

“FUORILEGGE”: Contributions from prisons, various materials and a story about two days of discussion between those inside and outside prison.

(This initiative led to the website presospolitico.noblogs.org where letters, with permission for publication, received from prisons and transcripts of speeches are collected, and are being updated)

Last May 23 and 24, an initiative “out of law” of storytelling and discussion on struggles within prisons in various parts of the world was held in spaces occupied for the occasion at the University of Pisa, featuring some of the most important anti-prison struggle experiences carried out within the anarchist world for the return to the streets of those irreducible, revolutionary, insurrectionary, and outlaw identities.

The first day of the initiative saw a discussion based on the Italian translation of *Kamina Libre*¹ – now in its second updated reprint with contributions on the importance of living memory – as a contribution to the solidarity campaign for Marcelo Villarroel's freedom and the annulment of Pinochet's military justice convictions against him.

The presence of a Chilean comrade and some videos from Chile allowed us to analyze the history and legacy of *Kamina Libre*'s experiences within the Chilean anarchist movement and beyond. This collective was characterized by intransigent action in the CAS (high-security prison), by the need to break free from rules and overcome annihilation at all costs through permanent confrontation both inside and outside the prison. This connection, between inside and outside, is inseparable to make a struggle inside not merely a legal discussion or an exercise in radicalism, but a struggle with the goal of comrades returning to the streets, not for an abstract ideal of freedom, but to continue fighting in an insurrectionary perspective and destroy the society of which the prison is a mirror.

With this comrade, we were also able to discuss what the political prisoner movement of the 2019 revolt in Chile has been, and how “black memory,” if kept alive, keeps comrades who are no longer with us – because they are in prison or died in actions – alive and daily present in struggles and on the streets, trying not to turn these figures into martyrs or heroes.

Letters sent to us from prisons also contributed to this discussion. Some were read during the initiative, such as those from Marcelo Villarroel², Francisco Solar³ and Juan Sorroche⁴, and others that did not arrive in time can be found in the section of the [page](#). These anarchist prisoners, through their knowledge and reading of *Kamina Libre*, shared their reflections and questions on how to fight from inside and outside today and not relegate the anti-prison struggle to the technical, legal, assistance-oriented, or victimistic spheres, despite the current different internal conditions, also for the prison population.

The anarchist comrade Gabriel Pombo da Silva⁵ also participated in this debate – although forced by malicious technological means – who has recently regained his freedom after spending over 30 years in prisons in Spain and Germany, always fighting inside prison with dignity and without selling out to the enemy, and who decided, along with his anarchist companion Elisa, to announce their going underground as follows: “We are a nomadic clan that goes from country to country looking for accomplices who practice anarchism... that disturbs the servants of the State... we have decided to live in the shadows.”

1 <https://presospolitico.noblogs.org/post/2025/06/05/e-uscito-la-prima-edizione-italiana-di-alcuni-scritto-su-kamina-libre-identita-irriducibili-di-una-lotta-anticarceraria/>

2 <https://presospolitico.noblogs.org/post/2025/06/03/marcelo-villarroel-su-iniziativa-fuorilegge-due-giorni-di-discussione-contro-la-galera-tra-dentro-e-fuori/>

3 <https://presospolitico.noblogs.org/post/2025/05/29/fransisco-solar-prigioniero-sovversivo-anarchico-detenido-nelle-prigioni-del-territorio-occupato-cileno-carcere-azienda-la-goza-lina-rongagua/>

4 <https://presospolitico.noblogs.org/post/2025/05/29/juan-sorroche-prigioniero-anarchico-italia-as2-terni/>

5 <https://www.rivoluzioneanarchica.it/notizie-prigionieri-anarchici-elisa-di-bernardo-stiamo-vincendo-delle-battaglie-per-la-liberta-di-gabriel-pombo-da-silva/>

It was not a reconstruction of a self-contained reality, because "memory is misfortune if seen as coherence without pity." It was a discussion without a predetermined endpoint, a confrontation that drew inspiration from experiences, provocations, and stories. Asking ourselves today how to fight inside and outside prison walls stems from the conviction that prison is an integral and fundamental part of the mechanisms of oppression and exploitation. The experience of incarceration in this society can become a common experience for every individual, a highly probable dimension within a life from whose misery there is no way out except by attempting the path of illegality, thus risking to go through "the unforeseen of prison": this suffering without absolution can lead both to self-destruction and to the path of revolt for those who have nothing to lose but their chains. This is why sharpening our weapons is our task!

