

The book "Some Writings on Kamina Libre, Irreducible Identities of an Anti-Prison Struggle" has been released. The book, which originated from the degree thesis of comrade prisoner Francisco Solar and was later expanded, recounts the experience of the Kamina Libre prisoner collective born in 1995 in the Santiago prison in Chile, which for years carried on a permanent confrontation inside Chile's High Security Prison (CAS) until obtained the "return to the streets" of all its members. The first presentation took place within the sixteenth Tattoo Circus benefit for prisoners in El Paso (Turin, Italy). In the discussion on Saturday the 15th, the Kolektivo Kamina Libre's experience of struggle between the 1990s and the 2000s in Chilean prisons was compared with other experiences of prisoners' struggles, such as COPEL in Spain in the 1970s, in order to reflect from different perspectives on the self-organization of prisoners and the relationship inside-outside prison walls. Why talk about Kamina Libre today? As expressed by Francisco in his preface to the text, "Kamina Libre's experience shows us the importance of carrying out a combative attitude in prison, of autonomously carrying out days of struggle within it, as well as of generating ties of complicity with supportive environments, sustaining a real practice of attack. Writing about Kamina Libre today is talking about confrontation and autonomy."

Irreducible identities

Contribution to the italian translation of "Some writings on Kamina Libre"

Today we are going through a crucial moment in the legal situation of comrade Marcelo Villarroel Sepúlveda in Chilean prisons. A few months ago, an appeal began to try to cancel the sentences imposed by the military justice during the Pinochet period that today still persist on the comrade.

Marcelo was first arrested in November 1987, at the age of 14, accused of carrying out armed propaganda activities against the dictatorship inside a high school in Santiago and for his militancy in MAPU-LAUTARO, a Marxist-Leninist political-military organisation active against the Pinochet dictatorship and in the following democratic transition. In 1992 he was arrested again after two years in clandestinity, during which he was wanted again for his militancy in MAPU-LAUTARO, which in the meantime, after the end of Pinochet's dictatorship in 1990, had decided to continue the armed struggle 'against capitalist repositioning masquerading as democracy'. The anti-terrorist operation involved thirty agents and culminated in an armed confrontation that gave Marcelo three gunshot wounds. In 1994, the high security regime was inaugurated in Chile and Marcelo was transferred there along with 33 other prisoners. In this first period of detention from 1995 he took part in the Kolektivo Kamina Libre. He was later accused of taking part in the September 2007 robbery of the Banco Santander in Valparaíso and the October 2007 robbery of the Banco Security in Santiago, during which the agent Luis Moyano died in a shootout. After a period in clandestinity Marcelo was arrested on 15 March 2008 together with Freddy Fuentesvilla in Neuquen, Argentina. They were then extradited to Chile on 15 December 2009. On 2 July 2014, the Chilean court sentenced him to 14 years in prison for the two robberies, other charges were later added, resulting in a total of 46 years in prison:

- Terrorist association: 10 years and 1 day.
- Damaging a police car with serious injury to police officers: 3 years + 541 days.
- Co-author of murder qualified as terrorist: 15 years and 1 day.
- Theft with intimidation, law 18.314: 10 years and 1 day.
- Explosive attack against the Spanish Embassy: 8 years.

The state, its ideological mechanisms and capital once again attempt to bury the ranks of the fighting movement, to silence its political content, its choices of struggle and decades of revolutionary tradition. Comrades everywhere (Chile, Italy, Greece, Spain, etc.) have dedicated, today as yesterday,

their lives to the fight against oppression to build a world of equality and freedom, taking responsibility and making choices that led to imprisonment or death, giving their soul, body and thought to the revolutionary cause. Such choices are an integral part of an insurrectional historical continuity that keeps the vision of social revolution alive in our hearts and minds.

Exporting isolation

As early as the end of the 19th century, European police forces were already seeking coordination to repress the anarchist movement (the anti-anarchist laws passed from 1890 onwards in various European states and the systematisation of the practice of political filing using the Habsburg police as a model are examples of this), today we are faced with a veritable globalisation of repression and counter-revolution. In this context of repressive coordination between states, Italy is setting itself up as a model in prison differentiation and the isolation of prisoners. In the last year alone, the French and Chilean democracies have initiated talks with the Italian anti-mafia and anti-terrorism professionalists to export the 41bis model to their countries, both of which have been experiencing a high level of social conflict in recent years.

‘In the morning, Minister Darmanin and the delegation were received at the Rome Rebibbia prison by the Acting Head of the Department of Penitentiary Administration, Lina Di Domenico, and guided by the Director of the Gom¹, they visited the section destined for detainees subject to the 41bis regime. [...] Afterwards, they met the National Anti-Mafia Prosecutor, Giovanni Melillo, at Palazzo Farnese, seat of the French Embassy.’²

According to Darmanin's statements, the first high-security facility inspired by the Italian model should be completed at the end of July 2025, with at least two more to follow in subsequent years. If in France the 41-bis has only today returned as a topic of national political discussion, justified again in this case by the fight against mafias and drug trafficking³, for over a year in Boric's new democratic Chile a debate has been going on about the advisability of implementing the 41-bis regime, in the broader context of a reform of the gendarmerie and the prison regime. For Chilean national prosecutor Ángel Valencia, ‘It is important to look at the Italian experience, the Italians have optimised their efforts to fight organised crime, they have created new prisons while respecting European human rights standards’⁴. In September 2024, the Italian embassy in Santiago organised a meeting to present the 41-bis model and its history to the Chilean Constitutional Court, held by Professor Antonello Canzano of the University of Roma Tre⁵, who stressed that its genesis lies in thirty years of repressive history of the Italian state.

