



Political statement at the terror-trial of Koridallos prison

Kostas Sakkas

January 14, 2015

I am sending the following text to Athens lawyer Dimitrios Katsaris in order for him to deliver it to his client and my co-accused Giorgos Karagiannidis, in order to read it out in the courtroom during the testimony procedure.

I realize absolutely that what a relative of mine testified during the witnesses' testimonies was done with the best of intentions. However I must clarify that a large part of it does not reflect reality and does not express me as an individual. Unfortunately the conditions in which I find myself in, my inability to communicate and the restrictions that this implies, led to the misinterpretation of this specific witness on what their role was, as such. In my following statement my political opinions and positions are analysed to a large degree as well as what my implication is in the case examined in the court.

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On December 4th 2010, two days before the anniversary of the murder of Alexandros Grigoropoulos by the forces of repression, I was arrested along with my comrade and friend A.Mitrousis, outside a place in which we were hiding weapons. From the start we clarified that the weapons belonged to us and no one but us. They were not intended to supply any organization and could obviously not be a product for trading. The repressive operation of the anti-terrorist service, in superb coordination with the mainstream media, orchestrated their anti-terrorist crescendo, once more serving the political interests of this period. The information from the expressers of modern 'goebbelism' concerning developments in the so-called "terrorism front", was given at a slow yet steady pace in order to maintain the climate of terror-hysteria as long as they could, aiming once more at social disorientation. Ch. Papoutsis, who was in charge of the then ministry of citizens' protection and had a burning desire for an antiterrorist success in his days (like all of his counterparts), took on the role of coordinator in the operation of "social diversion" during a particularly crucial era. It was the time when the plan of the total surrendering of our country to the imperialistic mechanisms of international capital and its speculative interests started to be enforced. It was the period of entering the era of modern political assignments, the – official – national surrendering to international capital, extreme repression and unconcealed media propaganda. The process of transforming the country into a modern protectorate of global economic and political authority was beginning. The producing and leaking of scenarios by the anti-terrorist force as a result of our arrests, was impressively brazen. It was obvious that the more of a social threat we were, the greater the success for the anti-terrorist service and Mr.Papoutsis.

The more targets we had planned to "strike" that day, the more they had "saved"... The more dangerous we were, the more the news of our arrest was a relief for society, therefore the success was the same for the government and Mr.Papoutsis.

The creation of artificial social threats is a normal diachronic tactic of the propagandistic mechanisms of the State in order to create conditions of general insecurity and fear so as to affirm its necessity as a factor of social security and stability. After the end of WW2, the integration of the country into the western sphere of influence required the crushing of the huge popular resistance movement and the destruction of the communist danger in the name of “democracy” and “public security”. On one side the militant conscience that brought about the continuation of resistance against domestic and foreign power and on the other the vicious prosecutions of the State and para-State that followed the treacherous Varkiza agreement, would contribute to the mass passage of popular fighters into a state of clandestinity. It would be misplaced to say the least to compare that era, when thousands of fighters were sent before firing squads and executed by the court-martials of white terrorism, with the persecutions of today. However there is a common, diachronic reality, that connects the two eras, each characterized by their regime totalitarianism. The State, in order to justify the fiercely belief-orientated repression against its ideological enemies, always invokes reasons of social security, speaks of traitors to the nation, agents, enemies of democracy, asymmetric threats, masked up protesters, terrorists etc.

Today, just like back then, this tactic is clearly aiming at discrediting popular resistance and the entire revolutionary and liberatory struggle. It attempts to bury its historical continuation, and twist its socially just character. Basically it aims both at wounding its foothold and its spreading. Back then the judges of the court-martials sent the resistance fighters before the firing squads, characterizing them as a public danger. Today, with the terror-courts, you convict the anarchists and communists to lengthy sentences, characterizing them as terrorists. Back then with law 509/47 concerning the State’s security measures, today with law 187A, also known as the anti-terrorist law. Back then with law 511/47 concerning disciplinary concentration camps, today with the white cells in the base-

ment of Koridallos prisons and the special detainment regime of the new C'type prisons. Defending the interests of the dominant economic and political class back then, defending the same dominant class today. Serving the underhand national policy of the government then, defending the same treacherous policy of assignment to the economic imperialists of the E.U. and the U.S.A. today.

