

Editorial

Comrades,

Only additional reliance on police truncheons will allow the Government to enforce the austerity measures.

It is now only a matter of time before truncheons are reinforced by water cannons and rubber bullets, and before near-fatal injuries become during the revolutionary Mayday rally fatalities. However, as Michel Foucault already understood, the successful exercise of power is “proportional to its ability to hide its own mechanisms”.

To be successful we need to mingle with the shoppers in the area and to form “spontaneous” public demonstrations.

The more we organize autonomous units, that form random “street flash mobs” in the area, the less chance there is of the police using their bully-boy tactics to shut down the demonstrations. **Splintered demonstrations and flash mobs cannot be contained!**

To use future protests as cover for our own means:

Black Bloc will need to cover of other people’s groups and protests to start disorder off. We have to foment disorder and then to disappear off into the shadows: Let other people get caught up in it and actually do the acts of disorder.

Any opportunity anywhere across Europe has to be used to infiltrate. The protests have been used in the recent past by some as a flag of convenience. The intent however will have to be to cause serious injury (to the coppers) and maximum damage and disruption to bourgeois society. Increasingly popular by now with youngsters disillusioned with mainstream politics.

Some instructions on how to breach police lines if caught up in kettling:

A constant hail of debris creates ‘sterile zones’, that help to keep the coppers at ‘arm’s length’. Meanwhile, those near the police lines throw ‘rape alarms’ into the police ranks, so that the orders of senior police officers become lost in the noise.

Comrades,

We have to ‘cash in’ on the anticipated feeling of discontent!

We have to encourage people to use the protest to cause violence and disruption!

We have to step up protests in order to create a summer of discontent!

RESIST mag collective



MAYDAY, BERLIN – Black bloc during the revolutionary Mayday rally



Black bloc breaks away from a TUC protest in London last October

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A short history of Autonomy

Within the nationalist scene these days most are well known with the concept of “autonomous nationalists”. But what does the concept of “autonomy” really mean? In this article I will try to explain this by getting a better insight in the origin, theory and practice of autonomism and its meaning for revolutionary nationalism.

Autonomia Operaia in Italy

The origin of the autonomous movement can be found in the leftwing Italian movement of the 1960's, in which the unorganized *Autonomia Operaia* (workersautonomy) developed itself. The basis of the trade union started to rebel against the vanguard pretensions of the Communist Party and its bureaucracy. It was this confrontation between the basis and the leadership that changed the behaviour of the Italian proletariat. To fight the old trade union bureaucracy the workers were forced to organize themselves. But this organisation was not a uniform process, but only accured on incidental moments during concrete events (like for instance the Workers uprising in Turin in 1962).

While this started to develop itself further, the term autonomy got more and more meaning. Not as a symbol for a certain movement, but as a term to indicate a certain form of behavior. There was no concrete organisation, but the organisation took place on a hypodermic level; like circulating forms of struggle within different factories, who got connected with each other again. With this process the trade union basis became a force force to be reckoned with, that on itself was able to force the trade union bureaucracy to take their basis (the proletarians) serious again. Therefore autonomy represents

the “mass-vanguard”; a vanguard that is not made up by individuals, but which arises on the basis of specific battle experiences. In this no organisation structure is imposed from above, but it grows “wild” in the process of the struggle itself. Violence and direct, frontal confrontations against the bureaucracy and the State were seen as a necessary means of action.

In the 70's a new phenomena developed within the autonomous movement, the fase of “organized autonomy”. In this time the economic crisis had caused several severe confrontations with the capital, that felt itself cornered by the struggle of committed workers and students. This led to a widening of the revolutionary struggle. As an answer to the workersautonomy the politics of capital started to develop a form of democratic-reformism; a system with negotiations, mutual agreement, social partners, etc. This process of social reconstruction had as a goal to increase the production and to neutralize the political strength of the industrial workers. In '73 when the last factory occupation occurred, it became clear that the industrial struggle was no longer sufficient enough and that the battle terrain needed a widening. This led towards a renewal of the practice and organisation of autonomy.

To become a factor of interest again the concept of autonomy had to be entirely re-developed. From this a new practice of proletarian struggle arose, which was mainly determined by the movement of young proletarians. These young proletarians came from the poor suburban areas and fully rejected the long-term politics of traditional organisations. They wanted to change their lives here and now and were prepared to fight for



this. Their problems were from now on seen as political problems. From this grew a tendency that could be described as “organized autonomy”, because it had its own specific struggle perspectives and militant methods of struggle. In this tendency all kind of small movements with their own specific details became connected on a national level, without losing their own specific identity. The cultural sphere became more and more explored and parties, concerts and meetings became the most important places where these autonomous groups crystallized themselves.

At the end of the 1970's different tendencies had developed within the Italian autonomy. On the one hand there was the “organisation project” of autonomy: the idea that autonomy needed an organisational vanguard. On the other hand stood the traditional views about autonomy. They thought that the autonomous movement had to be used as a leverage, to become a new institutional factor which was able to negotiate with the system about new institutional opportunities. Within these two tendencies we find the majority of the autonomous movement, that rejects any attempt to build a Party or institutional movement. These are confronted with the problem of the selforganisation of all movements of all social layers. How do we realize a massive counterforce if the earlier mentioned alterna-

tives are rejected? The answer must be found in the new experiences of the autonomous movement. The autonomous movements counterpractice can be seen as by the movement produced "micro-machines" (free radiostations, free spaces, assemblies), that undermine and destroy the "macro-machine" of the State. The power of the autonomous movement is found in its mobility and dynamics; in the eternal ability to expand its practical, political and cultural power.

Autonomism in Germany

At the end of the student revolts the unorganized anti-authoritarian current was next to Jusos (social-democrats of the SPD), the DKP (a Marxist-Leninist party) and the K-groups (several communist organisations), one of the most important tendencies within the leftwing movement of Germany. In the 1970's the Italian concept of "Autonomia Operaia" started to influence this German current more and more. In West-Germany so-called "Betriebsprojektgruppen" (Workplace project-groups) were created with the Italian model as an example. However, an important difference with the Italian autonomy was the fact that instead of the workers having a leading role, this role was fulfilled by student activists. Their intention was to introduce the anti-authoritarian activism of the student revolt into the factories. They saw direct action and militancy as ways to unite the anti-authoritarian revolt with the proletarian workers culture. However due to a lack of a solid basis within the German workingclass and the cultural barrier between worker and student, no broad autonomous workersmovement as in the Italian model developed itself in Germany. At the end of the 1970's this led to a scepticism towards politics that focussed itself only on the workersstruggle. Many

anti-authoritarians found entrance in the alternative movement, that wanted to create some kind of parallel counterculture, thereby trying to create a practical alternative within the dominant social order.

