

# THE JOURNAL

OF THE INTERNATIONAL OF ANARCHIST FEDERATIONS

EDITION ONE



**BRISONS LES MURS  
QUI NOUS ENFERMENT !  
ABBATTIAMO I MURI  
QUE CI RINCHIUDONO !  
BREAK DOWN THE WALLS  
THAT ENCLOSE US !  
¡ ROMPAMOS LOS MUROS  
QUE NOS ENCIERRAN !**



SOLIDARITE SOLIDARITA SOLIDARITY SOLIDARIDAD

L'IFA est une organisation internationale de fédérations anarchistes qui se rattache, par son pacte associatif et son action, aux principes de la première Internationale anarchiste qui s'est constituée à Saint-Imier en 1872.

L'IFA lutte pour:

Abolir toute forme d'autorité qu'elle soit économique, politique, sociale, religieuse, culturelle ou sexuelle.

Construire une société libre, sans classes ni États ni frontières, fondée sur le fédéralisme libertaire et l'entraide.



L'action de l'IFA se basera toujours, tant au plan pratique que théorique, sur l'action directe, contre le parlementarisme et le réformisme. Les fédérations, adhérentes à l'IFA, s'engagent à développer entre elles la solidarité la plus efficace dans tous les domaines ; à coopérer et coordonner toute initiative ; à fournir une aide régulière à l'IFA et à son secrétariat ; à développer, à l'échelle mondiale, l'action anarchiste. Chaque fédération étant autonome dans sa propagande et son développement.



**L'ARMÉE:  
ÇA TUE  
ÇA POILUE  
ÇA REND CON**



## **Edito**

**Ce journal est issu de la collaboration entre les différentes fédérations anarchistes à travers le monde réunies dans l'International des Fédérations Anarchistes (IFA). Ce journal a été réalisé conjointement lors d'une rencontre à Prague en novembre 2018.**

**Il est ressorti de ces rencontres que vu le climat actuel à travers le monde (retour de l'autoritarisme sous toutes ses formes, traque des migrants...), la plupart des fédérations anarchistes étaient localement engagées dans un combat antimilitariste.**

**Nous avons donc décidé d'axer le premier numéro de ce journal sur ce thème.**

**Le journal est construit en 2 parties, la première tous les textes en anglais et la deuxième les textes dans leur langue d'origine**

**Ce journal est à prix libre. D'autres numéros suivront avec une périodicité non fixée.**

**L'ARMÉE RECRUTE...**



**...ELLE TE TEND LA MAIN**

**FÉDÉRATION ANARCHISTE**



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Welcome to the first edition of ***The Journal***, the new magazine of the **International of Anarchist Federations**. Inside we have six articles from around the world addressing several issues our members are facing which more than anything we hope to help foster a strong culture of resistance. We aim to help strengthen our bonds of international solidarity and collective hostility to the ever present threats of the state and of capitalism. We believe that developing better communication and keeping informed of our comrades struggles around the world is vital to this.

***The Journal*** is published with the aim to provide a clear international Anarchist viewpoint on contemporary issues and to initiate debate on ideas not normally covered in the agitational papers or the region specific products of our member federations. It being in constant development we would appreciate any thoughts on the magazine and indeed contributions for Anarchist comrades.

If you have any queries feel free to contact us at [secretariat@i-f-a.org](mailto:secretariat@i-f-a.org)

Venceremos

Ed.









# BREXIT AND WORKERS

## Anarchist Federation (of Britain)

*We've previously written a few things about the 2016 referendum which led to the process of Britain's exit from the European Union. As the time gets closer we look at what the currently uncertain situation means for workers.*

Before we get on to the specifics, we make some more general points about Brexit. In Organise 97 (Winter 2016) we said:

*“Much media space is devoted to speculation about what Brexit will mean. There is even some doubt about whether despite May's strong assertions that she will make Brexit work, that it will go ahead. She certainly is taking her time about it. After all, key sections of the British ruling class did not want Britain to leave the EU. They want the cheap labour and the financial sector is concerned that it will lose its central role in international financial markets. Also, the Scottish response to the outcome, which could lead to independence, would be a major blow to UK Ltd. One thing is certain: the working class will continue to suffer from low wages and high housing costs, poor working conditions and job insecurity and cuts in public services and the welfare state.*

*We don't think the outcome will offer opportunities for a 'socialist Britain' as some leftist supporters of exit from the*

*EU have argued. There may be less trade with the EU but instead it will be others, such as China and India, which will step in. We have already seen May's cosying up to the Chinese [state] and the London Mayor Khan appointing an Indian millionaire to be his advisor on 'opening-up' London. Within days of the referendum, a Japanese company bought up a British one. So we are really just changing one set of bosses for another. What does matter is the reasons why most people voted to leave: immigration. The EU was about free movement of labour for capital, but at least there was free movement. Leaving the EU can only mean that there will be pressure to curtail immigration. The rise in attacks on migrants from Eastern Europe is a sign of the mentality of some far-right and racist elements in the working class. This xenophobia is a major obstacle to building an effective working class revolutionary movement.”*

If we add the centrality of the Irish border question to the ongoing headache for politicians and a major concern for people living both sides of the border, the situation has

not exactly moved on from our initial analysis, in spite of the blow by blow negotiations.

### IMPACT OF BREXIT ON WORKERS

Being fought on the basis of sovereignty with a large dose of English nationalism, Leave was always going to legitimise discrimination against foreign workers and act to erode those workers' rights in Britain more than Remain would. This is because European legislation offers some protections to migrant workers from within the EU and also includes some protection of human rights of non-EU people, as well as the 'freedom of movement' afforded by the treaty and in the Schengen area.

Of course, the European Union is a capitalist institution working in favour of the bosses to keep workers exploited efficiently. Capitalism likes free movement of people so that the workforce can go to where the work is at its own expense. Because of obsession with sovereignty and national identity, migration has dominated the discourse of Brexit. However, those in charge of capitalist economies like Britain's, which has moved towards knowledge-based (quaternary) industry, are still going to want to manage the workforce required to support it. So at the same time as putting massive pressures on workers with fewer skills or less education 'at home' bosses »



will also continue to look globally for workers who can fulfil the needs of the modern economy. Ideally it wants people who will not need too much healthcare, can look after their family with what they are earning, pay taxes, whether they are British or not. Brexit in no way means moving back to a less knowledge-based economy.

As well as in industry, a real crisis will continue to exist in services, especially health and social care because the neo-liberal state and business alike do not really want to pay to support people at home who are ill, have a disability or are older with greater health needs, that means they are less productive. The state (especially under the Conservatives) is not prepared to pay more to local authorities and may be more than prepared to see them cut services further leaving people to fend for themselves, using this as a justification to bring in privatised alternatives. Controlling the workforce overall includes bringing people in from abroad with more precarious positions – tied to the employer for fear of losing residency status or with controlled periods of employments – something Brexit will help make easier. Non-EU workers are already bound to their employer unless they can find another job quickly and easily. This was a major part of the beef at Fawley oil refinery (the 2009 struggle that led to Gordon Brown's oft misquoted 'British Jobs for British workers') as Italian workers were essentially indentured even though they were EU, kept on-site in portacabins earning vastly less.

Even if Britain remains in Europe there would still be the continued threat of multinational (e.g. American-owned) companies being invited to run the NHS and other services. With a suitable Brexit agreement, and even with 'no deal', it may simply mean that EU companies will be able to do this as well, with favourable tax conditions if they play the game and don't insist on workers' rights alongside being allowed to operate in UK. Some of the industries that would no doubt be interested would be in construction, energy, IT, research, education, as well as the health and care providers. This is a gamble though as they will need to make the wages attractive enough so that it is worthwhile for someone to work in UK while having no right to stay outside of the job, relative to opportunities for work in the person's home country or another EU country where they would have the right to settle. A lot of the above speculation will depend on whether Britain stays in the Customs Union as this will influence how goods move around and this in turn will influence where businesses need workers to reside to make profit. It will also depend on how freely the EU will allow its member states to trade with Britain post-Brexit.

On the other hand, multinationals based in Britain and British-owned companies alike will not hesitate to move abroad if more advantageous to them than staying. Even small British-owned companies already operate abroad. When US companies like Motorola abandoned their production

lines in Mexico for Asia, British companies quickly moved in to pick up the factory space and the skilled local workforce – such was the flexibility that globalisation allowed. British companies could decide to move some or all of their operations to Europe if profitable and if allowed to do so, with the support of the British state.

## MIGRANT WORKERS

Overall European migrants make up 5% of the population in England and an estimated 3.5-3.8 million EU citizens in the UK will be required to apply for settled status post-Brexit. For EU workers in Britain now, there is massive uncertainty about residency status as it's not clear how and if they will be allowed to stay after Brexit. Again the situation for non-EU migrants is instructive. Non-EU workers can generally get a visa to stay in UK for up to 6 months. However people from non-EU countries are already making difficult choices if they are allowed to stay and work longer, some working overtime to hit the required wage threshold to be able to work in UK on their own or with family (which is a higher threshold). Also, it is probably not common knowledge to many British people that the minimum annual earning threshold for non-EU workers was raised pretty well overnight in 2016 from £25k to £35k leading to many US and Australian workers having to leave (as reported in the media at the time), which was subsequently lowered back to £30k in 2017. Is very likely that the government will fiddle with the rules a lot like this after

Brexit making relocating to UK very risky for lower paid workers.

The body that has made the most detailed recommendations about European Economic Area workers coming to UK post-Brexit, the Migration Advisory Committee (MAC), published a report in September 2018 – recommendations from which are not substantially affected by May’s most recent Brexit ‘deal’. The headline from the MAC was ‘No preferential access’ for EEA citizens after Brexit (something lovingly rephrased by Theresa May in November 2018 as stopping EU migrants “jumping the queue” versus workers from Australia or India). It also lumped workers of different occupations or skill level into the same scheme except possibly a separate seasonal agricultural workers scheme. Any low-skill gap would apparently be filled by family migration linked to other workers (e.g. spouses) and an expanded Youth Mobility Scheme (allowing younger people to come to UK for 2 years ‘working holiday’ from named countries) which seems unlikely to be fulfilled in practice since it is known that many YMS migrants take higher skilled posts albeit on a temporary basis. So the main change after Brexit is for the category of ‘Tier 2’ sponsored workers to include European in addition to non-European workers with the removal of a cap on the annual number of visas which is currently 20,700 people at the £30k level mentioned above (rising to £60k above the threshold), plus some other amendments. These are precisely the practically indentured

workers mentioned above and this recommendation would put most skilled migrant workers in the same boat, once freedom of movement in the EEA is lost. However, in order to placate the anti-immigration lobby, May subsequently suggested that visas for lower skilled workers could be limited to 11 months and have restrictions on families, which would act to prevent or discourage settlement.

Yet Another recent development was a pilot project in November 2018 that the government launched, focussed on universities, health and social care, which they are using to work out the scale of the task, how to administer the scheme, and to fast-track some key workers the state does not want to lose. These are already workplaces with considerable casualised and/or mobile workers. 16% of university researchers are from other EU states and 23% of academic staff in biology, mathematics and physics are EU nationals. Furthermore, EU immigrants make up about 5% of English NHS staff overall, 10% of registered doctors and 4% of registered nurses. However, a major criticism was that the pilot scheme started with the worker only and not family members, leading to criticism from both Wales and Scotland health secretaries, plus trade unions criticised the £65 fee and are demanding that employers pay this on behalf of the individual, such that the fee has already been covered by some institutions.

## ‘BRITISH WORKERS’

Workers who are British citizens will face ongoing economic pressures due to austerity as now, worse if the economy takes a dive. And there are a good number of gender-related workplace issues that are created by Brexit. Although incorporated into the 2010 Equalities Act, equal pay for women arises from the 1957 Treaty of Rome. Rights of part-time workers (pensions, parental leave entitlements) and protections for pregnant women at work also come from the EU. Imposition of employment tribunal fees was fought using EU law by Unison in 2013 on the grounds of it being discriminatory because the majority of low paid workers are women. After Brexit, it is quite possible the UK government could try and amend the law in the interest of the economy. Furthermore, the government has already indicated that women might need to choose home over work in order to look after elderly relatives post-Brexit if there is a social care staffing shortage! This kind of statement, from the Department of Health in August 2018, only shows how controlling the state is prepared to be if necessary.

While we don’t yet know what will happen, it’s clear that Brexit has serious consequences for workers. The situation for lower paid workers who might consider coming to UK after a break with the EU looks particularly grim with a constant eye having to be kept on wage levels and time worked. Even higher paid workers are likely to have jobs that are tied to their employer, and risk »

losing residency if their employment ends, so taking industrial action will be riskier. At home, women are likely to be adversely affected and equality legislation could well be put to the test.

Although quite speculative, it seems hard to see how the state will control migration to such a fine degree (such as work visas of less than a year) without additional checks by NHS and other bodies, which could end up making introducing national identity cards for the whole population more likely. The last time a national ID scheme was proposed and defeated (by No2ID and the anarchist campaign Defy-ID in 2005-9), it was migrants (notably asylum seekers) who ended up with biometric ID cards - and biometrics were added to passports around the same time. Furthermore, the move to more electronic record keeping in the NHS and e-Gov means they are more able to track individual entitlements, although not without some opposition to the 'hostile environment', against workers becoming 'border police' .

