in prisons to the words we now all use; prison became a penitentiary centre, guards became civil servants, prisoners became inmates.

But this was a double treachery;

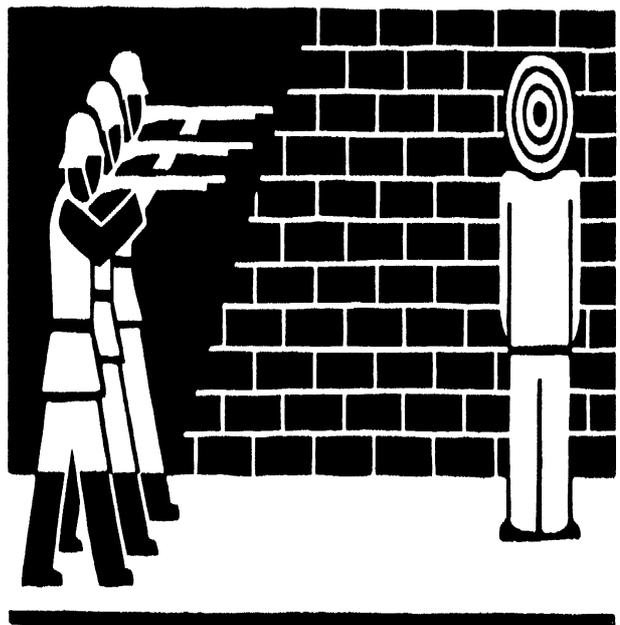
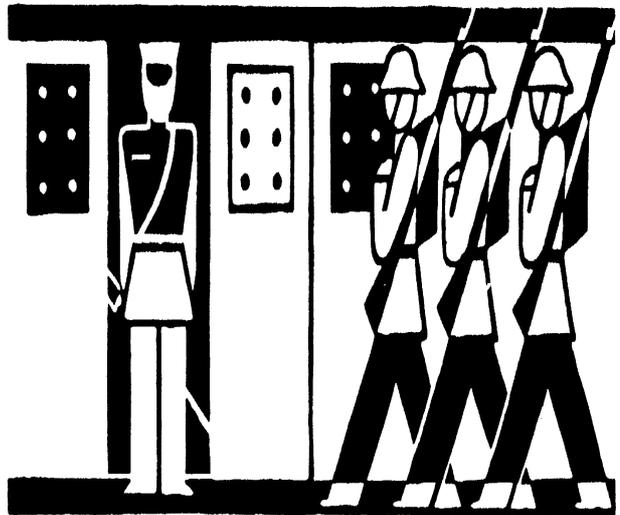
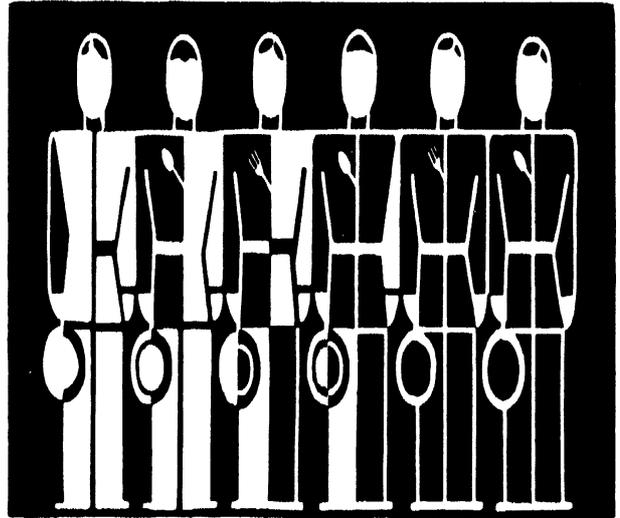
the Prisons Supervision Tribunals didn't only leave us as defenceless as before, but on top of that gave society the impression that prisoners had a defender, when they actually worked hand in hand with the Prison Administration. How many times appeals were made against the administration and the supervision tribunal came back with a refusal in the same words the administration used. If the doctors were giving prison a cover of medical respectability, the prison supervision tribunals were giving it an impression of legal respectability. A repressive system very easily break their own rules in the name of security, and if they have to go lower than the FIES regime I can't imagine what that could be, because many lives have already been lost there, by direct or by induced suicide. Either way they were murdered by the state. This is the highest expression of the torture that is prison.

Currently there are around a hundred FIES prisoners, without counting the political prisoners because they're already FIES just for being political prisoners. Although they're not actually in the FIES administrative department, those classified as first level live in much the same situation as a FIES prisoner, the difference being that they live in units with more people. However, they have the same monitored communication, another way of fucking you over, the same repression. If we add the political group to the social prisoners' group we're talking about seven hundred people.



## New Names For The Same Torture

I had the chance, through a guard who was feeling guilty, to see a document that they distributed to all prisons, in which they talk about the rationale of FIES, the function it carried out and the necessity of changing it a little now. This change meant an increase of exercise time in the yard, going out two by two, four by four, to have access to a workshop, and this and that. A series of things. But always in this ghetto, in this world, with high security measures. Obviously they can't do a new programme within FIES, because it would seem as pure torture so now what do they do? Change the name, using other abbreviations that are already in some desk drawer – PRIC, Programme for the Recovery of Troubled Inmates. I don't know how far the FIES regime will go, but for us it'll always be the FIES regime, they can call it what they like. And this is the strategy we believe we need to follow. If someday they run down FIES and start with the PRIC, we'll carry on saying "PRIC is FIES under another name". But without a doubt, within four, five, six years the abbreviation PRIC will appear and the only thing that we'll see will be another seven, eight, nine, ten, twelve years of struggles and accusations, until we exhaust the PRIC, and then they'll bring out the PRAC. It's a long struggle, but one which is necessary in order to take away from the state this tool which allows them to neutralise and exterminate people who bother them politically, or who question institutions and make demands, or show signs of leadership, or simply don't give in to the prison administration's pressure."



Kaserne 1927

# PRISONERS' LETTERS

In the second part of this pamphlet we bring together some letters, and communiqués, which let the prisoners and this new generation of “bandoleros” speak for themselves and as such can lead to a better understanding of and insight into the reality, evolution, ideas and motives of these women and men who “do not ask permission to be free, nor forgiveness because they are”, and for whom “anarchy is inevitable”

## **THE COMMUNIQUE WRITTEN IN OCT 1999, in which the proposition is made to coordinate the struggles of the prisoners in isolation.**

Dear comrades,

There are moments in which every one of us intimately believes in the possibility of a change.

When the executioner goes away, in the solitude of the cell, we know that we are capable to produce this change. Deep in ourselves, there exists the certainty and the strength sufficient to confront the prison. That is no illusion; if it was they would not hold us locked up in the isolation wings and they would not need to be 10 or 15 to torture us.