During these two days, a contribution from a comrade, Paolo⁶, imprisoned in Uta and on hunger strike against the detention conditions to which all prisoners in that prison are subjected daily, was also read and distributed, recounting his story as an outlaw, how he has seen the prison population change over the years and attempts to build a struggle from within.

The following day, drawing inspiration from the stories of the most spectacular escapes collected and re-edited in *Adiós prisión*, was a moment to hear the words of comrade Pola Roupá, belonging to the Revolutionary Struggle organization active in Greece, who patiently and willingly narrated her experience. Starting from the period of activity of this group, she recounted what for her is the meaning and reason for being a fugitive and the problems she encountered during the attempt to help comrade Nikos Maziotis and other prisoners escape by hijacking a helicopter. The emotionally engaging account also highlighted how some actions, even those for total liberation, encounter great limitations if there is no concrete external solidarity.

A written contribution also arrived from the maximum-security prison of Domokos from Nikos Maziotis⁷, who highlighted the relationship between solidarity, guerrilla warfare, and insurrectionary struggle among revolutionaries and the anarchist/anti-authoritarian movement from 2010 to today.

This discussion also saw the participation (again through hateful technological means) of an anarchist comrade⁸, who for over twenty years has been part of those struggles against prison and the society that needs it, coming from the territory occupied by the State of Mexico. With him, we were able to have a direct and in-depth account of how, after many years, comrades organized themselves into an assembly that openly supported prisoners who chose the path of escape and clandestinity, talking about the case of Miguel Peralta⁹, an indigenous anarchist fugitive, and how they reflected and chose – for the first time after years of situations where support for a comrade on the run was limited to maintaining a framework of complicit silence and factual help – to openly support and launch initiatives to talk about and disseminate the ideas, the words of this comrade and the reasons for his struggle and his escape. He then focused on how to overcome the suppressed, the taboo of not speaking to avoid being included in those famous lists and investigations of suspected sympathizers who immediately become accomplices of fugitives, while still paying attention to the safety of the fugitive comrade.

Finally, he briefly recounted the experiences of struggles lived inside prisons in the last decade in Mexico City, and the State's use of accusations of connivance between the anarchist world and narcos, as in the case of Jorge Ezquivel, an anarchist prisoner detained in Mexico City prison. This case intertwines with the anti-prison struggle experiences of the last decade, when actions and sabotages against symbols of domination and against the increase in transport fares, during "black December" in Mexico, were a clear expression of internationalist insurrectionary solidarity also with the Greek revolutionary prisoners Nikos Romanos and

6 <https://presospolitico.noblogs.org/post/2025/06/04/paolo-todde-compagno-prigioniero-ad-utaca-contributo-percorsi-di-lotta/>

7 <https://presospolitico.noblogs.org/post/2025/05/29/nikos-maziotis-prigioniero-anarchico-condannato-per-le-azione-di-lotta-rivoluzionaria/>

8 <https://presospolitico.noblogs.org/post/2025/06/04/messico-da-citta-del-messico-un-contributo-sulle-lotte-esperienze-di-complicita-tra-fuori-e-dentro/>

9 <https://presospolitico.noblogs.org/post/2025/05/24/da-qualche-luogo-sulla-terra-aggiornamenti-e-scritti-dalla-latitanza/>

Yannis Michalaidis on hunger strike in Greek prisons at that time. Christmas trees, metro and bus stations went up in flames: these are just some of the many initiatives that took place in those years of insurrectionary ferment, which also saw the first international anarchist insurrectionary congress held in the largest occupied auditorium, with the participation, among others (via Skype because he was not granted entry into the country), of comrade Alfredo Maria Bonanno.