## OPPORTUNITIES

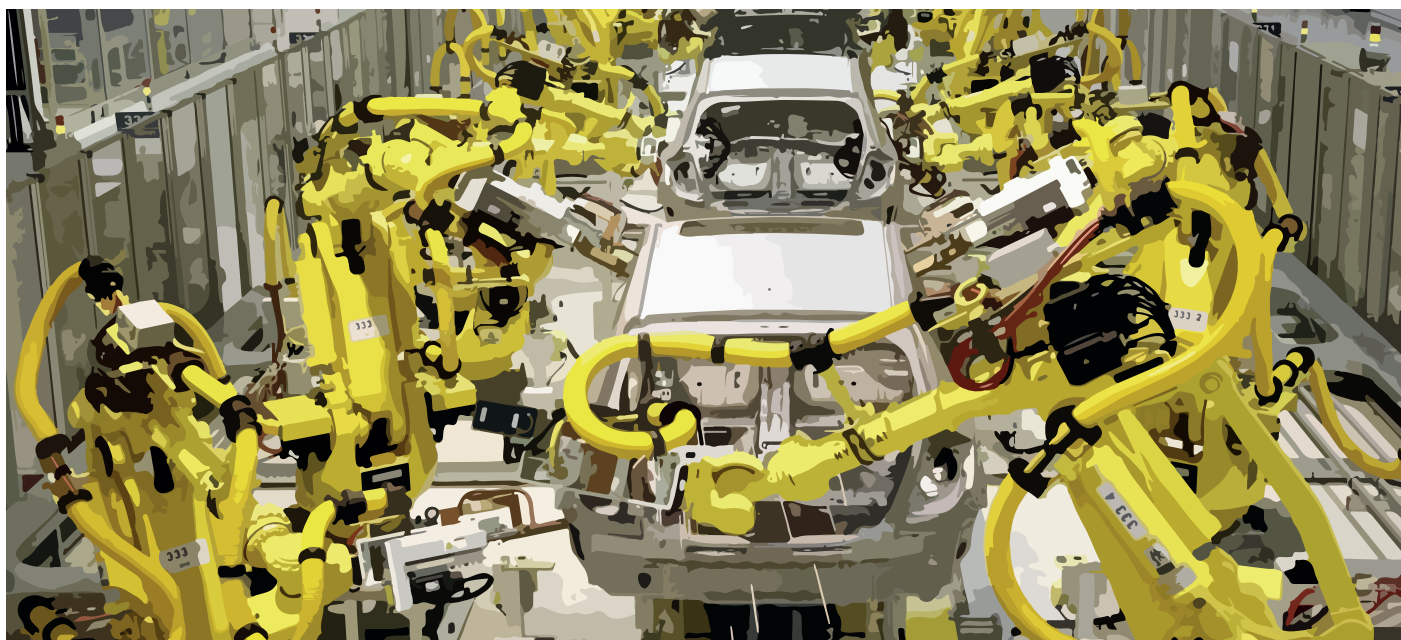
On the brighter side there may be opportunities to fight for better pay, if workers stick together. In our workplaces and political organisations we need to keep alert and see how we can support each other. Workplace meetings are a good start, especially so that migrant workers are not isolated. While we cannot do much about the process of Brexit as this is in the hands of the politicians, we can get ready for its consequences. This should include being ready defend co-workers and comrades who may face leaving the UK if they fail a yet to be determined residency test, mounting anti-deportation campaigns it comes to that (anarchists who have prior experience with No Borders and migrant solidarity have a lot to give here). We also need to keep an eye on what is happening in other countries. Whilst workers have experienced relative freedom of movement in the EEA, and with more countries being part of the EU, it should have been easier to point out common class interests, although the British Left has failed to make much

of this recently, being focussed on domestic politics and the far right. On a practical level, having the EU has arguably made direct resistance easier – coordinated action against borders and in support of migrants (within and from without the EU) and against international economic summits of the political class. Anarchists have been at the forefront of this transnationalism and our own international blossomed in this period to include the Balkans, for example, so we hopefully have something to build upon. ■

*See also: [afed.org.uk/counting-us-in-counting-us-out/](http://afed.org.uk/counting-us-in-counting-us-out/)*







# WHEN THE ROBOTS FIRE US

## Federation of Anarchists in Bulgaria

*Computers are replacing people's jobs much faster, than new ones get created. What shall we do then?*

Our work is low paying, unsecure, and appalling. We are working less and less with what is beneficial to us, but spend more and more time fighting with our bosses and the state. Whoever doesn't come to terms with this misery runs away to the West. However, analysis shows that even there it will soon be even harder to make ends meet.

Aristotle was afraid that the machines would eventually replace people. You don't have to be an ancient genie to realize the fact that new technology may leave you without work – such as the notorious rebellions by Luddites who destroyed machines to save their jobs. Industrialization changed the labor market. First it replaced

highly skilled craftsmen with low skilled laborers with the use of machines. After the introduction of machines, the need for maintenance workers was created to keep the machines working. Unlike the craftsman, however, today's specialists don't create the end products which are instead products of the machines. Through the last decade, the increased involvement of computers into production also changed the labor market. Studies show that this has led to the loss of middle and lower class jobs, which has led to the creation of a U shaped curve with many lower class jobs and upper class jobs, but few in the middle class.

Today, computers are in charge of many tasks that demand precision in factories, armies, schools, and in offices. There is no period in history in which machines have been able to do as much work compared as human laborers. However, trends in collecting and analyzing large amounts of data that was until recently missing or unanalyzed created new industries which at this point cannot continue without computers. Tasks which ten years earlier were dismissed as work that cannot be done by robots, such as driving in urban areas, are today seen otherwise – self driving cars are already being tested on the streets of Florida, California, and Nevada.

Researchers at Oxford university have calculated how the latest trends in machine self-training and mobile robots will affect the labor market. They distinguished 3 difficulties in front of the »

computerization of tasks – “knowledge and management of the field”, “creative intelligence”, and “social intelligence”.

Data from the Ministry of Labor in the USA determined 702 professions, whose difficulties can be quantified. With help from various experts in mechanization, they determined 70 of these professions that can easily be fully automated with today’s technology. The resulting models are with 90% certainty able to measure whether certain profession will be fully automated or not.

According to the results of the model, for 47% of these professions (which currently employ 68 million people) there is a 70% certainty that they can be fully automated with modern technology. Also, those professions with a 30% to 70% chance of automation are certainly going to rise because “knowledge and management of the field” is the most improving of the previously mentioned difficulties. The most affected will be “most workers in the transport and logistics industry, along with many office, administrative, and production fields”. The service industry, in which many USA jobs have been recently created, is also very susceptible to automation. Unlike the last decade where middle class jobs were lost, the first ones to be automated and lost will be lower class jobs. There is no reason to think automation will not affect work places outside of the USA. Wages in countries such as China are undoubtedly lower, but in long term machines are always cheaper, compared to

real workers. To be able to find jobs, we must first find work what machines cannot do, or be forced to compete with them. There is no way we can all become dentists or drive goods 24 hours, day and night.

In 1589, the priest William Lee invented the first sewing machine with the hope that it would free workers from sewing by hand. When looking for a patent to save his invention, he showed it to Queen Elizabeth the First. But the queen was very worried about the situation. “Think about what your invention would do to my poor subjects! It will surely destroy them when it leaves them without work, and it will turn them into beggars.” She denied his patent. William Lee was forced to leave the kingdom. Half a millenium later, in our so called democratic societies, the situation is the same. Robots continue to work more, but instead of us working less, we are becoming more and more redundant. Why is something that is supposed to improve our lives instead making it more difficult and unsecure?

When ownership over the means of production (resources, machines, and more recently technology) is concentrated in the hands of the few, the people receive a share based on how much they can sell their labor. If somebody cannot sell their labor, they must rely on the good of others who have more in order to survive. Today, when few are without work, aspects of society such as social, health insurance and pension funds work as distribution of excess,

so that nobody dies of hunger. But the time is coming when a large part of us (according to the study, close to half of the population in the USA in the upcoming decades) will be cheaper than the food they need. The machines will create even more than today, but it won’t be ‘right’ for us to use what they produce because we haven’t worked or sold our labor for it.

What will we do then? Will we destroy the machines like the Luddites? Will we chase out the inventors like Elizabeth? Do we love work so much that we don’t want machines to do it instead of us? Barely.

Technological progress gives us opportunities to work less and less, and to create more. Instead of this, however, the need to sell ourselves on the “labor market” threatens to ruin us. The only decision is to remove this market, the removal of ownership over our natural resources, technologies and robots, distribution of resources based on the needs of the people. We are valuable because we are people, not because we work. Only then will we be secure in our futures. We will surpass the monotony of work, the repetitiveness of every day, and the shorter days with more creativity. ■



# FOR A WORLD WITHOUT COUNTRIES AND WITHOUT BORDERS

## The Italian Anarchist Federation

*Antimilitarism has always been one of the battlefields of the anarchist movement. Today like yesterday, facing the massacre of the First World War, the fight against war is firmly rooted in the struggle for social transformation.*

The war scenarios are multiplying. In Libya there is a war in progress, in which the Italian government is fully involved: in the country 400 units of the Italian armed forces are already present, even according to the official figures of the MIASIT military mission. Meanwhile, diplomats are organizing an international conference in Rome to decide the future of the country. Italian military intervention is not limited to Libya, but is extended to various African countries, to Iraq, Afghanistan, the Indian Ocean and other missions. This is a commitment in continuity with previous governments and coherent according to international alliances.

As always, the economic weight of these war-mongering policies is discharged on the community: a large part of the Italian government maneuver planned for over thirty billion euros will be destined to increase military spending. The government, in fact, will respect the commitments made to NATO by previous governments, which plan to bring arms spending to 2% of the gross domestic product, 24 billion of euro will be added to the current € 16 billion.

The profits of the military sector are growing against this impoverishment. Italy is ninth in terms of the quantity of arms exported from all the countries of the world, and is fifth among the European producers. The Italian Anarchist Federation refuses any exchange between work in Italy and destruction and death on abroad; we also denounce that fact that arms production brings wealth to only a privileged few. War production, absorbing raw materials, means of production and labor force, steals resources from the production of goods and services, worsening the condition of the exploited as a whole.

War and militarism are a breeding ground for machismo, for the hierarchical and authoritarian ideology that characterizes them, and because they are based on the practice of oppression and violence, are even sexual crimes. Rape is a weapon of war, theorized in the offices of Army Staff, acts violence and acts of feminicide show men in uniform as the main protagonists. The militaristic logic makes women a battlefield, a territory of conquest, domination and power.

Militaristic delirium also manifests itself within the recent legislative proposals on the restoration of mandatory military leverage, such as the one already voted by the Veneto Region, and the one that is being prepared for voting on by the Friuli Venezia Giulia Region. Beyond any propaganda, we reiterate that the Armed Forces have never and never will have an educational role.

**The anarchist comrades that are part of F.A.I. reiterate their opposition to militarism, and invite everybody to participate in the anti-militarist demonstration of 3th November 2018 in Gorizia.**

**To stop the militarization of society**

**To eliminate military expenditure**

**To close the factories of death**

**For a world without countries and without frontiers ■**







# AGAINST THE RELOCATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO THE ARAXOS AIRPORT BASE, IN GREECE

**Anarchist Collective “Dissinios Ippos”  
member of the Anarchist Political Organization (Greece)**

*“The generalized crisis of the world of the State and the Bosses leads with mathematical accuracy to one direction, unless a wide and international front of struggle and resistance is created. To war societies, to the generalization and intensification of geopolitical antagonisms and war conflicts till the verge of a great war and the establishment of the state of emergency as the iron fence of control and repression on every aspect of social activity.”*

*“War and Fascism, this is the system’s ‘answer’ to its generalized and profound crisis, to its own controversies, caused by the incurable conflict imposed by its basic principle, the exploitation and repression on one human being by another.”*

## **Abstracts from the declaration of the 2nd Congress of the Anarchist Political Organization, 2016**

The Greek Prime Minister’s recent visit to the US sealed in the most characteristic way the renewed Greece-US defense agreement signed on August 29, 2017. Besides from the Greek government’s commitment on improving the F-16 airplanes that cost 2 billion euros, the upgrading of the NATO’s naval base in Souda and its role in the wider region, as well as the transportation of “special weapons” (in war terminology), basically nuclear warheads, in the Araxos airbase was also verified. The last few months, the preparations for the base’s upgrading have already started, through refurbishing the iron fencing and repairing its interior. Also, recently, a classified document- a letter sent by the NATO congress in Brussels to

the Greek Ministry of National Defense, which explicitly defined the preparations of Araxos airbase to receive nuclear weapons, leaked, while aerial photos, which have been published in the media of the base, also confirm the preparations.