We believe that that which impedes us to struggle efficiently are to a large degree the walls we ourselves have pulled up and not so much some guards and a politics of extermination, which has, that's for sure, taken down not a few comrades. Yet, it is too easy to say that the rebellion is finished, as is demonstrated by all the protests held by those in isolation. There is no month in which no refusal to leave the cells or a hunger strike takes place, be it on an individual or collective level. We go for it, and neither the strength nor the desire are lacking. What is lacking, maybe, is to focus our struggle in another manner, not so much in a completely collective way, because before all we are rebels proud of our individuality, but nevertheless in a more coordinated way (to obtain more results). To reach more efficiency and obtain more results, it is indispensable to create a space which permits us to promote and synchronize the actions. Moreover, it would permit us to reach into the pro-prisoners movement which is composed of different collectives, sometimes closely affiliated to our ideas, sometimes not, but in all cases composed of people who want to eradicate the beatings, tortures and mistreatments we have to endure.

We have to intrude this movement because nobody can explain the prison reality better than we ourselves and give responses to the repression by passing our strength and creativity to the streets. It would make it possible to coordinate certain proposals from the inside and from the outside.

Therefore, we must become conscience of one thing: we might be junkies, thieves, anarchists or whatever; we are prisoners because we do not accept the reality they want to impose upon us. Each and every one of us, in our way, we have

rebelled against the miserable existence that is offered to us by a society that sinks in shit. That is why sometimes we have stepped in the trap of drugs, that is why we took up a weapon and, above all, that is why we suffer the repression. These are indisputable facts. Let's not lose ourselves in political theories or arguments, let's fight departing from the negation of all forms of imposition, sometimes starting from many contradictions, but always from a truth, a certainty that nobody can take away from us. It is all this we can bring to the comrades in the street, enriched with our differences and leaving behind the disillusionments caused by long years of imprisonment and resistance.

It is possible and rather easy to coordinate our forces to create a new reality where, at least, we don't die a slow death. We think it is necessary to create a space to organize our struggle. We believe that most important is to weave a communication network between ourselves the prisoners and the comrades in the street.

We propose the following: this writing, communiqué, or whatever you wish to call it, will be send to some comrades who take it upon them to distribute it amongst us to build an active front, and within legality (we precise for the oppressor), against repression. It would be great if those who feel capable to transmit on paper the impressions of those who can't, do so.

We hope we have been able to express the idea clearly so that everyone can reflect on it and that everyone contributes with his/her ideas and energy.

We believe a change is possible, the more we keep this conviction, the more possibilities we will have, to try will not cost us anything. Let's start to construct this space and in few time things will start to change.

Here we are on 'chapeo' (refusal to leave the cells), as always we refuse to obey the legal orders and the law in general. We'll send another writing about the theme. You are in many places in the same situation; we hope to hear from you.

**FORCE AND DETERMINATION**

**Collective of prisoners in isolation in Soto del Real – Madrid.**



# POSTHUMOUS LETTER OF PACO ORTIZ, PRISONER IN BADAJOZ

Badajoz 18 / 7 /03

Greetings \*\*\*\*\* and love for all comrades!

This letter will be short and concise, but, above all, posthumous.

As you know, at least most of you, I have done 20 years completely in prison, of which about 17 years in solitary confinement, and since 1991 in the F.I.ES 1 R.E. regime.

At the moment, after a short period of 6 months of freedom, married, aborted son and therefore divorced, I am already 3 years and 13 days imprisoned, from the first day – because of my face – in FIES regime; Málaga, Alicante, Picassent, Huelva, Jaén and Badajoz still today.

I am libertarian – inside and outside – from the moment I could think, and as much on the street as in prison I have fought for it; by being a grain of sand and bringing about changes as far as this is possible given the contemporary merciless behaviour of this wild and fascist capitalism. Because of the circumstances (23 years in the extermination dungeons), my struggle was especially strong in prison (although also in the street some good “strikes” – sabotage – have been given to the enemy, which I will not describe here because of lack of space, and to protect others).

In these 20 years there hasn't been one year of mutinies in which I didn't intervene directly in every aspect- ideologically, strategically and through direct action. And as is well known, we stood firm against a whole government for more than a decade despite the harsh repression.

But what happens today? In 3 years time, they only failed to bind the mouths – quite literally - of as well Claudio, Gilbert and myself.

I have enjoyed the little victories on these dogs, but I, Francis Ortiz Jiménez, have contributed directly to the dismissal of not a few General Directors of the Central Administration, Directors, chief wardens and subordinates of several prisons.

And now: not one possibility for action, even if there is, here where I am, harmony between the prisoners and in some places good blows are given from time to time. But, in general and put in a nutshell: 99 of the 100 of the prisoners, and I talk about the FIES (for the others it's more or less the same) are “asleep” because of the daily pills and against this the daily labour of making them consciousness, one per one, to make them stop with this shit that makes them so passive, does not help.

They sleep! Even if they talk and move. And nothing helps because it is as “Big Brother”, if they see you have success, they transfer you ... and back to start all over again.

Reasoned out, in a personal and intimate manner and without paying notice to the opposite opinion (which I don't ask this time) of whoever, I am determined the last years (decided I have since some time) to cease to exist.

I have tried to commit suicide several times, without “success”, in each case (I am completely sane, look good and strong, without antibodies for whatever, 43 years

old but I look young) I left one or two claim letters: freedom for all sick prisoners, an end to FIES and to the dispersals. I accused the Central Administration and the complete gang of blue bastards of inciting to suicide, and the supervision judges of acts or non-attendance (every suicide attempt gets a sanction as therapy). They have tried, in Madrid, to make it officially that I did it because I am not well in my head, they let me examine thoroughly by a extrapenitentiary psychologist in Huelva and in the hospital of Jaèn by the psychiatrist and the psychologist, both “experts”. These attempts failed (here included the report, literally transcribed from the originals).

Whatever may be, I will die, because I have decided so, free and conscious. And I will do it with a large overdose of the pills they give to people and not by chance; I know I will not disturb them with this, let’s hope it does, but I’ll be happy if they only think a bit upon it.

And, in any way, I do not only die because I “want” to (I LOVE LIFE AND DESIRE TO LIVE) but because i cannot live this way any longer; as a caged wild animal in departments that look like military secrets, where the watch dogs, on the orders of their chiefs, don’t even respect their own laws, laws made by serpents in suits and ties who govern in the name of always the same; where they don’t give you any dignity except if you make them recognize, alone, in a solitary way; where you mostly have no other “defence” than your angry voice – something they punish you for with loads of papers that prove how “wild” you are (included 4 documents, 4 small examples of personal defence of your dignity). I wait self-confidently for what comes, because that which NEVER failed me is determination, courage and loyalty.

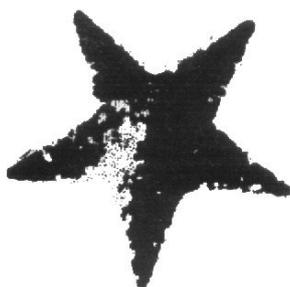
All things together, I KILL myself, for myself, for all my comrades; for the dignity of all human beings and for a free world, a world of men and women AWAKE, and without prisons.

