

"KILLING IN THE NAME OF"

(OR THE STORY OF TWO NATO STATES)



Antimilitarism in Greece and Sweden

Södra Klubben

— Malmö —

Acte

— Athens —

ANARCHIST COLLECTIVE SÖDRA KLUBBEN was launched in Malmö in the fall of 2015. We are an anarchist collective with different ideological nuances, and we stand for political diversity. We are fed up with passivity, symbolic activism and we believe in escalating the uprising and consequently class struggle. In a period when the state and capital wage another economic and social war against society, we reclaim our city through resistance, self-organizing, and creating spaces where we can, ourselves, decide. When fascism is instrumentalized to disarm resistance and to create scapegoats, our weapon is solidarity with the anarchist/autonomous movement, migrants and sans papiers, and others who do not fit the fascists' dystopia. With direct action we attack the apparatus that tries to control our lives. By acting locally in antiauthoritarian and antisexist structures, our aim is to take direct control of our lives and our futures. Södra Klubben is a walk on the streets of Malmö where thousands of contradictions arise against a grey background, where our needs and doubts color everyday life with resistance.

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ANARCHIST COLLECTIVE ACTE was established in Athens, greece in 2020. We put forward a horizontal struggle, without leaders or followers, trusting in the strength of people from the base of the class pyramid. We are against all forms of authority and exploitation, and our struggle takes on many forms and expressions. One of our goals is to expand the struggle, from the sabotage of war and the military, to confronting the police, the everyday violence of patriarchy, fascism and racism in our neighborhoods and all over the world. Also, we promote the creation of communities in opposition to the existing hierarchical and authoritarian models that the states sustain. We are against bosses, big and small, and seek to build solidarity between struggles across the globe. We are in solidarity with prisoners, and we demand the abolition of all prisons. From opposing the torture of prisons and incarcerations under the guise of democracy, to resisting the exploitation of nature and non-human animals, we try to unify individual struggles in the direction of a total rupture with the existing order: for social and class revolution. We aim to pave the way to anarchy – a stateless, self-managed society of freedom and equality, spreading worldwide through mutual aid and direct action.

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Introduction

The need to broaden the horizons of international solidarity and the common struggle beyond the narrow framework of a nation-state served as the starting point for discussions between the two collectives. These discussions quickly found common ground in the fight against exploitation and oppression in everyday life in both countries. Two states that, during previous systemic economic crises, were examples of economic progress and destruction, respectively.

The effort of sweden to join NATO after the outbreak of the war in ukraine became a matter of concern for both collectives, as it marks a crucial historical point for the geopolitical and geostrategic redrawing of western blocs. By analyzing the impact this membership has on the exploited and the oppressed as well as considering greece's long-standing participation in NATO, common positions were identified against interstate wars and increasing militarism.

Furthermore, exploring how joining the alliance changes state strategy — for example, the end of sweden's alleged "neutrality", increased military spending, intensified efforts to socially legitimize militarism, and its acceptance — made it possible to highlight the points that unite the exploited and the oppressed beyond borders. Finally, we discussed how these factors fuel national consolidation, participation in interstate massacres on a global scale, and how the lives of millions are further compressed and devalued.



1949 Twelve countries sign the North Atlantic Treaty on 4 April 1949 in Washington, D. C. and bring the Alliance to life.

NATO: A Transatlantic Alliance of Terror

Initially, North Atlantic Treaty Organization was a political alliance, but after the Korean War in the 1950s, it evolved into a military structure led by the United States. NATO obliges all its members to share the risks, responsibilities, and privileges of a collective defense system: the central concept of the alliance. Its primary goal was to create a mutual assistance agreement to confront “the risk of the Soviet Union expanding its control over Eastern Europe and other parts of the continent.” NATO’s actions aimed to prevent Soviet interference in the Western economic and political spheres of influence and to establish a political and military union of states, strongly influenced by the US and unified under Western hegemonic political doctrines (economic liberalism, *realpolitik*, national sovereignty, parliamentarism, and collective defense).