In October 1975 the first edition of the journal "Autonomie" was published. This became the first theoretical platform for anti-authoritarian activists who tried to politically re-orientate themselves. In 1979 this led to a break between the editors collectives of Hamburg and that of Frankfurt. The Hamburg group stuck to the traditional concept of operatism and kept a clear Marxist-proletarian orientation. They accused the editorial collective of Frankfurt of abusing the term "autonomy" to revert from true revolutionary politics. The group from Frankfurt saw the anti-nuclear struggle as an alternative for a strong focus on the proletarian struggle and left the journal that kept being published by the Hamburg collective uptill 1985. The journal "Autonomie" created a historical bridge between the student revolts of May 1968 and the autonomous movement of the '80's.

At the beginning of the 1980's unexpected new social movements developed from the alternative movement of the 1970's. Most of them developed from the many "one-issue" campaigns (anti-nuclear struggle, squattersmovement, peace movements, etc.) who started to broaden their perspectives. This social movements who shot from the social revolts of 1980 and 1981 were then products of a deep social and political discontent. In this a militant autonomous wing developed that consisted mostly of young activists. They went on to confront the bourgeois norms and values and put their own needs as the central political goal. They didn't propagate a resistance that was confined to the weekend or a

certain location, but a resistance that included life as a whole. Therefore the autonomous movement didn't limit itself to a certain area of struggle or theme, but did broaden her struggle to fight against everything that would oppress and destroy us. Within the new social movements of the 1980's the autonomy represented an independent political fraction. Within the autonomous movement of the 1980's there also developed a new discussion about the class struggle. In these times wage labour was dominated by a core of politically integrated, specialized workers who were member of the trade unions. They had prospect on a relatively safe and long duration of work. Therefore the autonomous idea of a selfdetermined live and the struggle against capitalism did find much support within the factory. Although a lot of effort was done by the autonomous movement to form alliances with workers, not much success was booked on this area and an emphasis was laid on the construction of a mass-movement and alternative culture.

The German autonomous movement has published several thesis in which she tried to catch its most important characteristics. Some of these;

- *We fight for ourselves and others fight for themselves. However by connecting our struggle we make ourselves stronger.*
- *We won't engage in any dialogue with those in power! We only formulate demands. Those in power can concede with them or not.*
- *We all embrace some vague anarchism, but we're not anarchists in the traditional meaning of the word.*
- *No power to no one!*
- *Our ideas are very different from those of the alternative movement,*

but we use the infrastructure of the alternative movement.

- We are not certain if we want revolution or revolt. Some of us want a "permanent revolution", while others claim this is nothing else than a "permanent revolt". Those who don't trust the term "revolution" think it suggests a freedom that has to be realized at a certain point, whilst they think this is impossible. For them freedom is the short period of time between throwing the rock and the rock hitting its target. However we all agree that in first instance we want to dismantle and destroy - formulating affirming ideals is not our priority.

- We are not by definition organized. Our forms of organisation are somewhat spontaneous. There are squat meetings, telephone chains, autonomous assemblies and many many small groups. Short term groups form to perform an action or to attend a protest. Long term groups work on ongoing projects or very illegal actions. There are no structures more solid than this and there will be no hierarchy. Uptill today the movement has produced not one individual representative, spokesman or celebrity, that means no Negri, no Dutchke, no Cohn-Bendit, etc.

Since the 1980's the German autonomous movement has lost its momentum. This movement however always remained a factor of political interest and its practice has inspired radical activists all over the world to use the militant practice and tactics of the autonomous movement for their own respective struggles.

Rise of Autonomous Nationalism

Around 1988 it seemed that the concept of autonomy also got following within the nationalist movement in Germany with the publishing of the magazine "Schwarze

Fahne" (Black Flag) in 1988, which mentioned the term autonomous nationalists for the first time. In 1990 the "Autonom-Nationalistischen Zelle" (Autonomous-Nationalist Cell) published the "autonomous-nationalist manifest". This was the first attempt to introduce certain elements of the autonomous movement into the nationalist movement. During the '90's strong repression against nationalists from the German government resulted in organisational prohibitions and long jail sentences for leading figures. In 1994 certain nationalist groups in Germany came to the conclusion that autonomous organisation forms and the strategy of a mass-vanguard offered a solution against the ever increasing repression. Although at first this took the form of copying the strategy and tactics of the autonomous movement and it was not so much about a ideological elaboration, the basis of an autonomous nationalism was laid.

However outside the appearance and strategical characteristics of autonomy, this also led to a re-orientation of the nationalist ideology. Anti-capitalist, anti-globalist and anti-imperialist themes became increasingly in the foreground within the autonomous nationalist movement. This ideological re-orientation soon led to several heated discussions within the nationalist movement. In most cases national-socialism remained the reference point and the discussion limited itself within the content of several tendencies (represented by the left- and rightwing of the NSDAP) within this historical movement. One of the precursors within this ideological discussion was the then nationalist Holger Hansen from Dortmund, who pleaded for the introduction of autonomy as a full concept. He proposed a current of sharp anti-capitalist criticism, complete decentralization and a consistent class struggle. This led

to great outrage within the more traditional nationalist circles, which was the reason that Hansen was compelled to break with the nationalist movement to join the anti-imperialist movement "Zusammen Kämpfen" in Berlin. In the national-revolutionary segment of the nationalist movement, that mainly grouped itself around the "Netzwerk Sozialistische Nation" (NWSN), "Fahneträger" and "Sache des Volkes" they were more consistent. The national-revolutionary groups already based themselves on the foundation of class struggle and proposed revolutionary anti-capitalist politics. Here the concept of autonomy as it once developed within the proletarian movement could find an easier access.