I LOVE YOU, COMRADES.  
DESOBEDIENCE! INSURRECTION! ANARCHY, FREEDOM AND DIGNITY!

PACO

\*\*\*\* you can do with this what you want: throw it away, distribute,... I give you permission, with my fist and with my signature  
Fco. Ortiz Jiménez DNI 27375760

A HUG, AS IMMENSE AS IT IS LIBERTARIAN



## **EXCERPTS OF AMANDA'S LETTER FROM THE PRISON OF ALCAL MECO**

(...) I've claimed responsibility for committing three actions: the arson of a cash machine counter in solidarity with prisoners and against isolation; the arson of a crane in protest against the urban project of Cabanyal; the making and sending of a letter bomb, which exploded in a post office but was directed at the fascist party Espana 2000.

(...) I DON'T appreciate the exaggerations, talks about repression or use of the victimist stance which I think would be very easy for them to use . I would like to put into frame what has happened (to me) in the context of the global situation in which we live, inside of the class struggle, which existed, exists and will exist as long as there exist both State and Capitalism.

(...) I believe in the classical version of anarchy, which is based on the practice of assembling, direct action, self-management, mutual aid, counter-culture; I work towards bringing about a social revolution, which would re-construct the society and permit groups of human beings to re-organise in the way they think is best and for each individual to choose what he/she wants her life to be, wiping out once and for all with the order, the power, inequality and the suffering caused by certain people to others, other sentient being and planet Earth.

(...) This all seems obvious and you are probably asking why I talk to you about anarchy. I simply want to say that it's because of this that I conducted my life as I did and this is what I want to spread, transmit, let grow, even if I do it in this schematic way at this moment.

(...) I like the idea that, regarding the actions that I've been telling you about, they are actions which we all could do, passing on the idea that any person can strike down what oppresses him/her. Maybe it's necessary to inject a grain of sand against apathy, indifference, impotence and conformity that dwell in people; then it's possible it would bring back people's confidence and the strength to seek for what they want to make of their life. I don't know, maybe in some way I'm looking for a way to make it clear who I am for those who don't know me.

(...) The fight that I like is going on for my freedom (I didn't care about being in prison before the 7th of July, only the wall and the barbed wire, the bars and the cameras weren't as visible as they are now, or were painted with beautiful colours; to put it simply: the patio where they let me walk outside was bigger) and is the one that propagates the motives for which we/they are prisoners.

(...) I don't want fear to darken anything, for nobody to moderate their actions, for no one to contain him/herself, to change their form of action, use other ways of talking, look for other ways, do other things of this type. I have full confidence in the instruments carried and used by anarchy. If somebody doesn't want to have any prob-

lems then he/she should change from being an anarchist to being a boy-scout. Being an anarchist will always be a problem wherever injustice is institutionalized, always.

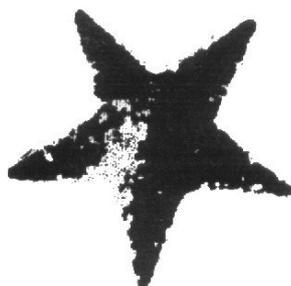
(...) One doesn't have to think of them to act, our decisions cannot be influenced by the supposed reaction of the police, judges, press, etc. It would mean letting them enter to be a part of our movement. And this we can't allow. Our objectives cannot be derived from anything that doesn't arise from ourselves.

(...) Like the song says, what frightens me most is that everything continues being the same, and like another song says: don't expect things to change without you, they won't change.

(...) I hope that what I've told you will serve some purpose. Your help gives me strength. I know that I'm not alone, my cell is too little for all the people that are with me.

How does it go? Anarchy is inevitable!

Amanda



## **LETTER FROM CAROL FORNE ROIG FROM THE PRISON OF BRIEVA-AVILA**

Brieva, October 30, 2003

Dear friends and comrades,

Here we stay, from the barricade nº 13 of the front of Ávila. Yes, you see, my cell number is 13. I was never superstitious, but now I like to think that this detail will bring me luck.

Despite another cloudy day and the low temperatures, my spirit is still high and free. And I want you to know that your letters are capable of jumping over the walls and getting through the bars. They come through, I don't know if they all do, but they come. Your words make me smile, give me strength, and these other words, those which are not spoken nor written, but much more felt; these words reach me in the deepest part my soul.

You and we know that struggling is always worth the pain and that resisting is no longer just an option but has become a necessity and, at the same time, a pleasure. This certainty unites us so much that no extermination centre, no isolation regime, no sentence for years without being able to embrace each other or look each other in the eyes, can separate us.

The dungeon that they have assigned to me is small, but here you are with me. This is the only sort of visit that they cannot authorize or deny, they cannot even intervene in it. In the same way I hope you can feel me outside, at your side, at every step, because step by step (and wrong step by wrong step as well), the magic of our struggle will make anarchy a reality. A reality that has already begun to take shape in our hearts, in our relationships, in our daily lives. And that is not just an illusion, I saw in the eyes of my comrades at the moment of entering prison and, even without seeing each other, I know it intuitively in their and your looks.

Our decision was to break the chains and to try to reclaim our lives, because the consequences of such a decision, however crude and difficult they might be, cannot make us slaves, on the contrary, they make us free. Wherever we are, in prison or in the 4<sup>th</sup> grade, freedom is carried in ourselves. If not, then it is because we didn't discover it yet.

I know that our comrade prisoners in Thessalonica started a hunger strike on the 5<sup>th</sup> of October latest. From here, I want to pass on my support to them. They know there are no distances or walls that can separate us, and I hold them very close.

On the other hand, I could read how the official press exploited our struggle in support of the FIES prisoners to present us as dangerous and "destabilizing" elements. Cause sure, according to this press we have visited prisoners of GRAPO and Claudio, the anarchist, "brain and responsible" for everything that happens. Maybe these professionals of the lie have consulted the IIPP and know that this was not the case. In fact, these visits were never allowed to us "for reasons of security". In spite of this detail, yes, we have participated in the struggle for the abolition of the FIES and other demands. And for sure we will continue to do that.

You know that we have been assigned to the FIES 3. This I can observe on my prisoners' card but it was in no way notified to me, it means that our conditions are somewhat special even if we are in a 2<sup>nd</sup> degree unit as the one I find myself. It can be different in every prison, but in Brieva do these special conditions imply that you are alone in the cell and that we can not have cells next to other FIES prisoners, we cannot work together with the others in the workplaces (for "reasons of security", of course), they can search specifically the cells where we are, intervene in all our communications (oral-visits, written and telephone).

The reasons for these interventions, according to the notice, are: "The criminal and dangerous capacity of the detained, as is shown by the imputed offence of Terrorism; the presumed alliance of the detained with a terrorist organisation; the possibility that through the communications data are passed on that might affect the security of the Centre and its workers".

