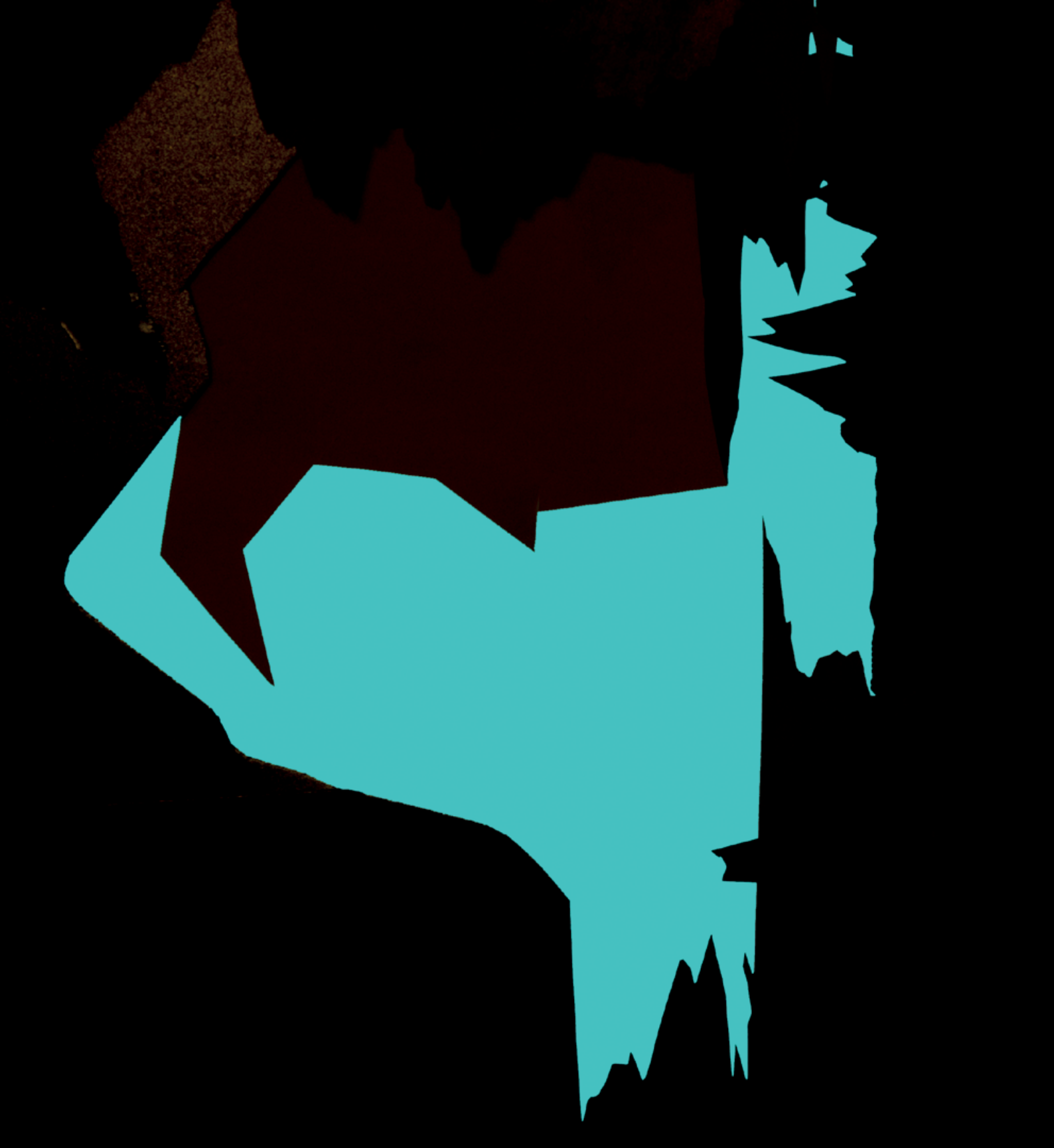




no border

Brand



## FIRE AND FLAMES

**Brand** (*Fire* in Swedish) is one of the oldest anarchist magazines in the world, with an unbroken tradition. It was founded 1898 by the radical youth organisation of the Social Democratic party and became an important voice in the Swedish workers movement.

Many well known Swedish proletarian authors started their career with short stories in Brand about their life as proletarians, written for other proletarians.

**The youth organisation** – with a strong extraparlimentary bias – soon

broke with the Social Democratic party and formed the Young Socialists / Anarchist federation. It was on Brand's pages that the revolutionary syndicalism was introduced, that led to the founding of the syndicalist union Sveriges Arbetares Centralorganisation.

# NO BORDERS NO NATIONS

**Welcome to Europe?** By the border crossing between Turkey and Bulgaria, the European Return Fund hands out a colour printed folder. The text explains what happens by the border and what happens to the person who crosses. It's Europe who's speaking, and it's explaining its view on paper, money, life.

"In their homeland, everyone is somebody. What do you rely on here? Who are you and what are you running from? You probably think your homeland hates you. But how can we help you if you are just a shadow? We can't reach each other. You have no documents. No money."

**Racism is spreading** like a poison gas across Europe. Every third week chartered flights carrying Iraqi refugees depart from Sweden in co-ordinated mass deportations. In the spring 2011 a mass grave was uncovered by the river Evros on the east coast of Greece which served as the burial site for those who didn't survive the border crossing. Over 2000 lives were lost last year as people trying to reach Europe crammed together in lanky boats drowned in the Mediterranean.

The European Union and its allies bluntly classifies migration as a security threat in need of a military solution. While right-wing European political parties unbothered flirts

with its racist and fascist counter parts to attract voters, the larger part of the left wing parties still remains on the scale of an acceptance of migration control. The defining line is just how hard the control should be.

Since 1993, European borders have killed 16 136 persons.

**This is wrong.** This world belongs to all of us. We have the right to move freely as we choose, through forests and across seas, and after the principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need" share the existent resources together with others in a mutual participation. We have no obligation to maintain a political idea such as the nation state, its borders and papers. We have no obligation to conform and become a clean slate for a capitalist society.

Fort Europa is a castle in the air. Regardless the amount of weapons, FRONTEX-soldiers or unmanned radar drones it dispatches it does not stop the daily climbs over the walls. All of the sudden is the space Fort Europa wants to keep separated mixed with all kinds of people. So the wires move themselves inwards: migration becomes a crime, people become illegal, the starting point of the borders becomes the question if a person can produce an ID.

**The border is everywhere**, but so is the resistance. Blockades of deportations, a fire to a border station, people without papers getting organized. The state's facing yet more trouble contracting companies running the deportation machinery as everything from mail campaigns to nightly activist adventures is a costly affair. The silence surrounding the isolated detention centers the governments are trying to hide suddenly roars. When neither state nor corporation sees no ethics or public dissent as an obstacle to carry through its ideological actions, the dissent increases.

**This year, two** No Border camps will be organized within the outer borders of Europe, yet against the same borders. An anti-racist action built on the foundation of self-organization who're facing the entire nation state, yet holding the only sustainable solution. Europe may call its war against those who are not deemed to fit in for control, the control for security, the security for safety. But the problem is never that someone migrates, it's the border that's the problem. It's abolishing will never be the case of someone else's doing.

**Brand's editors** were often imprisoned for its strong antimilitarist propaganda. To get around the censorship and bans special single issues of Brand – with the name "faror" (dangers or threat) where published: The Danger of War, The Russian Danger etc.

**We have continued** to walk in this tradition and have in recent years published a set of special issues, as interventions in political campaigns and projects: The (No)Future Danger under the Northern Future Forum Summit, The Zombie (liberalism) Danger for the Socialist Forum

and now The Border Danger for the No Border camp 2012. This issue is made in collaboration with the No Border Camp Stockholm organising collective.

