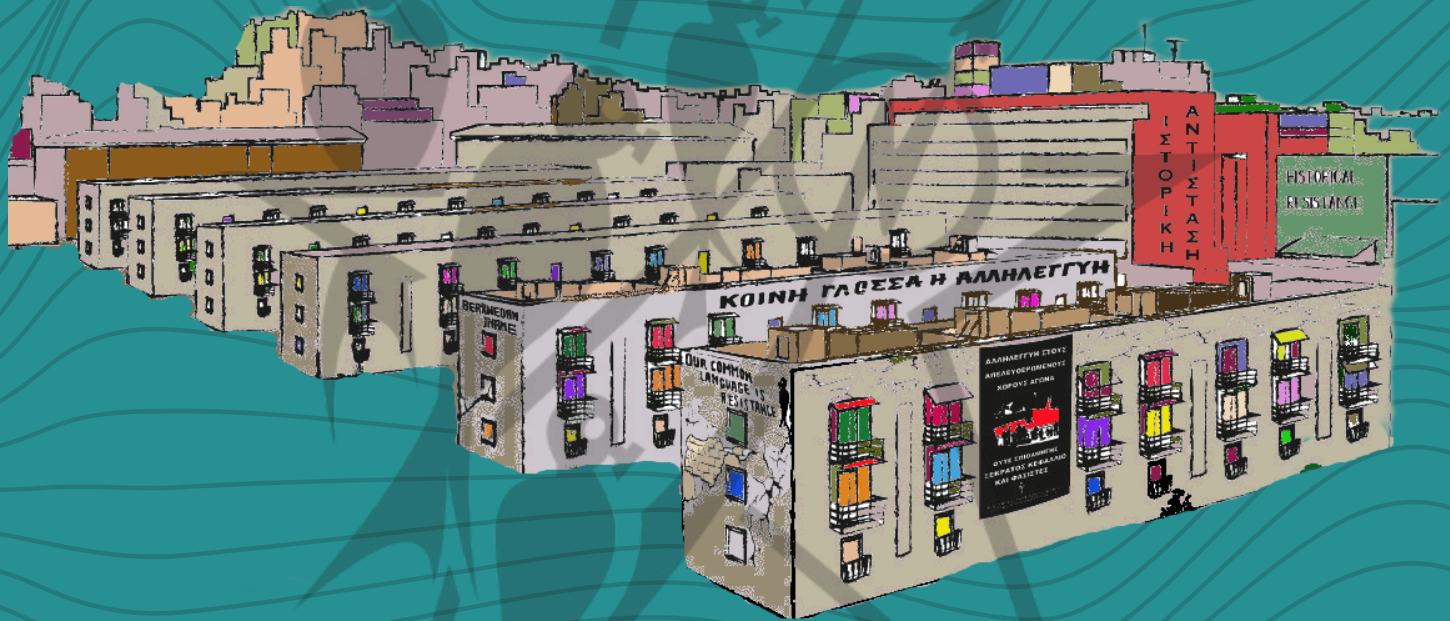


THE COMMUNITY OF SQUATTED PROSFYGIKA IN ATHENS

FEW WORDS ABOUT OUR HISTORY,
AUTONOMY AND STRUGGLE



Introduction

"There are moments when an event or a struggle enters with intensity, as vital element, into the capacity to shape the present."
— Walter Benjamin

If we turn inward and ask ourselves: what is that element that makes a person sluggish, fearful, allowing their dignity to be trampled on, and watching helplessly as their life is taken from their hands—what would we answer? Truly, what is happening that renders the modern individual, especially in Western societies, immobilized and a pawn in the hands of those who make decisions for them, implement them, and finally impose them with full legality?

Law and human. Human and their struggle against power. It is clear that since institutionalized power has existed, this struggle has been relentless. Aeschylus describes this struggle vividly in "Prometheus Bound", highlighting the structural relationship between the state and violence by portraying Violence and State as siblings—the very two who nail Prometheus to the rock. Humanity's resistance to violence—organized and legitimized by authority—is deeply embedded in history. A series of uprisings, resistances, revolutions, and of course, bloodshed, trace humanity's path, where people fought against injustice, inequality, and the pain caused by power to their lives, preserving dignity against the barbarity that seeks to completely overwhelm us as a species.

This barbarity, rooted in the profit of the few and the exploitation of the many, naturally extends also to concepts which it attempts to distort, despite the fact that humanity has spent countless years and complex processes to encode them into language. One of these concepts is autonomy, which is constantly referenced and presented as a key feature of modern life. But can someone truly be autonomous within the framework of capitalist societies, where individualism and privatization dominate? The answer is no, because the word "autonomy" (from Greek auto = self and nomos = law) includes not only the self but also the "nomos" that derives from the verb "nemo"(νέμω) which means share, distribute, contribute... And perhaps, to speak of autonomy outside of social or collective life, we would need to invent a new word. One insightful definition of autonomy was given by the modern Greek philosopher Cornelius Castoriadis, who said:

"Autonomy is not closure but opening."