Member states of NATO face a dilemma: either stand with us or be with the enemy. The theory of anti-imperialism often leaves out the expansionist policies of all states and their interstate alliances, as all states are potentially imperialist. Any state, given the right power or historical opportunity, will seize the chance to impose itself on another nation-state — militarily, economically, or through a combination of tactics. Reading history through the lens of “good and bad” states serves to perpetuate the state organization of society.

From our perspective, if state power exists, exploitation and oppression exist. No state or power bloc represent a prospect for the lives of proletarians anywhere. The only viable prospect is the destruction of the existing order and the building of a different, stateless world.

From neutrality to NATO application – the swedish case

The point of departure for the historical account of the swedish application and accession to NATO is the birth of the swedish social democracy, the so-called swedish model, and its co-dependence with the construction of the swedish national identity and capitalism. Already at the end of the 19th century, strong and differing social democratic programs evolved in several places in Europe (united kingdom, Scandinavia, germany, austria, and belgium). Whatever differences these programs had, the social democratic alternative anticipated the acceptance of representa-

tive democracy and the denial of Leninism. The establishment of social democracy in Sweden can be interlinked to one of the first major crises of the capitalist system in the 20th century. Notably, the 1930s financial crisis which established class compromise and consensus politics as a national response to the threat posed by global economic uncertainty.

To deal with the crisis, the Swedish social democrats developed a corporatist system based on two ideas: 1. Abandoning socialist ideas and accepting capitalism 2. The state, unions, and employers cooperated to manage the economy and to distribute the national product through central and extra-parliamentary negotiations and agreements. This led to the so-called Saltsjöbaden Agreement on December 20th, 1938, signed between the Swedish Trade Union Confederation and the Swedish Employers Association that later became a model for other agreements.

The agreement ended a prolonged period of labour unrest through a compromise to maintain private property, guarantee labour, and social peace as well as promises of welfare state expansion and higher wages. To implement the Saltsjöbaden Agreement the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO) had to change their statutes and tame the labour movement. As a result, the possibility of initiating a general strike was impossible. Apart from these important political and labour reforms, the Saltsjöbaden Agreement launched an era of consensus political culture in the Swedish labour market which characterized labour policy in Sweden at least until the late 1960s in addition to Swedish politics more generally. This also led to the construction of a national imagery of Sweden as a large family and a people's

home (folkhemmet). This imaginary will give birth and identity to the swedish exceptionalism, that is, the national narrative that the swedish generous welfare state is based on inclusion, income redistribution, human penal punishment, transparent public institutions, and an unquestionably democratic political system.

The creation of a swedish national identity also implied that the welfare state institutions were also founded on the conservative notion of a neutral, rational, pragmatic, class-transcending, consensus-striving, national state.

Sweden's neutrality dates to sweden's involvement in the Napoleonic Wars during which over a third of the country's territory was lost in the finnish War

(1808–1809), including the traumatic loss of finland to russia. Since the time of the Napoleonic Wars, according to the national narrative, sweden has not been involved in any direct armed conflict. Concretely sweden managed to keep itself “outside of the war” during WWII at the expense of others, such as



This poster, “En svensk tiger”, was created in 1941 as part of a propaganda campaign to encourage secrecy and combat espionage. It is the swedish equivalent of “careless talk costs lives”. En svensk tiger is a play on words—svensk means sweden or swede (as a demonym) and tiger means tiger or “to keep silent”. It simultaneously means “A swedish tiger” and “a swede keeps silent”. Its goal was also to reinforce that sweden was a “tiger” and could stand its ground if war did break out.

the people of norway, ethnic minorities in Scandinavia, and millions in the soviet union. Additionally, during the german invasion in June 1941, germany demanded transit through swedish-held territories and the use of swedish railroads, which sweden granted. Even regarding the Holocaust, the swedish administration was among the first to know about the nazi's atrocities but did nothing about it. Being neutral was a commitment to silence.