**Brand promotes an** "open anarchism": our aim is to make a magazine

that functions as an open forum for all radical social movements, autonomous collectives and anarchist projects to write, discuss and circulate experiences from social struggles.



WHAT'S UP, **NO BORDER STOCKHOLM**

# TEMPORARY BORDERLESS ZONE

**Why does the No Border movement choose to organize a camp in Stockholm?**

One strong point that we want to get through during the camp, and by placing it in Stockholm – far away from the most militarized borders; is that the borders that divide us are everywhere and it's expressions and manifestations are expressed in many ways.

The manufacturing of surveillance, the education of Frontex personnel, the important meetings, the collaborations between border-police and ticket controls on the subway, the exclusion from education, healthcare, unions – the unequal distribution of rights along racial lines: the state sanctioned and legalized, persecution based on origin. This all exists here in the city of Stockholm, and obviously needs to be fought here. We want to make it hard for the injustices of border politics to continue and to make Stockholm and the rest of Europe accountable for taking part in the racist EU policy. We want to stop companies and people profiting from the border system, from transporting people to deportations, the privatized security around detention centers and other parts that allow the border regime to function.

**What will happen during the camp?**

The week will have a large focus on public manifestations which aim to force change within the border system in Stockholm and to make border issues impossible to ignore. The camp will kick off with a large demonstration under the slogan "For a World Without Borders" to voice an alternative to the

current migration politics. As the week progresses, the overall goal will be on focusing on the border-profiteers and to form actions against different companies around Stockholm. The camp itself will function as a temporary autonomous zone created to interact, meet and explore alternative ways of working together. In the camp and across Stockholm in various social and cultural arenas, we plan on talks and discussions on migration borders, workers struggles, and queer tactics. Campaigns and groups will have an opportunity to gather and share skills to build on the movement and to make it sustainable.

**Why did you choose the themes you've chosen for the camp?**

The themes have come up during the work within the planning of the camp; in dialogs with people involved in the struggles for a world without borders; and from a continuous No Border and migrant solidarity work. The communication and knowledges are spread over a spectrum of overlapping struggles and perspectives which are all necessary if want to challenge the existing order of exclusion, oppression, exploitation, in short, the neo-liberal-fascist world order.

**How does the border look like in your context?**

Since the Swedish bureaucracy is very efficient, it's hard to live without papers. You need your 10 digit personal number for everything: to have a job, a bank account, health care, library card, a place to live, use the public transport. In Sweden as in the rest of Europe there is

a general ideological shift to except an increasingly racist rhetoric. This also leads to an easier legitimization of deportations and detention. But the shift is not only towards the right, there has also been a radicalization of resistance against this neo-liberal rhetoric. Blockades and occupations, are not extreme methods anymore.

**One of the state's tactics regarding migration seems to be to keep their actions hidden from the public eye. How can the No Border movement change this?**

The tactic of keeping the brutal actions against migrants/refugees hidden from the public is also a proof that the general mindset is still not accepting that the state treats refugees as less than human, but the government is constantly pushing and testing this limit mainly by economical but also with moral arguments like "they break the law"... We have to declare that the border is the problem, that no one can claim the right to decide against the free movement of others. The struggle to make state policy 'nicer' is an illusion, the state will be nicer only if it sees economic benefits from it, or by public pressure to do so.

**Organizing a camp as an autonomous space for political encounters can in one view be looked upon as decentralizing power to take political action and decision making. Does the No Border movement need parliamentarism?**

We will have to relate to parliament as any other power-concentration, and

of course progressive things can happen in parliaments, but only if threatened by extinction by the pressure of their constituents. A parliament of (elected or not) elite politicians will never act in the interest of the many if they are left to themselves.

**What strategies are the No Border movement in Sweden using to work for a world without borders?**

There's been a lot of focus around the blockades against the chartered mass deportation flights (both in Gothenburg, Malmö and Stockholm). Not only by physically hindering the transports, but also by campaigning against buss companies assisting the state in the deportations. Four of them have already caved in. But this is perhaps also the most visible way of the struggle; since detention centers are not that closed for communications here, it's possible to maintain a good contact with people being detained. Campaigns like "Getting the voice out" (just starting up here after the Belgian-Dutch initiative) is important in this aspect. This is of course what's been in development over the last years; before that, and still on going, is groups supporting people without papers and others in shitty situations created by the borders.

WHAT'S UP, **ANNA NYGÅRD FROM PLANKA.NU**

# JUMPING THE INNER BORDERS

Planka.nu is a network of organizations in Sweden and Norway promoting tax-financed zero-fare public transport with chapters in Stockholm, Gothenburg, Skåne, Östergötland and Oslo. Planka.nu was founded in 2001 by the Swedish Anarcho-sindicalist Youth Federation in response to the increasingly expensive ticket prices in the public transport system in Stockholm. Planka.nu encourage people to fare-dodge in the public transport, aiding its members in paying penalty fares through the insurance fund p-kassan.

**Planka.nu, tell us about the connection between free public transport and the No Border concept.**

Borders are everywhere, visible and invisible. In the public transport system they are more obvious than in most other places, the gates and turnstiles guarded by cameras and armed security personnel has become local border checkpoints. The stated arguments behind these barriers are to prevent people from accessing the system without paying and to provide an impression of security for the privileged ones. Our goal is a public transport which is open, free and accessible to anyone who needs it, owned by the ones who travel and work within it, and where no one is being threatened or scared. In order to get there we have to break down these borders within our cities.

**How would you describe the current situation?**

Despite, or because of, all the security measures the public transport is a very unsafe environment: security is subjective and difficult to be measured, what feels safe to one may be a threat to the passenger in the next seat. And on a broader level we see an absurd situation where the public transport companies are choosing side and actively taking part in migration politics. In Stockholm we have SL who have been helping the Swedish Migration Board and the police to catch people during their ticket inspections. Since it is difficult for the police to check people on the street only based on how they look, the public transport are used to sort out the wanted from the unwanted. And Västtrafik, the public transport company in Gothenburg, cancelled one of their stations during an action against a deportation from the detention in Källered to prevent people from getting there and join the protests.

**How does jumping turnstiles help breaking borders?**

Even if one can afford a ticket there are many reasons not to buy one. In solidarity with the others who can't, or simply to protest against the methods used by the public transport companies. By organizing ourselves in a fare strike,

we are not only able to put pressure on decision makers to change the unfair pricing system, it is also very much an act of solidarity. Solidarity among commuters and workers regardless nationality and origin. Planka.nu has been cooperating with No One Is Illegal Sweden for several years, we are contributing with ticket money for those who really can't afford to get caught fare dodging.

**Illustration: Emanuel Löwstedt**







# BOATS 4 PEOPLE

**The closing of the EU borders have caused many deaths of boat migrants. A network of European and African organizations are challenging the border controls and demanding an immediate cease to the violation of human rights.**

On the 25th of May 2010 Frontex, the European border agency, celebrated its 5th anniversary. All heads of EU member states, police, army and the European Union came together at the fair on "Surveillance Technology for Border Control" in Warsaw, the home of the Frontex headquarter. For this occasion Frontex inaugurated the *European Day for Border Guards* as an annual event taking place second half of May each year. All of a sudden there was some noise, people running, shouts, banners hung up, slogans. Activists supporting migrant movements and opposing Frontex and its war on migration managed to disturb for some 10 minutes the celebration: a small but loud support of solidarity with all migrants that are looking for a better life, a dignified income for their family or shelter from war, oppression, corruption.

In 2005 Frontex started its work with a few pilot projects in its attempt to counter the sudden high of migrant movements in the southern border regions of Europe. Today, Frontex is permanently involved in militarized sea- and land-operations against refugees and migrants on the European border as well as in the coordination of charter-deportations. Frontex is the driving force on different levels intensifying the repressive system of migration-control even beyond EU-borders. In their mission to combat so-called illegal migration, Frontex is willing to accept the death of thousands of refu-

gees in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic Ocean. Thus Frontex represents one of the main counterparts in our struggle for freedom of movement.