We thus understand it as collective-social autonomy. That is, the autonomy of each individual outside of society or outside of collectivity is impossible—it resides in a non-place.

The formation of communities was the natural way humans survived in prehistoric times and for most of our existence as homo sapiens, until the rise of patriarchy,

which was rooted in the agricultural revolution, bringing about class divisions and gender discrimination. History shows that we've survived as a species because we formed communities where members protected and supported each other, shared responsibilities, and every member had a role that contributed to the collective good—and thus their own well-being.

Authorities know very well that people are strengthened in communities—precisely because they are not alone—and needs are more easily met, while fear diminishes when everything is faced collectively. Over time, as power structures grew, the concept of community was demonized, rendered unnatural, and replaced with the model of the individual who must face everything alone, survive, and socially climb. Making shared agreements on institutional and moral principles, sharing space, goods, and resources, making collective decisions—everything that constitutes communitarianism—is now portrayed as irrational. As Eduardo Galeano said:

"The upside-down world rewards upside-down values: it scorns honesty, punishes work, rewards shamelessness, and nurtures brutality. Its teachers blame nature: injustice, they say, is a natural law."

The Community of Squatted Prosfygika, formed in 2010, is a community that connects the past with the future. It holds the thread of natural law within the irrational world of today. It keeps alive the spark of a life outside of barbarity, aiming for equality and humanity. This unique initiative on European territory—with around 27 nationalities and corresponding languages—defies the narrative of the "Babel confusion" and succeeds in speaking one common language: the one that gives societies the power to survive and evolve; the one that strengthens bonds; the one that allows the individual to have autonomy; the one that gives us back our lost humanity. It is the language of solidarity.

The existence of this Community is a reality, happening here and now, in the heart of a metropolis, between the Supreme Court and the Police Headquarters (GADA). Naturally, it has disturbed the authorities, who—mobilizing all mechanisms—first try to construct through state-controlled media the image of an abandoned neighborhood infiltrated by criminals and terrorists, only to then justify the intervention of repressive forces (with chemicals, stun grenades, rubber bullets, home invasions, beatings, kidnappings, etc.) in a neighborhood of 400 people full of life, located between two hospitals, one of which is the largest oncology hospital in the country.

For the Community, the violence of authority is something expected, and resistance to that violence is self-evident. Every day, a human hive in a 14,500 m² beehive responds to its needs, self-organizes, and slowly, steadily weaves a new culture—a guide to that "other world" that has long lived in the dreams of those who never stopped believing that "beauty will save the world."

History of the Neighborhood

The Prosfygika housing complex on Alexandras Avenue in Athens was built between 1933–1936 on a 14,500 m² plot of land, with the purpose of housing refugees from Asia Minor. These were people who had already begun settling in the area during the 1920s, after the Asia Minor Catastrophe, constructing makeshift homes. A total of 8 blocks of apartments were built, containing 228 apartments, along with courtyards, shared spaces, and a surrounding external area between and around the buildings.

The architecture of the complex was based on the modernist Bauhaus movement. The layout of both the interior spaces and the communal areas—with an emphasis on large, comfortable, and varied shared zones—created fertile ground for interaction and coexistence among residents, fostering a more community-oriented way of life.

Gradually, refugees began to purchase the apartments through preferential loan programs, and the neighborhood filled with life. These were people who came from displacement and carried with them a distinct culture. In fact, in December 1944, just months after the German occupation ended, during the Battle of Athens (which marked both the start of the Greek Civil War and the Cold War), the Prosfygika complex became a battleground. Residents, along with others from the surrounding area, led resistance efforts against both the Greek state forces and the newly arrived British occupation troops. The area was heavily bombarded by these forces, and to this day, the buildings still bear the marks of bullets and mortar shells fired by both state and British troops.

Over the decades, the state repeatedly threatened to demolish this historic neighborhood. During the military junta, a ministerial decision was issued to demolish the first four rows of housing to make space for the new Courthouse—a plan that was never fully implemented. Rumors of demolition and modernization of the area persisted for years.

Eventually, in the late 1990s, a formal decision was made to demolish the historic neighborhood to build a shopping mall and underground parking, connecting it to the nearby Panathinaikos stadium. At that point, the Public Real Estate Company (KED) intervened, offering residents a small amount of money to vacate their homes. Those who refused faced forced expropriation. Initially, residents resisted, but under a climate of fear and intimidation, the state succeeded—by 2003, most had been evicted and 177 apartments had passed into state ownership.

Fifty-one residents refused to give in to the pressure. With the support of the School of Architecture, solidarity groups, and various organizations, they appealed to the Council of State (Greece's Supreme Administrative Court). After two rulings in 2003 and 2009, the Prosfygika were officially declared preserved historic buildings—monuments of modern history—due to both their Bauhaus-inspired architecture and the enduring bullet and mortar scars from the December 1944 conflict between resistance forces and the government-backed fascists and their British allies.