For almost fifty years, the Araxos airbase has been used as a temporary storage of US’s nuclear weapons, while the wider region of Western Greece (the military airport bases of Araxos, Andravida and Aktion, and the ports of Patra and Igoumenitsa) has been functioning as the operating base for the American and NATO military forces in their war expeditions in the Balkans and the Middle East. After long-term struggles of the

anti-war movement, the nuclear weapons were removed from Araxos through a secret operation organized by NATO in 2001, and were initially transferred to Italy and then to an unknown location. Today, the relocation of B61 nuclear bombs from Incirlik in Turkey to Araxos, is intensively discussed. After all, the base has always been standing ready to receive aircrafts suitable to load these bombs, according to NATO, while, from time to time, there have been trial operation exercises of its underground nuclear storage facilities.

Moreover, the discussion that took place between Trump and Tsipras during their meeting also included the extension of the agreement on the use of Souda naval base, as well as the possibility of establishing a new military base in southern Crete. The official agenda of this meeting (similar to the one of Obama’s visit a year ago in Athens) outlines its real implications for the field of authoritarian administration, imposition and antagonism: geopolitical balance of power, the refugees’ issue, the economy, the energy resources.

The deterioration of the US-Turkish relations, after the recent shift of the Turkish government in a series of sectors towards Russia and Iran, has led to the reinforcement of Greece’s role in the wider region. This becomes quite evident from »

the planned relocation of war equipment from the Turkish base of Incirlik to Souda in Crete, but also from Greece's active role in the regional developments and the promotion of collaborations with a series of neighboring countries. The trilateral (Greece-Cyprus-Israel, Greece-Cyprus-Egypt) and quadrilateral summits (Greece-Serbia-Bulgaria-Romania), as well as, the common military exercises in the Cypriot EEZ are a clear proof of it.

It is an unquestionable fact that at a global level the political and economic bosses have unleashed a relentless attack towards the people and the regions of the capitalist periphery. An attack which involves war operations, the imposition of dictatorships and theocratic regimes and the overthrowing of others, the instigation of civil conflicts, the destruction of productive forces, the control of resources, the economic draining of whole populations, the environmental destruction of entire regions and a huge number of lives lost. This condition creates endless deserted areas, ready to be plundered and "reconstructed" in order to control the populations

and regions, to increase profits and expand the economic activities of the global elites and to rearrange the geopolitical balance of power within the context of inter-state antagonisms, between global, peripheral and local powers. The upgrading of military bases (in Greece and elsewhere) and the reinforcement of Frontex and NATO's roles is part of the preparation for a generalized war. A war declared by the domination and expressed mostly in the areas where the antagonisms between the most powerful blocs of authority take place, the Middle East and the Southeastern Mediterranean, while the bleak prospect of a global conflict is reemerging in the forefront and the plans of the military-political staff. In this context, the US is the leading power of the Western bloc, being at the forefront of the campaign to impose modern totalitarianism internationally. In the same direction, the powerful "defensive" bloc, NATO, which is led by the US – using as an ideological vehicle the "war against terrorism" – has attempted to expand its power and to extend its "vital space" setting constantly regional "powder kegs" on fire. The two wars in Iraq, the war in

Yugoslavia and Afghanistan but also the creation of the state of modern apartheid, Israel, are a few characteristic examples. The war expeditions in the capitalist periphery, as well as the deepening of repression in the interior of the Western societies, the aggravated plundering of the social majority and the destruction of the natural world are the results of the diachronic goals – and the insoluble controversies which emerge from – the state-capitalist system.

In this attempt of the authoritarian brutality to colonize every aspect of the social life, the US has played for many decades a leading role. It has been central in empowering the global restructuring processes of the state-capitalist world through the creation and upgrading of the supra-national repressive mechanisms, functioning as a "archetype" repressive laboratory. The 'anti'-terrorist crusades which have led to thousands of deaths and massive expulsions of large populations, the mass murders of Black Americans, the institutional 'fortification' of the regime through special legislation,





prisons and militarized repression squads, are the articulations of the generalized war, which the US, as the avant-garde of global domination, have declared both within its territory and internationally. Attacking the poor and the outcasts is its response to the system's generalized crisis. An attack which is intensively conducted by the international political and economic elites, with the Greek state as a part of them. The common ground of this uneven alliance is the maintenance of the authoritarian organization of societies, the intensification of the conditions of modern slavery, the dissolution and the repression of social and class resistances, as well as, the preservation of the primacy of the Western bloc of domination and the growth of its power in the field of international geopolitical antagonism. The military, political, economic and cultural expansionism of the Western authoritarian bloc attempts to draw legitimization and consent by the destitution it is producing globally. War, expulsions, poverty, social cannibalism are both the products of the state and capitalist system and the 'scarecrows' against the impoverished masses. The ideological aspect of this expansionism incorporates the projection of the state-capitalist world as an inescapable reality in which only democratic pseudo-dilemmas of managing the generalized authoritarian decay can exist.

The Greek State, as a member of the European Union and NATO, is steadily aligned with the aims of the dominant political-economic elite. Today's government (as all the previous ones) fulfilled and continues to fulfill its mission, which is no

other than the endless effort for the unrestricted imposition of the modern dictatorship of the State and the Capital, of Modern Totalitarianism. This common pursuit, which links the Greek state and the US, is the basis of every authoritarian alliance. The convergence of direction between the international and the local economic and political elites outlines the bleak reality of the repressed: poverty and impoverishment, constant trivialization of human life, either as a 'silent' suicidal death in the apartments of the metropolis, or as a 'loud' drowning in the Aegean Sea or inside the concentration camps, unemployment or unpaid slavery for some, exhausting ill-paid slavery for the rest. Under this condition, we have the duty to organize our resistance. To put up barricades to block the plans of the global domination that promises only death, poverty, wars, misery and impoverishment. Picking the thread from and inspired by the antiwar mobilizations of the previous years, we have to build a strong internationalist movement from below against war, against modern totalitarianism. Towards the direction of building this movement, the resistance against the installation of nuclear weapons in Araxos, as well as, against the wider effort to upgrade the role of the Greek state in the international war setting, is another important battle we must give.

This is the time to connect with the comrades and the people of the struggle globally, in order to face this common attack, we are receiving. Along with the exploited and the repressed of this world, we have to resist to the murderous plans of the State

and the Capital. We have to build a wide and international front of struggle and resistance against war, poverty, impoverishment, racism and state and parastatal terrorism. Against the attack of the decayed authoritarian world, we juxtapose the solidarity of our common struggles. Against the dystopia of modern totalitarianism, in which the social majority is impoverished and submitted, we put forward the libertarian society, organized through federal communes "for the Freedom of each-one and for the Equality of all".

## **AGAINST STATE AND CAPITALIST BRUTALITY, THE LOCAL AND SUPRANATIONAL BOSSES**

### **ORGANIZATION AND INTERNATIONALIST STRUGGLES AGAINST WAR AND MODERN TOTALITARIANISM**

### **FOR SOCIAL REVOLUTION FOR ANARCHY AND LIBERTARIAN COMMUNISM**

**Anarchist Collective "Dissinios Ippos" – member of the Anarchist Political Organization-Federation of Collectives (Greece) ■**



A. C. A. B.

All

Cats

Are

Beautiful



**FEDERATION ★ ANARCHISTE**  
S'ORGANISER ET LUTTER

# RETHINKING ANTI-MILITARISM TODAY

## Anarchist Federation

### (French Speaking - France, Belgium, Switzerland)

*If the USA and Europe have been generally at peace on their own soil since World War 2, it is not the case of the rest of the world : Syria, Yemen and Democratic Republic of Congo to name just a few. Yet the signs of war did not disappear from our lives, and France is facing an important militarisation, allowed by the state of emergency<sup>1</sup>, that has been legitimised by the attacks including among the population. But, even more than within our countries, it is abroad that we export war: military equipments, military operations, in Libya, Mali, Iraq, neocolonialism to steal resources etc. We must not be blinded by our situation here in Europe: if we live at peace it is not the case of humankind in general, and the continuous war that is ongoing through the world often involve our governments. Although war is not taking place on our homeland, the military spirit is developing.*

Nowadays, militarisation is riding high, soldier are patrolling, news report are showering French soldiers in foreign operation with praise, advertising campaign are everywhere. In 2016, 86% of the French citizens still had a positive opinion of the army, making the 2nd most appreciated institution just behind the hospital. But do we know this for sure? Data are hard to find because of the forbidding of ethnographic or qualitative work, scandals are stifled internally so we have to go with the official point of view, the one that march through the Champs-Élysée every 14th of July<sup>2</sup>. It is difficult in this conditions to have access to information and develop an accurate criticism of this institution.

What is left of anti-militarism then? Almost nothing. And yet it is crucial to revive it.

### WHAT IS ANTI-MILITARISM ?

The Encyclopédie anarchiste<sup>3</sup> define militarism this way : “Militarism is a system that consist in the possession and maintenance of armies and military staff. It’s essential and stated goal is the preparation of war. The creation of a permanent army, the organisation of officers for the army reserve, the accumulation and maintenance of an ever evolving armament, in short the prerequisite organisation for war. This colossal organisation, available to governments, allow them to pursue a double goal : to be able to fight against foreign governments in case of conflict between them and secondly to detain a formidable apparatus of violent repression in case of a popular uprising. Governments have an absolute need of an army both against foreign and domestic enemies.’

Anti-militarism is the opposition to militarism. The army, warmongering, imperialist, hierarchical and nationalist is of course an aspect of militarism. Let’s have a look at this terms. The warmongering aspect correspond to to the fact the army, answering to a State, will systematically serve the interest of the power in place, for example leading colonials wars, foreign wars or by maintaining public order during protest. It is not surprising that the army is used in many countries as a political weapon, what have been sadly demonstrated during the Arab revolutions. The imperialist aspect is a strict consequence of this last point: army as a governing tool is the mean by which a State is imposing it’s own power to the population, and specifically to those who do not have the tools to make themselves heard. Recent wars lead by the USA, like the 2nd Iraq war, are typical of an imperialism that aims to defend »



Americans interest abroad. France is not doing any better in Libya or Mali. On the inward side, is the nationalist aspect of the army: an army defend the national territory and fight for the Nation, the borders, and why not the traditions or the spirit of a people. Just as many elements anarchist are opposed to. Finally, the hierarchical organisation of the army, with a commandment and the subordinates, is reproducing of the domination relationship between humans.

However, it cannot be said that anarchist are defending peace at all cost: armed struggle is necessary under certain circumstances, in case of self-defence for example. But the libertarian conception of armed conflict differ from actual militarism : it is non-bellicist, anti-imperialist, non-hierarchic and anti-imperialist. We have a few examples with the makhnovist Ukraine and the Spain of 1936. Anti-militarism is therefore opposed to the offensive use of the army as well as it's spirit, to war as well as militarism. The anti-militarism is opposed

both to the offensive use of the army and the spirit, both to war and to militarism. Yet we must distinguish the two : if war is absent, militarism is thriving.

### FORMS OF THE MODERN MILITARISM

Once again, we want to make clear that being a military means being at the service of the State first. We have to get rid of the propaganda done by media and governments that present the army as a personal development activity, presented as a way to achieve personal fulfilment, brotherhood and the protection of civilians. Beside trivial missions, like the fact to defend the country against a foreign attack, which is not the case in western countries for years, the role of the army is irremediably the same, maintain order and manage populations. Once again, we want to make clear that advertising campaigns we see from bus stops to schools, army is not a benign life choice like any other. It is by military actions that States establish their imperialism and their power on territories. If war is not part of

our immediate environment, militarism is feeding on the "necessity" for the State to defend itself against foreign threats, like ISIS for example, but also inside threats: terrorists, and more broadly any class of the population suspected of treason against their homeland. (zadistes4, some radical environmentalists, the Muslims for some people, the Jews for others, and in the end everyone that does not go along with the nationalist narrative, for the most extreme). The army is a tool of domination physical as well as ideological, leading to the constitution of a common identity against deviant behaviours identified as harmful.

More than a murderous war – which can happen again though! – (there are less casualties every year among the French army than in the construction sector) it is militarisation of society here and now that is problematic. We have to update anti-militarism to not only target the imperialist function of war like in the 19th and 20th centuries, but also targeting the social function of the army via the militarisation of our societies and ideas.



What is army for ? Besides border control and managing population movements, it also has a gathering role. To get people together using a shared narrative, a universalistic national identity supposedly inclusive and based on merit. The school system, tottering, cannot stop the social reproduction of inequalities, the army benefit of an image of an institution based on merit and equality, within which social mobility is possible. Even more, it is a privileged social institution in times where globalisation is eroding national solidarities: it is becoming the place of nationalist. Inward-looking. It is no surprise then if the fascists are idolising the army as the ideal realisation of their dreamed society: order, leadership, organisation, subordination and the fright of differences are the rule. It is easily illustrated with example of homophobic or sexist humiliation. It is then difficult not to consider this as a sign of the drift of societies toward right-wing politics. Militarisation is visible everywhere - patrols,

surveillance, placing everybody on files – using always more elaborated tools. As a matter of fact, capitalism understood this very well: more and more armies are private, composed of mercenaries, fighting for the highest bidder.