## War on migration

The goal of Frontex is to coordinate the operational cooperation at the external borders of the European Union. Its tools are risk analysis, identifying routes, joint operations, high-tech bordercontrol systems and organization deportation flights. Starting with a budget of 6.280.202 euro in 2005, it grew to an effective 87.917.000 euro in 2010. In its programme of Work 2012 Frontex mentions uncertainty over exact areas and methods of illegal border crossings. "The internet and social networking sites will contribute to the rapid exploitation of vulnerabilities along the external border. In these circumstances, illegal border crossing along the EU's external border will be determined gradually more and more by vulnerabilities – allowing for relatively cheap and nonsophisticated illegal border-crossings than by push factors in source countries or pull factors like employment in the EU."

Previous years we've witnessed that the European border security has increasingly come to exist beyond the geographical borders and even beyond the buffer states around the Schengen area. The 'cooperation' of the third countries is crucial. Since 2001 the European Union is demanding

her member states that each agreement with third countries includes the *mutual management of migration flux* (read: preventing "clandestine" migration) and the obligatory readmission of "illegal" migrants from Europe. Cooperating with countries with bad human rights practice like Libya, Ukraine or Mauritania is "a worry" as Frontex Director Laitinen (former army general in Finland) calls it, but not Frontex first responsibility.

The most controversial practice of border control at sea is that of the diversion by national border guards of ships back to their point of departure. This practice entails not only a real risk to the life and safety of the passengers on board these often unseaworthy ships, but as regards possible asylum seekers on board, it also risks violating the right to claim asylum and the prohibition of refoulement.

In February 2012 the European Court of Human Rights condemned the Italian push-back operations that started in 2009. Three boats with 231 Somali and Eritrean migrants were intercepted 35 miles off Lampedusa. The Italian border guards took the refugees on board, told them they were being transported to Italian port for identification, but handed them over to the Libyan police in Tripoli instead. Italy explained they were acting according to their bilateral agreement with Libya from May 2009. The European Court condemned Italy for viola-



# TOWARD EQUALITY

tion of the risk of ill-treatment in Libya and of repatriation to Somalia or Eritrea. And it condemned Italy also for violation of the prohibition of collective expulsions.

There was a lot of criticism on the role of Frontex in these push-back operations. Gil Arias-Fernández, deputy director of Frontex, admitted in 2009 that “it may be helping the Italian coastguard in its controversial policy” of intercepting boats of migrants in the Mediterranean and sending them back to Libya. But Arias said the agency had “no information on what Italy did with the migrants once they were picked up, and it had no say in the matter”. But “it could be” that Frontex bore a moral responsibility. Migratory pressure at the Italian borders reached a new peak in 2008 with 37.000 migrants (mainly Tunesian, Nigerian, Somali, Eritrean, Egyptian and Algerian nationals) departing on small boats from Libya. Arias-Fernández said “the Italian agreement with Libya to combat illegal immigration had contributed to this decrease”.

## Frontexplode

In 2008 a campaign against Frontex, symbol of the border regime, was launched: *Frontexplode: undermining the European Border regime! No one is illegal!*. Inside and outside Europe, refugees and migrants move from one country to another one, looking for a better future and a secure life, refusing the forced order of capitalist exploitation and modern apartheid. Movements of flight and migration challenge the system of global injustice and undermine its racist hierarchies and differentials.

Has the EU bounced from its limits? Due to the recent pressure of migration in south-

ern Europe the discussion of the external borders has moved to the internal Schengen borders. France and other countries were closing their borders for Tunesian migrants coming from Italy. The financial crisis in Europe has brought a division between the northern and southern European countries. The rise of racism and populism has enlarged this phenomenon. Nevertheless, we believe that Frontex and the externalization of the border regime is a main target in our struggle for freedom of movement.

## B4P, testcase for Frontex?

In March 2011 a boat carrying 72 migrants from Libya to Italy drifted on the sea for two weeks. A military – probably NATO – ship and helicopter, which both had contact with the boat in distress, didn’t act. Only 9 survived the crossing attempt. The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe condemned in march 2012 after a vast investigation the Italian search and rescue authorities, NATO, the flag states of naval vessels in the area, the Libyan authorities and reckless smugglers. “Many opportunities to save the lives of the persons on board were lost”, the committee concludes.

The European border control system causes many deaths each year. In 2011 in the Mediterranean alone at least 1,500 boat migrants died during their journey (source UNHCR). Meanwhile the EU border management agency Frontex, particularly through its Hermes operation in the Strait of Sicily, along with national border guards aided by fixed and mobile radars, controls everything that happens in the Mediterranean Sea.

A network of African and European organisations will challenge the border regime by

having a flotilla between Italy and Tunisia in July 2012. Boats4people aims to expose the situation at the EU borders and to point out how the EU and Frontex, together with NATO and the collaborating Libyan and Tunisian authorities, are responsible for a criminal policy and the violation of human rights.

We demand:

- the EU to end its violent control of maritime borders
- governments of Africa
- to break with the past and to refuse to sign readmission agreements which result in violations of migrants’ human rights
- all countries to stop prosecuting those who rescue migrants in accordance with the law of the sea under which all sailors must “proceed with all possible speed to the rescue of persons in distress”

The cooperation between European and African organizations, activists and researchers is meant as a step towards a strong long-term alliance. By mobilizing people in the Mediterranean, Africa and Europe we strive for a Mediterranean that will become a place of solidarity and cease to be a mass grave for migrants. We advocate freedom of movement for all.

## Vincent de Jong

Vincent de Jong is active in **All Included Amsterdam**.  
Read more about Boats4people on [boats4people.org](http://boats4people.org)

Illustration: Albin Törnberg

## Critical art, pushing itself beyond its own borders, can be a crucial means in the fight against the inequalities that capitalist nations create.

The never ending fear of foreigners – as foreign workers from “the East”; as *uncivilised terrorists*; as so-called *illegal migrants*; as representatives of so-called *third world countries* whose cultures and traditions are “too different from ours”; as a source of difficulties (except in the case when their countries are cheap tourist destinations or when they are cheap occasional labour power) – is a consequence of (consciously) non-understanding global political, social and cultural condition. However, we would like to address this fear as a paradigm of the collapse of emancipatory politics understood as a politics of radical equality of *the self as an other* (Jacques Rancière, *The Identity in Question*). Exactly at this point – having in mind that the radical politics of equality has no *arche* (in example, is *anarchical*) – we suggest a rethinking the deep and latent xenophobia, nationalism, ethnocentrism, and cultural (neo)racism that we face today on a global level. But we should think these isms having in mind their aesthetic dimension as well, understanding them as a subtle masks for more or less hidden flow of capital conceived exclusively to serve governing elites supported by “final solution” of quasi-democratic capital-parliamentarism, or, with other words, recognizing them as a covered up exploitation.

## From Nation-state to Denationalisation

One of the most important burning questions raised by the contemporary global migration phenomenon is the role of the modern nation-state in general. The classical understanding of national sovereignty, based strictly on a pure national identification, even if we forget its absurdness, is

practically impossible today. The European Union is a typical example of political transnationalisation, at least de iure – therefore issues like national citizenship, national belonging, nation-state, and sovereignty should be reconsidered in a new way. The migration process has opened a multilevel debate on the very notion of citizenship; the key question, however, is: what is the foundation of a democratic nation-state – the individual or the citizen? What is the subject of the post-industrial, trans-national Europe – only European citizens or also numerous migrants, who live and work in Europe for a short or long period of time, but usually do not have equal rights as citizens of EU countries? In a way, we can argue about the impossibility of European unification because we do not even know who the *European people* are; we do not know what the modes of inclusion and exclusion are in the European sphere, as a *public sphere*.