Mid 2012 after a prohibition on several autonomous structures it seemed autonomous nationalism in Germany had lost its momentum. Although autonomous nationalism gave a new revolutionary impulse to the nationalist movement and the German youth, it seems that at the moment it is torn apart by internal rivalry, ideological conflict and State-repression. With the loss of her autonomous structures an essential part of the autonomous nationalists seem to be trapped inside subculture and a course of party politics. With this the autonomous concept of clear and independent anti-system politics seem to play a less significant role within the German nationalist movement. After the ban on some of these important autonomous nationalist structures the nationalist movement declared; "Resistance is like the Hydra*". Therefore we are sure that the autonomous forms of action will undoubtedly resurface in Germany.

* **Hydra** - The many-headed dragon which stands symbol for chaos and resistance.

Clément and Esteban: The tragedy of idealism

(In Memoriam of Clément Méric & Esteban Morillo)

On the 5th of June a young man, age 18, died in Paris. His life was taken by another young French man, age 20, - although other sources claim that he was not the main cause of the victim's death. Clément Méric, a young man who was active for a social ideal in the circles of the Action Antifasciste became the victim of Esteban M., a youngman who was also active within circles of social idealism, the Jeunesse Nationaliste Revolutionnaire.



Clément Méric



Esteban Morillo

Should we consider this matter as a classical fight between the far "right" and the far "left"? A confrontation of nationalists against socialists, the nation against social politics?

Ninety years ago another viewing point was chosen in the matter of "the nation against social politics". This happened on the "Erweiterten Exekutive der Kommunistische Internationale" on the 20th of June 1923. Better said, from the position of Karl Radek on Leo Schlageter. A tragedy of a national activist, who was active in the Freikorps. Schla-



Leo Schlageter

geter was a young man of only 29 years old, who gave his life at the hands of the reaction in the struggle for the nation and the liberation from French imperialism.

"When in circles of German fascists, who only want to serve the German people, they cannot understand the meaning of the faith of Schlageter, that would mean Schlageter fell for nothing and they should write on his grave: The wanderer into nowhere." Thus a citation from the Schlageter speech from Radek. Later on in this speech, he would illustrate how Schlageter in his naive period of 1920 helped to knock down German mineworkers in the Ruhr area, because according to his beliefs at that time they were the main enemy. An enemy who stood in the way of national liberation. From 11 January 1923 - the invasion of the Ruhr area by French and Belgian imperialists, by the Entente in the name of the French capital - Schlageter was forced to reconsider about his enemy and his idealism. His enemy turned out to be the same as the enemy of the workingclass he hated earlier on; the enemy was capitalism. Therefore Radek forgave his earlier judgment; "Schlageter, the brave soldier of the contra-revolution, deserves to be honored manly and reputable by us, soldiers of the revolution."

The death of SA-man Horst Wessel, a young man, 23 years of age, is also an example that runs parallel with the tragedy in Paris. The idealist Wessel found his



Horst Wessel

death in his struggle for national and social liberation of the German workingclass. For this struggle he gave up his study together with his ensured bourgeois future. He moved to the neighbourhoods of the lumpenproletariat in Berlin and wanted to marry with a prostitute.

A unprecedented act for the, by the bourgeoisie dominated, nationalism of that time. Wessel's struggle was ended in 1930 by a co-warrior for the proletariat, the communist Ali Höhler. Again the reason of this was a conflict between two idealists, who had the same vision, but did not understand each other.

The nation and socialism do not out-rule each other, on the contrary they fulfill each other. The nation needs socialism as the only security for an equal and sincere society and economy for her people - the working producers and the working class. The ideal of socialism needs the nation for her sense of community as well as an answer to globalism.

Where the nations of socialism, like the Soviet Union and the Peoples Republic of China, were held in high regard by the "left", in Southern Europe the working masses, general strike and social care are held in high regard among the far "right". A fight between two idealists - who both stood for the interests of the working masses - let a third party prevail: the bourgeoisie and capitalism. There is nothing that they rather see more than these two parties fighting each other. However when they would both open their eyes - and get the insight that the State is the true enemy - the rule of capitalism and the bourgeois State would soon be dealt with.

Another important lesson for idealists is that of misuse by their own movements. This is embodied by bureaucracy. The tragedy of the Dutchman Marinus van der Lubbe is probably the most noteworthy if it comes to this. As an idealist and soldier of the workingclass he wanted to make a real

difference for the German proletariat. In the Netherlands he was mocked on many occasions because of his idealism - this because of severe fights with the police and his radical tone in combination with his confused appearance.



Marinus van der Lubbe

Many perceived him as a dreamer. When in 1933 in Germany Hitler arose to power, van der Lubbe thought that the working class in Germany would finally come into resistance against the upcoming fascism. Using his last bit of money he travelled towards Berlin; his class fought there, so he had to be there! This however wasn't true, the working class did nothing. Almost defeated by disappointment he tried to go home, but not before he set the Reichs-

tag ablaze, the symbol of parliamentarism. The action succeeded, but he got arrested. His initiative didn't get any support or following from his own movement. Their own ideals were betrayed by their own bureaucrats - even by radical council-communists such as Anton Pannekoek. And so this young "dreamer" who believed in the pretty revolutionary words of his own circles, became outcasted because he wanted to put his words to action for a higher cause than himself: an ideal.

And so it seems Clément and Esteban appear not to be each others opposites. They both belonged to a political movement for revolutionary change. Both were young, belonged to a subculture and were fascinated by violence, driven by myth as a social force. For social justice and equality for people and nation. The hate for the system was important for both, but they - just

as Schlageter in the beginning - looked the wrong way. They saw the enemy in each other instead of fighting together against the real enemy: State and capital. A misjudgment and so their respective quests for the right direction was prematurely terminated.

Let us not limit Clément and Esteban to being martyrs and POW's in their own respective movements. Let this again be an example of how it shouldn't go on. Let the socialist thesis and the nationalist antithesis become a synthesis for a higher goal: the national and socialist liberation of globalisation, wage-slavery and an end to the exploitation of one man by another. This in the context of the struggle against bureaucracy, the bourgeoisie and capitalism worldwide. Let them not become wanderers into nowhere.

Thus: The remarkable tragedy of idealism.

Interview with Mind Terrorist

Please tell us how your band "Mind Terrorist" was founded?

At first thank you for your interest. Mind Terrorist started as a solo project, with the help of some friends, before two years. In fact I had in mind to create music for the many people that were generally interested in rock and metal music. The point is that I would like to speak to everyone, not only to the members of certain subcultures, and make it through a modern way that could give to the scene a certain importance. So, it was a personal decision to start, I felt like making a project because I wanted to give a different direction to the listeners, both in music and writings. This year, we are trying to change it from a personal project to a band with steady structure and members.