Although can we really say that the army follow a universalistic model? Let's take a look at armies sociology. Who volunteer as a simple soldier, sent to die in meaningless mission, who pay the price of governments decisions ? Is it the bosses, the politics, the heads of industries? No, most of the time it is young men and women, coming from the working class and/or the immigration. The military cannon fodder, because it is more about this than a formation or learning skills like they present it in the TV commercials, is composed of the poor, the helpless, that sees the army as a beneficial way to escape a broken educative system. The young people that got a degree, that had access to higher education, that are coming from wealthier families, are not soldiers but officers. Sadly, the class analysis is finding here it's very realisation: far from levelling class differences, the army is perpetuating and amplifying class domination at the service of the interest of the State. In reality what we see is the crushing of individuals by a big machine: it swallows them up fresh and spit them out after use. This institution is not interested in its soldiers once they are out: what support for the trauma, the wounds, the return to normal life?

## UPDATING CRITICISMS

It is important to renew and state again the anarchist idea of anti-militarism. We have not to forget that the military spirit is coinciding with the one of nationalism, discipline, the domination of human by human, and that it is, in its core, an ally of all type of conservatism and fascism (without forgetting the industry that benefit broadly of military operations). We do not support any army, may it be the soviet one or the standing army. On the contrary it seems to us important to underline the militarisation of the minds, the self-control; harmful because army ideology is restrain any freedom of thought, it is only submission; dire because we think that nothing good can came out of this principles. In this, it is time to take into account the militarisation of society and minds, there is no sane army. War to all wars, but above all death to Armies. ■

1. *Laws of exceptions that applied for from 2015 to 2017 in France, giving extended power to the police and army.*
2. *During Bastille Day a military parade march through Paris every year on the 14th of July.*
3. *Encyclopedia of anarchism initiated by Sébastien Faure, published in 1934*
4. *Name given to participants of a Zone A Défendre in France. Briefly it is a name for activist trying to block large project causing threat to the environment.*

★  
**FEDERATION  
ANARCHISTE**









# ARMS INDUSTRY AND THE BUSINESS OF WAR

## Iberian Anarchist Federation (Euskal Herria)

*There is not a state or kingdom whose history has not been stained with the brutality of war. The armed conflicts, conducted by the economic forces, have never brought anything but misery and deaths among countries, while the ones in power will never die on the battlefield. It has always been this way, sending pawns to defend a country and interests that only rich will benefit from. Here we leave these classic and wise words in order to focus on the current subject:*

Today we keep witnessing the cruel barbarity, with more military and armament technology. Once again, instead of using science for making our lives easier, it is being used to defend the interests of the states and its high classes. In this way, being helped by the huge technology advances, the war has become one of the biggest businesses of the world's leaders. With this, in this semi globalised world and big armies, we encounter the largest exodus and genocide in the history of humanity.

We scandalize when we watch the rising tide of refugees on TV, the battlefields,

and so on; but we soon forget that everything starts here: in our governments and their corporations. The war begins in our cities' and towns' factories, because it is clear that without the sale of weapons wars would not be possible to carry out. Where some of us see sadness and death, others see business; and disgracefully, while the business exists, this is situation going to exist.

The Spanish state is the fourth country/company exporting weapons to all over the world, a small space in the globe that supplies a huge amount of warships, drones, mortar shells, cannons, etc. to anyone who takes out the wallet.

The TV is entertaining us with series of narcos, murders and dealers, trying to brutalize the society; and we do not realize that inside the political class and the Spanish companies' offices one can find the best material to create the most brutal TV show.

Many companies of our country have a direct contact with the production of armament and others are exclusively dedicated to it. That is how it works, first they create the conflicts and then they sell the weapons. On the one hand, these corporations are made up of unscrupulous businessmen ready to profit from death, and on the other hand, of workers willing to produce wealth for the leaders and death for the unlucky countries. This workers' behaviour is not something unpredictable, since they have only lived on the work culture and have learned to fill their refrigerators without considering the damage they are generating to other families. Toys like Action man are going to be bought by them with no bad conscience.

Behind it all there are always banks like BBVA, Santander, BBK; companies like Nantia, Sener, Espal; or even Education, if we consider that on Engineering Schools students learn how to design weapons, and the people in charge do not care to which companies are these students sent to do an internship. We are governed by »

real psychopaths, while they talk about peace and democracy from their high-backed chairs. They are the most dreadful criminals.

For instance, in the case of the Basque Country, the leaders of its autonomous government (PNV) invest in an indirect and concealed way huge amounts of money in the military business. Then, at a personal level, they become managers and shareholders of these companies. This obscure business was one of the reasons why the big ships left Bilbao's harbour every week headed for Saudi Arabia. After many protests and different actions, it was possible to stop the armament departure from the Basque coast. However, they started to use Santander's harbour, so the fight on the Cantabrian harbours continues.

In the same way that media bombard us with the message that the people living in a war-torn areas are terrorist beings without feelings and heart, these people are being bombed by our planes and

real ammunition produced by our all-heart and extremely soulful neighbours. But make no mistake, in this world we all have feelings, we all thrill, we cry, we fall in love, we fight... We are all human and none should die because of the economic interests.

This cannot be allowed! Let's not let weapons be produced! We all know that only the working class society is able to produce them and that it is the one with the power to stop it. The leaders do not produce anything, they only keep the benefits and leave thousands of dead bodies behind. It seems impossible, but as everything, the solution lies in our hands.

We want to make clear that we are not just pro-refugees, we are anti-war and therefore, anti-capitalists. The origin of the

problems must be found in order to fight it and find a solution. Capitalism is always the main problem, this savage-advanced capitalism, devastator of all trace of life. Capitalism and nationalism are two inventions created many years ago in order to end with solidarity among peoples and to incite hatred and violence in the society, as well as to send people to war in order to benefit rich peoples' interests.

The system is going to keep working in this way unless we work to help out our comrades. For this purpose, solidarity and consciousness are going to be necessary. Let's organize and stop being war and its murders complicit! Today they are being killed in any other place, but tomorrow this could be our situation. They are killing us with a smile on their faces! Let's fight! ■



# APPENDIX

## Original Versions

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### BREXIT AND WORKERS

**Anarchist Federation (of Britain)**

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Когато роботите ни уволнят  
**Федерация на анархистите в  
България**

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Per un mondo senza patrie e  
senza frontiere  
**Federazione Anarchica Italiana**

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ΕΝΑΝΤΙΑ ΣΤΟΝ ΕΝΔΕΧΟΜΕΝΟ  
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ΠΥΡΗΝΙΚΑ Όπλα  
**αναρχική ομάδα “δυσήνιος ίππος”  
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Repenser l’antimilitarisme  
aujourd’hui  
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LA INDUSTRIA  
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NEGOCIO DE LA GUERRA  
**Federación Anarquista Ibérica**





## BREXIT AND WORKERS

We've previously written a few things about the 2016 referendum which led to the process of Britain's exit from the European Union. As the time gets closer we look at what the currently uncertain situation means for workers. Before we get on to the specifics, we make some more general points about Brexit. In *Organise 97* (Winter 2016) we said:

*"Much media space is devoted to speculation about what Brexit will mean. There is even some doubt about whether despite May's strong assertions that she will make Brexit work, that it will go ahead. She certainly is taking her time about it. After all, key sections of the British ruling class did not want Britain to leave the EU. They want the cheap labour and the financial sector is concerned that it will lose its central role in international financial markets. Also, the Scottish response to the outcome, which could lead to independence, would be a major blow to UK Ltd. One thing is certain: the working class will continue to suffer from low wages and high housing costs, poor working conditions and job insecurity and cuts in public services and the welfare state.*

*We don't think the outcome will offer opportunities for a 'socialist Britain' as some leftist supporters of exit from the EU have argued. There may be less trade with the EU but instead it will be others, such as China and India, which will step in. We have already seen May's cosy up to the Chinese [state] and the London Mayor Khan appointing an Indian millionaire to be his advisor on 'opening-up' London. Within days of the referendum, a Japanese company bought up a British one. So we are really just changing one set of bosses for another. What does matter is the reasons why most people voted to leave: immigration. The EU was about free movement of labour for capital, but at least there was free movement. Leaving the EU can only mean that there will be pressure to curtail immigration. The rise in attacks on migrants from Eastern Europe is a sign of the mentality of some far-right and racist elements in the working class. This xenophobia is a major obstacle to building an effective working class revolutionary movement."*

If we add the centrality of the Irish border question to the ongoing headache for politicians and a major concern for people living both sides of the border, the situation has not exactly moved on from our initial analysis, in spite of the blow by blow negotiations.

### Impact of Brexit on workers

Being fought on the basis of sovereignty with a large dose of English nationalism, Leave was always going to legitimise discrimination against foreign workers and act to erode those workers' rights in Britain more than Remain would. This is because European legislation offers some protections to migrant workers from within the

EU and also includes some protection of human rights of non-EU people, as well as the 'freedom of movement' afforded by the treaty and in the Schengen area.

Of course, the European Union is a capitalist institution working in favour of the bosses to keep workers exploited efficiently. Capitalism likes free movement of people so that the workforce can go to where the work is at its own expense. Because of obsession with sovereignty and national identity, migration has dominated the discourse of Brexit. However, those in charge of capitalist economies like Britain's, which has moved towards knowledge-based (quaternary) industry, are still going to want to manage the workforce required to support it. So at the same time as putting massive pressures on workers with fewer skills or less education 'at home' bosses will also continue to look globally for workers who can fulfil the needs of the modern economy. Ideally it wants people who will not need too much healthcare, can look after their family with what they are earning, pay taxes, whether they are British or not. Brexit in no way means moving back to a less knowledge-based economy.

As well as in industry, a real crisis will continue to exist in services, especially health and social care because the neo-liberal state and business alike do not really want to pay to support people at home who are ill, have a disability or are older with greater health needs, that means they are less productive. The state (especially under the Conservatives) is not prepared to pay more to local authorities and may be more than prepared to see them cut services further leaving people to fend for themselves, using this as a justification to bring in privatised alternatives. Controlling the workforce overall includes bringing people in from abroad with more precarious positions – tied to the employer for fear of losing residency status or with controlled periods of employments – something Brexit will help make easier. Non-EU workers are already bound to their employer unless they can find another job quickly and easily. This was a major part of the beef at Fawley oil refinery (the 2009 struggle that led to Gordon Brown's oft misquoted 'British Jobs for British workers') as Italian workers were essentially indentured even though they were EU, kept on-site in portcabins earning vastly less.

Even if Britain remains in Europe there would still be the continued threat of multinational (e.g. American-owned) companies being invited to run the NHS and other services. With a suitable Brexit agreement, and even with 'no deal', it may simply mean that EU companies will be able to do this as well, with favourable tax conditions if they play the game and don't insist on workers' rights alongside being allowed to operate in UK. Some of the industries that would no doubt be interested would be in construction, energy, IT, research, education, as well as the health and care providers. This is

a gamble though as they will need to make the wages attractive enough so that it is worthwhile for someone to work in UK while having no right to stay outside of the job, relative to opportunities for work in the person's home country or another EU country where they would have the right to settle. A lot of the above speculation will depend on whether Britain stays in the Customs Union as this will influence how goods move around and this in turn will influence where businesses need workers to reside to make profit. It will also depend on how freely the EU will allow its member states to trade with Britain post-Brexit.

On the other hand, multinationals based in Britain and British-owned companies alike will not hesitate to move abroad if more advantageous to them than staying. Even small British-owned companies already operate abroad. When US companies like Motorola abandoned their production lines in Mexico for Asia, British companies quickly moved in to pick up the factory space and the skilled local workforce – such was the flexibility that globalisation allowed. British companies could decide to move some or all of their operations to Europe if profitable and if allowed to do so, with the support of the British state.

### Migrant workers

Overall European migrants make up 5% of the population in England and an estimated 3.5-3.8 million EU citizens in the UK will be required to apply for settled status post-Brexit. For EU workers in Britain now, there is massive uncertainty about residency status as it's not clear how and if they will be allowed to stay after Brexit. Again the situation for non-EU migrants is instructive. Non-EU workers can generally get a visa to stay in UK for up to 6 months. However people from non-EU countries are already making difficult choices if they are allowed to stay and work longer, some working overtime to hit the required wage threshold to be able to work in UK on their own or with family (which is a higher threshold). Also, it is probably not common knowledge to many British people that the minimum annual earning threshold for non-EU workers was raised pretty well overnight in 2016 from £25k to £35k leading to many US and Australian workers having to leave (as reported in the media at the time), which was subsequently lowered back to £30k in 2017. Is very likely that the government will fiddle with the rules a lot like this after Brexit making relocating to UK very risky for lower paid workers.