‘This framework is not the result of a single intervention, but of a gradual evolution of legislation over 30 years, continually adapted according to its effectiveness,’ said the professor during his lecture, at the end of which an interesting dialogue was generated in a comparative key in which ministers Miguel Ángel Fernández, Nancy Yáñez, Héctor Mery and Marcela Peredo also participated. Ample attention was devoted to the so-called ‘Italian model’ of combating organised crime, an integral part of which is the special detention regime provided for in Article 41bis of the Italian penitentiary order, aimed at

¹ GOM, Gruppo Operativo Mobile (Mobile Operations Group) is a department of the penitentiary police used for riot control and responsible for the detention of prisoners under the 41-bis regime.

² https://ambparigi.esteri.it/it/news/dall_ambasciata/2025/02/italia-francia-nordio-incontra-lomologo-darmanin-3-febbraio/

³ <https://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/gerald-darmanin-justifie-les-prisons-haute-securite-pour-les-narcotrafiquants-pour-affirmer-l-autorite-de-l-etat-20250203>

⁴ <https://www.emol.com/noticias/Nacional/2024/04/22/1128642/carcel-italianas-modelo-chile-crimen.html>

⁵ https://ansabrasil.com.br/english/news/news_from_embassies/2024/09/06/italy-and-chile-united-in-the-fight-against-organised-crime_3ef7f9a4-9206-42ac-9a7b-3d89dad8b577.html

neutralising the possibility that the perpetrators of the most serious crimes, especially those linked to organised crime, may conduct illegal activities from prison.⁶

Canzano's visit to Chile, far from being an isolated event, was preceded a few months earlier by that of magistrate Giovanni Tartaglia Polcini, Advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and deputy director of EL PACCTO 2.0⁷, the European programme for cooperation with South America to combat organised crime, not by chance with Italy as the coordinating country. Also worthy of mention is the new Chilean anti-terrorism law approved at the beginning of February 2025, which is more 'modern, effective and democratic' and will broaden the crime of terrorist association, allowing detention even in the absence of specific offences for those who are considered members or even just 'financiers' of a terrorist association, and will also more effectively strike at the solidarity made up of benefits for prisoners.

The exacerbation of international, social and political tensions due to the tendency to war and the contradictions inherent to this capitalist system require states to take increasingly preventive action, a counter-insurgency in the absence of insurrection, to ensure the resilience of the home front in a historical period in which the recovery of struggles by the state carried out through welfare and small concessions is no longer sustainable. Prison distils 'the quintessence of repressive practices related to social and political restructuring, in more blatantly authoritarian forms (the more aseptic ones of the EU and the more boorish ones of national sovereigntisms are equivalent in this respect, see the anti-immigration policies and the ongoing war propaganda) in a West that still cannot get over the fact that it is in the midst of a crisis and is trying with one hand to stem the leaks of a sinking ship with securitarian manias and with the other to grab as much as possible to line its pockets before the shipwreck.'⁸ It is in this context that the war on the home front widens and accelerates the consolidation of a criminal law of the enemy, with the latest repressive developments such as DDL 1660⁹ in Italy, which provides for the introduction of the crime of 'terrorism of the word', hitherto uncodified but nevertheless used in the various repressive operations against the anarchist press such as Sibilla and Scripta Scelera. DDL 1660 does not shy away from harsher punishments even on the prison front, increasing the penalties for riots and providing for an aggravating circumstance for the crime of 'incitement to disobey the laws' if the deed is committed 'inside a penitentiary institution or by means of writings or communications directed at prisoners'.

High surveillance and isolation regimes around the world, with a peak in the 41 bis, aim to break the solidarity between the inside and the outside of the prison and between the prisoners themselves through prison differentiation, also for this reason we believe it is important to return to reflect on the experiences of those who, like the Kolektivo Kamina Libre, both under dictatorship and in the period of transition to democracy continued to fight both outside and inside the prison against oppression and

⁶ https://ambantiago.esteri.it/it/news/dall_ambasciata/2024/09/lambasciatrice-valeria-biagiotti-e-il-professor-antonello-canzano-in-visita-protocollare-al-tribunale-costituzionale/

⁷ <https://iila.org/it/al-via-la-seconda-fase-del-programma-el-paccto-di-lotta-alla-criminalita-organizzata-transnazionale-panama-11-13-marzo-2024/>

⁸ <https://lanemesi.noblogs.org/post/2025/02/03/anna-beniamino-fisiopatologia-del-mostro-carcerario-veleni-e-antidoti-ottobre-2024/> Declaration of the comrade Anna Beniamino from Rebibbia prison, october 2024.

⁹ DDL 1660 is a bill presented by the Italian government that introduces a series of regulatory changes in the Italian legislation. DDL 1660, among other things, increases the penalty for occupation, introduces the offense of prison revolt or incitement to prison revolt, increases penalties for threats or injuries to public officials, introduces new offenses related to the possession of material containing instructions for carrying out acts of terrorism and the dissemination of instructions on the preparation and use of explosive substances. the DDL increases repressive tools in the hands of the state, such as introducing a requirement for universities to cooperate with the Secret Service to monitor students and professors.

for a radically different society, breaking the inside/outside division to obtain the return of its members to the streets.

Marcelo Villarroel in the street!

Freedom for all prisoners!