Therefore, the letters we can send are limited to two a week. Otherwise, the regime

and time schedule are the same as for the rest of the prisoners. The most notable difference is that our wardens have to observe us, analyse our reactions, states of mind, relations and pass on everything. These are the data that will make up our file. And by more than one comrade not categorized as FIES 3 I was told that they'd better not associate with certain "bad company" (I think that was about me).

Let's say that my relations with the comrades are good and that the support we give one to the other is vital.

Well, that's how it is in this little prison of Brieva. You'll hear more about me because I believe this is the place where I will stay for a time.

Solidarity with Fernando, Carlos, Amanda, Eduardo and with all anarchist and revolutionary prisoners! A very special salute for my comrades in this case!

Greetings, anarchy and prison demolition.

Carol

WE DO NOT ASK PERMISSION TO BE FREE.  
NEITHER DO WE ASK PARDON TO BE IT.



## **LETTER FROM MICHELE PONTOLILLO, ANARCHIST PRISONER IN STRUGGLE**

I announce that at 12 o'clock of December 7 2000, I will start an indefinite hunger strike.

Given the situation of growing repression which we live inside as well as outside prison, and departing from the inalienable right of every individual to revolt against the omnipotence and arrogance of those in Power, I announce that at 12 o'clock on December 7, 2000 I will start an indefinite hunger strike for the reasons I would like to expose here.

For some years we can observe a considerable aggravation of the repressive activities of the imperialist European States designed to criminalize and diminish the activism of the social and political movement, of which the anarchist movement which is well rooted in those countries where the proletarian and revolutionary struggles continued, as in Spain, Italy or Greece.

Wherever we look, the view is desolate. The restructuration of capitalism incited by the massive use of communication technologies led to new contradictions

which are much more difficult to handle by the governments through a policy of consent. The States, and by extension society as a whole, have but to adapt themselves to the new demands of capitalism ever more exclusive.

The reduction of the costs of production, the rising unemployment rates, the flexibility and precariousness of work, with as immediate consequence the proletarianisation of social layers previously close to the middle class, the attraction of cheap labour from third world countries, the dismantling of the welfare-state on which was based the social pact already precare between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, these are all decisive aspects of a reality which allow us to foresee, not only an uncertain future for all those who take part in the production process and are trapped between the slavery of work and the fear of joining the ranks of the jobless, but also a radicalization of the class struggle. The uncertainty and insecurity of the future, the rising numbers of those excluded from the production process and pushed to the margins of a life of misery and mere survival, put this system of exploitation into question.

The French writer Jacques Attali describes with poignant realism this new scenario that comes to reality at an accelerated speed in the opulent West: *"Europe hasn't changed really, only in a certain way of conceiving social order, a totally new capitalism is coming up, a global capitalism which will modify profoundly the role of the States and nations in the world. A capitalism driven by new forces where a new elite will emerge and where the totality of the traditional classes will be proletarianized. Very soon, in the place of the wage-earner there will be but a huge declassed proletariat; a triumphant superclass will float in the muddy waters of misery and the price of success of a tiny minority will be the marginalization of the majority and the violence of the underclass"*.

Faced with this the State has enormous difficulties in conserving the consensus about its institutions and about the growing popular protests, of which some take a clear distance from the official approved mode of actions of the parties and "labour" unions domesticated and loyal to their friends the bosses, developing autonomous and self-regulating forms of struggle.

So, what will be the formula the State adopts to contain within acceptable limits the general discontent and radicalization of the social struggles?

No more nor less than give full powers to its oppressive institutions to make an end to this arising situation, together with an obsessive and paranoid insistence on the perfectionism of its "war on terrorism" machinery and on "law and order", political euphemisms for the control and elimination of all dissidence, real, potential, or imagined. If the repression uses or not its instrument of war (police, rubber bullets, lead bullets, frame-ups, arbitrary detentions, etc.) depends on the level of the class struggle. Today, it is before the eyes of the whole world that the State deploys and boasts about its coercitive and repressive means of power, undoubtedly a sign of the fact that the conflict between exploited and exploiters has risen considerably.

The first "victims" of the repressive beast of the State are of course the rebellious proletarians who have become conscious of their situation as exploited and oppressed and who struggle in the first lines against the power and all its expressions. In the middle of this insurgent proletariat are the anarchists, declared opponents of the imposition of State and Capital, and standing for a political and social project close to the socialist ideas, according to which it are the workers who are the one and only producers of social wealth, and who can and have to liberate

themselves from the domination of the capitalist bourgeoisie so as to be for once and all masters of their lives and of their future. Even those who only have the slightest knowledge of the principles which animate anarchism, know that anti-authoritarianism and anti-capitalism are the foundation of anarchist theory and practice. The anarchists are sworn enemies of all hierarchies, of whatever imposition or domination, wherever it comes from or whatever one may call it; fierce defenders of life and freedom, of selfdetermination and independence of the individual and the people s/he belongs to, desiring a selfregulated society as the only base on which we can build a more just, equal and free world.

It is at that moment, when the proletariat prepares itself to take the initiative and its longing for freedom has awoken, as happened numerous times in the course of its existence as a class, that the State throws off its mask and shows its real ugly face, violent and criminal, whatever the liberal or democratic ornaments it is clouded in. The methods the State uses to end the proletarian revolts are known by all of us, its hands are drowned in innocent blood. We remember the infamous GAL, the basque-spanish bataillon and other armed gangs organized by the state, destined to sow fear and terror within the population, inert and stunned when one after the other fell those who had the courage to question and to struggle against the system. Let's remind also in Italy the bombs at the Plaza Fontana in Milano or in the train station of Bologna, which caused the death of hundreds of people. Till today, these atrocities have still not been completely resolved; the Italian State merely recognized the implication of some men of its secret services in these barbarian and criminal acts. But as much as they want to cover up, we know the truth: the attacks were planned and ordered at the highest regions of power; it was state terrorism which, in a desperate attempt to counter the revolutionary offensive of the proletariat, is responsible for hundreds of innocent deaths.

More recently, the Italian State brought numerous anarchists before its Holy Courts of inquisition on the accusation to be members of an incredible, if not to say grotesque, armed organisation, hierarchical, with leaders, lieutenants and action commandos. All this went hand in hand with a criminalisation campaign which incited to a real hunt for anarchists. All those who declared themselves for the revolution and libertarian communism or had whatever relationship with anarchism were systematically persecuted and imprisoned. The hunt soon had some results and cost the lives of two anarchist comrades, Soledad and Eduardo, dead thanks to the State when they found themselves locked up in its vile prisons.