The body that has made the most detailed recommendations about European Economic Area workers coming to UK post-Brexit, the Migration Advisory Committee (MAC), published a report in September 2018 – recommendations from which are not substantially affected by May's most recent Brexit 'deal'. The headline from the MAC was 'No preferential access' for EEA citizens after Brexit (something lovingly rephrased by Theresa May in

November 2018 as stopping EU migrants "jumping the queue" versus workers from Australia or India). It also lumped workers of different occupations or skill level into the same scheme except possibly a separate seasonal agricultural workers scheme. Any low-skill gap would apparently be filled by family migration linked to other workers (e.g. spouses) and an expanded Youth Mobility Scheme (allowing younger people to come to UK for 2 years 'working holiday' from named countries) which seems unlikely to be fulfilled in practice since it is known that many YMS migrants take higher skilled posts albeit on a temporary basis. So the main change after Brexit is for the category of 'Tier 2' sponsored workers to include European in addition to non-European workers with the removal of a cap on the annual number of visas which is currently 20,700 people at the £30k level mentioned above (rising to £60k above the threshold), plus some other amendments. These are precisely the practically indentured workers mentioned above and this recommendation would put most skilled migrant workers in the same boat, once freedom of movement in the EEA is lost. However, in order to placate the anti-immigration lobby, May subsequently suggested that visas for lower skilled workers could be limited to 11 months and have restrictions on families, which would act to prevent or discourage settlement.

Another recent development was a pilot project in November 2018 that the government launched, focussed on universities, health and social care, which they are using to work out the scale of the task, how to administer the scheme, and to fast-track some key workers the state does not want to lose. These are already workplaces with considerable casualised and/or mobile workers. 16% of university researchers are from other EU states and 23% of academic staff in biology, mathematics and physics are EU nationals. Furthermore, EU immigrants make up about 5% of English NHS staff overall, 10% of registered doctors and 4% of registered nurses. However, a major criticism was that the pilot scheme started with the worker only and not family members, leading to criticism from both Wales and Scotland health secretaries, plus trade unions criticised the £65 fee and are demanding that employers pay this on behalf of the individual, such that the fee has already been covered by some institutions.

### 'British workers'

Workers who are British citizens will face ongoing economic pressures due to austerity as now, worse if the economy takes a dive. And there are a good number of gender-related workplace issues that are created by Brexit. Although incorporated into the 2010 Equalities Act, equal pay for women arises from the 1957 Treaty of Rome. Rights of part-time workers (pensions, parental leave entitlements) and protections for pregnant women at work also come from the EU. Imposition of employment tribunal fees was fought using EU law by Unison in 2013 on the grounds of it being



discriminatory because the majority of low paid workers are women. After Brexit, it is quite possible the UK government could try and amend the law in the interest of the economy. Furthermore, the government has already indicated that women might need to choose home over work in order to look after elderly relatives post-Brexit if there is a social care staffing shortage! This kind of statement, from the Department of Health in August 2018, only shows how controlling the state is prepared to be if necessary.

While we don't yet know what will happen, it's clear that Brexit has serious consequences for workers. The situation for lower paid workers who might consider coming to UK after a break with the EU looks particularly grim with a constant eye having to be kept on wage levels and time worked. Even higher paid workers are likely to have jobs that are tied to their employer, and risk losing residency if their employment ends, so taking industrial action will be riskier. At home, women are likely to be adversely affected and equality legislation could well be put to the test.

Although quite speculative, it seems hard to see how the state will control migration to such a fine degree (such as work visas of less than a year) without additional checks by NHS and other bodies, which could end up making introducing national identity cards for the whole population more likely. The last time a national ID scheme was proposed and defeated (by No2ID and the anarchist campaign Defy-ID in 2005-9), it was migrants (notably asylum seekers) who ended up with biometric ID cards - and biometrics were added to passports around the same time. Furthermore, the move to more electronic record keeping in the NHS and e-Gov means they are more able to track individual entitlements, although not without some opposition to the 'hostile environment', against workers becoming 'border police' e.g. 'Docs Not Cops'.

## Opportunities

On the brighter side there may be opportunities to fight for better pay, if workers stick together. In our workplaces and political organisations we need to keep alert and see how we can support each other. Workplace meetings are a good start, especially so that migrant workers are not isolated. While we cannot do much about the process of Brexit as this is in the hands of the politicians, we can get ready for its consequences. This should include being ready defend co-workers and comrades who may face leaving the UK if they fail a yet to be determined residency test, mounting anti-deportation campaigns it comes to that (anarchists who have prior experience with No Borders and migrant solidarity have a lot to give here). We also need to keep an eye on what is happening in other countries. Whilst workers have experienced relative freedom of movement in the EEA, and with more countries being part of the EU, it should have

been easier to point out common class interests, although the British Left has failed to make much of this recently, being focussed on domestic politics and the far right. On a practical level, having the EU has arguably made direct resistance easier – coordinated action against borders and in support of migrants (within and from without the EU) and against international economic summits of the political class. Anarchists have been at the forefront of this transnationalism and our own international blossomed in this period to include the Balkans, for example, so we hopefully have something to build upon.

See also: [www.afed.org.uk/counting-us-in-counting-us-out/](http://www.afed.org.uk/counting-us-in-counting-us-out/)

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## КОГАТО РОБОТИТЕ НИ УВОЛНЯТ

Работата ни е ниско платена, несигурна и противна. Все по-малко време прекарваме в плодотворен труд, но все-повече – в разпавии с работодателите и държавата. Който не иска да се примири с мизерията, бяга на Запад. Научните изследвания показват обаче, че и там ще става все по-трудно да се намери препитание.

Още Аристотел се опасявал, че машините ще заместят хората. Няма нужда да си древен гений, за да съобразиш, че техническите нововъведения могат те оставят без работа – печално известни са бунтовете на „лудитите“, които рушили машини, за да запазват работни места. Индустриализацията промени пазара на труда. Първо замени висококвалифицираните занаятчии с нискоквалифицирани работници, обслужващи машините. После, с усложняването на машините, създаде нужда от висококвалифицирани специалисти по управление и поддръжка. За разлика от майсторите-занаятчии обаче, днес специалистите не произвеждат краен продукт, а обезпечават работата на машините.

През последните десетилетия навлизането на компютрите в производството също промени пазара на труда. Изследванията сочат, че то е довело до изместване на работни места предимно от сектора на средните доходи към сектора на ниските доходи, като е допринесло за оформяне на U-образна крива – при която броят на нискоквалифицираните и висококвалифицираните работни места е нараснал, за сметка на средноквалифицираните.

Днес все по-мощните компютри контролират все по-усъвършенствани работи в заводите, в армията, на улицата, дори в учрежденията. Няма период в историята, в който машините да са имали потенциал да свършат толкова много неща вместо хората. Тенденция за

събиране и обработка на огромни количества данни, които доскоро липсваха или не бяха обработваеми, създаде нови области, в които тепърва ще бъдат интегрирани работи. Задачи, които допреди десетина години специалистите определяха като нерешими за машини, например шофирането в градски условия, днес са решени – автономни автомобили вече се движат по улиците на Флорида, Калифорния и Невада.

Учени от Оксфордския университет са изчислили как последните тенденции в областта на машинното самообучение и мобилните работи ще повлияят на пазара на труда. Те разграничават три типа трудности пред компютъризирането на задачите – „опознаване и управление на средата“, „съзидателна интелигентност“ и „социална интелигентност“. Данните от Министерството на труда в САЩ определят общо 702 професии, за които трудностите са измерими. С помощта на специалисти в областта на автоматизирането, избират 70-те професии, за които най-лесно може да се определи дали могат да бъдат напълно автоматизирани с наличните в момента технологии. Полученият модел с 90% сигурност посочва дали една професия ще бъде напълно автоматизирана, или не. Според резултатите от модела, за 47% от професиите (в които в момента са заети 68 милиона души) има над 70% вероятност да бъдат напълно автоматизирани с наличните технологии. Освен това, за онези професии, които попадат в границите между 30% и 70%, може да се очаква вероятността за автоматизиране скоро да се повиши, защото зависят преди всичко от „опознаване и управление на средата“, която е най-развиващата се област от горните три. Най-засегнати ще бъдат „повечето работници в транспорта и логистиката, заедно с много в офисите и административната поддръжка и производството“. „Съществена част от сферата на услугите, в която се зародиха нови работни места през последните десетилетия в САЩ, е високо податлива на компютъризация.“ За разлика от последното десетилетие, което отне работни места предимно от средна ръка, професиите, които тепърва ще се автоматизират, са предимно сред ниско платените.

Няма причини да смятаме, че автоматизацията ще спести работни места извън САЩ. Заплатите в страни като Китай са значително по-ниски, но машините винаги излизат по-евтино от работниците. За да бъдем продаваеми, тепърва ще трябва да си търсим работа, която роботите не могат да свършат, или да се състезаваме по производителност с тях. Няма как всички да станем зъболекари, нито да шофираме по 24 часа в денонощието.

През 1589 г. свещеникът Уилям Лий изобретил първата плетачна машина с надеждата, че ще освободи работничките от ръчното плетене. Търсейки патентна защита за изобретението си, той го представил пред кралица Елизабет I. Но кралицата се оказала твърде загрижена за подопечните си: „Помислете какво би причинило вашето изобретение на бедните ми поданици! То със сигурност ще ги разори, като ги остави без работа, и ще ги превърне в просяци“. И му отказала патента. Уилям Лий бил принуден да се махне от Кралството. Половин хилядолетие по-късно, вече в така наречените демократични общества, положението е същото. Машините вършат все повече работа, но вместо да работим по-малко, ставаме по-излишни. Защо нещо, което трябва да облекчава живота ни, всъщност го прави по-труден и по-несигурен?

Когато собствеността върху средствата за производство (ресурси, машини и – отскоро – технологии) е съсредоточена в ръцете на малцина, останалите хора получават толкова, срещу колкото успяват да продадат труда си. Ако някой не може да продаде труда си, трябва да разчита на добрата воля на друг, който има в повече, за да преживее. Днес, когато малцина са безработни, държавните механизми като социалното, здравното и пенсионното осигуряване служат за преразпределяне на излишъците, така че да няма умиращи от глад. Но идва времето, когато огромна част от нас (според изследването – близо половината население на САЩ в близките десетилетия) ще станат по-евтини от храната, от която се нуждаят. Машините ще произвеждат още повече, отколкото днес, но няма да имаме „право“ да го използваме, защото не „работим“, не сме успели да продадем труда си. Какво ще правим тогава? Ще трошим машини като лудите? Ще прогоним изобретателите като кралица Елизабет? Толкова ли обичаме работата си, че да не искаме машините да я вършат вместо нас? Едва ли.

Техническият прогрес ни дава възможност да работим все по-малко и да творим все повече. Вместо това обаче нуждата да се продаваме на „пазара на труда“ заплашва да ни унищожи. Единственото решение е премахване на този пазар. Премахване на собствеността върху природните ресурси, технологиите и машините. Разпределяне на произведеното според нуждите на хората. Да бъдем ценни, защото сме хора, а не защото се трудим. Само тогава ще бъдем спокойни за бъдещето си. Ще заменим монотонния затъпяващ труд, задръстващ ежедневието ни, с все по-краткотраен и по-съзидателен.

Наблюдател

## PER UN MONDO SENZA PATRIE E SENZA FRONTIERE

L'antimilitarismo è da sempre uno dei terreni di lotta del movimento anarchico. Oggi come ieri, di fronte al massacro della Prima Guerra Mondiale, la lotta contro la guerra si salda alla lotta per la trasformazione sociale.

Gli scenari di guerra si stanno moltiplicando. In Libia c'è una guerra in corso, in cui il governo italiano è pienamente coinvolto: nel paese sono già presenti, considerando solo le cifre ufficiali della missione militare MIASIT, 400 unità delle forze armate italiane. Intanto, la diplomazia sta organizzando a Roma una Conferenza internazionale per decidere il futuro del paese. L'intervento militare italiano non si limita alla Libia, ma si estende a vari paesi africani, all'Iraq, Afghanistan, Oceano Indiano e ad altre missioni. Un impegno in continuità con i governi precedenti e coerente con le alleanze internazionali.

Come sempre il peso economico di queste politiche guerrafondaie si scarica sulla collettività: gran parte della manovra prevista da oltre trenta miliardi sarà destinata all'aumento delle spese militari. Il governo, infatti, rispetterà gli impegni assunti con la NATO dai governi precedenti, che prevedono di portare la spesa per gli armamenti al 2% del prodotto interno lordo, 24 miliardi che si aggiungono agli attuali 16 miliardi di euro.

A fronte di questo impoverimento crescono i profitti del settore militare. L'Italia è al nono posto per quantità di armi esportate fra tutti i paesi del mondo, ed è al quinto posto fra i produttori europei.

La Federazione Anarchica Italiana rifiuta qualsiasi scambio tra il lavoro in Italia e la distruzione e la morte all'estero; denuncia inoltre il fatto che la produzione di armi porta ricchezza solo a pochi privilegiati. Le produzioni belliche, assorbendo materie prime, mezzi di produzione e forza lavoro, sottraggono risorse alla produzione di beni e servizi, peggiorando quindi la condizione degli sfruttati nel loro complesso.