The accession to the european union in 1995 further confirmed that the so-called neutrality as a principle was abolished. Sweden has, however, until the application to NATO been an allegedly neutral and non-aligned country regarding foreign and security policy. But the swedish neutrality and non-alignment is made of blood. And it did not last long.

After all, the myriad economic successes of sweden are no miracle, they were born of a combination of protestant modesty, peasant parsimony, geographical determinism and ruthless pragmatism ("The russians are attacking? Join the nazis! The nazis are losing? Join the Allies! Now the russians are attacking again? Join NATO").

“Neutrality”, “Non-align-ment”, and the Change of Mentality and Role of Sweden in Ukraine

Historically, the general discourse within the Swedish borders has been a chauvinist pride of being “neutral” and “free of alliances”. This goes back over 200 years and has been the backbone of Swedish foreign politics. Sweden did not formally participate in any of the two world wars and have not formally been in any military alliances other than with Finland since 1814 (which just recently also joined NATO). Since WW2, there has been a broad consensus among the Swedish population against a membership in NATO.

However, in recent years the state has been very successful in shifting the mentality and perception of the so-called Swedish public opinion (mainly white middle class Swedes) and a drastic change occurred when Russia indicated an attack against Ukraine. This change in Swedish public mentality was possible due to inherited fear of Russian invasion. Already in 2009, the at that time new official security policy did not mention neutrality, but rather the policy claimed that threat to peace and security are best met in concert with other countries, which is the essence of an alliance strategy, while at the same time stating that Sweden is militarily non-aligned. In 2014, NATO launched the Enhanced Opportunities Partners (EOP) programme, which allowed for tailor-made cooperation between NATO, Sweden and Finland

on Baltic Sea security. Several military trainings/practices have been taken place on the Baltic Sea in close cooperation with NATO. After Russia attacked Ukraine, the Swedish government and military started a campaign to change the general discourse towards a sense that Sweden has no other alternative than joining NATO. Hence, the government started to impose fear upon the population that Russia would not settle with Ukraine only, but they will also invade Sweden and plan to take over Gotland (Sweden's largest island located in the middle of the Baltic Sea between mainland Sweden and Latvia) were already imminent.



Sweden is the only country in the world that has donated airborne surveillance and control aircrafts. The aid consists of two AS-370B and will be a force multiplier for Ukraine's air force.



Sweden is producing and procuring 40 new Combat Vehicle 90s together with Denmark to supply Ukraine with additional land power for the long term.



Sweden supports Ukraine's defence capabilities through direct investments in the Ukrainian defence industry through the Danish model. Over EUR 178 million has been donated for this purpose.

Sweden's military support to Ukraine

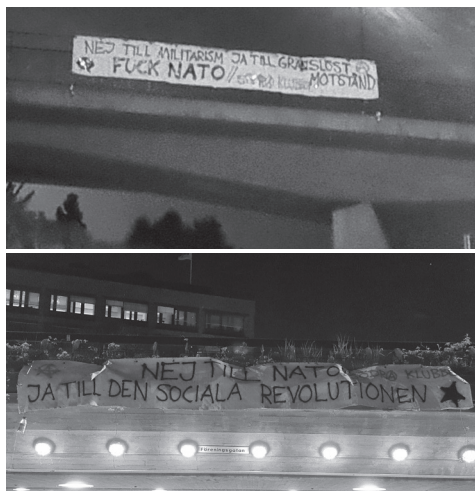
NATO was invited to participate in military drills on Swedish soil and both high ranking militaries and government representatives happily appeared on the news, both privately owned and public

service (who eagerly joined in on the Nato choir), every day to emphasize the importance of “prepping,” and that “swedes need to be able to survive for two weeks without water and electricity.” The war was more or less already here, and they were pushing the scare campaign to the population in all available channels 24/7. Peter Hultqvist, the minister of defense at the time, who just a few years back proudly proclaimed that “as long as I’m the minister of defense, I will not participate in such a process” (referring to a NATO application), all of a sudden said that “times are changing” and was one of the main drivers in the campaign. At the same time as the application was submitted, polls indicated that close to 50% of the swedish population were now pro NATO, which is a huge shift in opinion, accomplished in only a few months.