Things haven't changed since. The State continues to use political-judicial constructions as weapons to suffocate the centres of the proletarian resistance which arise everywhere where the social contradictions are most harsh. As in the case of the three anarchist comrades from Madrid accused of having sent letter bombs to journalists in the service of the most reactionary Spanish newspapers. The operation is designed and executed, as is usual in such cases, by the offices of the ministry of interior, the provincial brigade or, which comes to the same thing, the political police, which assures that the accused will be brought before those judicial authorities charged with opening the doors of prison where one will learn the significance of pain, suffering and powerlessness. The evidence? Maintaining relationships with anarchists and imprisoned rebellious proletarians. Nevertheless, to make sure that the judicial constructions produce the wanted results it is necessary to bring in essential elements such as public lynching, the personal and political discrediting of the suspects, and the moral condemnation of their acts, their ways of being, of feeling, of thinking. The communication media of the State play a

crucial role in this aspect and prepare the ground so as to enable the repression to act freely, they charge themselves with criminalising and slandering the individuals, groups and collectives considered inconvenient and embarrassing for those in power. The game is really perverse: the journalists give the signal and accuse, the courts condemn and the prisons execute.

This education of the consciousness of the masses, always occupied with demonstrating the unprovable, that is, that this world as it is organized now is the best of all possible worlds, excellent manipulators of reality and unequalled artists of distortion; they call lying and slander "freedom of expression", media lynching "right of information"; they mark as "terrorism" active solidarity with the politically oppressed imprisoned for life in the extermination centres of capitalism, cover up the tortures and assassinations committed every day in the police stations and prisons, the annihilation of rebellious proletarians in the isolation wings under the FIES label, the dispersion, the slow and painful death of the incurable and terminally ill prisoners, all the while appealing to the omnipotent "Constitutional and Democratic State".

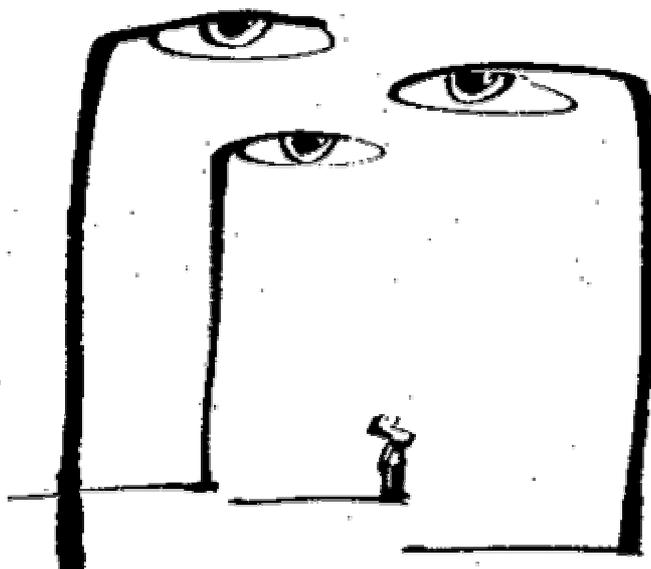
Faced with a scenario one can define, without too much dramatism, as Dantesque, there are only two options: either blind and devoted submission to the domination of capitalism, or the spontaneous and passionate rebellion against all that oppresses and exploits us.

- \* Closing down of the isolation units and abolition of the FIES
- \* An end to all dispersions
- \* Immediate release of all incurable prisoners

**DOWN WITH THE PRISON WALLS!!**  
**VIVA LA ANARQUIA!!**

Michele Pontolillo, italian anarchist prisoner imprisoned in the extermination centre of Villabona (Asturias).

Michelle Pontolillo is now in :  
C.P. Madrid V (Aranjuez)  
Carretera Nacional 400 Km 28  
28300 Aranjuez – Madrid



## MESSAGE FROM GABRIEL BEO SAMPEDRO

Greetings to all,

From the FIES-unit of the prison of Badajoz, as a prisoner surviving in an isolation wing, guarded by individuals whose aim it is to eliminate those who resist the hostility endured on this corridor, we let you know that in the isolation units of the Spanish prisons an indefinite strike started... A hunger strike with the aim of defending ourselves against the repression and fascist methods the mercenaries of the state deploy permanently against the prisoners in isolation.

The three demands which are, so one can say, not negotiable are:

- 1) The release of all sick prisoners
- 2) The abolition of isolation and the FIES
- 3) An end to the dispersions

It is now more than a year ago that in the isolation units different protest actions began, such as refusals to leave the cells, to undress, hunger strikes, etc., so as to be heard and to make our demands known. But the answers of the institutions consisted only of more repression, beginning with the transfers to different prisons, the seizure of correspondence, the beatings and harassment of the prisoners, and this permanently and without provocation, so we definitively can speak about psychological torture...

But this did not in the least lower the fighting spirit of the comrades, on the contrary, since we knew they would try to frighten us and to silence us with repression; because one cannot defeat reason, because reason is on our side, because we all know that prison is not meant to reintegrate, but to punish and to destroy those who don't recognize the false democracy they want to sell us, and resist against the established social order, and fight against it.

Who knows how many men and women are robbed of all their rights as human beings; but as time goes by we will organize ourselves and become a force to be reckoned with...

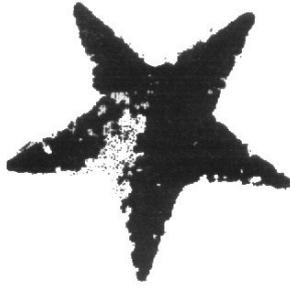
In the Spanish state the communication media till now suppress the situation of the prisoners, if they say something about it at all it is to criminalize the FIES-prisoners. On the other hand, the police are elaborating a construction to justify the arrest of comrades who support the struggle, a struggle whose only purpose is freedom. They even go so far as to say that we are associated with ETA...

I send this manifesto with the aim that it will be spread as widely as possible, and to make the situation in the prisons of the Spanish state known, prisons where people are kept in isolation for years, where prisoners die suffering from AIDS, where we are transferred to places far from home, where beatings of prisoners are a daily matter...

We have nothing to do with an armed organisation; we only demand the right to freedom and to live. Everything that is said with the aim of criminalizing our non-violent struggle is idiocy worthy of only the narrow minds that oppress us. May they go to hell!!

Spread this as soon as possible.

FREEDOM FOR ALL



## FROM THE OTHER SIDE

21/12/2000

*Gabriel Pombo da Silva escaped at the end of 2003 from prison Nanclares de la Oca (Langraitz) in Spain. From the other side of the prison walls he wrote this message, which was put on the net in February 2004. He was re-arrested in Germany in June 2004. Gabriel has spent nearly 20 years in prison, 13 years under the FIES regime. At the age of sixteen he was sentenced the first time for robberies. He became an anarchist in prison and is one of those who struggled against the FIES from the beginning; he wrote many letters and articles, participated in all the collective actions, the hunger strikes, etc. (In the book of Xosé Tarrío: "Huye, hombre, huye. Diario de un preso FIES", he is mentioned several times.)*

To my comrades and my family: I would have liked to make an end for ones and for all to this death weight of prisons, persecutions and evasions... I say this with a burning heart; yet, I fear that I am obliged to live constantly with a past conditioning the present and the future, which pushes me always further into a desperate and surrealist situation of tension and confrontation with all and everything that configures, structures and comprises the world, existence and life in all its aspects.