How would you describe your music?

Well, no doubt that it is about metal. Although the guitars give some heavy riffs, you can also listen to some nu parts in guitars, the voice is influenced mostly from hardcore and metalcore, so it is a little bit mixed. The first person ever listened to Mind Terrorist spoke about "alternative metal", so I kept it because I think that it is close to reality, especially for tracks like "Dictatorship of stars and stripes", which is our newest one.

Do you guys belong to a particular subculture?

Not at all. Of course we give respect to groups who are trying to create parallel forms against state's pressure, no matter their ideological or political background, but personal-



ly I believe that subcultures just act into certain borders. We are here to think and act "outside the box" and smash the political dogmas. To speak without stereotypes, express ourselves and influence ideally every single person. Our music is not a tool of subcultures, it is something dynamic, in our effort not to separate people according to substyles and behaviors, but affect things in togetherness and unity.

Which bands are your sources of inspiration?

Many bands with heavy/thrash/hardcore metal background (Sepultura, Slayer, In Flames, Pantera,

Machine Head, Moshpit etc.) but we try to filtrate our influences so as to give a personal music stigma, the way it is possible. For example, in our debut album "Once upon a heartbeat" you can hear songs like "Freedom for Death" that reminds you a Paradise Lost riffin', although some solos are more classical. We think that this kind of combination gives to the final result a good balance and makes it more interesting to the listener. So, to return back to the question about the description of our music, In Metal Hammer's review they wrote that "the music contains many elements from the spectrum of modern heavy metal, perhaps with a touch of industrial (which can be derived simply from production) here and there, while the vocals reach in some cases more the hardcore side (similar to Cavalera style, not in tone). There is something familiar and comforting in, sometimes minimalist approach configurations, with the result not to be tiring. Although Mind Terrorist is not "reinventing the wheel" musically, I feel that the cd will be a pleasant listening for anyone who bothered to listen to them".

What are your political views?

Okay, although the band is not categorized as far as politics concerned, because each of the people who help has its own view, personally I support anti-statist groups and movements. I am Tribal Anarchist (no relation with Marxists or Antifa), but I keep a widely

open mind to hear everything and discuss everything. I believe that the social, economical, ecological matters concern every creature on earth, every human or non-human being. This is the base from which I start. I am against categorization of people in political parties or the simple dogmas of left and right. I support all people who fight for their freedom against the oppression of the state.

What are your thoughts on the current situation in your fatherland Greece?

Unfortunately, we face a dead end, and we are of course a part of an existing problem but also a strong part of the solution. We have to gain in consciousness and awareness that we are able to support the change. Any decision within the existing framework simply maintains what currently exists, so we have to make a further step. To speak about crisis, we must not emphasize to what is well known, the fact that many people have not enough money to survive. There are things that are more important. This is an era when people have no values and no respect for their lives. They tend to earn money and make life through it, and it is capitalism that takes their time. Most of our needs are not "real", capitalism always creates new ones so as to consume. Other priorities are set aside. People now are getting so empty and greedy, wanting more and more, but they rarely give to the oth-

ers sentiments like love, sympathy, solidarity, togetherness, and friendship. They don't appreciate a voluntary action, because capitalism destroys a no-money society and makes people like thieves who steal from one another. It is not about a "greek problem", but a whole crisis caused by the liberal dictatorship of capitalism. Take a look around the world regarding matters like human relations, code of values, racial solidarity, nature and environmental matters, social balance etc.

Is the national - revolutionary/national-anarchist idea popular within Greece?

Well, I think that these ideas gain in popularity day by day and I am very satisfied that we participate in such efforts. It is very promising that we are getting in contact with people from different political backgrounds and try to make a creative synthesis of concepts and ideas.

Any plans for the future?

At the moment we are recording new material for a full length album that is going to be released at the end of the year through One People One Struggle Records. This will be our second album, under the title "Fragments of human decay", containing 10 tracks. You can get more information through our official website www.mindterrorist.gr or our facebook profile www.facebook.com/onceuponaheartbeat.



www.mindterrorist.gr or www.facebook.com/onceuponaheartbeat

Internal debate with relation to a revolutionary strategy I

In the previous RESIST-Magazine, we announced that one of our main activities should take place into the factories, on the work floor. Now we like to have a closer look into this strategy - achieving a revolutionary situation within the capitalist process by taking the factories in our own hands (hands of the working class). Therefore we take a look at the history of the struggle of Italian and French working class and their experience with factory occupations. To illustrate this, we published below a summary of the standard work of J.C. Visser "Bedrijfsbezettingen: Het verleden van een (nieuw) aktiemiddel" (1986) to discuss factory occupation as revolutionary struggle.

Factory occupation: The history of a new form of industrial action

The subject of this article is factory occupation as a form of action in industrial conflicts. More than hundred-twenty years ago, mines were occupied in Poland by the workers. From this moment workers have kept using this means of action.

It attracts attention that the use has been concentrated in a number of waves (the most imported are): 1917-1920 in Italy and 1936-1937 in France. In these periods a recurring question that arose was wherever the actions sparked off a social revolution, or at any rate meant a step towards an industrial democracy. Or was it only a case of a tactical alternative for a strike?

The Italian actions took place during a wage-dispute in the metal industry, in the first instance in the cities of Milan and Turin. Here it was the metal trade union F.I.O.M. that took the initiative for these active occupations. The uncertain political and economical situation in which Italy found itself in the first post-war years, the wait-and-see policy of the government, the revolutionary atmosphere that was also created by statements of the socialist party leaders, and the great distance between the trade union management and its members; these factors must be considered responsible for the escalation of the conflict.

In France, in 1936 and 1937, the first actions took place in the aircraft

industry; a branch of industry which was in a fair good economic position as a result of large government orders. The occupations were of a different nature than the 'grèves-sur-le tas' (a "sit-in" strike), a means of action frequently used by especially the metal workers in the Paris region. The election-victory of the Populaire Front parties had stimulated the workers to using more radical forms of action.

After the coming power of the Blum-government an explosion of actions, occupations as well as strikes, developed.