La guerra e il militarismo in generale sono un terreno di coltura del maschilismo, sia per l'ideologia gerarchica e autoritaria che li caratterizza, sia come pratica di sopraffazione e violenza, anche sessuale. Basta pensare agli stupri come arma di guerra, teorizzati negli uffici studi degli stati maggiori, ma anche agli atti di violenza e ai femminicidi, che vedono protagonisti in alta percentuale uomini in divisa. La logica militarista fa della donna un campo di battaglia, territorio di conquista, dominio e potere.

Il delirio militarista si manifesta anche con le recenti proposte di legge sul ripristino della leva obbligatoria, come quella già votata dalla Regione Veneto, e quella che si appresta ad essere votata dalla Regione Friuli Venezia Giulia. Aldilà di qualsiasi propaganda, ribadiamo che le Forze Armate non hanno mai avuto né mai avranno un ruolo educativo.

Le anarchiche e gli anarchici della F.A.I. ribadiscono la loro opposizione al militarismo, e invitano a partecipare alla manifestazione antimilitarista del 3 novembre 2018 a Gorizia.

Per fermare la militarizzazione della società  
per eliminare le spese militari  
per chiudere le fabbriche di morte  
per un mondo senza patrie e senza frontiere

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### ΕΝΑΝΤΙΑ ΣΤΟΝ ΕΝΔΕΧΟΜΕΝΟ ΕΞΟΠΛΙΣΜΟ ΤΗΣ ΑΕΡΟΠΟΡΙΚΗΣ ΒΑΣΗΣ ΣΤΟΝ ΑΡΑΞΟ ΜΕ ΠΥΡΗΝΙΚΑ ΟΠΛΑ

“Η γενικευμένη κρίση του κόσμου του κράτους και των αφεντικών οδηγεί με μαθηματική ακρίβεια σε ένα δρόμο, αν δεν συγκροτηθεί ένα πλατύ και διεθνές μέτωπο αγώνα κι αντιστάσεων. Στις εμπόλεμες κοινωνίες, στην γενίκευση και την όξυνση των γεωπολιτικών ανταγωνισμών και των πολεμικών επιχειρήσεων έως τα όρια ενός μεγάλου πολέμου και στην μονιμοποίηση του καθεστώτος έκτακτης ανάγκης ως σιδερένιου πλέγματος ελέγχου και καταστολής κάθε πτυχής της κοινωνικής δραστηριότητας”.

“Πόλεμος και φασισμός, αυτή είναι η «απάντηση» του συστήματος στην συνολική και βαθιά του κρίση, στις ίδιες του τις αντιφάσεις, που τις προκαλεί η αθεράπευτη σύγκρουση που επιβάλλει η βασική του αρχή, η εκμετάλλευση και καταπίεση ανθρώπου από άνθρωπο.”

Αποσπάσματα από τη διακήρυξη του 2ου συνεδρίου της Αναρχικής Πολιτικής Οργάνωσης

Η πρόσφατη επίσκεψη του Έλληνα πρωθυπουργού στις ΗΠΑ επισφράγισε με τον χαρακτηριστικότερο τρόπο την ανανεωμένη αμυντική συμφωνία Ελλάδας-ΗΠΑ που υπογράφηκε στις 29 Αυγούστου 2017. Εκτός της δέσμευσης της ελληνικής κυβέρνησης για την αναβάθμιση των αεροσκαφών F-16 αξίας 2 δις ευρώ, επιβεβαιώθηκαν οι πληροφορίες σχετικά με την αναβάθμιση της ΝΑΤΟικής βάσης της Σούδας και του ρόλου της στην ευρύτερη περιοχή, όπως και η μεταφορά “ειδικών όπλων” (στην πολεμική ορολογία) -πυρηνικών όπλων επί της ουσίας- στη βάση του Αράξου. Ήδη, εδώ και μερικούς μήνες έχουν αρχίσει οι προετοιμασίες για την αναβάθμιση της συγκεκριμένης βάσης με την ενίσχυση της συρματόφραξης και με εργασίες στο εσωτερικό της. Πρόσφατα, μάλιστα, διέρρευσε απόρρητο έγγραφο-επιστολή από τη σύνοδο του ΝΑΤΟ στις Βρυξέλλες προς το ελληνικό Υπουργείο Εθνικής Άμυνας, το οποίο καθορίζει τις λεπτομέρειες για προετοιμασία της βάσης του Αράξου ώστε να υποδεχθεί πυρηνικά όπλα, ενώ αεροφωτογραφίες από τη βάση που δημοσιεύθηκαν στα ΜΜΕ το τελευταίο διάστημα, επιβεβαιώνουν τη σχετική προετοιμασία.



Η βάση του Αράξου έχει εδώ και 50 χρόνια αποτελέσει χώρο σποραδικής εναπόθεσης πυρηνικών όπλων των ΗΠΑ, ενώ η ευρύτερη περιοχή της Δυτικής Ελλάδας (αεροπορικές βάσεις Αράξου, Ανδραβίδας και Ακτίου, λιμάνια Πάτρας και Ηγουμενιτσάς) έχουν χρησιμοποιηθεί ως ορμητήριο των αμερικανοΝΑΤΟικών στρατευμάτων για τις πολεμικές επιχειρήσεις τους στην περιοχή των Βαλκανίων και της Μέσης Ανατολής. Τα πυρηνικά όπλα απομακρύνθηκαν τελικά το 2001, ύστερα από μακροχρόνιους αγώνες του αντιπολεμικού κινήματος, με μυστική επιχείρηση του ΝΑΤΟ, αρχικά προς την Ιταλία και στη συνέχεια προς άγνωστη κατεύθυνση. Σήμερα, συζητείται έντονα η επαναφορά των πυρηνικών βομβών Β61 στον Άραξο, οι οποίες βρίσκονται στο Ιντσιρλίκ της Τουρκίας. Άλλωστε, η βάση βρίσκεται, σύμφωνα με το ΝΑΤΟικό σχεδιασμό, πάντα σε ετοιμότητα για να υποδεχτεί αεροσκάφη που φορτώνουν τέτοιες βόμβες, ενώ κατά καιρούς πραγματοποιούνται ασκήσεις δοκιμαστικής λειτουργίας των υπόγειων πυρηνικών αποθηκών της.

Επιπλέον, στη συνάντηση Τσίπρα-Τράμπ συζητήθηκε η επέκταση της συμφωνίας για τη χρήση της βάσης της Σούδας, καθώς και η πιθανότητα δημιουργίας νέας βάσης στην νότια Κρήτη. Η επίσημη αιζέντα αυτής της συνάντησης (αντίστοιχη με αυτή της επίσκεψης Ομπάμα στην Αθήνα ένα χρόνο πριν) προσδιορίζει τις πραγματικές προεκτάσεις της στο πεδίο της εξουσιαστικής διαχείρισης, επιβολής και ανταγωνισμού: γεωπολιτικοί συσχετισμοί, προσφυγικό, οικονομία, ενέργεια.

Οι κλυδωνισμοί στις σχέσεις ΗΠΑ και Τουρκίας ύστερα από την πρόσφατη στροφή της τουρκικής κυβέρνησης Ερντογάν προς τη Ρωσία και το Ιράν σε μια σειρά από τομείς, έχουν οδηγήσει στην αναβάθμιση του ρόλου του ελληνικού παράγοντα στην ευρύτερη περιοχή. Αυτό γίνεται φανερό από τη σχεδιαζόμενη μεταφορά πολεμικού εξοπλισμού από τη βάση του Ιντσιρλίκ στην Τουρκία προς τη βάση της Σούδας στην Κρήτη αλλά και μέσα από την ανάληψη ενεργούς πρωτοβουλίας της Ελλάδας στις περιφερειακές εξελίξεις και την αναβαθμισμένη συνεργασία που προωθεί με μια σειρά γειτονικών χωρών. Απόδειξη αυτού είναι και οι τριμερείς (Ελλάδα – Κύπρος – Ισραήλ, Ελλάδα – Κύπρος – Αίγυπτος) και τετραμερείς (Ελλάδα – Σερβία – Βουλγαρία – Ρουμανία) διασκέψεις και οι κοινές στρατιωτικές ασκήσεις στην κυπριακή ΑΟΖ.

Είναι αδιαμφισβήτητο γεγονός πως σε παγκόσμιο επίπεδο τα πολιτικά και οικονομικά αφεντικά επιχειρούν μία, άνευ όρων, ανηλεή επίθεση εναντίον των λαών και των περιοχών της καπιταλιστικής περιφέρειας που περιλαμβάνει πολεμικές επιχειρήσεις, επιβολή δικτατορικών-θεοκρατικών καθεστώτων και ανατροπή άλλων, υποκίνηση εμφύλιων συγκρούσεων, καταστροφή παραγωγικών δυνάμεων, έλεγχο των πλουτοπαραγωγικών πηγών, οικονομική αφαίμαξη ολόκληρων πληθυσμών, περιβαλλοντική καταστροφή ολόκληρων περιοχών και φυσικά τεράστιο αριθμό ανθρώπινων απωλειών.

Μία συνθήκη που διαμορφώνει απέραντους «κρανίου τόπους» έτοιμους να λεηλατηθούν και να «ανασυγκροτηθούν» με γνώμονα τον έλεγχο πληθυσμών και περιοχών, την αύξηση των κερδών και τη διεύρυνση των οικονομικών δραστηριοτήτων των παγκόσμιων οικονομικών ελίτ αλλά και την αναδιάταξη των συσχετισμών γεωπολιτικής ισχύος στα πλαίσια των διακρατικών ανταγωνισμών, μεταξύ παγκόσμιων, περιφερειακών και τοπικών δυνάμεων.

Η αναβάθμιση των στρατιωτικών βάσεων (στην Ελλάδα και αλλού) καθώς και η αναβάθμιση του ρόλου της Frontex και του ΝΑΤΟ είναι μέρος της προετοιμασίας για τη γενίκευση του πολέμου που έχει κηρύξει η κυριαρχία, αρχικά στο πεδίο όπου εκφράζονται κυρίτερα σήμερα οι ανταγωνισμοί των ισχυρότερων μπλοκ εξουσίας, δηλαδή στη Μέση Ανατολή και τη Νοτιοανατολική Μεσόγειο, καθώς η ζοφερή προοπτική μίας παγκόσμιας σύρραξης επανέρχεται στο προσκήνιο και στους σχεδιασμούς των στρατιωτικο-πολιτικών επιτελείων.

Σε αυτό το πλαίσιο, το κράτος των Η.Π.Α. αποτελεί την ηγέτιδα δύναμη του δυτικού μπλοκ κυριαρχίας έχοντας πρωτοστατήσει στην εκστρατεία εγκαθίδρυσης του σύγχρονου ολοκληρωτισμού διεθνώς. Στην ίδια κατεύθυνση, το ισχυρό «αμυντικό» μπλοκ του οποίου ηγεμονεύουν οι ΗΠΑ, το ΝΑΤΟ, – με ιδεολογικό όχημα τον «πόλεμο κατά της τρομοκρατίας»- επιχείρησε την εξάπλωση της δύναμης του και την επέκταση του «ζωτικού του χώρου» βάζοντας διαρκώς «φωτιά σε πυριτιδαποθήκες» με χαρακτηριστικότερα παραδείγματα τους δύο πολέμους στο Ιράκ, τον πόλεμο στη Γιουγκοσλαβία και το Αφγανιστάν αλλά και τη δημιουργία του κράτους του σύγχρονου απαρτχάιντ στο Ισραήλ.

Οι πολεμικές επιχειρήσεις στην καπιταλιστική περιφέρεια, καθώς και η εμβάθυνση του ελέγχου και της καταστολής στο εσωτερικό των δυτικών κοινωνιών, η όξυνση της λεηλασίας της μεγάλης κοινωνικής πλειοψηφίας και η καταστροφή του φυσικού κόσμου είναι αποτέλεσμα των διαχρονικών επιδιώξεων -και των ανεπίλυτων αντιφάσεων που συνεπάγονται- του κρατικού-καπιταλιστικού συστήματος.

Σε αυτή την επιχείρηση αποικιοποίησης κάθε πτυχής της κοινωνικής ζωής από την εξουσιαστική βαρβαρότητα, το αμερικανικό κράτος πρωτοστατεί εδώ και δεκαετίες έχοντας κεντρικό ρόλο στην ενδυνάμωση των παγκόσμιων διαδικασιών αναδιάρθρωσης του κρατικού-καπιταλιστικού κόσμου, μέσω της δημιουργίας και της αναβάθμισης υπερεθνικών εξουσιαστικών μηχανισμών, λειτουργώντας ως «πρότυπο» κατασταλτικό εργαστήριο. Οι «αντι»τρομοκρατικές σταυροφορίες που έχουν προκαλέσει χιλιάδες θανάτους και μαζικό ξεριζωμό μεγάλων πληθυσμών, οι αθρόες δολοφονίες μαύρων Αμερικανών, η θεσμική θωράκιση του καθεστώτος μέσω ειδικών νόμων, φυλακών και

στρατιωτικοποιημένων σωμάτων καταστολής, είναι αρθρώσεις του γενικευμένου πολέμου που έχει κηρύξει το αμερικανικό κράτος τόσο εντός της επικράτειάς του όσο και διεθνώς ως πρωτοπόρο τμήμα της παγκόσμιας κυριαρχίας, η οποία απαντάει στην γενίκευση της κρίσης μέσω της επίθεσης της στους φτωχούς και τους απόκληρους.