I cannot, I do not want and I do not have to submit myself anymore to the dominant logic of those who, during all those years, have tortured my/our bodies/souls/existence and have pretended to orient/control and regulate me/us on the so called way of socialisation and normalisation.

TO THE OTHERS...

You have tortured me/us to the limits of the unbearable; you have broken all your law books of alleged ethical-moral-political values by the use of your formal-concrete laws/norms/institutions and representatives... so be it... I would have liked to be able to do things (all things) from a more relaxed and free situation.... Nevertheless, not satisfied with taking from me/us 20 YEARS (the supposed limit for the deprivation of freedom under the old criminal code in the Spanish state, today elevated by the Aznar government to 40 years with retroactive working) of my/our existence, they also want to take/rob my/our MEMORY-WORD-LIBERTY-EVERYTHING...

It is enough!!! Finished with the commandments, the farce, the silence, the humiliations, the tortures... Today I am FREE (as free as a human being can be who lives exiled from his land and his loved-ones) and I can SPEAK and ACT... I can sleep with a good conscience able to at least support-share with all those

persons/collectives who just as me have suffered, suffer and will suffer the VIOLENCE of the STATES-INSTITUTIONS-GOVERNMENTS-LAWS...

When the LAWS-NORMS turn into instruments of VENGEANCE in the hands of the powers that be, there is no other remedy left for us than to ignore-despise-denounce and fight them in all their expressions/manifestations... When Rights only serve the interests and the ambitions of a few, we ourselves are the only Left...

I will not here and now explain all the concrete cases which show ALL the abuses of power that have been done, are done and will be done against us by the past and coming CONSTITUTIONAL STATE...

In the Spanish state, my brothers and sisters rot in Special Units which were illegal in the beginning, then semi-legal, and later legal... A regime, the F.I.E.S., C.D.1, in which since its instauration (year 1991) 13 COMRADES in struggle and rebellion have lost their lives; the last one, Paco Ortiz; brother and friend...

There is no truce!!! We will never rest in peace until you have done away with your military secrets! We will not cease to scream-express our disgust-rage for your democratic fascism, so that, at the end, you neither will be able to sleep peacefully!!!

I know that we are almost alone in this struggle against you and your institutions/representatives; that the times have changed so that almost nobody cares when some criminalized persons are driven crazy and die under general or quasi general indifference... Personally, I am so convinced and in love with FREEDOM, all FREEDOMS, that I will struggle with all my energy, feelings and passions to (at least try to) change, destroy this world and create ANOTHER WORLD than the one you have left for us with your AUTHORITY/AUTHORITARIANISM.

#### TO THOSE WITH US

I make an appeal to all those persons-collectives-organisations and peoples who today, in the 21st century, struggle for more Dignity, Autonomy and FREEDOM... I nourish no hope to come out-standing out of this « adventure », therefore i would like that i/we in our struggle against tyranny and tyrants could be a reference and sign of continuity for all persons-groups-collectives who declare themselves lovers of freedom...

I make an appeal to all these journalists (not to those who are spokespersons for the state) to be courageous, fierce and responsible and that they enter in these Special Units of Spain, France, Germany, the USA, etc. and see with their own eyes what I am referring too...

Evidently, I don't nourish any hope that the States will renounce to their instruments of domination and torture; neither that they give in to the goodwill of these groups/organisations/etc. who denounce these concrete FACTS/SITUATIONS and other... such as the F.I.E.S. ...the D.E.R.T. and, further away geographically but closer in time, the situation of the Taliban war hostages in Guantanamo (juridical-legally absolutely and manifestly unjustifiable), the legal assassinations of Yankees, especially against the Afro-Americans and Latinos.

#### TO MINE

And to you, family... friends and comrades, I say that you live in my heart and that I regret to deprive you of my companionship and presence, that's how it is, that's how my consciousness/my heart dictates...

For those who have left me alone in this decision of struggle and freedom, as well as for the traitors and enemies, a smile of profound and eternal contempt. GREETINGS; ANARCHY AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION!!!

Gabriel Pombo da Silva

# CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEBATE

Many of us live in this reality of Capitalist domination without giving it enough importance. Many think actually that the matter only concerns them up to a certain point, then think that it is enough to make a few booklets, to write some article in the magazines of the movement, then to distribute them in such a way to be in peace with oneself and with the others. I don't know how many are really aware what is really happening with the social repression in general. And then, the situation in prison and its reality is even more grave.

How it is possible that the System always manages to isolate this world from the eyes of those who live outside. In this last 20 years we have seen impressive changes, most of it in the Control Apparatus and its systems with their horrible Penitentiary structures, built outside urban areas, in order to increase even more the iso-



lation and erase the memory about its guests; they are born everywhere like mushrooms, very expensive buildings that cost from 7000 to 8000 million pesetas each and for 1200/1500 places, that is more than 4 millions pesetas for each prisoner. How many decent rooms could they build for those who don't have one with this amount of money? But the System is not concerned about homeless people. Its concern is how to stop the ever growing rage of the excluded and at the same time how to make business out of it. A double business that responds perfectly to the demands of the market laws, you just have to create the conditions in society: exploitation, marginalisation, drugs are (some of the important) weapons used with intelligence and which provoke 3 possible ways. Those who accept and enter completely in their functionality, those who don't accept and put themselves at the margins and try to struggle to change things, and the victims. Three very different realities.

Those who bend their heads and decide to serve the system throughout all their miserable existence, will probably have everything they want (or almost), provided that they humiliate themselves enough. In the world of labour they may one day be able to get a step higher and evolve from exploited to exploiter, to be a part of the "good-thinkers", sick from security hysteria, sooner or later they will have goods to protect themselves and will enter the collective of those who will "change the universal value of justice for the value of security". For him/her security will be more important than justice and their way of thinking and feeling will transform in the only way possi-

ble, he/she will think, isolated by efficient systems of misinformation, that if there are crimes, then part of the population must be locked up and, if circumstances allow it, exterminated. To him/her prisons are necessary, just and indisputable.

On the other side there are those who are victims of the situation created by the system, those who blinded by this consumer society don't understand in time the dictatorship exercised through small and big screens, that imposes its orders, its ethics, since you're a child impress on you that if you don't have a car or this or that cloth mark, you are piece of shit, or you don't deserve to live. These are true orders, invitations to crime, which sooner or later and with reasons will push the excluded to defy the laws of the rich to give themselves also an opportunity. If in the attempt they fail, there is prison and its harsh laws. For this class of excluded, it's not allowed to enter the world of the Artificial Beauties without bending their heads, all the weight of the injustice will fall over them, condemning them to long sentences for minor crimes and as such they will feed the industrial prison system and the whole net that maintains it: banks, business groups, stockholders etc. which will on their turn finance the Political Parties, principal promoters of this particular way of investing public money.