Alongside the neutrality politics sweden have had, at least on paper, a restrictive politics around exports of arms. It has not been allowed to sell any weapon or ammunition to countries that are in any kind of conflict, with the argument that swedish weapons should be used to scare attackers off, not to actually be used. This has of course not really been the case, and the swedish weapons industry has from time to time been successful in exporting weapons to countries in conflict. Once uncovered, this has however been subject to protests and headlines in both mainstream and independent news. The war in ukraine also changed the public opinion on exporting weapons to countries in conflict. However, changing laws takes some time, the easiest way to be able to feed ukraine with weapons was to use a loophole in their own law and give them away for free. The swedish government sent so many weapons to ukraine that the army started to criticize them publicly for giving away all of their arms.

This arms export was also endorsed by parts of the population, which had been manipulated to believe that “defending ukraine is equal to defending the western civilization.”

Time and the extended application process have, however, recently indicated that this change in public opinion was solely based on fear caused by state propaganda, and a slow but steady stream of the population were in late 2023 shifting towards being critical of sweden joining NATO again. The government has been standing firm though, bending over backwards to please the turkish and hungarian governments’ demands, implementing antiterror laws and mass population control. Their wet militarist dreams finally became true in early 2024 when sweden was accepted into the military alliance.



Södra Klubben's ANTI-NATO banners in Malmö (May 2022)

During the same year, the swedish government also entered a Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) with the US, with which the swedish state allows the united states to launch long distance weapons from so-called swedish territory. With this agreement the swedish government could even further militarize the territory known as sweden. In this way, the swedish sovereign pretends being somewhat “neutral.”

The Nato-process – Political Navigation on Turkey's Leash = “Antiterror Laws”

On May 18, 2022, the swedish state applied for a membership to NATO, almost two years after, on March 7, 2024, sweden was accepted by all member states and joined the military alliance. But at what cost?

Soon after the official application was handed in, it was clear that two NATO states would come to dictate the application progress: turkey and hungary. Over the last few years, swedish officials had criticized both states for their political approach towards human rights, hence their critical demeanour came as no surprise. Apart from officially and publicly criticizing the politics of these countries, the swedish government also placed an arms embargo on turkey after the attack on northern syria in 2019. Naturally, when it became essential for swedish political aspirations to attain the approval of each NATO member, turkey and hungary found themselves in a great position of power.

The turkish state has a long history of oppressing and suppressing the kurdish people, both in turkish territory and beyond. For example, in 2018 it was revealed that turkish authorities had made plans to assassinate several kurds in denmark. In 2020, a kurdish journalist was brutally assaulted outside his home in sweden. As sweden had to accommodate

all NATO members, the turkish government saw the chance of using this political advantage to accelerate the oppression of the kurds by having the swedish state doing the job for them. Several demands from the turkish government were put forward to add pressure on the swedish internal politics, like forbidding public support for PKK and YPG and by demanding a list of 130 people residing in sweden to be deported to turkey. Furthermore, sweden abandoned their weapon embargo from 2019 and allowed weapon exports to the turkish state again. Also, sweden began actively supporting and working for turkey's accession into the EU. In addition, an agreement of sharing information between national intelligence services was put in place.

It is clear that the swedish state has thrown the kurds under the bus, in order to sit at the same table as turkey. The swedish state has not only made direct compromises towards the turkish state but also has radically intervened in its own internal politics to accommodate the turkish state's repression demands against kurds. Concretely, the swedish state enacted the so-called antiterror law, which illegalized the support for organizations classified as terrorist organizations, including PKK. Initially, the focus was directed towards supporters of the PKK, but it is not farfetched to assume that other organizations will be classified as "terrorists" as well.