History of the Community

*"In reality, the only thing we proposed was to change the world.
Everything else, we improvised."*

— Subcomandante Marcos (now Capitan Marcos)

In the neighborhood of the Squatted Prosfygika on Alexandras Avenue, we—autonomous squatters from different political and cultural backgrounds—began to live collectively from the early 2000s. This came shortly after the state evicted, through expropriation and demolition threats, 177 of the 228 owners of the apartments of Prosfygika, using fear and intimidation.

At that time, mafias had taken over many homes, subletting them illegally, producing and distributing drugs, and exploiting the neighborhood. Police entered and exited daily to collect their share of the profits. This was the original condition that sparked our need for collective action—combined with the understanding that state repression would inevitably follow. The state and capital saw the neighborhood as valuable real estate in the city center, a “prime location” to be gentrified and exploited.

We understood that to survive, we would have to unite and organize collectively. We envisioned a community where people live together, where the homes are shared—not owned—where decisions are made collectively, where members support each other and fight together for our lives. We imagined an autonomous community capable of surviving by producing food, maintaining the homes and the neighborhood with our own labor, and raising our children through self-education—free from the flaws of the conventional school system. A community free of internal violence, where problems are solved with inclusion, horizontality, and acceptance.

We imagined many things—and we decided to bring them into reality.

But how does imagination become action? How does the imaginary become real? These are not easy questions to answer, because creating an alternative requires confronting what already exists. Still, self-organization, in its own organic way, found its path. The answers began to walk alongside a shared vision. On that path were inscribed the words: “structures,” “infrastructure,” “working groups,” “accountability,” “critique,” and “self-critique.” Gradually, more words were added, which became the tools we used to organize our community.

Autonomy

"It is our belief and our practice that in order to rebel and to struggle, we do not need leaders, warlords, messiahs, or saviors. To struggle, all we need is a little bit of shame, some dignity, and a whole lot of organization."

Subcomandante Marcos (now Capitan Marcos)

Our societal organization produces and normalizes violence. It's clear that its structure leads to a complete dead end—escalating injustice, reinforcing violence, and creating pain exclusively for the lower class. The response to what seems huge, impersonal, and invincible is to create a new way of organizing—one where we, not power-wielding authorities serving economic elites, make the decisions that shape our lives, rather than having "our bodies and souls thrown into the millstones."

Within this context, at Prosfygika on Alexandras Avenue, a neighborhood of hope and resistance has emerged. This is a glimpse of the future: an organized, self-managed community in the center of a European metropolis—built on solidarity, mutual respect, and dignity. It operates without hierarchies, but with shared decision-making and responsibility for our lives. What some imagine for society is already happening here—not as a finished product, but as an ongoing, evolving process in the here and now.

In the Prosfygika community, we speak different languages, adhere to different religions—or none at all—and come from diverse cultural backgrounds. Yet within this mosaic, we hold assemblies and make collective decisions on all matters. We discuss, agree, collaborate on our shared goals and daily problems. Simultaneously, we stand in solidarity with struggles a few kilometers away—and on the opposite side of the globe—understanding our fights are connected.

Today, much of the neighborhood is occupied and lived in. Refugees of war, political exiles (mainly from Turkey and Kurdistan), migrants, families with children, the elderly, the sick, the homeless, substance users, people with mental health struggles, LGBTQI people, political activists, anarchists, communists—individuals of every nationality and religion—have formed a diverse grassroots mosaic.

Over the past 15 years, we've brought life into the neighborhood, transforming it into Greece's largest squatting community: 400–500 permanent residents. Our self-organization is driven by real needs. For example: when the children need tutoring or creative activities, our children and Self Education structure offers support; when food is needed, our Logistic Structure ensures the community is fed.

The Community is the organized collective body of residents and solidarian people, united organically at practical, political, structural, aspirational, and comradeship level. It's a horizontal, self-managed social-political project rooted in principles of freedom, equality, autonomy, and solidarity—expressed through self-organization, horizontality,

shared decision-making, accountability, commitment, and participation. We appropriate tools from the broader revolutionary movement. Key features include communal ownership of resources, structures, and infrastructures, and shared resistance to state, capitalist, fascist, sexist, and global oppression.

We are a network of people, relationships, structures, and infrastructures grounded in political solidarity—not nationality, religion, or ethnicity. We have created autonomous political structures that ensure relative material self-sufficiency, collectively institutionalized based on individual abilities and needs. What we have built is, in political-imaginary terms, a commune.