Μια επίθεση που διεξάγεται με αυξανόμενη ένταση από την πλευρά των διεθνών πολιτικο-οικονομικών ελίτ, αναπόσπαστο μέρος των οποίων είναι και το ελληνικό κράτος. Κοινή βάση αυτής της ανισομερούς συμμαχίας είναι η διατήρηση της εξουσιαστικής οργάνωσης των κοινωνιών, η όξυνση των συνθηκών της σύγχρονης σκλαβιάς, η απονεύρωση και η καταστολή των κοινωνικών και ταξικών αντιστάσεων, καθώς και η διατήρηση της πρωτοκαθεδρίας του δυτικού μπλοκ κυριαρχίας και η ενίσχυση της δύναμής του στο πεδίο του διεθνούς γεωπολιτικού ανταγωνισμού. Ο στρατιωτικός, πολιτικός, οικονομικός και πολιτισμικός επεκτατισμός του Δυτικού Εξουσιαστικού Μπλοκ επιχειρεί να αντλεί νομιμοποίηση και συναίνεση από την αθλιότητα που το ίδιο παράγει παγκόσμια: ο πόλεμος, ο ξεριζωμός, η φτώχεια, ο κοινωνικός κανιβαλισμός, είναι ταυτόχρονα παράγωγα του κρατικού-καπιταλιστικού συστήματος και τα φόβητρα απέναντι στις εξαθλιωμένες μάζες. Η ιδεολογική πτυχή αυτού του επεκτατισμού εμπεριέχει την προβολή του κρατικού-καπιταλιστικού κόσμου ως αναπόδραστης πραγματικότητας εντός της οποίας μπορούν να υπάρξουν μόνο αστικοδημοκρατικά ψευτο-διλήμματα διαχείρισης της γενικευμένης εξουσιαστικής σήψης.

Το ελληνικό κράτος, ως μέλος της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης και του NATO είναι σταθερά προσανατολισμένο στις επιδιώξεις της κυρίαρχης πολιτικο-οικονομικής ελίτ της οποίας αποτελεί αναπόσπαστο τμήμα. Η σημερινή κυβέρνηση (όπως και όλες οι προηγούμενες) εκπλήρωσε και συνεχίζει να εκπληρώνει την αποστολή της στο ακέραιο, που δεν είναι άλλη από την διαρκή προσπάθεια, στο κομμάτι που της αναλογεί, για την ανεμπόδιστη επιβολή της σύγχρονης δικτατορίας του Κράτους και του Κεφαλαίου, του Σύγχρονου Ολοκληρωτισμού. Αυτή η κοινή επιδίωξη, που ενώνει ακατάλυτα το ελληνικό και το αμερικανικό κράτος, είναι η βάση κάθε εξουσιαστικής συμμαχίας.

Η πλήρης ταύτιση των κατευθύνσεων των διεθνών οικονομικών και πολιτικών ελίτ με τις ντόπιες σκιαγραφεί τη ζοφερή πραγματικότητα των καταπιεσμένων: φτώχεια και εξαθλίωση, διαρκής ευτελισμός της ανθρώπινης ζωής είτε εκφερόμενος ως βουβός αυτοκτονικός θάνατος στα διαμερίσματα της μητρόπολης, είτε ως κραυγαλέος πνιγμός στα ανοιχτά του Αιγαίου ή στα στρατόπεδα συγκέντρωσης, ανεργία και άμισθη σκλαβιά για τους μεν, μισθωτή σκλαβιά με ωράρια γαλέρας προς πενταροδεκάρες για τους υπόλοιπους.

Μέσα σε αυτή την πραγματικότητα έχουμε χρέος να οργανώσουμε τις αντιστάσεις μας. Να θέσουμε

αναχώματα στους σχεδιασμούς των παγκόσμιων κυρίαρχων που υπόσχονται μόνο θάνατο, φτώχεια, πολέμους, προσφυγιά, μιζέρια και εξαθλίωση. Πιάνοντας το νήμα από τις αντιπολεμικές κινητοποιήσεις παλαιότερων χρόνων και αντλώντας έμπνευση από αυτές, να οικοδομήσουμε ένα ισχυρό διεθνιστικό κίνημα από τα κάτω ενάντια στον πόλεμο, ενάντια στο σύγχρονο ολοκληρωτισμό. Στην κατεύθυνση της οικοδόμησης αυτού του κινήματος, η αντίσταση στην εγκατάσταση πυρηνικών όπλων στη βάση του Αράξου, όπως και στην ευρύτερη απόπειρα αναβάθμισης του ρόλου του ελληνικού κράτους στο διεθνές πολεμικό σκηνικό θα είναι μια ακόμα σημαντική μάχη που πρέπει να δοθεί.

Αυτή είναι η εποχή που πρέπει να συνδεθούμε πολιτικά με τους συντρόφους και τους αγωνιζόμενους διεθνώς, προκειμένου να αντιμετωπίσουμε την κοινή επίθεση την οποία δεχόμαστε. Από κοινού όλοι οι εκμεταλλεζόμενοι και καταπιεσμένοι αυτού του κόσμου να αντισταθούμε στους δολοφονικούς σχεδιασμούς του κράτους και του κεφαλαίου. Να οικοδομήσουμε ένα πλατύ και διεθνές μέτωπο αγώνα και αντιστάσεων ενάντια στον πόλεμο, το φασισμό, τη φτώχεια, την εξαθλίωση, τον ρατσισμό, την κρατική και παρακρατική τρομοκρατία.

Απέναντι στην επίθεση του παρηκμασμένου εξουσιαστικού κόσμου έχουμε να αντιπαραθέσουμε την αλληλεγγύη των κοινών μας αγώνων. Απέναντι στην δυστοπία του σύγχρονου ολοκληρωτισμού, όπου η μεγάλη πλειοψηφία εξαθλιώνεται και υποτάσσεται, αντιπαραθέτουμε την ελευθεριακή κοινωνία, που οργανώνεται μέσα από τα ομόσπονδα κοινωνικά συμβούλια “για την Ελευθερία του καθενός και την Ισότητα όλων”.

ΕΝΑΝΤΙΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΡΑΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΠΙΤΑΛΙΣΤΙΚΗ  
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ΕΝΑΝΤΙΑ ΣΤΟΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΟ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΣΥΓΧΡΟΝΟ  
ΟΛΟΚΛΗΡΩΤΙΣΜΟ

ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΗ ΕΠΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΗ  
ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΡΧΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΚΟ  
ΚΟΜΜΟΥΝΙΣΜΟ

αναρχική ομάδα “δυσήνιος ίππος” – μέλος της  
Αναρχικής Πολιτικής Οργάνωσης

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## REPENSER L'ANTIMILITARISME AUJOURD'HUI

Si l'Europe et les Etats-Unis vivent globalement en paix sur leur territoire depuis la Seconde Guerre mondiale ce n'est pas le cas du reste du monde : Syrie, Yémen, République démocratique du Congo, pour ne citer que quelques pays. Pourtant les signes

de la guerre chez nous n'ont pas disparu, et la France connaît une militarisation importante, permise notamment par l'état d'urgence, que les attentats ont légitimé y compris au sein de la population. Mais plus encore que chez nous, c'est chez les autres que nous exportons la guerre : matériel militaire, opérations militaires, en Libye, au Mali, en Irak, néo-colonialisme pour capter les richesses etc. Il ne faut donc pas se laisser tromper par notre situation européenne : si nous vivons en paix ce n'est pas le cas de l'humanité en général, et la guerre permanente qui est conduite dans le monde est bien souvent le fait de nos gouvernements. Et même si la guerre n'est pas d'actualité chez nous il n'en est pas de même de l'esprit militaire.

Aujourd'hui, la militarisation a bonne presse : les soldats patrouillent, les reportages chantent les louanges des soldats français en mission, les campagnes de publicité ont pignon sur rue. En 2016 87% des Français avaient encore une bonne opinion de l'armée, en faisant la deuxième institution la plus appréciée après l'hôpital. Pourtant qu'en sait-on réellement ? Les données sont dures à trouver du fait d'une interdiction de l'ethnographie ou des travaux qualitatifs, les scandales sont étouffés en interne et nous sommes donc condamnés à ingurgiter la vision officielle, celle qui défile sur les Champs-Élysées le 14 Juillet. Dans ces conditions la critique éclairée est devenue difficile.

Que reste-t-il alors de l'antimilitarisme ? Presque rien. Il est pourtant fondamental de lui ré-insuffler la vie.

Qu'est-ce que l'antimilitarisme ?

L'Encyclopédie anarchiste définit le militarisme de la façon suivante : « Le militarisme est un système qui consiste à avoir et entretenir des militaires, des armées. Son but essentiel et avoué est la préparation de la guerre. Le recrutement d'une armée permanente ; l'organisation des cadres d'une armée de réserve ; l'accumulation, la mise en service, le maintien en état de servir d'un matériel de guerre toujours plus moderne, plus perfectionné, bref, c'est l'organisation préalable de la guerre. Cette organisation colossale, mise à la disposition des gouvernements, leur permet de poursuivre un double but : pouvoir lutter contre les gouvernements étrangers en cas de conflit entre eux et avoir sous la main un appareil formidable de répression violente en cas de soulèvement populaire. Les gouvernements ont un absolu besoin de l'armée tant contre leurs ennemis de l'extérieur que contre ceux de l'intérieur.

L'antimilitarisme est l'opposition au militarisme. L'armée, belliciste, impérialiste, hiérarchique et nationaliste est évidemment une des faces du militarisme.

Décomposons ces termes. La dimension belliciste recouvre le fait que l'armée, au service d'un État, va systématiquement servir les intérêts du pouvoir,

en menant par exemple des guerres coloniales, des guerres extérieures, ou en effectuant des opérations de maintien de l'ordre pour « maintenir l'ordre public ». Il n'est pas étonnant que l'armée soit utilisée dans plusieurs pays comme une arme politique, ce que les révolutions arabes ont tristement montré. La dimension impérialiste découle strictement de ce premier point : l'armée comme instrument de gouvernement est le moyen pour un État d'imposer son pouvoir à une population, et notamment aux populations qui n'ont pas les mêmes outils pour se faire entendre. Les guerres menées récemment par les États-Unis, comme la seconde guerre d'Irak, sont caractéristiques d'un impérialisme visant à défendre des intérêts américains à l'étranger. La France n'est évidemment pas en reste avec son opération en Libye ou au Mali. Le pendant de ces deux premiers éléments est la dimension nationaliste de l'armée : une armée défend un territoire national et met en avant la Nation, les frontières, et pourquoi pas l'esprit d'un peuple ou ses traditions. Tant d'éléments auxquels les anarchistes s'opposent. Enfin l'armée s'organise de façon hiérarchique, avec un commandement et des obéissants, elle reconduit une domination de l'homme (humain) par l'homme (humain).

On ne peut pour autant reprocher aux anarchistes de défendre la paix à tout prix : la lutte armée est nécessaire dans certaines conditions, notamment en cas de défense. Mais la conceptualisation libertaire de la lutte armée rompt avec les différents présupposés du militarisme actuel : elle est non-belliciste, anti-impérialiste, non-hiérarchique et internationaliste. Nous en avons quelques exemples historiques avec l'Ukraine makhnoviste et l'Espagne en 1936.

L'antimilitarisme s'oppose ainsi autant à l'usage guerrier de l'armée qu'à son esprit, autant à la guerre qu'au militarisme. Pourtant il nous faut distinguer les deux : si la guerre est absente, le militarisme se porte très bien.

Les formes du militarisme actuels

Il nous faut rappeler une fois de plus qu'être militaire c'est avant tout être au service d'un État. Il faut ainsi se défaire de la propagande médiatique et gouvernementale présentant l'armée sous la forme d'un nouveau développement personnel, permettant réalisation de soi, camaraderie et protection des civils. Au-delà de certaines compétences spécifiques triviales, comme le fait de se protéger d'une agression extérieure, ce qui n'est plus le cas pour les pays occidentaux depuis des années, le rôle de l'armée est irrémédiablement le même, maintenir l'ordre et gérer les populations. Il nous faut rappeler encore une fois que malgré les campagnes publicitaires qu'on retrouve des abris bus aux écoles, l'armée n'est pas ce choix de vie bénin qu'on essaye de nous faire avaler, une vocation comme une autre. C'est par les actions militaires que les États assoient



leur impérialisme et leur pouvoir sur le territoire. Si la guerre ne fait plus parti de notre paysage immédiat, le militarisme se nourrit de la « nécessité » pour l'État de se défendre face à des ennemis extérieurs, Daesh par exemple, mais également face à des ennemis intérieurs : les terroristes, et plus largement certaines classes de populations soupçonnées de trahison envers leur patrie (les zadistes, certains écologistes radicaux, les musulmans pour certains, les juifs pour d'autres, et enfin tous ceux qui n'adhèrent pas au grand récit national, pour les plus nationalistes). L'armée est un outil de domination aussi bien physique qu'idéologique, amenant à la constitution d'une identité commune contre des déviances identifiées comme néfastes.