Étienne Balibar often maintains that, during the formation of European citizenship, European apartheid has also been formed, so we have to fight to defeat this European (neo)racism if we want to achieve a real unity of European citizenship. That is why Balibar also makes the strict relation between the national state and imperialism or colonialisation, and thus colonialism. Individuals are obviously not only *social beings* or *economic subjects* but they are also *national beings*. We should be able to recognise this national moment and, as Balibar suggests, create a critical distance to the national substance so that we can achieve an *end of the nation-state*, an *end of the hegemony of the national form*, a post-national era, where certain societies

would have to become progressively *denationalised* or *trans-nationalised*. But do we then really want the European Citizenship if we consider citizenship as an artificial mechanism of control?

## A Citizen or a Human Being?

Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s famous thought “Man was born free; and everywhere is in chains” (*The Social Contract*, 1762) shows us, again and again, how difficult it is to implement equality in real-politics. The concept of citizenship, as an exclusive concept that works through the nation-state, is realised through institutions that support national sovereignty; their function is, in a sense, to administer the universal achievements by subjecting individuals to them (education, labour, judiciary, public health and other systems), and this administering has gone hand in hand with a vast system of social exclusions that appear as the counterpart of the normalisation and socialisation of anthropological differences. As we can see there is a great abyss between the universal rights for all people and the social (national) rights formalised through citizenship. So we have a paradoxical situation in which the citizens and the state (as the community of citizens) are set in contradiction with each other. Likewise, moral and juridical principles contradict each other. Moreover, institutions are turned against themselves; the state (as guarantor of fundamental rights) is set in contradiction with itself. All this turns citizenship into a privilege, a title to enjoy, a surplus of rights within a given territory. The equation of nationality and citizenship as the substance of sovereignty appears as the key to the problem.

## MULTI CULTURALISM

Multiculturalism, the conceptual motor of such a condition of exclusion politics, is certainly not the perfect answer to globalisation and its migration issue. Plentiful cultures and their free and autonomous existence should no longer be questioned – the issue

of their co- and inter-existence is now focused (and materialised) within the concept of borders, which are not only disappearing (as in the EU) but are also being built again and again in a newly conceptualised manner of the contemporary society of control. To overcome such borders based dominance by showing and fighting its exploitation reality in various possible ways – hopefully confronting the global-border-reality-show of today – is our ultimate task.

**The traditional** understanding of politics (practiced in parliaments by

professional politicians-technocrats of various political parties chosen in elections to “represent” the will of the people) should be confronted with Badiou’s concept of meta-politics: a risky, dangerous, militant and invariably particular action, a fidelity to the singularity of an event led by self-authorised order. (Alain Badiou, *Abbrégé de métapolitique*). It is a process of active understanding and implementation of the political thought-practice, beyond the established boundaries of political theory. Politics therefore can exist only as “emancipatory politics” which in its essence and operation is primarily a

thinking process. This kind of understanding runs counter to what we are taught today – that politics is the management of the urgent. It is, therefore, necessary to put an end to the understanding of politics as representative politics, i.e. as representing the social subject. According to Badiou, politics can by no means represent the proletariat, or a class or a nation. That which constitutes a subject in the field of the political cannot be articulated within that field but its existence is confirmed by the political effect itself. (Badiou, *Peut-on penser la politique?*)

The state is based on justice, but the justice is always a national justice strongly incorporated in the nation-state. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as Hannah Arendt argued, should be a guarantor of the basic rights for all people, but unfortunately does not function without first considering one's nationality. If someone loses all national identities and becomes just a human being (*homo sacer* in Agamben's sense) s/he has no (universal) human rights at all. To achieve human rights it is not enough to be merely a human being! At this very point we see how weak the juridical system, based on national belonging, is. This is how the nation-state with its rules and instruments splits one's identity into two parts – the human being and the citizen. Such a schizophrenic position is conservative in its roots. While still living out modernity's concept of internationalism as many separate and classified nations, we pretend that borders are vanishing and that nationality does not matter in the global village of today. But in this village citizenships are regulated in such way that they rather deserve to be called villagerships.

### The Right to have Rights

The EU is facing a simultaneous crisis of the national and the post-national. As introduced before, it is about the crisis of the nation-state as a political category, so we need a new foundation for the public sphere (or, let's say, for democracy or radical democracy); maybe we need a *permanent revolution* like Rosa Luxemburg used to say. But we certainly need to contextualise a new relation between human rights and political rights in the way that Arendt thought of it: she positioned these two discourses as absolutely correlated, in fact, equal. She told us about the *right to have rights*, in the name of all, regardless of nationality. Balibar also demands new rights for all people who live in Europe, not only citizens of EU member states or

EU nationalities; perhaps a useful model for other countries as well. Reversing Louis Althusser's famous formula, we can say that the essential character of a sovereign is to interpolate subjects as individuals, not as citizens or as nation-beings. Such thinking undoubtedly moves us toward irrelevance of state/country as universal identifier and substance of one's personal identity. Arguing strongly, together with Rancière, that disidentification and declassification are urgent conditions for political subjectivisation, we are now rethinking the ways to step beyond (neo)racism, xenophobia and national exclusivity and open a new understanding of the concept of equality as *radical equality*.

### Dispersed Empire, Dispersed Borders

According to Balibar, Europe needs a new democracy; he calls Europe's current social democratic model a *conflictual democracy* – one which recognises individuals as the bearers of collective rights protection. So, when he speaks about *trans-national citizenship* he thinks of European citizenship as a *citizenship of borders*. The EU has its borders which divide *civilisation* from *barbarian space*. For rich people from rich countries those borders are just a step of their journey, spots where they can show their passport that guarantees their citizenship and social status. For poor people from poor countries the borders are barely passable (however, it is quite opposite for the rich people from poor countries). For them, borders are everywhere (asylum centres, detention centres, social centres, police, bureaucracy etc), they live on the borders all the time; they have become the border. As there is no single strong centre of (political, financial, ideological) power anymore, the borders of today's new socio-political entities have consequently dispersed to wherever the movement of information, people and goods takes place and is controlled. Although the geographically determined

(physical) borders have vanished inside the great *Schengenland*, other kinds of borders are actually getting stronger: whether the omnipresent invisible borders governed by information technology (like Frontex), or the physical borders of the post-Berlin walls being built in today's Israel and between Mexico and the USA. We are living in a process of mutation of borders with a lot of hidden consequences. At least 12.000 people have died since 1988 on the European frontiers. This is no longer even biopolitics; what we are faced with is real necropolitics.

### Subversion as emancipation

Questioning border issue, we would like to tackle the link between theory and art practice – framed by the contemporary paradigm of emancipation. This framework leads us toward thinking that an enduring relationship between art and politics that includes specific transfers in both directions, from art to politics and vice versa, whether in the name of subversion or not. These transfers, of course, have only been possible because of the separate positions of the two fields in the dominant discourse of social sciences. But their stitch in its very political effect could be as much destructive as emancipatory (from Nazi-art to rather rare examples of critical art). Hereby, we take into account that only critical art has the emancipatory capacity of subversiveness, therefore its migration toward politics is an expected process.