In 15 years, 22 self-organized structures have emerged, continuously evolving to meet our needs and capacities, including: Children house & self-education structure, Women's Structure, Health Structure, Library, Technical workshop, Youth structure, International Solidarity structure, Communication structure, Communal café, Cinema for all ages, Collective kitchen, Bakery, Guarding structure, Food Logistics structure, Furniture and materials storage structure, Social center, Skipping/food redistribution working group, Clothing structure, Legal cases working group, Structure for hosting patients and their companions from the adjacent oncology hospital, Animal structure, Arts working group, Community internet

Two examples of our structures

Bakery Structure

Our first idea was bread (for you, the staple might be corn; for us, wheat and barley; and for others elsewhere, rice). Bread represents humanity itself—it reflects both our many similarities and our many differences. Every corner of the world has its unique culture and history, just like bread. So, we decided to tell our own story by baking our own bread—first to meet the community's needs, and then to generate some initial income. Thus, the Bakery Structure was born.

It was one of the first structures established within the neighborhood of the Squatted Prosfygika and shortly afterward, the statutes of the now-organized Assembly of the Squatted Prosfygika (Sy.Ka.Pro) were formed—in 2012.

Over the years, we realized that the bread-making process was much more than what we initially understood. There is a dynamic that holds the community together; it brings old and new comrades into a common “kneading,” and especially after moments of repression, it gives us the strength and hope we need to continue the struggle. It allows us to resist affirmatively when barbarity suffocates us.

Today, the Bakery Structure operates daily, making bread and various pastries, and has expanded distribution points outside the neighborhood. It is a reference point for the community. The act of many hands kneading the same dough, beyond its practical purpose, has become a strong symbol of what community life is—and how people collectively shape communal processes.

*The bakery of Prosfygika is named Berkin Elvan, in memory of the 15-year-old Kurdish boy who, in June 2013, was struck in the head by a direct shot from a tear gas canister fired at him by a police officer during the months-long protests that took place in Gezi Park and Taksim Square in Istanbul, against Erdoğan. At that moment, Elvan was on his way to the neighborhood bakery to buy bread.

Women's Structure (part from the women's brochure)

The Women's Structure is the community's second decisive body, alongside the General Assembly. It first began in 2016 and restarted in 2019, initially as a Women's Café—as a way for all the women in the neighborhood to meet and to get to know each other.

In our neighborhood, we were many women from every corner of the planet, with different languages, religions, cultures, ages, beliefs, and perspectives. We were women and feminities which maybe never our voices have been heard, who has health issues without access to care, family or relationship problems, who had experiences or were experiencing abusive behaviors, who had legal issues, and more.

We started talking about what concerned us and sharing our experiences, discovering that although we were very different, our experiences were often similar. The realization of shared experiences among all women from below, and our shared daily life in the community, formed the basis of our collectivisation, which then evolved with trust building comradeship.

We started organizing assemblies around specific topics and priorities, set goals, using tools of the community and our constitute framework, which were our common agreements. At the same time guided by radical and revolutionary movements and struggles, both from the past and the present, we adopted tools and methods to create our own reality.

In the last five years, we have worked a lot on problematic behaviours that have arisen within the community, and have been based on gender patriarchal characteristics. The various tools, processes, and methods we used were based on collective responsibility and commitment in order to solve, preventing their reproduction of the problematic behaviour, and to build a common understanding toward those patriarchal structures that we all carry in our attitudes and behaviors and need to deconstruct.

We highlighted the issues of patriarchy as collective ones, not just an issues that

concerns only a part of a group (women, femininities, queer people). We worked together with all the parts of the community to collectivize the tools and processes and especially the perception in relation to which attitudes and behaviours are considered problematic and patriarchal and the way that will create an environment in which such attitudes and behaviours will be prevented at their inception will be managed collectively and deterred or even eliminated.

At the same time, we emphasized on our own empowerment and on the recognition of the assimilation of patriarchy from our own side. Supporting each other and taking responsibility for one another, we began a process to explore ways we could take space and step forward—not competitively against the community, our comrades, or our families, but instead a supportive and promotive way for our collective empowerment.

It was and it is still now, common understanding for us that it is not enough to just acknowledge and point out the patriarchal behaviors that we face; It is a priority for us to find how we to not reproduce the oppressive culture that suppresses and undermines us, how we do internal work together, how we question fixed and internalized roles, how we shift, and how we can promote a new proposal of life as a whole.

For us, in the Community of Squatted Prosfygika, this proposal is our very framework, permeating every aspect of daily life—from cooperating on common tasks to collective critique and self-critique processes; from how we build relationships to our participation and roles in struggles; from recognizing and solving problems together to forming a new collective culture opposing the dominant one.

As the Women's Structure, we recognized from the beginning that there is not personal freedom without collective struggle and without cost and we decided to stand on the front lines against all that oppresses and undermines our lives and dignity. Thus, we have participated in many social struggles, solidarity actions, marches, interventions, and gatherings, aiming in the future to strengthen our presence in social struggles and our connections with other women's and femininities collectives.