One of the most remarkable conclusions is that occupation as a means of action was most frequently chosen in areas where strike-proneness was relatively low in previous years, whereas occupation-proneness was low in regions with a high strike-frequently. Not until the end of 1936 did the old geographical pattern of militancy return. The quick successes of the first actions, the little experience in agitating and a form of behavioral contagion explain as it appears more their massive character than the degree of organization of the workers.

A comparison of these two waves shows both differences and simi-



General meeting of FIAT-occupiers in Turin, September 1920

larities. In Italy 1920 and France 1936/37 they were short eruptions, the last wave was longer as compared to the other one. There were clear differences with respect to the stake of the struggle ranging from wage disputes 1920, to fight for trade union rights in the enterprises 1936-1937. The role of the Italian trade unions in 1920 was in sharp contrast to the other one.

Political speaking – arriving at the similarities – there was a situation in each of the two cases where the authorities thought it fit to adopt a wait-and-see policy and even sometimes a pro-workers attitude. Also with respect to the international development of these two, one observes parallelism.

In these two situations similar actions preceded the occupations and the first factory occupations can mostly be explained by the indignation of the workers concerned about what they saw as unjust decision by the management. The

quick successes of these actions and the attitude of the employers and authorities led via a form of behavioral contagion to imitation on a large scale.

The view as if the use of factory occupation were only to be considered as a tactic, rational use of an available means of action – in the sense of adequate adjustment of means to aim – must be rejected. The change in targets, the diminishing news value in the course of a wave and the fact that the use has not been restricted to times of economic depression, are important arguments for this.

Is factory occupation the a revolutionary phenomenon or at any rate a step towards industrial democracy? The general acceptance of the means – even official trade unions placed it on their action repertoire

– pleads against this. The fact that occupation has lost its revolutionary potency does not, however, imply that it has become a means like any other. The concentration in massive waves of industrial disputes to which in general a radical nature is ascribed and the fact that it was especially those workers who had little or no experience in taking action and who dared to overstep the borders of legality underline the radical nature of factory occupation.

It remains to be seen whether the ever increasing spread of the phenomenon of occupation in this century points to a growing industrial democracy. The development of the demands and the long-term results would give rise to an affirmative answer. On the other hand it has been established that experiences in previous waves have not

been made use of by workers and trade unions in later situations.

The occupations have apparently not achieved the task of a school for workers' self-management. So it was not without reason that factory occupations was again called a new form of industrial action in each period.

Exactly in the spirit of Gramsci's working-council movement in Turin (Italy) in 1919/20, the factory occupation MUST be a school for working class self-management. A learning school for a upcoming socialist society ruled by the working class!

DO NOT ONLY OCCUPY THE STREETS OR SQUARES – BUT DO OCCUPY FACTORIES EVEN MORE: OCCUPY THE HEART OF CAPITALISM!

Folkanarchism and free communism

Before the 20th century the word "communism" was not equal to Marxism and the Russian bolshevism with its rigid and authoritarian state-socialism. The term can be traced back to the French revolution and early revolutionary theorists such as Gracchus Babeuf (1760-1797). During that time "communism" represented the return to the organic community of voluntary human relations. The idea that primitive men knew a long period of "primordial-communism" was not limited to the writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. This idea was shared among almost all great classic historians from Greece to China, and is an essential part of the mythological history of almost all cultures of the world.

Our far ancestors who lived in a society of hunter-gatherers could not be anything else than "communist". The land only supported small groups of humans, who lived of what nature offered them. The

division of labour was very limited, the man hunted and the woman gathered. Although one was probably more specialized at its task than the other, no individual within the community could be specialized enough to survive on its own. They depended on each other and therefore there had been a strong natural and organic community. Surplus could only be cumulated limitedly, the surplus of meat simply rotted away before it could be eaten. In such a society simply no class structure could develop itself.

Social stratification within the early agrarian Germanic tribes that arose after the Neolithicum was always within arms length. The tribe leaders or shamans were part of and subjected to the community. Only through the emergence of bigscale systematic agriculture, irrigation and urban revolutions, the castes and classes came increasingly further apart of each other. Within

the Germanic tribal life the Ásatrú religion took the form of a group activity in which the whole community participated. However with the growth of bigger cities, religion also became reduced to a ceremonial cult in which fellow community men were merely spectators.

Although since the first Neolithic Revolution daily life was changed greatly due to technological progress, "the primordial-communism" remained still as strongly as in the hunter-gatherer society that preceded it. The class structure and divisions of labour remained very limited and the community was still small, despite surplus allowed a further specialization of individuals. The exploitation of men by the state did not emerge until the urban revolution drove the agrarian society away; when towns and agriculture started to expand over big areas. Together with the first small cities during the early Mid-

dle Ages, kings, priests and a new caste of traders appeared, as well as warfare with organized armies and bigscale irrigation.

Because of the rise of bigscale, agriculture surplus was created which led to the development of a new class of specialized craftsmen. Therefore in the early Middle Ages a primitive form of syndicalism appeared, were craft groups within the community organized themselves in religious guilds. In the end a new class of warriors and priests utilized this increasing specialisation by developing a rigid class structure and by making the peasant work for the maintenance of this new dominationstructure. Here we find the origin of our present alienation: they were forced to do unpaid work for an authority that stood far away from the people.

Before the 18th century men was still forced to co-operate with its environment to survive. However with the emerging industrialization and scientific progress entrepreneurs treated the world and the people more as a mine, that could be exploited unlimitedly, instead of

a farm. When the capitalist forms of exploitation broke through the old feudal and mercantile forms, the contradictions between social- and economic content became even larger. The state and the capitalist system used the ongoing technological revolution for a growing industrial, administrative and political centralization, at the expense of the traditional community, resulting in an unprecedented alienation and loneliness of modern men.

The modern world is torn apart by two contradictory tendencies; one towards social death and the other towards the birth of a new society. While centralization and depersonalisation increase within the dominant globalized society, the concentration of capital increases because of the creation of multinationals and local initiative are being replaced by the central (supranational) state, life becomes increasingly unreal, meaningless and empty. However there are still people who have had enough of living a life without any meaning and all over the globe from time to time we witness uprisings against alienation. Where the dominant

powerstructure of capitalism fails, the general tendency is to replace it with free communism because people revert to basic initiative from the community.