Finally there are those who have developed a class consciousness and that had enough time to build it during the course of their existence, those who have understood the necessity and urgency of reacting against the established order of things. Those who are called social rebels, and even more so if they have a class consciousness, live the same reality with the same end pre-established for them by the powerful; they as well as the others are enemies of their interests and ideologies, since they have not adopted themselves to the demands of the circumstances, they deserve all the same treatment... prison. For those who are captured, the same possibilities as in the "free" society present themselves (on a smaller scale this time): to adapt yourself and bend your head or to refuse everything and struggle. Again the same game with the same alternatives as is the case outside.

There is one thing which is fundamental to understand to have all a clear vision of a common aim, that efficiency counters systems efficiency. Prison is the ideal place where the class struggle of the excluded has the biggest opportunity of development, because of being a place with abundance of injustices, making the prisoners unite as it is indispensable. Obviously, to get there we have to create conditions for our unity to become a fact, for example with solidarity and presence of those outside is indispensable to achieve something in jail. We need this unification, we need to triumph in this struggle to show ourselves that this is possible to win this match against the system, to work together for a society without prisons.

SALUD Y LIBERTAD

Claudio Lavazza



# CRITIQUE AND ANALYSIS OF ANARCHISM TODAY

(Collective of libertarian prisoners of Jaén 2, 1999)

Our convictions lead us to affirm that we are anarchists without regrets. Because of being anarchists, we are against every form of power, because it is there where the exploitation of people begins.

Then, those who refuse this inhuman relationship, are against State, because it represents the organization of power in society; we are against churches because they are institutions that dominate materially and spiritually using the religious and moral feelings of the crowds, justifying the rich, defending and sharing with them privileges and richness, complicities and responsibilities in the oppression of the people. In few words, we anarchists are against institutions, because in them are concentrated the ideological causes of the exploitation of the people, of the theft through property, of the lies, of the degenerations, of the repressions and murders of thousands of people all over the world. We are convinced ( in difference with any other ideology) that society, the human community, can be organized in such way that the individual by itself can be self determined, self governed, developing and enriching itself of all its potentials, choosing its own existential route, with the sensibility that is characteristic of it. This is the pure essence of some ideas that cannot be questioned from a revolutionary point of view.

As consequence of what we already wrote, anarchists don't limit themselves to the mystic contemplation of an hypothetical society of tomorrow. That's why we feel we have the reason to criticize those who, after some clear actions of sabotage and attack to the system of repression have chosen to accuse and criminalize us all the comrades coherent

with libertarian praxis , that since the value that freedom has we have the dignity, the courage to affirm our ideas with the coherence of our acts.

These are sad events in present times, times of social peace, times of compromises for some; and reality of social war for others.

Unluckily, in the heterogenic anarchic universe, it exists one group of individuals, very well accommodated in the system, with which they share authoritarian tendencies and privileges, and that call themselves anarchists.

Some of them have big "BRAINS", others have considerable bank accounts and social status, and others are academics that support the institutions. All of them show their particular anarchism with perfect and splendid articles in newspapers and expensive books. They have the peculiarity, apart from paying lots of attention to the facts of expressing themselves clearly against State and Capital, like the fear of losing their privileges, the honesty of their bank accounts, the quiet achieved. They share mentalities and behaviours of the politicians in power. In the press of the "democratic system" their are portrayed as the "good anarchists", the ones with capital "A", because they preach one ideal society that the others will have to achieve but that they themselves are not willing to confront the dominants for: they make us sick from the fear they have towards their masters, and they scream their sentences like mad people, every time an attack against oppression is made. They defend the structures and the people in power, they sell " arms and cases" to the imposed social peace. On the other hand, there are anarchists

comrades that show themselves as the missionaries of the revolution of tomorrow. This comrades that have a concept of anarchism that don't deny the necessity of generalized insurrection neither of the need of the immediate individual revolt, are the ones that defend the true libertarian culture, the authentic anarchism, without fearing the consequences of their ideas; that's why they not only understand the need the insurrection of the crowds, but also that of each individual that feels oppressed, mutilated, offended in the present society, in its own dignity of being free and that confronted to this situation, rebellion is the answer. Certainly it is not possible to reduce the immense universe of the anarchic world to one unique point of view, because it is made of as many points of view as the people that constitute it. We only tried to show some characteristics in order to come to a dynamic and constructive debate: the need of getting rid of the apathy and lack of initiative of today.



To finish, we think that every person starting from NOW, doesn't have to give up their own self determination for a false promise of inexistent social peace due to the "historical" illusion that only the strength of the masses of the exploited proletarians, of the oppressed, of the excluded will one day maybe reach the dream of a world free from the presence of the State-Capital, controller of Our Life and Our Future. But, what do we mean with the individual's self-determination, that if you are homeless, you squat one; that if police comes and evict you, you squat another one. That if you don't have any economical sources, you proceed to give away the richness accumulated in Capitals of offices, conscious that this richness belongs to everyone and that it has been stolen from us, what can be translated

into robberies to banks and offices where there is too much richness, product of the exploitation of the people. We think that we have to appropriate enough dignity that leads us to quit the self-pity feeling and to attack capital without fear to loose the misery that they concede us. Squatting, expropriation, are responses and attitudes that were not invented by anarchists, these facts are so widespread that the system can barely stop them, and not without many difficulties. We believe firmly in the strength of the so-called "social rebel" that fights for her/his dignity in confrontation with the power that wants to force him/her to the slavery and humiliation of wage salary. In this context, we anarchists have the duty and the coherence of being in their side, giving justification and reason to their actions, so that tomorrow we are united in the final struggle, reaching at last the revolutionary social emancipation.

We believe firmly that the anarchist rebels have to do something more than only revindicating the rebellion of the excluded to live with more pleasure. The attack against State-Capital has immense value because it maintains this society in the conditions of permanent conflicts that questions the projects of social peace of the democratic doctrines and of those who always have tried to put a break to the movement, convinced that State-Capital are invincible. That's why we have to understand and use methods that don't respect the law of the rich and powerful nor their codes, the miserable speech included in the democratic frames... We have a wide range of methods, from pamphlets, to eggs in the face of politicians, squatting of empty spaces, sabotage, military or social insubmission, the expropriation of richness accumulated in banks or supermarkets, refusing of paying taxes that finance

things we don't want to, to the struggle of prisoners. For the anarchist rebels, there is no dialogue with the power and its institutions; there is only conflictivity and confrontation. There is one horizon common for everyone, that is the ideal tension, the ethics of one behaviour that fulfils the existence of each individual that identifies itself with this anarchism of reducing to the "Reason of State", one concept of revolt (...), far away from a political and opportunist vision. One concept of growing in quality together with other individuals, with the principle of self-determination of beings that find the reasons of their existences and of the attack to State and Capital inside themselves.