A step toward this opening was the creation of the Women's Structure's physical space: a double apartment in the neighborhood of Prosfygika, which was designed to accommodate all our common activities and needs. From being a space for assemblies, film screenings, events, and celebrations, to operating as a kitchen for collective cooking and producing handmade products for our internal economy, as well as a guesthouse hosting women and femininities in need, this "double house" was our first answer to our needs and a step for sharing the experience and practice of collective life and culture with other female comrades.

Administrative Structure

The general functioning of the Community and the general assembly (Sy.Ka.Pro.) is based on a collective program, both general and specific. This program is grounded in the founding objectives, redefined through periodic evaluations, and shaped in the day-to-day life of the regular Sy.Ka.Pro. assemblies, in specific processes, in communal living, and in the struggle. The collective program, both general and specific, politically and practically commits the members.

The entire Community is responsible for the activity of each of its members, and each member is responsible for the activity of the Community. This is expressed in practice as the result of the harmony and solidarity that must exist among the members of a free collaboration. The Community has the duty to politically, morally, and practically educate each of its members so that they can carry out the best of their abilities. Furthermore, from this perspective, the Community understands initiative and autonomy as sources, catalysts, and driving forces of collective unity.

All our structures are autonomous but not independent. Each has its own assembly, members, responsables, and walley, yet all are organically connected to one another and, of course, to the General Assembly of the Community, which is the highest decision-making body where issues and proposals from the structures are being discussed and all decisions are being made. The second assembly with decisive authority is the assembly of the Women's Structure, which can make decisions independently on various matters while informing the General Assembly and co-shaping its decisions.

The structures, infrastructures, and all material within them exist under a regime of common ownership. Essentially, everything except the people is collective structure and infrastructure. Their management is a special responsibility of the competent working groups and structures, as well as a general responsibility of the Assembly of the Squatted Prosfygika (Sy.Ka.Pro.).

Every year we have a periodic (or small) review process, and every two to three years we have a major review process (conference), during which we review the previous period and produce the strategic plan for the next period. These are our most important procedures, whose decisions are binding at the community, structure/infrastructure, and member levels. These procedures last about a month and take the form of a conference.

The entire Community is responsible for the activity of each of its members, and each member is responsible for the activity of the Community. This is practically expressed as the result of harmony and solidarity that must exist among members of a free cooperation. The Community has the duty to politically, morally, and practically shape each member to realize their best potential. Also, and from this perspective, the

Community understands initiative and autonomy as sources, that are promote the collective unity. Participation and function of each one are initially evaluated by the individual themselves and then by the political/decision-making collective body, according to their needs/capabilities that are recognized collectively. The comrades of the assembly and the Community of the Squatted Prosfygika must contribute according to their ability and share the burden of responsibilities to the extent that each can, breaking delegation and overaccumulation of work on individuals. All of the above are evaluated by and within the collective community body.

Community-Platform-Committee

After the major review process in 2021, the Community of Squatted Prosfygika decided it was time to upgrade its opening towards the outside. The level of self-organization, the people, as well as circumstances and timing, demanded this opening. In line with this, among other decisions, the creation of the Platform of Confederalist Union as the political arm of the Community was decided, as well as the creation of the Committee for the promotion and defense of the Community of Squatted Prosfygika and their collective memory, as the “diplomatic” tool-body of the Community.

Now, the Community of Squatted Prosfygika is structured, develops, self-organizes, creates, resists, and struggles on three axes/pillars: the Community, the Platform of Confederalist Union, and the Committee. These three pillars, though autonomous, are interconnected, complementary, and interact both among themselves and with the movement and various social collectives both in Greece and abroad. If any part of this triadic system faces weaknesses or problems, the entire Community is affected and weakened.

The Community is the “social pillar” of our project. It is the social base that lives and self-organizes in the liberated space of the neighborhood of Prosfygika and more broadly outside it, responding to the needs of its members, building its structures and infrastructures, and structuring relationships among its members, residents, comrades and friends. The Community, without separating or prevailing over the Platform and the Committee, is the foundation of this triptych, proceeding equivalently and autonomously alongside the other two pillars, supporting and being supported by them.

The Platform of Confederalist Union is the political proposal of the Community of Squatted Prosfygika. It made its first opening in 2022, with various collectives and individuals from Greece and abroad participating or cooperating with it. The Platform is the mean through which different groups, collectives, and individuals connect and collaborate based on confederalism, promoting wider cooperation rooted in the needs of the grassroots, organizing common structures, networks, and infrastructures, and building upon differences among societies and movements, recognizing that diversity is what generates and creates. It is the main tool through which the Community of Squatted Prosfygika relates, cooperates, and interacts with other parts of the broader movement, coordinating for our common struggles and creating relationships of different levels—whether tactical, strategic, or programmatic—depending on the level of agreements that are reached among the groups that compose it.