This decade of struggles within prisons, given the numerous arrested comrades, such as Fernando Barcenas, Fernando Sotelo, Abram Cortez, Amelie, Fallon, Mario and others has been characterized by the refusal to adhere to good conduct and voluntary servitude imposed by the prison administration. There have been various experiences of self-organization: from anarchist writing workshops to the creation of a periodical Canero (<https://presospolitico.noblogs.org/post/2025/05/29/el-canero-1-stampa-carceraria-dal-messico/>). This newspaper was produced and distributed both inside and outside various penitentiary institutions, recounting prison conditions and struggles, and serving as a tool for unity among prisoners to break the dispersion that saw them divided into various penitentiaries; it was also useful for developing and expressing their position against amnesty. In those years, numerous struggles were also carried out, such as a hunger strike for total liberation and against prison, launched with the following words:

"in our conception, it is constituted by society as a whole, while physical prisons are only a concrete expression of the social isolation that supports and legitimizes power, and that is why we do not address the media, nor the ruling classes, but we address and speak to our comrades in the immense prison called earth who, like us, are also children of war for the sole fact of being born disinherited."

From this translation project of Kamina Libre¹⁰, we made the decision to hold these two days of meetings and discussions also to contribute to discussing, finding ideas, and asking how to carry out, from outside, active support and solidarity for prisoners' struggles, a recognition in struggles, insurrections, revolt, and internationalist solidarity. Listening and confronting with comrades who have fought, and are fighting, against prison over the years is fundamental, despite the never-sufficient time, to reflect on some possibilities and experiences.

These two days of discussion arose to overcome the limits encountered in supporting the revolts that occur inside, as we saw in 2020 during the COVID emergency, as well as in recent years during which there have been other revolts in prisons in various parts of Italy, which, however, failed to spread and communicate with the outside, and from the need to respond to the attack by States against struggles carried out both inside and outside prisons, from Italy with the former ex DDL 1660, to Chile, Greece, and France. This type of attack, which includes reforms of the penitentiary system, in our view, has a preventive character in a horizon of war and social conflict that is increasingly simmering beneath the surface, in direct continuity with the application of 41bis to Alfredo. Indeed, we believe that the attack on Alfredo was a warning from the State against those who persevere in supporting revolutionary ideas and practices, that State that must erase both the possibility and the memory of armed struggle in this country, of which the action against Adinolfi of Ansaldo Nucleare, claimed by Alfredo in court in Genoa, is one of the most recent testimonies. But above all, we asked ourselves what it means to continue supporting a battle of the first anarchist comrade buried in the underground of Bancali prison under 41 bis and the expansion of this regime's model in various parts of the world, from Chile to France, with the Italian State increasingly exporting isolation regimes.

On the second day, the reasons for the struggle and the mobilization in solidarity with Alfredo Cospito were re-examined. The discussion was introduced with critical points and questions contained in this text¹¹ "dal centro alla periferia" which allowed for reflection on the successful elements of the mobilization which, despite a thousand difficulties and in a situation "at the bare minimum of the anarchist movement," managed to bring out the reasons, words, and identity of Alfredo Cospito, who sustained a hunger strike lasting a full 181 days. A mobilization that had an international character of solidarity and direct action, lasting over ten months and starting many months before Alfredo's strike, to try to break the veil of silence where they wanted to relegate him.

10 <https://presospolitico.noblogs.org/post/2025/05/24/presentazione-progetto-di-traduzione/>

11 <https://presospolitico.noblogs.org/post/2025/05/24/dal-centro-alla-periferia/>

This mobilization is now seeing the State's revenge against those who mobilized in those months, as with the request for sentences of over 6 years for aggravated resistance, disguise, throwing objects, and moral complicity in damage for a procession in Milan on February 11, 2023, concurrently with Alfredo's hospitalization. Moral complicity, an element that should be further explored, is also one of the central elements of Operation City with 19 convictions for devastation and looting in reference to the March 4 2023 procession in Turin.