We are conscious that we are living in a state of social war, where there is neither time nor space to mediate, because power, since the moment we were born, didn't even loose one second in declaring itself our natural enemy. We are firmly convinced that it is our comrades, those who each day die due to drugs and parallel diseases, victims of a dirty business that feeds the criminal groups ( mafia, cartels) established all over the world and with tight relationships between governments and bank systems. It is our comrades, those who everyday die in the prisons reserved for the poor, victims of social conditions and of beatings and tortures from the State-paid executioner. It is our comrades those who die in work accidents, victims of the labour camps of the wage labour.

We are with our hearts and with the materialism of the existence of thousands of people that suffer and struggle to keep high the flag of dignity of the free individuals convinced that we don't negotiate our freedom with our enemies: **WE TAKE IT.**

**WHO IS NOT FREE TODAY, WILL SHE/HE BE TOMORROW?**

## THE PRISONS OF DEMOCRACY



*This text was written to be handed out to visitors to the exhibition "Franco's prisons". This exhibition contains materials about the "inhumanity" of those prisons, as if to say "this was then, now this no longer exists". So we decided to print this text and try to tell some truths to the blinded regular citizens who believes in mass-media and who is unaware of what happens in prisons nowadays*

Since Franco's death and the coming of the long awaited "democracy" of a State of rights, we've seen how the number of prisons not only hasn't dropped, which was the logical inference for every person who believes democracy is the universal panacea and THE freedom; contrary to what the constitutional left wing parties promised, more prisons are built, but this time away from big cities,

hidden, isolated... so they can't be seen now even though they're much bigger. They keep telling us they're going to build more huge prisons to reduce the overcrowding of the existing ones. They are even going to renew some of them, like Barcelona's Modelo. But the reality is that at the end of Franco's dictatorship, in 1974, 14.760 persons were imprisoned, 9.390 after the amnesty of 77, and now, at the beginning of the year 2004, there's almost 54.000, obviously still suffering overcrowding, facing a sometimes more subtle repression, or as hard and sadistically as before.

Isolation is one of the modern ways of psychological torture that is being applied in many ways as a revenge. The first one is prison's remoteness from big urban areas, which makes it difficult (when it doesn't prevent) family or friends from visiting, due to bad public transportation, to work schedules or due to economic restraints: besides transportation, we must remember the money involved in sending clothes, money so the prisoner can buy some stuff, lawyers etc...) But this isolation gets worse when those in prison are there because of their rebellion, or the people that have been condemned for things related to their ideology, those who obviously don't fit the system. Or even the people that are suffering this isolation because the Governor or the prison officer just wants it that way. In these cases, isolation gets much worse: all those people are being scattered, and that means not just some hours to visit someone, but over 1000 km. of distance to get a visiting room for 40 minutes separated by glass. After that, the return journey, with the tiredness provoked by such big distances, tiredness that end up in some deaths of family and friends on the roads. And this is only when you can afford driving those distances.

But the problems are far from ending there. If walls and distances weren't

enough, in 1991 FIES was created (FIES stands for Special Prisoners Monitoring File) and is able to totally isolate (in a prison inside the prison) those classified with FIES 1-direct control, or DERT in Catalonia. Those can be kept 23 hours a day in a cell, going out for only an hour and alone, with communications with the outside limited and always controlled (read, photocopied, recorded...). This situation can last for months or years, but it is better to be unaware of that, right? But, hey, on Sunday we're going to see an exhibition about how bad things were under Franco, because now these things don't happen...or do they?

No, torture is not like before, at least not on such a scale. Now they have to be more subtle about leaving marks on prisoners since we're living in Europe and thank god (or thank Bush), we live in a state of rights and with human rights, so we can shout "stop violence". Those who deny that in police station cells people are being tortured are the same that years ago claimed the non-existence of GAL (note: GAL was a counterterrorist force that used straight terrorism against ETA and GRAPO, resulting in many killings. It was founded on the 80's under the "socialist government" of political party PSOE) The same ones that think that these are isolated cases and that justice will do justice are the same that thought that GAL was only about "some uncontrolled" people that had no ties with the socialist government. Sadly enough, those who now suffer from that are the same that suffered them in the transition (*to democracy after Franco's death*) and that suffered during dictatorship. The difference lies in the fact that now we can talk about the horrors of dictatorship (we MUST uncover them, they say) and so the Generalitat (Catalonia's government) can carry the flag of historical justice for the dictatorship's victims

From 1992 to 1998, 1996 torture reports were presented, more than half on them

in Madrid and Basque Country against Guardia Civil and Policia Nacional, but also against prison officers, regional police and city police. Lots of these reports end up in nothing, others “are lost” in the court’s archives and some of the sentences end up in acquittals, decorations and promotions given in recognition to the counterterrorist fight of the officer.

Tyrants foment diseases like hepatitis or AIDS denying access to new and clean syringes arguing that drugs in prison are illegal, and so “no heroin exists within prison”, causing lots of new infections every year. Since when does illegality and non-existence mean the same thing? Even worse when those who accept or carry the biggest quantities of drugs are the same police officers, a fact that the media censorship is not always able to hide, like in the prison of Ponent (Lleida) not long ago.

How many times is a prisoner who enters a critical stage of illness kept inside the prison in pain and with a lack of medical attention and means that the law “guarantees”? Sometimes this continues until the prisoner is dying and is driven to the hospital, or straight to some family member’s house, so he officially doesn’t die in the state’s hands, thus minimizing the numbers of deaths in prison. Even so, they can’t hide the more than 1000 deaths in Catalan prisons during the 90’s, most of them due to infectious diseases, but also what they call “suicides” and we call state crimes.

We could go on talking about work exploitation, controlled in Catalonia by CIRE, where Marta Ferrussola, who is the wife of the ex-Catalonia president Jordi Pujol, gets a good profit by paying the prisoners less than 1€/hour.

Or also talking about hidden life-long imprisonment that exists due to elimination some imprisonment term reductions, the

extension of maximum imprisonment terms –always arguing “terrorism”. But it’s only a matter of time before these things are applied to all prisoners. Also about how they continue to ignore the laws by not freeing people who have spent more than 20 years in prison, and so on... Prisons will never be social rehabilitation centres, because there’s no possible rehabilitation in this society; the only alternative we’re given, and it doesn’t matter which side of the walls you’re on, is submission. Dissidence and rebellion are, were and will always be crimes, since those in power are the ones who make the laws to protect themselves, and those who fight against power were, are and will in future be repressed, whether under democracy or dictatorship.

**YESTERDAY AGAINST FASCISM  
TODAY AGAINST CAPITALISM  
ALWAYS AGAINST AUTHORITY**