Four months after our arrests and while we were in pre-trial detention for the original charge of participation in an “unknown terrorist organization” with “unknown terrorist activity”, we were summoned by the interrogators and the prosecutor to testify once again concerning participation in an organization that actually exists this time. The C.C.F. Despite the fact that the evidence connecting me with this organization was non-existent, the investigators and prosecutor detain me again, based exclusively on ex friendly and comradely relations with its members. I cannot know what was going on behind all these methodical persecutions, beyond the obvious, that the charge of participation in an unknown terrorist organization, with unknown members and action, was completely ridiculous and could not stand up even in the most “special court”. It is obvious that they could not present an “unknown organization” of three members, two of whom were accused based on warrants for another organization... I also cannot know what the consultation between the anti-terrorist service and the interrogators was behind the scenes, or the behind the scenes consultation between the anti-terrorist service with its political authority during that time and Ch.Pappoutsis, who just a while after our arrests and when asked about the December 4th case, stated that the “anti-terrorist service fooled him”... I cannot know the communicational aims that the attempt to create and dissolve a new terrorist organization served politically during that era, and to be honest, I do not care.

What is sure, is that no matter what the reasons, the implication and detaining of additional individuals irrelevant to the case besides me and my two comrades Alexandros and Giorgos, was absolutely necessary in order to serve them. The detaining of Antoniou for 18

on the task of liberating the people, is the people themselves. And the path to this is social-class revolution.

The creation and organization of a mass, militant, armed movement, is necessary as well as historically imperative to accomplish it. Far from civil parties of authority, concepts of assignment and representation. Far from reformist forces but also far from harmless ideological generalizations and vagueness. The revolutionary course goes through the paths of resistance against those who daily attack us with their policies. It goes through resistance to those who daily express and denature what we call “authority”, “State” and “capital”. Revolutionary action means resistance to the institutions, the organs and mechanisms of today’s political-economic imperialistic regime. It means resistance to the international and transnational mechanisms of promotion of the dominant globalized capital. It means resistance against those who form today’s conditions of subjugation, poverty, wretchedness and oppression and enforce them as non-negotiable terms. It means struggle against the capital and its State.

STRUGGLE FOR THE CLASSLESS SOCIETY, COMMUNISM AND ANARCHY.

Kostas Sakkas, June 2014

and more poverty and wretchedness for the people. In a word, capitalism. A system of economic and political organization that does not aim at serving the real needs of a society, but the maximum profit for bosses through relations of systematic exploitation and oppression, is proven to be condemned to a constant crisis. It is condemned to all kinds of crises. Not only economical but political also. A nutritional crisis, an environmental crisis, an energy crisis, a crisis for all of society. A crisis for human life in its entirety. Despite all this, history has proven that even the deepest and structural crises of the capitalist system, do not lead to its overcoming on their own but contrarily are a part of the cycle of its life. It enters monopoly phases, it sacrifices surplus capitals, it socializes debts and damages towards the base, it proletarianizes middle layers, it redefines and re-organizes the terms of exploitation of the working class and in the end it opens new cycles of greedy speculation for the powerful who survive within the capitalistic cannibalism. Just like crises are phases of the system's life, accordingly the periods of intensified exploitation and increased poverty, are part of the systemic phases. Capitalist crises, will become more often the more the system ages, they will become deeper, with more and more extreme and painful consequences for the peoples. The domestic political authority, is in an arranged service by the international capital, aiming at establishing the land as an economic protectorate. The memorandums and the terms of the loan agreements are jointly prepared by the dominators and suzerains. It is clear that national political authority and the international capital are a united front against the people and its interests. The exit from the crisis of poverty and wretchedness to which the people have been led by today's system of authority but also the final end to human exploitation and oppression, requires the exit from the system of crisis itself. That is to say, capitalism. Popular rage, indignation and pessimism, must be immediately replaced with militant decisiveness for the subversion of today's totalitarian authoritarian regime. The only one who can and must take