The crisis of modern civilization is a phenomenon that is continuously without the benefit of an ideology. The call for freedom, the tendency towards the own family, the community and the people are mainly rudimentary and social instincts. Some say the folkanarchist revolution is a revolution without theory and that it's anti-ideological. In fact the theory and ideology exists in a tradition that is older than capitalism itself, as old as humanity itself. Folkanarchism does not fight the dominant stateorder because it opposes order, but because it opposes dominance structures. It sees the organic local community as a sovereign entity, which is governed and organized from the basis. It provides an answer to the alienation and to the dehumanization. It strives to return to the core of social and voluntary human relations that take shape in the family, the community and the people; back to free communism.

Activism reports

This year social-revolutionary militants took part in at least three Trade Union rallies in Belgium so far this year:

- Against the social breakdown through the government - 22/02/2013 Brussels

- Against the European Union and austerity - 14/03/2013 Brussels

- Against the closure and delocalization of the steel industry (1) - 30/03/2013 Liège

"A real plan of action with a General Strike" could be read on one of the



Smoke bombs and fireworks at the demonstration on the 21th of February

many protest boards present on the 21st of february. Other banners and flyers called for social reform and provided alternative solutions to the austerity policy of the hated Di Rupo-government of Belgium. A huge mass of people was present

this day – approx. 40.000 participants! Although the demonstration was intended as a national day of strike and the public transport in Antwerp and Brussels were shut down, the ambitious objective of a general strike was sadly not



Massive protest in the center of Brussel on the 21th of February

achieved. Next to the three biggest trade unions of Belgium – ABVV, ACV and ACLVB – also smaller trade unions, the militant ArcelorMittal workers (also known as “Méttalos” - who had organized their own 24 hour strike), different workers of all kind of branches as well as several autonomous actiongroups and socialist youth had gathered this day at the demonstration.

Brussels. The theme was aimed against the European Union, the Trojka and their austerity politics. The streets were filled with massive banners and flags against capitalism while bright and loud pyrotechnics were set off every-

where. Many militant groups like the Trade Union CGT, anarcho-syndicalists and workers from ArcelorMittal and Caterpillar had gathered to participate in the demonstration. Although the protest was again supposed to start a general strike, this could only be realized in the city of Liège.

huge number of riotpolice as well as some specialized units in plain clothes. However this didn't stop the comrades of ArcelorMittal and Caterpillar-Charleroi to successfully “paint” three banks (twice the Citibank) with paint bombs – no arrests could be made!

On these protests the social-revolutionary activists had a massive opportunity to distribute many hundreds of revolutionary ACN/ AKN flyers (in French and Dutch



Caterpillar workers on the 30th of March

On the 14th of March about 15.000 participants marched the streets of



Self made banner on the 14th of March as a message towards the trade unions: <<True struggle, not blowing off steam>>

On the 30th of March the furious spirit of the 6000 workers (among them many militant young workers from ArcelorMittal and Caterpillar-Charleroi) who marched through the streets of Liège, was directly noticed. The march was aimed against the announced closure of two steelplants in Liège (app. 1400 workers involved). Lots of especially young workers appeared to be looking for direct action, and because of that the ‘flics’ were very nervous. The ‘flics’ deployed a

language). The opportunity was taken to spread revolutionary - and class war - propaganda among the working class. It's our ongoing priority to agitate among the working class and try to wrestle the workers loose from the reactionary influence of the social democratic parties and the official trade unions, who are nothing more than servants of the capitalist system.

MOBILIZE, ORGANIZE, OCCUPY in order to EXPROPRIATE!

TOUS ENSEMBLE – GRÉVÉ GÉNÉRALE! FOR THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION!

[1] The capitalist Lakshmi Mittal has chosen to remove the Belgian steel production towards (cheaper) Eastern European countries to maximize his profits. This will lead to a situation in which many workers lose their jobs. The demands of these workers in regard to these problems are: The nationalization of the steel industry; an import levy on cheaper steel from China – This to prevent the disappearance of the steel industry in Europa (what now happens to ThyssenKrupp). However after a while these temporary solutions won't be effective to combat the ever self-repairing capitalism – eventually this will lead us towards the only revolutionary alternative: The expropriation of the whole capitalist class to replace it with the factories being controlled by the working class.

Lutter contre le patronat et l'austérité gouvernementale!

TOUS ENSEMBLE Vers la grève générale!

Les rassemblements par quotas, les promeneurs d'un demi-jour, ça suffit!



Il faut un plan d' action, tous ensemble!
Grèves tournantes par province, avec la perspective d'une grève nationale jusqu' à la satisfaction des revendications!

Résistance Anticapitaliste!



Un programme social d'urgence pour casser la crise

1. Retrait du blocage salarial, de la manipulation de l'index, des mesures contre les chômeurs!
2. Non à l'annulation du temps de travail et à la hausse des heures sup!
3. Stop à la précarité: un CDI pour toutes et tous!
4. Statuts ouvriers/employés: Harmonisation par le haut
5. Stop aux intérêts notionnels. Impôt sur la fortune
6. Stop aux hausses de cotisations patronales à la Sécurité sociale – Individualisation du droit aux allocations.
7. Ford, Arcelor, Caterpillar: Unifié! Expropriation sans indemnités!
8. Audit de la dette et annulation de la dette illégitime. Nationalisation des banques sans rachat!
9. Refinancement du secteur public et du non-marchand
10. 32H sans perte de salaire. Plan public de transition écologique

Pour une autre Europe et une alternative anticapitaliste:

Oui à un nouveau parti révolutionnaire de la classe ouvrière!



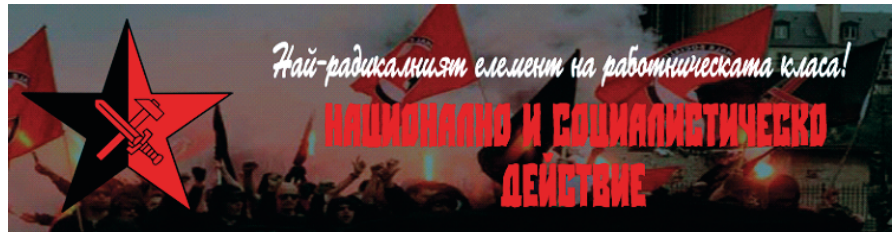
Interview with Bulgaria Resistance

1) First of all; can you please introduce yourself and your collective to our readers?