The migration of subversion – as a metaphor – is, however, a paradigm of emancipatory art practices. Much different than the historical avant-gardes that, in fact, continued to address the very art/social system as a monolithic structure – while still being a part of it – some contemporary subversive art practices are mobile and chameleonic in their roots. Not only because of the broad (technological) changes of production conditions

that ultimately generated the autonomous position of artist-producer, but also because of the collateral atomisation of the artists' community and the parallel radicalisation of the social relation between artist/recipient and the hegemonic Art System's institutions. This new quality of mobility of artists and their artworks – a position quite similar to the free-market's unlimited circulation of goods – has opened some new opportunities for subversive art practices to migrate into the System (whether intending to change it or parasite on it), or, more importantly, to act outside of the System, having it as a reference and no longer as a fixation, as was the case of past experiments toward revolution. The "highly specialised" – in fact managerial – fields of art and politics (politics is here understood as a parliamentary representative, party-based exercises of powers) still maintain their own mainstreamed fortifications enhanced in modernity and onwards, even when treated in a joint discourse of aesthetics; beyond a doubt, a single-layered treatment of an issue, that is, separated within the fields of art and politics, supported by the academic discourse of power, is not a way to think the discourse of subversion. For that reason we suggest considering together politics and art – in co-relation with philosophy – to mutually rethink the condition of *living on a border* as a paradigmatic situation of subversive art to date: who is speaking through an artwork and from what standpoint; what is the possible position of an artwork and its author related to politics; how powerfully could a political question be raised through a work of art and what is the social influence of such a performative act; how to make an artwork public and at the same time preserve it from being neutralised; and under what condition is *politically engaged* art possible ... Rethinking the subversion we stay on the position that while endeavouring emancipation, art should ultimately be hybridised with politics through a certain performative act, even if the price of this bond is, putting it radically, the vanishing of art, in sense of its self-cancellation!

Namely, the greatest trouble of art is not (only) whether its aesthetic response to this or that social question meets the urgent need to be politically engaged in circumstances of neoliberalism. Its greatest trouble is in its

attempt to be engaged whilst not really being politically active. Of course, that means holding a position inside the art system (or trying to get one). Even though that position could be called autonomous or maybe with some other word, its emancipatory potential is equal to zero. For only when acting beyond the rules of the art system could the protagonist of the critical art really practice the emancipatory practice. There is a simply reason for that: the art system is not really allowing such practices by any means because it is rooted in the dominance of managerial governance of biopolitical capitalism. In that sense, the aesthetic of an emancipatory art practice – which is something other than art – is reconfigured aesthetic. Again, a synchronisation between the art autonomy and the identification of art forms with those used by life, understood as the other name for politics, is possible. No doubt that we can call this junction by word art, but it still does not mean that we really deal with an emancipatory practice. We agree with the notion that the art is now art as much as it is something other than art. It is – and must be – abolished as art by the very act of emancipation of both singularities engaged in this inclusive process – its protagonist (usually called artist) and an individual who interacts in the performance created beyond the arche of the art system. This anarchical, or, if you prefer, democratic situation is the starting point or the condition for implementation of revolutionary potential of art which is not art any more. And by being not art anymore, it refuses the condition of a mask/package/excuse for capitalism' false democracy. By stressing that, we would like to alert on the risk of aestheticization as an important dangerous factor targeted to neutralize any emancipation effort. But it is not said that the danger of neutralization could not be fought with aesthetic means. The only condition is that they are set to break the rules.

### Break the rules, make a scandal

Recalling Rancière instead of conclusion: those who are present where no place is set aside for them and those who introduce chaos into the strictly hierarchical order by refusing to accept its rules, they consequently introduce scandal into the social order of inequality – the order that is taken for granted and considered unchangeable – the scandal of thinking and of democracy. The scan-

dal of democracy consists precisely in stating that democracy cannot be anything but the absence of (any) government. Such power is then a political power and it is expressed as the power of those who have no natural, self-evident justification for governing over those who have no natural, self-evident justification for being governed.

### Lana Zdravković, Nenad Jelesijević

Lana Zdravković and Nenad Jelesijević are activists in Ljubljana, Slovenia.

# ROBOTS

**EU-funded consortium unveils border-control robot:** In an article in the EU-observer (<http://euobserver.com/22/116223>) we can read about an EU-co-financed project that is aiming to mass-produce vehicle-robots designed to stop irregular migrants. They use 20million on research on how to shut people out and then blame high public spendings on immigrants ...

Using a €13 million grant from the European Commission's research bud-

get and €7 million of private funding, a consortium of researchers and private firms has after four years of work produced the unmanned ground vehicle (UGV) that was demonstrated at a military training ground in front of officials from Frontex, Polish ministers and border guards from around Europe.

The "research" group also told the audience that there is still space for non-lethal weapons, such as tear gas

and, according to a source, "a kind of acoustic device."

**For his part** Erik Berglund of Frontex, predicted they might one day patrol sensitive sites, such as nuclear power stations. But he said they are unlikely to be seen on EU borders. He also said that Talos produced little by way of new technology for all its work, with Frontex interested primarily in using the sensors, but on stationary platforms.



# QUEERING THE BORDER

**The violent consequences of a society creating gender-, race- and class-divided bodies must be met by resistance against normality and a struggle for queer bodies.**

*"By 'queer', we mean 'social war'. And when we speak of queer as a conflict with all domination, we mean it." (towards the queerest insurrection)*

If we are to fight borders, we need to see all borders that constantly exclude us, control us, threaten us, give explicit violent consequences because of ethnicity, race, gender, sex/uality, class, ableness, age etc. The law is not only about legal status but about what is accepted and expected – the everyday prisonwalls of normality.

## Queer bashing

Female and queer bodies are constantly excluded from spaces, bashed, regulated, disciplined through various oppression in various contexts. Sexism, homo- and transphobia create borders between bodies, persons and groups with highly violent consequences. This often in the name of the nation state – there is a neat history of police bashing, imprisoning, putting queers in concentration camps or forced mental care. And then there's the present reality of forced sterilization of transpersons, forced "gender normalization" through surgeries on intersex babies and pathologization of transsexuals.

## Fictional genders/fictional nation states

We will use the swedish state as an example to emphasize how the state keeps on carving bloody boundaries between fictional genders and fictional states. Trans struggles and migration struggles deals everyday with the

hard walls of the national state. The boundaries of the state's two-gender system sterilize, regulate and disciplines trans bodies. The boundaries of the nation borders withhold certain bodies access to certain places/spaces.

If you want to change your juridical gender, you have to apply for gender asylum at Rättsliga Rådet. With force getting sterilized and get your personality changed by investigators to prove that you follow the norms and rules of the two-gender system and not threatening it. If you want to move, cross national borders, exist in other places you have to ask for permission; apply for asylum, call yourself a refugee or prove to be useful; to have a job or choose and support the normative family project – to get married or have a partner. Undress, getting robbed, bullied, questioned, seen with suspicion upon and be further traumatized by investigators.

Racism keeps coding persons migrating as cispersons and heterosexual, while the queer subject is often understood as white. The asylum system builds on heteronormative ideas of what families are and keeps on fucking with queer asylum seekers – this is consequences of having borders (This is clearly illustrated in the report in the report *Fleeing homophobia* from 2011. The swedish migration board are proud to show off their "LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans-gender) competence" through their material

*Beyond borders* – without realizing that they constitute the border. We don't want nice documents with pretty words on LGBT, we want to abolish the asylum system and have freedom of movement for all.

## Homonationalism

We witness how western national states build on ideals of white middle class heterosexual nuclear families where subjects that don't fit within these frames can exist only if assimilated. If you are one of the few that gets papers, who get juridically accepted, you are expected to assimilate to "culture and values of the state" and be controlled with language tests and forced into introduction programs. Not for you to learn but to un-learn. And if you don't have papers, it is very clear how the state are trying to make it impossible to be a subject and therefore make sure you are lacking fundamental rights, such as rights to care, school, housing etc. As a gender outlaw wanting a transition, you need to fit into the psychiatric diagnosis of transsexuality and assimilate to the fascist biologist notions of gender that psychiatrists and doctors demand. Your queer desires can be acceptable if they come in form of monogamous homorelationships, framed by middle class jobs and respectability.