Plus que la guerre meurtrière - qui peut cela dit toujours revenir ! - (il y a moins de morts chaque année dans l'armée française que de dans l'industrie du bâtiment) c'est la militarisation de la société qui apparaît ici et maintenant problématique. Il faut ainsi réactualiser l'antimilitarisme en ne ciblant plus seulement la fonction impérialiste de la guerre comme aux XIXème et XXème siècles mais aussi la fonction sociale de l'armée par le biais de la militarisation de nos sociétés et de nos esprits.

A quoi sert l'armée ? Au-delà de la gestion des frontières et des flux de population, elle sert aussi à rassembler. Rassembler par une fiction commune, une identité nationale universaliste qui se voudrait méritocratique et inclusive. L'École, chancelante, ne parvenant pas à enrayer la reproduction sociale, l'armée a l'image d'une institution plus méritocratique et égalitaire, au sein de laquelle l'ascension sociale est possible. Plus encore, il s'agit d'une institution sociale privilégiée à l'époque où la mondialisation effrite les solidarités nationales : elle devient le lieu du recroquevillement nationaliste. Pas de surprise donc si les fascistes adulent l'armée comme une réalisation utopique de leur société rêvée : l'ordre, le commandement, l'organisation, la subordination et la hantise des différences y règnent. On peut illustrer cela clairement avec des épisodes d'humiliations homophobes ou sexistes. Difficile dans ce cadre de ne pas comprendre l'image positive actuelle de l'armée comme un signe d'une droitisation de la société. La militarisation est ainsi partout visible - patrouilles, surveillance, fichage - avec pour cela l'usage d'outils toujours plus perfectionnés. D'ailleurs, le capitalisme a lui aussi flairé le filon : de plus en plus d'armées sont des armées privées, de mercenaires, combattant pour le plus offrant.

Pourtant peut-on vraiment dire que l'armée est un modèle universaliste ? Regardons en effet la sociologie de l'armée. Qui s'engage comme simple soldat, qui est envoyé pour mourir dans des missions dépourvues de sens, qui paye le coût des décisions gouvernementales ? Est-ce le patronat, les ministres, les patrons d'industrie ? Non, ce sont généralement des jeunes hommes et femmes issus de classes populaires et/ou de l'immigration. La

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chair à canon militaire, puisqu'au fond il s'agit de cela plus que d'une formation ou de l'apprentissage de compétences comme les spots télévisés nous le répètent inlassablement, est composée des pauvres, des démunis, qui voient dans l'armée une échappatoire positive à un système éducatif boiteux. Les jeunes gens diplômés, qui ont fait des études, qui viennent de familles plus aisées, ne sont pas soldats, mais officiers. Ici l'analyse de classe la plus caricaturale trouve hélas sa concrétisation : loin d'être la grande muette politique, l'armée reproduit et amplifie la domination de classe au service des intérêts étatiques. En réalité ce qu'on y observe c'est avant tout le broyage des individus dans une grande machine : elle les avale tout frais puis les recrache une fois usés. La grande muette se désintéresse de ses soldats une fois qu'ils sortent de l'institution : quels soutiens pour les traumatismes, les blessures, le retour à la vie civile ?

Réactualiser la critique

Il est donc important de réaffirmer et de réactualiser la position anarchiste de l'antimilitarisme. Il nous faut rappeler que l'esprit militaire est concomitant au nationalisme, à la discipline, à la domination de l'humain par l'humain, et qu'il est intrinsèquement un allié des conservateurs et des fascistes de tout poils (sans oublier bien sûr les industriels qui profitent très largement des opérations militaires).

Nous ne soutenons aucune armée, qu'il s'agisse de l'armée des soviets ou de l'armée de métier. Il nous semble au contraire important de souligner que la militarisation des esprits, l'habitude de la soumission à cette institution et la normalisation de la présence militaire sont dangereuses, néfastes et funestes. Dangereuses car elles habituent à la docilité, à la surveillance, à l'auto-contrôle ; néfastes car l'esprit militaire empêche toute liberté de pensée, il est que soumission ; funestes car nous pensons que rien de bien ne peut sortir de ces principes. En cela il est temps de prendre en compte le phénomène de militarisation de la société et des esprits, de réactualiser et réactiver la critique de cette utopie guerrière. Il n'y a pas de guerre juste, il n'y a pas d'armée saine. Guerre à la guerre, mais surtout mort aux Armées.

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## LA INDUSTRIA ARMAMENTÍSTICA Y EL GRAN NEGOCIO DE LA GUERRA

No hay estado o reino que durante su trayectoria no haya manchado su historia con la brutalidad de la guerra. Los conflictos bélicos, llevados a cabo entre potencias por intereses económicos, no han traído nunca nada más que miseria y muerte entre pueblos, mientras que los grandes poderosos jamás mueren ni morirán en el campo de batalla. Siempre ha funcionado de esa manera, mandar a los peones a defender una patria y unos intereses

que nunca beneficiarán a nadie más que a lxs ricxs. Aquí dejamos estas clásicas y sabias palabras para centrarnos en el tema actual:

Hoy seguimos viendo la barbarie, de una manera mucho más compleja que nunca, con más tecnología militar y armamentística. Otra vez más, la ciencia en vez de facilitar la vida a la población, se está utilizando para defender intereses de los estados y sus clases altas. De esta manera, la guerra, ayudada de los grandes avances tecnológicos se ha convertido en uno de los mayores negocios de lxs dirigentes. Así, el día de hoy en un mundo semi globalizado y de grandes ejércitos nos encontramos con los mayores éxodos y genocidios de la historia.

Nos escandalizamos al ver por la televisión las mareas de refugiadx, las imágenes del campo de batalla, etc. pero olvidamos que todo eso empieza aquí, en nuestros gobiernos y sus empresas. No sólo son lxs soldadx lxs que toman parte en el conflicto armado y obligan a la población a abandonar sus casas por el fuego de los morteros, la guerra empieza en las fábricas de nuestras ciudades y pueblos, porque está claro que sin la venta de armamento no se podrían llevar a cabo las guerras . Donde algunxs vemos tristeza y muerte otrxs ven negocio, y desgraciadamente mientras haya mercado ahí fuera esto no parará. El armamento se lleva de aquí a los países compradores.

El estado español es el cuarto país/empresa que más armas exporta a todo el mundo, un pequeño espacio del globo donde se suministra una gran cantidad de buques de guerra, drones, granadas de mortero, cañones etc. a cualquiera que enseñe sus billetes. Mientras que la televisión nos entretiene con series de narcos, asesinatos y traficantes para intentar brutalizarnos, no nos damos cuenta de que en los despachos de las grandes empresas españolas y en la clase política tenemos el mejor material para una serie que os aseguramos que sería muy difícil de ver.

Muchísimas empresas de nuestro país tienen contacto directo con la producción de armamento bélico y otras se dedican exclusivamente a ello. Así funciona, se crean los conflictos y luego se les vende el armamento. Estas corporaciones se componen como siempre, de empresarixs sin escrúpulos dispuestxs a beneficiarse de la muerte y por otro lado, de trabajadorxs dispuestxs a producir riqueza para lxs jefxs o accionistas y muerte para otrxs habitantes de “países desafortunados”. Nada extraño en el comportamiento de lxs trabajadorxs ya que desde niñxs han conocido la cultura del trabajo y han aprendido a llenar su nevera sin mirar al/la de al lado y los problemas que pueda generarle. Sin ningún tipo de remordimiento seguirán comprando “action mans” a sus hijxs y llevando la desgracia a hijxs de otros.

Detrás de todo esto están como siempre bancos como el BBVA, Santander, BBK, empresas como Nantia, Sener, Espal e incluso educación, que por

ejemplo en las escuelas de ingeniería también se aprende a diseñar armas y a la hora de mandar de prácticas a lxs estudiantes de formación profesional no les importa a que se dedica dicha empresa donde los mandan. Nos gobiernan verdaderxs psicópatas, mientras que nos hablan de paz y democracia desde sus poltronas, son lxs mayores criminales.

Por ejemplo, en el caso del País Vasco, lxs dirigentes de su gobierno autonómico, el PNV (Partido Nacionalista Vasco) invierte de manera indirecta y disimulada grandes sumas de dinero en el negocio militar, después, a nivel personal, convirtiéndose en gerentes y accionistas de dichas empresas. Este oscuro negocio fue una de las razones por la que los grandes barcos cargados de armamento, abandonaban todas las semanas el puerto de Bilbao con dirección a Arabia Saudí. Tras muchas protestas y acciones consiguieron paralizar la salida de armamento de las costas vascas, pero poco después empezaron a hacer lo mismo en el puerto de Santander, la lucha en el puerto cántabro continúa. También se han llevado a cabo acciones en contra de factorías.

De la misma manera que a nosotrxs los medios de comunicación nos bombardean con el constante mensaje de que esas lejanas personas que viven en guerra son seres sin sentimientos, terroristas y carecen de corazón, a ellxs, nuestros aviones les bombardean con munición real creada por nuestrxs vecinxs llenos de sentimientos y corazón. Pero no nos equivoquemos, en este mundo todxs sentimos, nos ilusionamos, lloramos, nos enamoramos, luchamos... Todxs somos iguales y nadie debe morir por los intereses del capital. ¡No lo podemos permitir! ¡No dejemos que se produzcan armas! Todxs sabemos que sólo el pueblo trabajador es capaz de llevar a cabo la producción y solo ellxs lo pueden parar, porque lxs jefxs no producen nada y en este caso aparte de quedarse con los beneficios dejan miles de cadáveres a sus espaldas. Parece imposible, pero como todo, está en nuestras manos.

Queremos dejar claro que no entendemos ser simplemente pro refugiadx, somos antiguerras es decir anticapitalistas. Hay que buscar el origen de los problemas para atacarlo y lograr la solución. El problema es el capitalismo como siempre, este avanzado capitalismo a nivel salvaje, devastador de todo medio, acompañado del nacionalismo, un invento creado muchos años atrás para acabar con la solidaridad entre pueblos y incitar a la población al odio y ir a la guerra por intereses de los que se enriquecen.

Así seguirá funcionando el sistema mientras que no trabajemos para ayudar a nuestrxs compañerxs y hoy como siempre es necesaria la solidaridad y la concienciación. ¡Organicémonos y dejemos de ser cómplices de las guerras y sus asesinatos! Hoy mueren en otro sitio, mañana podemos ser nosotrxs. Nos están matando con una sonrisa. ¡Luchemos!





The International of Anarchist Federations (IAF or IFA) was founded during an international anarchist conference in Carrara in 1968 by the three existing european federations of France, Italy and Spain as well as the Bulgarian federation in french exile. To counter the internationalisation of state and capitalist powers that are developing their influences ever rapidly on a global scale, the IFA has since aimed to build and improve strong and active international anarchist structures.

The federations associated with IFA believe that such an organisation is necessary to co-ordinate their international work and efficiently co-operate towards their mutual aims.

To further improve the quality of exchange and co-operation, IFA also keeps close contact with other anarchist organisations, such as the IWA (International Workers Association, an international association of anarcho-syndicalist organisations).

The principles of work within IFA are that of federalism, free arrangement and mutual aid. To improve co-ordination and communication within IFA, as well as to provide an open contact address for the public and other anarchist groups and organisations, an International Secretariat was set up. The Secretariat irregularly rotates among the IFA federations. Most of the federations produce regular publications.

- **Federación Libertaria Argentina (FLA)**  
[federacionlibertaria.org](http://federacionlibertaria.org)

- **Iniciativa Federalista Anarquista (IFABrasil)**  
[anarkio.net](http://anarkio.net)

- **Anarchist Federation of Britain (AF)**  
[afed.org.uk](http://afed.org.uk)

- **Федерация на анархистите в България (ФАБ)**  
[anarchy.bg](http://anarchy.bg)

- **Federacion Anarquista Local de Valdivia (FALV)**  
[federacionlocalvaldivia.org](http://federacionlocalvaldivia.org)

- **Anarchistická Federace (AF)**  
[afed.cz](http://afed.cz)

- **Fédération Anarchiste (FA)**  
[federation-anarchiste.org](http://federation-anarchiste.org)

- **Föderation Deutschsprachiger Anarchistinnen (FdA)**  
[fda-ifa.org](http://fda-ifa.org)

- **Federazione Anarchica Italiana (FAI)**  
[federazioneanarchica.org](http://federazioneanarchica.org)

- **Federación Anarquista de México (FAM)**  
[federacionanarquistademexico.org](http://federacionanarquistademexico.org)

- **Federación Anarquista Ibérica (FAI)**  
[federacionanarquistaiberica.wordpress.com](http://federacionanarquistaiberica.wordpress.com)

- **Federacija za Anarhistično Organiziranje (FAO)**  
[a-federacija.org](http://a-federacija.org)

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