Weapon Industry/Military Spending FOI

From the 1950s and for several decades, sweden's military spending decreased in relation to sweden's GDP. In 2015, it was as low as 0,9% but since then it started increasing. In the 2024 budget, sweden's military spending reached NATO's minimum demand of 2% of the GDP and in the 2025 budget, the percentage was readjusted to meet the new increase in military spending among the NATO countries. Across the swedish political spectrum, there is a consensual demand for rearming the military. This means that the swedish state aspires to increase the compulsory military service to 10,000 soldiers per year, when as late as 2009 the military service had almost ceased. The goal is to advance the swedish military defense, upgrade to four working brigades by 2030s, and to develop the air-force as well as submarine division. This will further militarize the island of Gotland in the Baltic Sea and the city of Kiruna in northern sweden.

These wider militarization plans as well as the state's rhetoric of an "increasing insecure world" play directly into the interests of the weapon industry, which is one of the major beneficiaries of this kind of securitization politics. Sweden's weapon industry has a long history and swedish manufactured weapon systems are more or less always present wherever there is a war or military operation.

In 2023, 382 companies, institutions and individuals had permission for manufacturing weapon material in sweden. The

biggest and most known is Saab which in 2022 ranked 39th on the top hundred list over the biggest weapon producing and military companies worldwide. Different swedish governments, from almost the whole political spectrum, have historically prioritized the weapon industry as a means to maintain swedens so-called “neutrality.” That is, in case of conflict, sweden could without the help of others keep their military machine up and running. The swedish weapon industry has been, and is still, part of the geopolitical game that puts sweden in a beneficial position, where the companies and the swedish state fill their money bags at the same time as they have the power to decide who gets to use the arms produced by swedish companies. It lies in the interest of the swedish state that the swedish weapon industry is booming. At the same time, the companies within the industry are driven by profit and many of them are part of multinational corporate groups, so the belief that the swedish government has any real control over where weapons end up or are used for is just a veil to give the perception that the state exercises control over the weapon industry. Regardless of whether a state has total control or not, it is the market principles that rule. War is a highly profitable business.

In line with its interest in a booming weapon industry, the state also actively sets the agenda on research. The swedish defence research agency (FOI) is an assignment-based authority under the ministry of defense that conducts research for several swedish governmental agencies and collaborates with many universities. Their focus is to “research for a safer and more secure world”. As such the FOI is one of Europe’s leading research institutes in defense and security and its offices or research centers are in, among other places, the city of Linköping where the local university was founded to serve the stuffing needs of



Saab in the city of Linköping. Saab's facilities in Linköping almost became "a city within the city".

the swedish aerospace and defense company Saab, famous for manufacturing the JAS 39 Gripen supersonic multirole fighter aircraft. In 1975, Linköping University was the first to offer a civil engineering course in data technology with a natural link to the significant technical expertise that Saab had built up since the 1950s through Datasaab. Over subsequent decades the university and Saab have had a close and fruitful collaboration. A large part of Saab's funding for research and development is channeled to the university and many of the students do their projects at Saab. The company offers apprenticeships and has several industrial doctoral students enrolled at Linköping University. And this is one example of the link between swedish academia and the military industrial complex, as well as the state's interests in strategies and methods in insurgency and counterinsurgency.

The weapon industry's presence in academia is vital for their visibility, viability and profitability, to make themselves known, and to have influence over what kind of research is conducted. Weapon producers also fund research projects at different

departments at swedish universities. Funding to universities creates opportunities for companies to meet with actors within the academia and to connect research fields to their interests and needs. Through funding schemes, the interests and needs of the weapon industry are inscribed into agreements with universities and into academic research over a longer period of time. The results of these collaborations are now visible in current armed conflicts. For example, the KTH Royal Institute of Technology, the universities of Linköping (which was actually founded to provide Saab with engineers) and Uppsala are collaborating on research projects with israeli universities and companies that develop military technologies. These technologies among others, are being used by states in different modern war zones such as the genocide of the palestinian people and the surveillance of populations in sweden (facial recognition cameras).