Nation states even use their LGBT-"friendly" laws to construct their image as liberal democracies so we can view muslim states as homophobic and thereby non-



democratic. Even Jimmie Åkesson, the spokesperson of the racist party *Swedish democrats*, claimed to be LGBT-friendly. In the same way, the *Pride Parade* is filled with companies, institutions and political parties that are occupied with pink washing and all wants to compete in being friends with the happy gays for a day, to sell more products or get more votes. Here, the swedish migration board march happily along, while at the same time denying queer refugees asylum. Here, the swedish police march, waiving their little flags, while at the same time deporting queer refugees. "Pride" for us is about being proud of something that the state has not approved of – and as long as the state continue persecute minorities (which is by definition part of being a state) it can never be what we rely on. Queer struggles have to be sanctuaries from the state and government's attempts to control us. The state will never give us what we want, it just might recognize what we have when we already have taken it. Remember queer riots as Stonewall Inn, Compton Cafeteria and the AB 101 Veto Riot! We don't want to adapt to your sick normalcy – we want to tear your nation state and its demands apart.

## Border resistance is order resistance

We see that queer anarchism is the way to organize resistance and fight back. We don't see laws dictated by national states as ethic or justified in any way. We want to fuck with all kinds of normality. Even though the control and the normality try to tell us it

is impossible. We are still moving – we are still breaking borders. People are running, hiding, crossing the borders, destroying fingerprints. People are refusing the boxes of identity such as sex or nationality.

Everyone should be able to define in which bodies and in which spaces and places one wants to be and live. We won't settle with being sexed by the state and when refusing that, being diagnosed as sick. We won't settle with asylum systems (claimed to be "generous"). We won't settle with how the state's sanctioned violence is used against us; through law, at borders, at detention centers, in medical institutions, in the streets.

Border police don't ask. Border police shoot. Border police kill people crossing national borders and gender borders. The police are interested to keep the borders, not the people alive. Bullets and borders love each other – we will pulverize both.

Let the no border movement be here to destroy what has been recognized as normal. Attack the borders – make them impossible to find. The summer 2012 it is time for the No Border camp in stockholm. Fill it with crimes – destroy the map – make the police loose their way and their mind. Make it unrecognizable: Stockholm, the world, the wall, the sight in front of your eyes.

## Anarchopride Stockholm

Illustration: Anja-Lisa Rudka, Linn Ahlgren



# BLACKLIST

**A call for joint decentralized actions! Control of migration isn't just government policies. It's also the companies whose work make these policies feasible. Against them the naming and shaming campaigns are an effective weapon.**

In the Netherlands, action groups *Anarchist Anti-deportation Group Utrecht* (AAGU) and *Working group Stop Deportations* (WSD) have increasingly focused actions on companies related to the Dutch immigration policies. WSD launched a campaign against the building of a new detention centre at Rotterdam Airport, with actions aimed at the companies involved in this. Now a new campaign against the building of a detention and expulsion centre at Schiphol Airport targets mainly the most important builder: BAM.

AAGU does a wider range of actions, and as part of its ongoing campaign against the detention centre *Kamp Zeist* (near Utrecht) started a series of picketlines against temp agency Randstad, which recruits guards for this and other detention and expulsion centres. Groups in other cities joined this campaign.

Moreover, WSD and AAGU also published lists of names and addresses of companies which are one way or the other related to either the detention centres at Rotterdam and Schiphol Airport or the detention centre *Kamp Zeist*. The groups give this information hoping other individuals or groups use it to do their own actions.

Targetting companies and publishing such lists, or other info, is in our view a possible effective way of doing actions and stimulating others to do their part. But this way of working has also been criticized, not only, as can be expected, by politicians, government and companies, but also by other activists. Some criticisms have been that actions should only target the government policies instead of the companies that work on the basis of these policies and that there is a

danger of other people using the published information for doing actions and using action methods you don't agree with.

## What is blacklisting?

Blacklisting usually starts with naming companies and/or persons involved in work that should not be done. People should know what this company or person does; because companies and people aren't keen on negative publicity, and tend to keep quiet about aspects of their work that can be viewed as controversial.

Just *naming* companies or persons can put some pressure on them, but in order to be more effective active *shaming* is needed: using a variety of means to tag the company or person as *wrong* one way or the other and to eventually stop them doing this work.

We would say that blacklisting as we use it differs from simply focusing on a company that is obviously wrong. In other words, for example arms producing companies or vivisection laboratories are usually targeted as such, while the companies that for example are involved in building a new jail are targeted just for their involvement in this project and urged to stop doing this, without the aim of completely shutting down these companies as a whole. In the end the focus is on the project, as part of the migration policy, and not on the companies involved.

## Why blacklisting?

Dutch Immigration Minister Leers confirms that companies don't want to build new detention centers because they fear actions: "... we can't choose between different architects or builders, because they are afraid of being confronted with activism. That's unacceptable."

It might seem that it is not very logical or ideological correct to focus on companies instead of aiming for the state institutions that make the policy decisions. The choice to focus on targeting companies has a very *down to earth* side. Companies are more vulnerable and therefore tend to be the weakest link in the deportation machine, compared to the state and its institutions.

For a company the benefits of the job have to outnumber the costs (not only in terms of money, but also image and so on). They are not compelled to take up certain work, nor have ideological reasons to do so. This doesn't mean it's easy to force a company out of something, because no company wants to give in to pressure. The point that a company gives up does exist, as examples show, but it's not very common a campaign succeeds in this way.

## Decentralized actions

Companies with a lot of branches are perfect for a campaign of decentralized actions. Some companies, not all, are easier targets. They have less security than state institutions, or are better located for actions.

## Deterrence

While it is not easy to force a company out of a project it has already taken up, the main point of *naming and shaming* is deterrence. By letting this company know what it can expect when it does this kind of work, by raising their costs, they will hopefully think twice before starting to work on such a project again. With the same reasoning you can also create a *domino effect* by deterring other companies from doing this kind of work.

Attacking the companies and persons that profit from the miserable conditions they

help put others in, is also an attack on the *deportation industry* or *prison industrial complex* itself, and thereby a attack on the capitalist ideology behind it. We have to realize that if every company and every person refuses to do this work, it won't get done at all. "We're only doing our job" is no excuse, never.

## Effects

In the Netherlands, in the years 2009 and 2010 the campaign *Stop DC16* was held. This was a very simple campaign against the companies involved in the construction of the new detention center at Rotterdam Airport. We published a list of these companies on our website. And then we did some actions: picketing these companies, doing some noise demos in front of their buildings and doing some theatrical actions, like a die-in, delivering a test-illegal and bringing blood money.

There was no direct damage to buildings. But the campaign inspired others to do "harder" actions. Other than direct costs by damage, there were a lot of indirect costs, as we found out by a report from the research institute COT: "There were costs made in preparation before and after actions. Costs like: safety measures, instructing and training of personnel. Those costs are substantial. As an indication, one company told the researchers that it estimated the costs were about 100.000 euro." For two years of picket lining!

From the same research institute about the same company: "Because of the permanent threat our company cannot profile itself as it wants to: as an open and transparent cooperation partner. In the past, pictures of staff members were on line, plus contact data. Not any more. We are very much advised against

profiling ourselves on the internet. At the door, there has to be a strict entrance policy, to prevent uninvited guests from entering the building. Not very customer-friendly. Also, it is annoying that by googling the name of the company, one finds more hits about actions than hits about our beautiful realized projects."

## Fear of harder actions

Although WSD only did non violent actions, other action groups went for home visits, breaking windows actions and one or two arson actions. With this, at companies the fear rose that those harder actions could happen to them any time. Spread of fear through deterrence is unmeasurable, of course no company wants to admit it refused to do a job or didn't apply for work because of fear.