Lello Valitutti, who has been under house arrest for over a year for this march and for the Brenner trial, contributed to this discussion and sent his regards. Lello is currently in a complex medical situation, which, he told us, makes it impossible for him to attend and fully exercise his right to defence at the City trial next July, where he is accused, along with his comrades, of moral complicity in devastation and looting. He is therefore forced to request the suspension of the trial for health reasons.

We conclude with some considerations that emerged from this discussion:

We are one year away from when the State and the DNAA will almost certainly propose to keep Alfredo Cospito in 41 bis, and perhaps send other anarchist prisoners there.

Charges in the trial, in which the state try to attack anarchist agitation and propaganda towards the comrades of the fortnightly magazine, *Bezmotivny*, in which the prosecution attempted to portray Alfredo as a leading figure within a certain segment of the anarchist movement in the Scripta Scelera trial. They depicted him as an instigator of crime, acting with him 'guide', and also after the full acquittal in the Sibilla trial, where the prosecution tried to portray Alfredo as an "instigator" in a sphere, that of the anarchist movement, which has autonomy of thought and action as its core. Along with the Scripta Manent trial, Operation Sibilla was decisive in Alfredo Cospito's transfer to 41 bis.

With the mobilization stemming from Alfredo's struggle, a debate opened, cracks were created in 41 bis, in life imprisonment without parole and in the harsh prison regime, the apex of the repressive system, which resonated so much that, at times, in front of some prisons where 41 bis sections exist, the inmates from inside were the first to chant "Alfredo out of 41 bis." The struggle did not have a merely anti-repressive dynamic, nor was it managed solely by lawyers, but it relaunched the initiative of the anarchist and revolutionary movement more generally to counter the offensive of capital and the State, despite living in times of praise for disengagement, permanent demobilization, and rampant resignation. Alfredo's struggle allowed a debate on 41 bis and repression in Italy to be carried forward, it especially put the State and its emanations into contradiction (see the change in the DNAA's opinion on keeping him in 41 bis, which clashed with Nordio), just as the external mobilization also created problems for the repressive apparatus, with the strength to bring Alfredo's words and struggle to every possible corner and with the most diverse initiatives, conflictually resuming presence in the streets, in the squares, outside prisons.

Saying 'Alfredo out of 41 bis' brought Alfredo and his story to the forefront of the debate, presenting him as incompatible with any compromise or political solution whatsoever, despite some para-institutional components of the left attempting to insinuate themselves into the mobilization.

Today, it is important to be able to discuss how, in addition to Alfredo's life, the meaning and perspective of solidarity have also been put at stake, a principle that has been under constant attack for years by anti-terrorism prosecutors throughout Italy and beyond. Since the end of the hunger strike, and now that the mobilization has practically stopped, the State is trying to take revenge on this comrade, as also demonstrated by recent updates on his imprisonment, namely the return of the GOM officer, previously removed for his involvement in the "interception scandal," to the direction of the 41bis section of Bancali prison, which has brought with it a further tightening of the already harsh conditions in this regime for Alfredo.

Today it is necessary to reflect on a fact of reality: this mobilization, however insufficient to get Alfredo out of 41 bis, to close this detention regime, and also to free Alfredo and all prisoners, has certainly ignited not-so-ordinary sparks, from which it would be desirable to draw lessons and stimulus for the realization of a

project that goes beyond the urgency of the moment. In this regard, reflecting on how not to become fossilized in an anti-prison struggle, the application of 41bis to Alfredo should have been placed in a more explicit relationship with the Italian State's war policies. Also on how to continue the struggle in solidarity with Alfredo and the support for the practices he carried out, the importance of bringing Alfredo's case into the anti-nuclear struggles was also emphasized.

How to proceed now given the reality of today's situation is one of the questions for which we thought it was worthwhile to meet and reflect. While States are preparing for war and arms profits are growing immeasurably, while the genocide in Palestine continues, and with the approval of a security decree that attacks the oppressed, these gentlemen are once again rushing to prosecute anarchists, an internal enemy to be eradicated because they have always been in opposition to capitalism, the State, and its war policies. Sabotaging the internal front therefore also means relaunching solidarity with Alfredo and all prisoners.

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