Urban Militarization: Cities Under Siege

As mentioned above, the swedish state is not content with merely selling weapons and technology abroad but also aims to militarize the swedish society through legalizing and implementing state-of-the-art surveillance strategies. The volume of laws and regulations introduced and amended is large and rapidly increasing. Some of these laws reveal the state's view on urban spaces and the integrity of the people living and utilizing space. The militarization of urban space in times of "peace" is manifested in multiple ways. The technologies used by the cops to broaden the possibilities of total societal control and more precisely to surveil and suppress social reactions are

introduced simultaneously, as the state provides the legislative framework to legalize and normalize such tactics.

These tactics systematically dehumanize specific parts of the population and embed them into an “enemy from within” narrative. It is prevalent that these parts of the population have specific class, social, and ethnic characteristics. At the same time, a multitude of segregation –as well as visible and invisible borders– are constantly multiplying in the modern urban environment. Security zones, no-go areas, stop-and-search zones are some of the demarcations of the swedish urban landscape based on operations and directives instated by the police.

The militarization of urban space is a fact. Cops use military vehicles, such as helicopters, water cannons, drones, armored vehicles of various kinds, and personal gear suitable for war zones. At the same time, the rapid pace of technological progress, which has historically been based on the military industry, upgrades the police arsenal with sophisticated digital technologies that are surveilling, recording and “predicting” many aspects of social activity in the metropolis. Modern swedish urban landscapes have come to resemble a futuristic dystopia inspired by science fiction films. For example, high-tech companies that develop software and digital platforms for the army are now expanding to law enforcement and control of domestic urban environments. Face recognition cameras and drones scan huge areas in sweden’s major cities, such as Malmö. Drones are compared to police cars parked on building roofs, while Malmö police claim to build “airports for drones on housetops.” Another example is the “Shoot to Kill” policy that

was developed to address the risks of suicide bomb attacks in Tel Aviv and Haifa, is now being adopted by police forces in cities of the Global North. In 2018, in Stockholm, Swedish cops –always ready to serve and protect– shot down 20-year-old Eric Torell, a guy with Down syndrome. Eric, who could hardly speak, was considered a target worthy of definitive elimination, his only “crime” being that he was holding a toy gun.

The link between domestic policing and military operations is clear. While “security” is presented as an issue of uttermost importance, the way in which our cities are being policed is gradually but quickly changing. Civil rights taken for granted for many years are currently overturned. We now witness in our streets how tactics born in experiments conducted in the Global South in previous decades are being enforced in both North American and European cities, leading to increasing militarization. This is a typical example of Foucault’s “Boomerang Effect”¹, that is, the transportation and implementation of techniques, models, apparatuses, and technologies of repression applied in places under colonial influence (such as southern European cities during the 2009–2012 financial crisis, or the Gaza Strip) back to the northern metropolis. The result of this process is the establishment of a novel and omnipresent urban militarism. Whole areas in the Swedish large cities are internally colonized by the police that resembles a military occupational force (see SK’s text on Eurovision: <https://gatorna.info/threads/nu-nar-eurovision-ar-over-vad-ska-vi-gora-utan-eur-3696/>).

1 Graham, S. (2012). Foucault’s boomerang: the new military urbanism. *Development Dialogue*, 58(April), 37–48.



Malmö in a police state during Eurovision (May, 2024)

The Situation in greece

Greece, as a border of the EU and due to its geographical position in the southeastern Mediterranean region, consistently has one of the highest levels of military spending in the world relative to its GDP. Even during the period of the intense global systemic economic crisis between 2008 and 2012, which had a very strong impact on greece, the procurement and upgrading of military infrastructure remained unaffected. An additional justification for these expenditures, beyond NATO and other supranational alliances greece participates in, has been the military antagonism with neighboring turkey, among other factors, for dominance in the Aegean Sea. All these factors lead to intensified efforts to socially legitimize the role of the military and to construct an image that hides the brutality of this mechanism.