The third pillar of the Community of Squatted Prosfygika is the Committee for the promotion and defense of the Community and their collective memory, which serves as the “diplomatic” body of the Community. Started at 2023, the Committee includes

lawyers, architects, civil engineers, journalists, geographers, historians, photojournalists, etc., whose main task is to create and promote the #saveprosfygika campaign. The campaign aims to support the struggle for the real preservation of the buildings of the neighborhood as well as the Community with its people, and also to protect the historical memory, which the authorities have long mutilated and distorted. The Committee's key axes are, on one hand, promoting the Community and collaborating with broader parts and groups of society in Greece and abroad, and on the other, designing a restoration and maintenance plan for the neighborhood buildings based on the needs of residents, as well as implementing this plan with our own means. Within this framework, and since the Community's fundamental pillar is internationalism and internationalist solidarity, participating in international struggles and with a significant network of internationalists living in the Community or cooperating from their own geographies, a corresponding internationalist committee has already been started. This committee runs the #international saveprosfygika campaign, building on the axes of the Committee mentioned above, but at an internationalist level.



Relations – Problematic Behaviors – Tools – Transformative Justice

Every self-organized system, in order to exist under the above terms, is based on a system of justice that is formed within it. Justice reflects at any given time the prevailing culture and morality of each society/community, while at the same time it shapes and is shaped by them. In self-organized systems, the organization of people starts from the bottom, with the fundamental requirement being coexistence, cohesion, and the perspective of the collective body. Therefore, justice itself is based on values and evolves dialectically together with the overall culture. It takes shape with the first common agreements among the different parts for the formation of the collective, which is the basis of self-institution. This is a dynamic process that, as it evolves from the formal to the substantial, is transformed in this revolutionary culture as described above.

In all revolutionary movements and projects, past and present — such as the Kurdish Freedom Movement and the Zapatista Communities — a common factor of their justice systems is their approach to dealing with problematic behaviors. They do not operate in terms of exclusion but emphasize collective handling, participation in resolution, and transformation according to the terms of the community. Taking examples from these projects, we have developed such a mindset adapted to our own condition. The community has developed its own justice system, and the women and femininities of the Community have a central role in realizing and promoting this justice. We recognize that this responsibility falls more heavily on us because women and femininities we are the most non-privileged and oppressed parts of any society. If not us, then who?

We start from the understanding that our problematic behaviors have a common basis since we are educated by the same system. The main issues we identify as problematic are those that stem from the dominant culture of individualism and competition and express themselves as: underestimation, manipulation, separation of the self from the collective, imposition of individual limits and filters, dominant, hegemonic, and authoritarian behaviors, elitism, instrumentalization, objectification and sexualization of others, gender discrimination and oppression, closeness, submissiveness, delegation, denial of responsibility and commitment.

The basic common feature of these problematic behaviors, whether automatic or conscious denial, is the reproduction of the dominant culture of individualism and privatisation. This creates the large “Ego” that distances people from collectivization and community, preventing the creation of meaningful bonds between people on horizontal terms. If, at the same time that individuals want to engage within collective bodies, they insist on maintaining this “Ego,” then they instrumentalize the ground undermining the collective body’s self-determination.

Any process of recognizing and resolving a problematic behavior is, in fact, a smaller

or bigger act of attributing justice within the collective framework. In this sense, the collective body that constitutes the Community is the only one with the responsibility, duty, and authority to do so. That's why, it is always done on the basis of the collective criteria, which are our own agreements, and begins with the process of critique. By restoring the common agreements, we are able to collectively recognize which behaviors and attitudes promote the agreements and shared perspective and which not.

The process of deconstructing the characteristics that build the individual's problematic behaviors is the process of criticism and self-criticism. For such a process to begin, the individual must first want to work on this deconstruction. Then they must accept that they are, more or less, a product of this system and therefore carry the dominant culture, and naturally recognize the collective body and want to be part of it. The shift from problematic behavior requires commitment to the collective process of resolution, based on the logic that every problematic behavior is part of us and with the recognition of collective responsibility. Because every time a problematic behavior finds room to develop, it means that the collective body allowed it to happen; therefore, the responsibility is collective and the resolution is approached collectively. When someone criticizes another person, they automatically commit to not reproduce the same behavior or stance so that the criticism has practical impact and does not remain theoretical.

The processes of self-criticism and criticism are basic tools for addressing problems and evolving both the individual and the entire collective body. Through criticism, which can be induced by a member's behavior, the whole Community recognizes and works on the same issues. This entire process is a collective movement during which positions, attitudes, and perceptions continually shift toward a shared perspective. Therefore, the overall system of reference within which justice is defined is transformed. Criticism is not made based on personal filters, likes/dislikes, projections, generalizations, etc., nor certainly within frameworks of cannibalism, but is a communal, political, and evolving process that takes into account each individual, conditions, dynamics, and the safe-keeping of the Community itself.