## Reaction to actions

Detention center Rotterdam is only the first of the *more to come* prisons that will be built via pps (public-private partnership) or even totally private in The Netherlands. The second is the new judicial complex (detention and expulsion center) at Schiphol, as a replacement for the old one, where eleven people died in a fire in 2005.

Learned from our campaign, the government plus the companies try to hide all information about this new project. Quote Cobouw (daily of the building industry): "The building of pps prisons takes place in total isolation, Afraid for the threat of 'the demolition of extra walls and fences. For JC Schiphol, it is not even made public to who and when the project is assigned.

Also, the knowledge exchange between ministries has stopped, because of increased



threats of extremists (groups). How deep bows Justice for the pressure of threats and takes to her heels to try to protect architects and builders? It is established that the client goes extremely far. All websites from governments to related market parties are erased as far as DC Rotterdam and JC Schiphol are concerned. During inter department consultation, it is made known there will be no more information about pps-prisons whatsoever. Actions of activists are given more priority then the exchange of knowledge and experience about dbfmo projects.”

Although we try like hell, we still haven’t found out who is in the building consortium (‘Poort van Schiphol’), for instance, except big builder BAM. And we only learned about that because of one article in the media. BAM itself does not mention the project anywhere and doesn’t want to talk to the media about it.

### intelligence strategy

Judicial consequences differ per country. Makers of blacklists may be confronted with criminal charges of incitement. Internet publications may be noticed and taken down (because of invasion of privacy). In the Netherlands, AAGU and WSD were targeted by the Dutch Intelligence agency *AIVD* in the report *Het vuur van verzet* (“The fire of resistance”). We were accused of being responsible for harder actions also. This caused a media stir and was expected to be the beginning of more repression, as happened to animal rights activists before. As it turned out, currently an investigation is being conducted by a special investigation team of the national *CID* (‘Nationale Recherche’) and a special prosecutor has been assigned to coordinate this. One dutch activist got arrested on charges of incitement on her own website.

Officially it has nothing to do with investigating blacklisting campaigns or any

other action, but the house search that went along with it, seemed to be a fishing expedition for (more) information.

### Morals versus effect

Do you want to take the risk to become responsible if a prison director dies in a fire at home, after you published the address? Or his children, his cat, his dog, his goldfish? Do you want to have the moral right to pay-back, to revenge, to punishment? Aren’t you just as bad then?

Or are you right to publish, because you may assume that our fellow activists are wise enough to make the right choice of action-method? Where as even the smallest companies, caterers, etc. are blacklisted, the Red Cross, etc.; addresses of persons seem to be ”not done”. So, when does it go too far? Is publishing an address of a responsible politician go too far? A warden? These are both cases of obvious blood-on-their-hands persons involved. But an individual private guard working for *G4S*? A nurse working in a detention center? And, what can be the consequences? And what the advantages?

### Effectiveness versus Risk

If even the smallest cog wheels are named and shamed and can therefore be under attack, blacklists will be more frightful to those who cooperate with the system. The fact is that smaller companies are more vulnerable to pressure, and more likely to withdraw.

Then again, how effective is it? Don’t we all feel the director of *Besix* is more *wrong* than the nurse? And what will the media write and the public say about the name of the nurse in the blacklist. Or the name of only-the-smallcaterer who delivers bread to a prison?

Do you care? And ... don’t prisoners have to eat? Don’t prisoners have to be taken care

of when they are ill? Yes, prisoners do need to eat. And they do have a right to health care ... But in freedom! So: anyone who helps make the system work, is responsible, and should stop. But makers of blacklists have to be aware of the dangers and it is wise to make a choice and weigh importance and effectiveness and risk.

### Careful!

If you want to publish personal information, it is wise to make sure that it cannot be traced back to you. As far as visiting a black list can be traced back to the visitor: if a link is published in the blacklist, think about clicking it before you do, because: what will you do with it later? And last but not least, users of these lists, have to be made aware by it’s makers that information can get outdated. Last thing you want, is painting the door of an innocent person bloody red ... So make sure: *you check*.

### How to get the information?

First off, before publishing, make sure you have all the information. Once you have published, information may be taken off-line. All research is different, it is also a lot of puzzling. Make sure the information is accurate and up to date. On the Internet more and more is available, but also there is an increased secrecy. Use search engines, specified search engines (for example to search info about persons), news sites, government sites and so on. Try to find smart search terms and combinations, to avoid an overwhelming amount of useless information.

Other sources can be libraries, government buildings, Freedom of Information Acts, talking to people as yourself or pretending to be for example a student working on a project. And then of course there are the less legal methods, such as breaking in, and hacking, garbage diving for documents,

observing and following people, even infiltration.

### How to spread a blacklist

Websites are the easiest way to keep up with changes in your information. Make sure it is always up to date. The downside to this is that a website can easily be taken down. So personal info of responsible persons cannot be published. Be aware that websites are often registered in a person or organizations name. You don’t want that? Find a hosting abroad that is safe and anonymous and upload safely. You can put more risky (personal) information in a PDF file. It can also be taken off the internet, but it can so easily be spread further by e-mail, by file sharing, USB, CD, by taking turns on the web. It will never really go away. Problem is: how do you make sure that outdated information gets corrected in a file already spread?

Well. You can’t. So you have to make a next version, and a next, and a next. And spread it all over again, and again. Make note in every version that information may have changed. Put the date of the publication on top of the document, so people will know which is the most recent.

### Once again, be careful!

Be aware that any file may contain information about it’s maker! So: if you use pictures, be aware of information about camera’s, about scanners, that comes along. So copy and paste into new files.

Know that the program and version you use may also be info that may end up in your file. Scanned documents may contain fingerprints, so need to be worked on to remove those. PDF files are often derived from text documents that contain information on the computer being used, it’s user, the program versions being used, etcetera. HTML pages may also contain program and computer information.

Make sure all information that secretly comes along is removed! All this is very technical shit, so make sure someone who knows how to do it, does the job! For both websites and PDF files goes: make sure, if needed, you upload safely. Leave no traces of IP addresses, leave no traces at internet cafes and libraries (camera’s, fingerprints...). Use *TOR* or something like that. Make sure you have an expert on safe internet publishing to do the job.

### Old fashioned paper spreading

Don’t take your blacklist to a publishing company. Copy machines leave traces about their brand and type. Copies can be traced back to the machine involved, especially with new machines. Older methods can be used, like silk-screening, stenciling. Make sure originals are destroyed and not lying around. Spread it to squats, no border camps, anarchist bookshops and book fairs ... Leaving a pile of non-fingerprinted copies ... Again, as in PDF: Put the date of the publication on top of the document, so people will know which is the most recent.

### Actions

Blacklists are more effective, if action is also taken and brought to the company or home. The simple naming and shaming for some folks just isn’t enough to make them realize they have to stop their involvement. We assume that activists who use these lists, also use their common sense and are responsible persons. The level of involvement of a company or person is a measure for action to be taken.

Any action that does not cause physical pain or death, and does only damage to image, to offices, buildings, structures, material, means of transport etc. can be seen as sabotage in the broadest sense. Sabotage by damage to reputation is also not to be underestimated! So leafleting, noise demos, pick-

ets, die-ins, bringing in the blood-money, and more such symbolic actions are more effective than you think.

But there is more. It is common knowledge that a variety of methods works best: banner droppings, occupations, blockades and more ways of standing in the way, ad busting, videos, disinformation, home visits, sabotage, hacking and militant actions.

Be safe. Don’t get busted. Jail sucks. But most important: make as sure as possible that things don’t go terribly wrong – you may want to make sure you don’t wind up yourself being the person with blood on her or his hands, if only because this is bad for public relations ... We think you’re wise enough to make that call.