Hello! For our collective at this time it is difficult to say because the ideas of revolutionary nationalism are not popular among nationalists in Bulgaria. We are still a few nationalists with revolutionary thoughts. Interspersed over complete Bulgaria and practical our common actions are difficult at this time. We hope that through our blog more and more people will learn about the revolutionary nationalism.

2) Can you tell us something about the circumstances your country is currently in, political, economical and social? And how does that effect your political views, types of actions and future vision?

The circumstances in our country are critical as it is in a political stalemate situation, and the social and economic crisis have brought most Bulgarians to fight for survival. Our country has been controlled for 23 years by criminal structures, oligarchic circles and secret games serving global capital and aiming the complete enslavement of the average worker through credits, inability to pay bills and not enough wage. Talented and educated people are forced to leave their homeland because of low wage and those remaining here are exploited as cheap hand labour. Unfortunately, we stand almost powerless against everything that happens. Occupation of power for many years and huge capital investments in various media and other means for manipulation of public opinion makes it very difficult for our ideas to access the general mass. Political repression in our country is also not uncommon. However, we keep on going to fight what we can and



try to open the eyes of as many people as possible.

3) How does the EU and Turkey influence your country? Has the enrollment of Bulgaria in the EU and the influence of the above affected your types of action and the themes you address?

Bulgaria is in the EU since 2007 and real benefits of our presence there, are null and void, and the lives of people in general have not improved. Aside from the ability to travel freely and that Bulgarian citizens can seek justice before the European institutions in stead of the corrupt Bulgarian legal system, the positive aspects are limited. Corruption in our country is stronger than ever, crime rates are not lower, standards of living have not improved. Membership dues and obligations of our country to the EU are huge, while benefits there is practically none. Constant thrust for tolerance and disregarding of national identity, colonial enslavement by the global capital and the neoliberal system are a small part of the disadvantages that may be highlighted. Bulgaria is under the influence of Turkey which has its roots in the sponsorship of the Islamists in our country. It can be said that in our country there is a party that covers the actions of Turkey, namely the party MRF. Often ethnic tension occur in Bulgaria which is dictated by the above-mentioned elements but there are also many reactionaries and xenophobes in our country who also incite tension. So consciously or not they support the current system which makes

use of them. Since Bulgaria is in the EU, many people think that it's good for our country but it is not because Bulgaria is dependent on its policies. The EU has a negative impact on us due to the repressive policies of Western European countries towards nationalism, different opinion and anti-capitalist attitudes.

4) Do you try to grasp the "normal public" in/into your politics? If so how do you do that? And what exactly are you trying to get across? If not, why not?

This is a complex question. On the one hand the prevalence of our ideas as well as expanding the size of our movement would be good. On the other hand we are forced to guard ourselves against traitors and informers and therefore have to limit our contacts to be able to continue to develop activities. It is important to understand our ideas for "normal public" and leaving the media image as vandals and aggressors which was created about us. However, we have no access to mass communication and dissemination of our ideas is among more restricted circles.

5) Is there cooperation between (slightly) different political groups? If so how does that come to show?

Currently in Bulgaria there are no wholly comparable groups that think like us. We maintain some actions and events of some nationalist organizations with whom we partially share some ideas. In Bulgaria, most nationalists are duped into supporting party interests of various pseudo-nationalist parties

which further complicates the situation as many sincere nationalists face off against each other in the name of personal conflicts and interests.

6) If you could highlight just one topic that you and your collective are most passionate about in your country which you would want to see changed, what would that be? And how would you rather see it?

The only thing we would like to change in our country is peoples indifference. When people change their minds we will be able to achieve our goals.

7) In the light of the current demonstrations and political uprising in Bulgaria, how is your position in all of this?

The situation with the protests here is a little complicated. On the one hand participating in the protests are ordinary citizens who are fed up with incompetent government. Also among the protesters people are becoming more in support of the Anonymous movement, Occupy and so on whose positions on many problems overlap with ours. On the other hand most of the attendees there carry political orders and are taking money for their presence which does not exclude the possibility of full conducting of everything happening at the moment. However, we see many young and intelligent people who complain about the system and we hope they'll find the right way to correctly change.

8) Anything in particular you want

our readers to know and/or to take with them from reading this interview?

We want to tell the readers of this interview that despite all the difficulties we are here and we will defend our ideas to last and will do everything possible to spread them among more people.

9) Any final thoughts, remarks or notes?

Special thanks for this interview whereby you gave us the opportunity to express our thoughts. We want to congratulate all our comrades around the world and let them know that the fight continues until the final victory.

We'd like to thank our comrades of Bulgaria Resistance for this interview.

Leader-in-itself as a principle of the revolutionary ethic

"Bandera will come and make the order" – we can hear at the meetings of those, who proclaim themselves as the guardians of the nation. It seems that we can put anything at the place of "Bandera" – Stalin/Hitler/Mao or even Christ, the sense of this slogan will stay constant: responsibility of "making the order" is handed to some magnificent power, embodied in idealised person, who only can to initiate positive changes. It is sadly to see, how much potential revolutionists live in conditions of worthless expectation, and some of them, disappointed, spit on all and return to the bosom of conformism.

Exit, like it often happens, is much nearer, than enumerated persons. Stop looking for a leader outside – in the "elite", "directoriate", "messiah", it's time to find the leader in ourselves and for ourselves! This is not a call to execute literally the shameful adage "Where are three

Ukrainians, there are two hetmans" or the plot of "The swan, the cancer and the pike". On the contrary, the leader-in-itself/leader-for-itself is designed to exterminate the flatulent individualism and self-love, to harmonize and compare own interests with the interests of community whenever it been.

Actually it is very commonplace: before "making the order" around we should make the order in ourselves. The skill to submit the regime, which you will make for yourself, but at the same time the skill to come out of it, to "break through the template" – this way you will nurture the leader, of whom it was said about.

We see contemporary fascists (in the right meaning of this word). Their basis is in outside discipline and organization, which is founded on coercion and hierarchy. But how viable is the movement, founded on enforced discipline? It is

doomed for the stagnation and degeneration as soon as the coercion will transform to sadism and nefarious desire to domination. There is no earthly to say about the society, based on such principles.

That's why we must give the oppose to this principle in self-discipline and self-organization, inside rod, which will gradually rid the revolutionist from need for any outside authority. If he will be able to live and fight in conditions, when there is nobody to remind him about the responsibility and nobody to punish him in case of its failure, – it means that leader-in-itself was already found and nurtured.