To speak of radical revolutionary processes, these cannot be linear or static. We understand multiple levels within the obvious levels. Thus, the stages of this path, while based on a foundation and revolutionary perspective, are neither predetermined nor immutable but constantly evolve dialectically along with the various levels that the collective body attains.

Repression and Defense of the Community

Social Self-Defence

Repression is the mechanism used by authorities to terrorize, control, direct, and immobilize societies. The methods are many and can be both direct and indirect.

In the era of neoliberalism, the repression mechanism centers around the very culture produced by its system, which leads the individual into complete individualism. The "ideology" of "I eat my neighbor," "I am the best," "I get the good stuff," "everyone else can drown as long as my home is fine," "I will arrange things for myself"—the ideology of individualism—trains the individual from birth and saturates entire societies. It is probably the smartest method authorities have used throughout the centuries. The isolated individual, far from collective life and being invalidated, struggles to survive rather than to live, and fear settles deeply within. There is no need for repression forces to threaten, terrorize, or immobilize them... fear has become one with the individual. The narrative that the system and the state apparatus are invincible and no one can confront them creates a psychology of defeat. Thus, entire societies passively watch life go by through unbearable days.

Movements, as parts of societies educated within neoliberal culture, cannot but have internalized individualism and all its consequences. On one hand, expanded repression through material means (injuries, imprisonment, etc.) and on the other, the assimilation of the state narrative inside movements, which creates a culture of no prospects and thus opens the way to self-limitation and submission—perhaps the worst form of repression.

To struggle, collective behavior is needed, a perspective that gives you motivation for a fight. But to be able to come together collectively, you also need a collective demand for now and for the future. How your struggle concerns your neighbor and your neighbor's struggle is also yours. This is an important element in creating a shared vision and the life you want to live. Since life includes other people, other life forms, and nature, the goal is a society where you can live beautifully, a society with freedom. But how can one be free while living among unfree people? Freedom is a collective achievement and only then is it true freedom. Otherwise, individual freedom is a false reality since the freedom of an individual or groups, classes, states, etc., is based on the oppression of others.

Throughout different historical contexts, among the battles between humans and power, among class and state struggles, and among the barbarity of wars, the first image that comes to mind and depicts the strength of the collective body and struggle is the Commune. There, resistance, defense, and struggle grow every day, and as we build our world inside theirs, we gain ground—not material ground but the ground of a different ethics, culture, and consciousness. There, imagination finds its physical space and becomes realistic.

Such an expression of realistic imagination is our Community. Here, through our daily life and how we meet our needs, how we run our structures, how we stand on the streets, how we support one another, how we build our common culture, how we defend every choice, every decision, every small piece within the whole... and how we ultimately recognize all these as part of the whole. Because every stone is not just a stone, a loaf of bread is not just a loaf of bread, a rubber swing is not just a swing, a child in the neighborhood school is not just a child... All these together and each separately are small and bigger parts of each person's heart and together, the beginning and foundation of our self-defense.

Such worlds are dangerous to the state and authorities, and that is why the neighborhood of Prosfygika, which is the cradle of this different world, is under constant threat and repression, which is constantly escalating. More than any other period, the neighborhood of Prosfygika is now at risk, as also the natural ground that will be prey to enterprises, whether state or private, but also the ground that, although we might call it imaginary, is as real as the ongoing human desire for a just world. The rulers' ruthless hunger for profit is merciless because, under the guise of gentrification and redevelopment, they land, beaches, parks, hills, houses, and anything profitable, not hesitating to kill us with alleged accidents and environmental destruction, while behind this stand their criminal policies. We see them plunder everything that can bring profits and attack anything that resists their plans—almost all squats have been evicted. The neighborhood of Prosfygika combine both: land for economic exploitation and centers of struggle. A "double crime."

The Community, however, resists strongly, grows stronger, continues to organize, develop, create new structures, and defend every inch of its liberated space, as well as every idea, expectation, and perspective built through endless hours of assemblies, discussions, collective work, worries for tomorrow, and battles face to face against repression forces.

Against the state's frontal attack, we need to organize with a central plan and not follow events through emergency procedures. It is an urgent necessity to coordinate all the parts that are getting attacked, leaving behind selective solidarity and affinity group logics, in an open process aiming at political and physical continuity, the reoccupation of liberated spaces, the territorialization of struggles, and the introduction of new worlds into our processes.

Internationalism

Internationalism, as a political position, culture and practical application, has been a constitutive part of the Community of Squatted Prosfygika from the very beginning. Already from its first steps the Community was built on a large number of different nationalities, languages, religions, places of origin of refugees and migrants, and thus on the broadest internationalism.

From its first steps the community also built links with political-revolutionary organisations of refugees from Turkey and Kurdistan, cooperated, fermented and stood in solidarity with them. The first poster of SY.KA.PRO was about solidarity with two political refugees, members of the MLKP, who were threatened with extradition to Turkey by the Greek state.