### Stick together

All actions combined can be effective, as long as nobody (feels the need to) dissociate(s) oneself from actions taken by others. Be supportive. Don’t respond by naming and shaming other activists or their methods or by calling methods used by someone else *too soft* or *too hard*. Of course this doesn’t mean you can’t discuss action methods.

You may not want to go further than a picket yourself, but remember that the picket is more effective if someone else, somewhere else, lit a match at the same company, and the other way around.

**Anarchist Anti-deportation Group Utrecht (AAGU) /**

**Working group Stop Deportations (WSD)**

# ILLEGAL TRAVELLER

**Globalisation means** for most people on this planet higher fences and less movement across borders. The new book by anthropologist Shahram Khosravi is an auto-ethnography of illegalised border crossing.

**‘Illegal’ Traveller** is based on the anthropologists’s own journey from Iran to Sweden and his informants’ border narratives. “Studies of migrant

illegality are often written by people who have never experienced it”, he writes in the introduction. “My aim has been to offer an alternative, partly first-hand, account of unauthorized border crossing that attempts to read the world through ‘illegal’ eyes.”

**In my years as an anthropologist**, I have been astonished at how my informants’ experiences overlapped,

confirmed, completed, and recalled my own experiences of borders. One interesting aspect of the auto-ethnographic text is that the distinction between ethnographer and ‘others’ is unclear.

# CAMP COLOGNE

**No Border Camp Cologne:** This year we will have two No Border Camps in Europe. The activity is spreading, resonating, join there too: gathering|exchanging|networking|empowering.

**To deal together** and in various forms with: (Charter-)deportations, Frontex, antiziganism, everyday-racism and far right discourses; institutional

racism, the disastrous living conditions and struggles of migrants and refugees, (post-) colonialism, the horrible situation on the external frontiers, and other issues. Also critical whiteness and empowerment will play an important role.

**The camp is intended** to be a place of discussion on antiracism, a critical view on capitalism, with

opening perspectives on antifascism and feminism. A place to exchange experiences and plan actions, where the struggles of refugees and People of Colour meet the engagement of racism-critical white people. Come to the campside, take part, bring workshops and actions and participate

**No borders – No nations**





# WHAT I KNOW

*"He: What was Hiroshima like for you, in France? She: The end of the war, meaning, completely. The shock ... that they actually dared ... the shock over that they succeeded. Also, for oss, the beginning of an unknown horror. And then the indifference. Also, the fear of indifference ..." (Marguiret Duras, Hiroshima, My Love)*

The man on the computer screen have power, glasses and a grey suit. The only thing he has to say during the three minute video clip is that he has no comment. He will not comment on those documents made public by WikiLeaks stating that he, the minister of migration Tobias Billström together with the foreign minister Carl Bildt, in a meeting with a US ambassador claimed that many of the Iraqies migrating to sweden is guilty of committing so called honor related crime, and that they therefor must think of a way, perhaps create a treaty of repatriation, to quickly get rif off those not welcomed. Those who shall not stay. The swedish people, the minister supposedly said, demands a limited immigration.

The mouth of Billström opens and closes. Opens, closes. Someone counted that he repeats himself 15 times. "The government have been cleared from the beginning that we do not comment allegations from a third party". A voice comes from somewhere off the screen, "But you're the first party, did you say this?". The minister in charge of migration answers the question with the exact same words as before. The personen who've uploaded the clipp has named it "the repeating swede".

We're born in the same country, Billström and I: he in the south and I in the north. Sweden the good anti-racist country. "We're the 94 %" was the slogan when the racist party Sverigedemokraterna crept above the holy 4 % cap that granted them seats in the parliament. To not vote for a racist party, is that the same thing as being a anti-racist? Or was it a cry for help, a promise? Sweden was now a part of the shivering, violently repugnant european right wing movement. Percentages, all those who are not counted for, all who're not parts per thousands. Statitics is not without borders, it includes and ignores.

*"The nationalistic principle builds on the idea of the nation state, that the state's territorial borders shall coincide with the borders in relation to it's people. In it's ideal form is this a society where it's population is homogenous." (Sverigedemokraterna's party programme.)*

He calls me sometimes, in need of a place to sleep. Over and over he's missing somewhere to lay his head, find a roof, a home, a country? Sometimes I offer him the couch, sometimes I say I'm sorry, but I can't help you. You'll have to call someone else. I never know if he has someone else to call.

*"It's essential to see evil from the view of those affected, since the perpetrator seldom consider it's actions as evil" (Ann Heberlein, A Small Book About Evil)*

For four days the debate if our, Sweden's, minister of migration is racist lives on. Few calls for his resignation. One year after Bildt and Billström sat themself down in Baghdad with the american ambassador and said the words that "They (Sweden) will only establish an embassy in Iraq if a treaty of repatriation is sealed", it's sealed. The treaty of repatriation. After another year it's enforced and an embassy is initiated in the capital of Iraq. A retake, to give back something once lost or given away, which means all the people who once wanted to leave. A treaty, a contract to make sure it happens, regardless the wishes of those who left.

*"Time stands still. You tell yourself that she should die. You tell yourself that if she dies now, around this time of night, it would all be easier. You probably want to say: for you, but you don't finish the sentence (Margurite Duras, War: A Memoir)*

He's not had a place to live for ten years. He's been making these calls for just as long. These last years he's been calling me. I sigh, sometimes he hears me sigh. He can't afford to care. Ten years without residence permit, like there was a non-permit. The papers write about reports that the number of homeless people increases, in the statistics there's no count for people who've migrated from another country within the European Union to look for work or those who can't exists here, who has no paper.

Try to see the human being behind the statistic. One world is every human, "inhabitated by blind creatures in obscure rebellion", Gunnar Ekelöf once wrote. To imagen people outside the borders of statistic, an impossibility?

The state of martial law, Slavoj Zizek writes, is a state that all developed countries are heading for across the globe. One form a emergency measures is accepted and taken to heart so that life (for some) shall continue as usual.

And then there's the fear of indifference?

*"We can all see very clearly that the politics conducted by Sweden during my years as minister of migration have been consistent and humane, providing shelter for those in need" (Tobias Billström, minister of migration, 2006)*

Every third week the planes takes off, sometimes from Landvetter in Gothenburg, sometimes from Arlanda in Stockholm. They're all chartered and with Baghdad as final destination. On the latest trip: 60 persons from different detention centers in Sweden. First detained to keep them from running, waiting for the final expulsion with the full force of the uttering body of society, a cough. How did they end up there, on the detention, how did they get sorted from the masses of texts? Like spelling errors? Through raids, passport controls on the subway, on the street, on a square, because there was no other way to go? The radio show "Konflikt" broadcasts a programme during 2009, the same year that the treaty of repatriation comes into force. The person they interview believes he and all the others on the plane were drugged. Because of the silence after the food. First all the screams of anxiety, then the silence.

A friend of mine who works in the arrest tell me that those to be deported and placed there on beforehand, is led from their dwelling in handcuffs and diapers. This work is conducted by someone. By a lot. By my friend.

*"You think you cry because you can't love. You cry because you can't force death on someone." (Marguerite Duras, War: A Memoir).*

The expulsion echoes: it leaves little holes in school desks, in workplaces, on the streets, in the subway. Some are very well aware that wounds have been raveled, some feel it. If nothing else as a chill who creeps up from behind. A pain in the diaphragm. All evil, writes Ann Heberlein, rests on a principle of seperation: *one we and one them.*

Klara Meijer

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The background is a collage of layered, torn paper-like textures. At the top, there are dark, jagged shapes in shades of purple and blue. Below these, a large area of bright yellow and orange is visible, suggesting a sunset or sunrise. The bottom section is a solid, vibrant orange-red. In the lower right corner, there are dark, jagged shapes that look like silhouettes of trees or rocks.

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