months, was clearly serving those purposes. Personally, the implication and imprisonment of comrade Stella, who I also lived with back then, as well that of my friend Dimitris, was a bitter experience. On that matter, Stella was implicated because she lived with me, she belongs to the anarchist movement, she possessed a fake id card in case she needed to help her comrade and friend A. Mitrousias and because she held a dignified stance with a political resonance. These are the reasons she was detained for 18 months, and you know this very well you honourable judges.

At this point I would like to clarify something. If I am liable towards someone and if I owe an apology to someone, it is Stella. I apologize because I made the mistake of stashing – even if just for a few hours – those bullets and grenade in the house that we shared, which was the main reason for her detention. Stella, despite all this, as a true comrade, a comrade in the full meaning of the word, not only did not seek this apology but on the contrary stood by my side all this time and fully supported me politically as well as personally. The special investigator Hitiroglou, who chaired the council that judged the extension of our imprisonment at the 6 month meeting, pressured by Stellas' advocate for the evident demand of releasing her, said, and I quote, 'they will lock me up in prison if I release her'. Obviously, she said this not because there was inadequate evidence and it would be irregular to release her, but because she was receiving pressure from her superiors. Not pressure for Stella particularly, but those permanent pressures applied towards the appellate investigators who handle such cases. Pressure in order to enforce "special justice" against "special prisoners". Is the release of someone accused of terrorism considered a penal offence that could lead a judge to prison? When someone is accused under the anti-terrorism law, does that signify their automatic conviction by the judges?

These questions are obviously rhetorical. I know the answer very well as do you...

From the first moment of my arrest, I considered myself hostage of the social-class war. A war that rages in all corners of the earth. In

every corner of the planet. A war that takes place in the ideological-political field, as well as the field of real clashes in daily life. A war that evolves, wherever there are oppressed and exploited, who tirelessly resist and fight against authority for their freedom and independence. I do not feel and have never felt even for a moment, during these three and a half years that I have been persecuted by your State, like a defendant. I did not feel that I am, or that I should have been in any way held accountable, this is why I made no plea in the way you mean it at any point of the trial. Just as I did not in the interrogating or prosecutor offices. I will not plead, to those who for me should be held accountable. Accountable, not towards special judges chosen from special procedures in order to prosecute them based on special laws, inside specially converted courtrooms. Accountable for crimes against a whole people. Accountable for the policy enforced on millions of people in the name of authority and arrogance. In the name of profit and greed. The institution you serve consists one of the most basic pillars of the civil State. It is its core. Civil justice, since the birth of the State, has basically been the alibi of dominant authority towards each of its subservients. It is the guarantor for the maintaining of the condition of exploitation in the name of justice. A guarantor of class truce. Class compromise. Social peace.

You, the judges, are also guarantors of this class peace. Your justice. The justice that is elected by the minister councils of every government and is institutionalised by the dominant economic-political class with the securing of dominance and its maintainability as the ruling class as its main aim. Laws are nothing but the stated will of the conquerors concerning how they want their subjects to be governed. By serving these laws, in the name of justice, you serve your bosses, you serve their interests, which are directly against those of the people. Directly against ours. You are called to try us as terrorists... As those who threaten and endanger public safety, who undermine social peace and various other things based on their indictment. Honourable judges, the only real terrorist orga-

position in relation to the European interests beyond its geographical borders, made it ideal to be constituted as a modern economic protectorate. The unleashing of a controlled Greek bankruptcy was clearly a political decision. It fulfilled all the requirements for its overcoming, at a time when it was necessary for the interests of powerful European capital. It was and is a clearly political decision. A decision of the factors which define the policy of the E.U. on a substantial level. A decision of the monetary markets, a decision of the evaluation houses, investors, global banking speculation interests. A decision of capital and the dominant economic elites. Also a decision of domestic and treacherous to the people, authority.