The legitimization of militarism and military expenditure is also manifested through the established links between the military and greek academia. Funding of research projects and the conducting of studies that support the development of new military control technologies within greek territory are portrayed by state propaganda as support for academic research and the market in general. In an increasingly competitive and volatile capitalist world, production and access to cutting-edge technologies is of critical strategic importance since it guarantees a significant advantage over other states. Thus, states rely both on their alliances for armament and on their own productive capacities. This latter tendency has strengthened, as interstate globalization of knowledge, technology, and low-cost arms manufacturing has made it feasible.

Greece's participation in NATO has continued for several decades (member since 1952), and the marks of this membership are very visible. Both directly and indirectly, the greek state has participated and continues to participate in bloodshed worldwide. The number of NATO bases within greek territory, in addition to their upgrades (to the extent that some can "host" nuclear warheads), is increasing significantly. Joint interstate military training exercises are conducted at an intensive pace, publicized by the mass media, aiming to strengthen a general climate of national revival and unity.



A COUNTRY TURNING INTO A US MILITARY BASE

GREECE

ARMED AIR PLATFORMS

 19 Apache	 9 AH-64D Apache attack helicopters	 50 OH-58D Kiowa attack helicopters
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TANKS

 854 Leopard	 390 M1	 350 M1 Abrams
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ANTI-TANK SYSTEMS

 196 M113 Komet	 366 BUM-71 TOW	 400 MILAN	 262 Fagot	 1988 Carl Gustaf M2
 1291 M113 Komet	 135 LAC 80mm	 18.706 RPG 18	 10.841 M72 LAW	 60 M113 Komet

MORTARS

 120 120mm	 624 60mm	 690 81mm	 125 120mm	 1.616 160mm	 M109 120mm
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ARMoured COMBAT VEHICLES

 491 Leopard	 10 Kentauros	 2.476 M1	 257 M1	 362 M1	 12 M1 Abrams
 249 M1 Abrams	 243 M1 Abrams	 695 M1 Abrams	 M1 Abrams	 M1 Abrams	 M1 Abrams

HEAVY WEAPONS

 36 M270	 116 M270	 145 M270	 25 M270	 418 M270	 206 M270	 120 M270
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RADAR SYSTEMS

 3 AN/TPQ-36	 18 AN/TPQ-36	 10 AN/TPQ-36	 40 AN/TPQ-36	 20 AN/TPQ-36
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AIR DEFENCE SYSTEMS

 42 MIM-23	 21 MIM-23	 30 MIM-23	 54 MIM-23	 476 MIM-23
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AIR DEFENCE RADARS

 8 Casta	 16 Piv-16	 3 Selen
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Main Inventory of the Greek Land forces

Weapons Which The US Plans Donating to Greece

Dedeagach Military Base / Δεδεαγατς
The US deployed a large number of helicopters

The 3rd Corps (NRDC) / Thessaloniki
NATO Rapid Deployable Corps are based here

71st Airmobile Brigade/Neo Santa, Kilkis
NATO Tank Units are based here

AUS Air Base / Larissa
American UAVs are positioned here

Araksos Air Base / Araksos
NATO's nuclear bombs are positioned here

FOB Aktion Air Base / Preveza
NATO's early warning AWACS planes are positioned here

Sedes Air Base / Thessaloniki
American UAVs are positioned here

Salamis Naval Base / Athens
NATO's Sealift Coordination Center (ANSCC) is based here

Hellenikon Air Base / Athens
The 7206th Air Squadron of the US is based here

Souda Naval Base / Crete
The US has been widely and permanently using this base both as an air and naval base

Temporarily Used Military Bases

- 1 Iskiri Early Warning Base / Iskri
- 2 Salamis Naval Base / Siros
- 3 Kastelli Air Base / Kastelli
- 4 Kalamata Air Base / Kalamata
- 5 Androvia Air Base / Androvia

American bases in greece.

Since we started writing this pamphlet, some significant changes have occurred that we need to address. The genocide taking place in palestine did not begin two years ago, nor is it simply a retaliation or response to the events of October 2023. The death, displacement, and famine imposed by the israeli state have been carried out with the full support of the entire West for decades. War has been more present than ever since the end of World War II. The “fronts” are taking shape in a fluid geopolitical landscape, preparing for a potential global armed conflict. Economic wars, embargoes, tariffs, food and environmental crises, armed conflicts, proxy and hybrid war tactics, the use of digital and smart technologies, the spreading of fear of a generalized world war, and the strengthening of nationalism and patriotism within states all lead to the imposition of a state of emergency, aimed at preventing resistance to the plans of those in power.