In 2015 the first members of the community travelled to Rojava North-East Syria on the basis of revolutionary internationalist solidarity with the Kurdish Freedom Movement and fought against the Islamic State. Community members travels continued in 2017 until the fall of the Islamic State's capital, Raqqa, and the Afrin resistance where Icelandic comrade and member of the Community and Revolutionary Internationalist Solidarity Association Haukur 'Spark' Hilmarsson Felt Martyr. The Community has also provided two severely wounded in the Rojava Revolution. The Community trips to Rojava still continue.

In connection with the Kurdish Freedom Movement, the Community actively participates in the "Rise Up for Rojava Greece" Campaign: a network of collectives in solidarity with the revolution in Rojava, as well as in the effort of Peoples' Platform Europe, which promote transnational solidarity with the Kurdish movement, building relations on the basis of an internationalist culture, joint action and solidarity between the collectives participating in them.

At the same time, over the years, the Community of Squatted Prosfygika has been expressing the project of internationalist solidarity, supporting through various means as many fronts, worldwide, as possible. Whether it is the movements in Europe, or the resistance in Palestine, in NE Syria, to the Zapatistas in Mexico... We are well aware that both through our struggles in our own geographies, and through internationalism, supporting by every possible means, we keep alive the scattered flames of revolt.

"Nobody Alone"

Conclusion

It is clear that if, under conditions of social collapse and the advance of ruling elites, the movements and radical forces do not present clear positions and proposals in the field of social struggle and the Third World War, the political imaginary space will be taken over either by bourgeois-liberal forces or by reactionary, nationalist, fascist, and traditionalist forces, which are already in existential conflict among themselves. Furthermore, if they do not undertake and commit to militant and costly, self-sacrificial initiatives to defend the embattled society and especially its most vulnerable parts, this huge political vacuum emerging globally will continue to be filled by NATO occupation dominance and active involvement in the grinding gears of the Third World War.

However difficult the situation, it is all the more important that these answers come from the oppressed and struggling people and organized collective bodies. The opening of a broad and general struggle of self-organization, social solidarity, resistant collective self-defense, and counterattack that will once again place radical, liberatory and solidarity-based demands at the arena of social dialectics becomes imperative. Alongside this, there is also an urgent need for a collective and comprehensive campaign of awakening, re-enlightenment, and regrouping of all social parts that are under attack, towards a new renaissance perspective and direction.

All this aims at forming a common basis with commitment in the agreements, at least on a first level, based on positions and proposals for building common plans and strategies. To solve social problems from different forces that will express themselves equally and autonomously through a unified, pluralistic pole of physical and political power at various levels of life and struggle. An autonomous pole capable of raising, with an internationalist view, topics of social and political power at social, economic, and political levels, this time from the side of societies and their people.

The hegemony of bourgeois liberalism over the social imaginary has disconnected the modern human, not only from their social environment, but also from themselves. This realization expresses even more clearly the contradiction mainly of contemporary Western movements and modern humans, encapsulating the entire tragedy of existence. Western movements, although they continue to exist as collective bodies under a regime of formal general political freedom, survive under suffocating conditions of surveillance and preventive repression, leading most times to abandoning their radical perspective and joining inert liberal activism, assimilation, urbanization, and ultimately petty political introversion. Ultimately, if we want to exist as societies, we must resist; and if we want to resist, we must take on the historic responsibility to revolt and revolutionize.

Based on all the above, we emphasize the need to form a general, multi-level confederalist platform of organization, meeting, gathering, and collectivization of as broad a movement spectrum as possible, for activating a long-term campaign of

immediate and widespread mobilization. A general, confederalist, and union platform of positions and proposals for liberation struggle, aiming to implement a social and political movement and program of social solidarity, economic equality, political freedom, and ecology, grounded in an autonomous, internationalist political direction. Societies and movements have a responsibility to fill a huge social and political gap, by creating a modern, autonomous revolutionary opposition pole, which will once again bring to the social field a radical, stateless, anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, anti-patriarchal, internationalist, and ecological social struggle proposal. A proposal that will bring society and movements back onto the streets for the fall of the regime, while simultaneously building a new social imaginary and a new material world.

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How, then, do you move from imagination to action? How does the imaginary become realistic?

The answers are not easy because a counter-proposal against what already exists is needed. However, self-organization naturally finds its way, and so the answers constantly revolved around the words “structures” and “infrastructures.”

The neighborhood of Prosfygika is a practical response to the social and economic conditions imposed by domination. The structures, the infrastructures, and every material within them exist under a regime of communal ownership. Essentially, everything except the people constitutes the structures and the infrastructures.

We do not see our project as an island of freedom, nor do we hope in such illusions. We are part of the class, social, and internationalist struggles, and we view self-institution, self-management, and self-organization as the only way against the state and capitalism.

We have made the decision to stay, to fight, and to resist for our houses, for our community, for one more liberated place—and we will do it until the end.



ΣΥ.ΚΑ.ΠΡΟ.