The E.U. is a class imperialistic coalition, in its interior, as well as beyond its geographical borders. Its aim is the promotion of the economic interests of dominant European capital in the global capitalist arena. It is the attempt of European capital to prevail over international imperialistic economic competitiveness. The E.U., the E.C.B., the I.M.F., the mechanisms of economic stability, fiscal observation, purging, aid etc. are weapons of the class attacks of capital which it unleashes against the people. The target of international and domestic economic and political authority is, after completely eroding labour relations among the working class, after abolishing all vested rights and imposing labour conditions of modern slavery, after eliminating social benefits and pushing levels of survival to levels of strict survival, to unleash the crowds of capital, the banks, the investors and utilize the new economical colonialism, the new third world within the interior of the European union. The poverty people are experiencing today because of the extreme internal devaluation imposed by governments, is not only a consequence of the crisis of today's economic system of authority, but is also a requirement for exiting it. The enforcement of a wretched social reality is the final act, with which a cycle of life is closing for today's system of authority and a new one opening, in exactly the same motif, the same logic. Private property of means of production and wealth, increased accumulation of capital in the hands of an oligarchy, more

markets, resulting in its surrender to international usurious mechanisms and the modern colonialists of capital. The managing of any sort of debt through borrowing, whether this is State-public, or private, whether this by banks, or by the State itself, was and is one of the main activities of the late capitalist system. The fact that the global logistic debt today is at 100 billion dollars and is constantly increasing, while the corresponding annual GDP does not exceed 70 billion dollars, was indicative. Today's debt crisis is not a phenomenon of a systemic operational deflection or global fiscal bad-managing of the last years, but the exact opposite. Debt is a standard in the operation of the capitalist system. After the outbreak of the banking crisis in 2008 in the USA and the imperative rescuing of the banking system which was taken on by the States with trillions of euros and dollars, State lending and fiscal debts reached historically high levels, a fact that, beyond being a cause for crisis in the banking system, was also the reason for the opening of a new investment field of profitable activity for global and mainly European capital. After the monetary markets chose what countries were a precarious enough investment, that is to say, after they indicated what States would be the most ideal prey for the crows of investment capital, the international economic-political institutions, mechanisms and governments unleashed a coordinated attack of austerity and labour devaluation mainly against the European south. Against its peoples. The Greek economy, perpetually dependent economically as well as politically-nationally, was the weakest link in the European union, a fact that made it the ideal target for the wildest attack of international economic-political authority. An economy almost completely de-industrialized and productively de-structured, a result of the wider internal strategy of the E.U., which the domestic governments systematically promoted since the first day of its integration. An economy perpetually dependant on usuary mechanisms. An economy in great debt, mainly the result of low taxation of capital and the dominant social classes, which is still today a standard tactic of all governments. Also its geographical-strategical

nization right now is your political leadership. Your political superiors. This does not simply surface from a claim. It is a conclusion from daily life. A terrorist organization with an actual structure, visible roles and continuous criminal action. An organization responsible for mass terrorist acts against the people. An organization that repeatedly deeply wounds the existing social structures serving capital and the interests of the dominant authoritarian elite. The people are not in danger from, nor do they fear, the anarchists and communists because their struggle is the demanding of the peoples' interests. Their action is defined by these. Anarchists and communists are a part of the people. The people suffer and are terrorized by the memorandums, austerity and the programs of fiscal adjustment and economic stability of today's state of emergency. They suffer and are terrorized by the anti-labour measures and the labour precariousness that today's government enforces as a term to live. By the institutionalization of the new "labour code" and the disintegration of labour relations which forms conditions of absolute slavery. By the institutionalisation of temporary employment companies and the new labour models. They suffer and are terrorized by group redundancies, suspensions, the institutionalisation of the rented worker who from a wage slave is demoted to "temporary employee". From the abolition of social welfare, the increase of taxes for the lower strata and the decrease of employer contributions in the name of development and the profits of the bosses. They suffer and are terrorized by competitiveness and the creation of the attractive investment environment that requires the ultimate devaluation of the modern working class. They suffer, are terrorized and oppressed with anti-strike laws, the conscription of strikers, lock outs and sold-out treacherous syndicalist leaderships. They suffer and are terrorized by the action of the ministry of development and environment. From gold mining, the hydrolysis of Syrian chemical weapons in the Mediterranean, the legalization of illegal buildings and the changing of the city planning legislation that promotes uncontrollable building activity. From the privatization and sell-out of