We consider that the outlined principle is positively required for every revolutionist, who doesn't want only fill his youth with something good and interesting, but who wants to get wealthy harvest of social renovations. In the epoch

of the general information control, commodity fetishism and the alienation, which was reached its crucial scope (we can bet that Marx and Engels weren't realize its contemporary sweep), this principle teaches, how to be free, being aware of self equality with each member of the nation, that the revolutionist wants to defense, putting the fraternity with the comrades of weapon and spirit above own niggling whimsies.

How this principle, that is obviously not acceptable for all, can be used in the free society of equal opportunities, when the territorial community or labor council are able to remind about the responsibility, but aren't able for the coercion, we may examine in the next essay.

With the part of the new world in heart, comrade Shilo, Folk Freedom, Ukraine.

** Stepan Andrijovitsj Bandera (1909-1959) was an important Ukrainian nationalists, who was executed in München by the KGB.*

*** Hetman was the title of the highest military command.*

**** A poem of the Russian Ivan Krylov made in 1814.*

Squatting: Still a legitimate mean of action

Squatting is the occupation of property without the permission of the owner. It grew as a reaction to the enormous housing shortage of the sixties. During the crisisyears of '70 and '80 squatting became more popular and a squatters movement developed with a predominantly "leftwing" ideological character. Therefore squatting as a means of action led to a long and intense debate within the nationalist movement. Since 1 October 2010 squatting is punishable in the Netherlands through the new squatting law, but this doesn't make the discussion about the legitimacy of squatting less important.

We want to make clear that squatting is NOT an exclusive right of the "leftwing movement". Although historically squatting is associated with the "leftwing movement", they certainly don't have the monopoly on the struggle for housing rights. The residential struggle concerns us ALL. In a time that fellow countrymen have to stay on long waiting lists, which lasts for years, to be in the running for an overpriced "social" rental house, in which fellow countrymen are still wandering the streets without shelter and in which property is massively exploited by unscrupulous landlords and speculators for their own self-

ish profits, resistance is an absolute duty!

The unlimited victory of capitalism has created a society in which the pursuit of money has become the highest goal in life. Profit and economic growth, how worthless as it maybe, is worshipped, greed and selfishness are present everywhere. Also housing policy has become just another new path for the rich to get richer. The housing shortage is only increased by the policy of homeowners, privatized housing corporations and institutional investors, who demolish houses from an economic perspective, then failing to meet their promise to rebuild affordable social housing. In their vision housing is not a primary necessity of life for the people, but merely a product on which they can make a profit. The housing shortage provides speculators and slumlords a means to raise the rents to maximalize their profits over the wellbeing of the people. With this they forfeit their rights on property! Primary needs should not be privatized!

The same government who failed to provide its people, which they are supposed to represent, with



the primary need of housing has now implemented a (squatting) law which offers protection to speculators and slumlords, who enrich themselves by disturbing the balance of the housingsupply. Squatting and other forms of protest against this injustice and the exploitation of our people are a fully legitimate form of resistance! Housing is an absolute right for every fellow countryman to enjoy!

The squatting law must be seen in the context of the repressive legislation that the establishment uses to oppress the people. Through this repressive legislation they try make every attempt to protest against the mismanagement of the government impossible and they protect the speculators who ex-

exploit our people. This law is not and will not be an attack on "leftwing structures" or "Antifa strongholds", almost all of their significant spaces are already legalized and/ or bought, but an attack on the right of our people to defend themselves and an attack on the right to actively resist against the establishment that destroys her existence and self-determination! Capitalism is meant to subjugate, to oppress and to exploit the people. By means of repressive legislation, like

the squatting law, they take away the means of the people to resist the malpractices of speculators and slumlords, something the state itself fails to tackle. So support of the squatting law is equal to supporting (even more) repression!

It's the duty of the nationalist movement to participate in the housing struggle. A means of action like squatting is not to be left unused. By squatting, nationalist autonomous zones can be created,

hotbeds of radical resistance. Occupied property can provide living space for fellow countrymen, it can accommodate cultural and social initiatives and much more. The practice of nationalist autonomous zones like "the barracks" in Eindhoven en "the haunted house" in Monster, clearly showed that squatting was and still is a legitimate and necessary means for nationalists to use. With or without a squatting law, squatting will continue!

A message from Brazil

Dear foreign comrades,

We don't know what the foreign media is reporting about the popular revolts that are happening in dozens of cities in Brazil. So I'd like to give a very short declaration.

The living costs in Brazil are reaching unimaginable levels for a country where most people live off approximately \$270 a month. Brazil is becoming a country where only foreign tourists and millionaires can live decently. The beginning of the revolts were started by the new prices of the public transportation tickets. It was an increase of merely R\$0,20, though that's already enough for a people where many citizens have to use 2 or more buses to go to work or get back home while the politicians and businessmen never have to use public transports and travel around the country in helicopters and jets.

But it's not only R\$0,20. It's more. Brazil is a country where until now politicians and businessmen could do anything they wished and the citizens would react of the utmost apathy. The only goals that Brazilians mobilized for were "gay marches", "marijuana parades", and other completely disgusting stuff, all of it financed, supported, approved

and planned by the social-democratic/neoliberal government of the Worker's Party and their allies.

Finally, part of the youth is waking up to the realities of economic exploitation and corruption, by politicians and businessmen. And the students and workers are very angry. The people is discovering that all the promises from the Worker's Party are lies. It and its allies are neoliberal parties like most of the other globalist parties in the West.

It's true that the movement was started by left-progressist groups. But they're a small minority in all of it, and if finally they were right about something in their lives they should be supported in it. It doesn't matter who started. The mass has its own life and is moved by its own instincts.

National-Revolutionaries, National-Bolshevists, Third Way Nationalists and Eurasianists are fighting in all cities to help in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and trying to direct the popular wrath against the right targets.

In Rio de Janeiro I myself participated in the assault and siege against the State Legislative Assembly until we were repelled by the police with extreme violence.

In all cities our comrades are fighting in the streets, in the barricades, always at the vanguard of the people.

It's true that the Capitalist Right is trying to sabotage the protests and cannalize them for their own ends. But we won't allow it. We'll make use of violence if necessary to expel the reactionary opportunists.

So, we ask for our support. We ask that you foreign comrades pray for our victory. The same way we in Brazil give our support and pray for your victory.

VICTORY OR DEATH!