beaches, rivers, harbours, airports and public property which could be used for the people. It suffers and is terrorized by the abolishment of public health and the exclusion of the lower social strata. From the privatization of education and the undermining of the new and future generations. In a nutshell, they suffer and are terrorized by today's authority. By your bosses. Not by us.

The increasing poverty, the unforeseen levels of unemployment, the large number of those who wait in queues at soup-kitchens for a plate of food and a bag of groceries, the thousands of homeless who sleep in cardboard boxes in the streets, the sad record-breaking suicides, the rabid increase of drug addicts in the last four years, the depression and consumption of psychiatric drugs that is turning into a plague, the diffuse feeling of sadness, disappointment, misery and abandonment... if these are not social ruins of attacks unleashed by the government with its policy, and you on your side serve it, then what are they?

What is today's policy if not terrorism?

It was the American State news broadcaster Bloomberg who in one of his statements spoke of unforeseen measures in times of peace, commenting on government policy. A peace obviously maintained by today's State, mobilizing every repressive measure, mechanism and institution in order to accomplish it. It uses its entire authoritarian complex in order to oppress its "internal enemy". That is, popular resistance. It conscripts the strikers, orders the raid of the EKAM (special forces) on occupied work spaces. It forbids gatherings and demonstrations, and when it does not do that it beats the shit out of protesters and sprays them with chemicals, attacks them with plastic bullets, water-cannons etc. It trains military units on crowd repression and puts them on stand-by when gatherings are massive. It places snipers next to the cameras of the mainstream media. It abolishes the university asylum, orders police raids on student occupations and sets up courts for insurgent minors. Let us not fool ourselves, what we are experiencing today is a modern parliamentary junta. During the last four years, in the name

of reducing the public debt, fiscal purge and the increase of competitiveness, political authority having completely kowtowed to international capital, has unleashed a coordinated attack against the people and mainly the working class, aiming on one side at exiting the crisis and on the other the creation of conditions which will secure the beginning of a new development period for the domestic capitalist system. It is a given that for the capitalist system, just as it is a routine principle to intensify exploitation and reduce production costs aiming at the greatest profit for the capitalists, it is also a routine tactic to socialize the damage and their allocation "downwards" when it is in periods of crisis and recession. A crisis in a capitalist economy means a crisis in the profitable activity of capital. It means blocking the profitability procedure of those who own the means of production, the wealth and the mechanisms used to manage it in their hands. It means a downward tendency of the capitalists' profit. When a society is structured, organized and completely defined by an economic-political system that has as its main demand the largest possible profit for an analogically obscene minority, it is natural that when this system comes into times of crisis, that this will mean a general crisis in its entirety. It will mean a crisis in all of its structures and operations. The domestic debt crisis, is absolutely related to the policy of inclusion in the E.U. and the unequal development and economic model upon which it has intentionally been structured. Faded and in some cases non-existent productive structures of the European periphery and the negative trade balance which is inevitably created, combined with low labour costs that secure the stability of wages and payrolls in the capitalistically developed European States, is what essentially gives the ability through trade surpluses of the powerful States, to strengthen and establish themselves as the dominant economic forces of the union. The Greek debt was not unknown to the E.U. factor. Its lengthy dilatory tactic when dealing with it and its increase as a consequence, was completely intentional. The expansion of the Greek public debt was the fact that made the country vulnerable to the attack of the