The direct support of the israeli state by the united states is part of its strategic agenda in the Middle East, where the united states/NATO-russia-china rivalry and that of other powerful nations has been raging for decades. It is a power struggle between dominant authoritarian blocs that crushes the bodies of thousands of oppressed people living in palestine. A game of dominance that currently grants the israeli state the freedom to use any weapon to ensure that the next day will either find palestinians dead or displaced to whatever piece of land they are given on the planet.

The greek state does not remain uninvolved in the bloodshed taking place in palestine. A constant strategic goal of the greek state is to upgrade its role in the Eastern Mediterranean and establish itself as a significant regional power within NATO. It

consistently signs commercial and military agreements (such as the Prespa Agreement), sends weapons to ukraine, upgrades and multiplies NATO bases across its territory, increases its already high military expenditures, and undertakes radical restructuring of its armed forces (e.g., announcements about changes in the status of reservists, full reorganization of military personnel and infrastructure). Support for the israeli state remains unwavering, and through the cyprus-egypt-israel-greece alliance and the delineation of Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZs), it aims to achieve geopolitical and economic dominance in the Southeastern Mediterranean. Greece's upgraded role in operations in the Red Sea, through participation in the united states-led operation "Prosperity Guardian" against the Houthis, highlights the position it aims to hold in military engagements. At the same time, it also participates in the European mission "ASPIDES," which it even leads, with the operations headquarters located at the Larissa base.

Finally, greek universities are increasingly intertwined with israeli technology through research programs or in support of it. All the above contribute to shaping a strategy whereby the greek state seeks to strengthen its position on the global chessboard and clearly signals its support for the bloodshed currently being carried out in palestine by israel.

In Gaza and the West Bank, the focus of big capital (construction companies, oil corporations, financial and energy routes) is evident. Trump's statements about a "Riviera" and the search for territories for the relocation of palestinians are indicative of the capitalists' intentions in the region. The violence taking place in palestine also carries messages for many others. The

goal is to send a clear message to iran, syria, lebanon, and egypt that if they do not align with the western agenda, if they do not comply with the plans, the war — which is already reaching their territories — could escalate further. Palestine must be leveled, and the broader Middle East must receive the message that “if you’re not with us, you’re against us.” The economic exploitation of the region demands a palestine erased from the map, discipline, and the silence of a graveyard.

Within this context, the 12-day war between israel and iran also took place, when the former launched a deadly wave of attacks under the pretext of destroying iran’s nuclear program. The attack and the involvement of the U.S. on israel’s side once again highlighted their hegemonic role in the region, as well as their aim to drag the Middle East into yet another bloody war to secure their interests.

Patriarchy, Gender Divisions, and Violence

Today’s society imposes roles on individuals from the moment they are born. The class origin of the family, as well as the gender assigned to the person within the first hours of life, predetermines among other things their position in the social hierarchy, with limited possibilities to influence the imposed role. From the type of education and work to the expectations of how individuals shall behave, dress, or whom they will accompany, patriarchy penetrates the whole social spectrum.

Military training teaches individuals what masculine work is and what is not. In Sweden up until the late 1990s' changes in drafting and in Greece still, the social imposition of these duties makes military service a critical point in life that marks an individual's entry into "adulthood" and "maturity." The normalization of unquestioned heteronormativity paves the way for the real patriot to partake in society. The male patriot is nurtured with military ideals that establish a verbal and nonverbal culture of sexism, which goes as far as legitimizing the act of rape.

In the same context, women are assigned specific roles. The culture of militarism anticipates that a woman's destiny and non-negotiable duty is childbirth, that is, the provision of new members that will support the state, continue the race, and preserve national cultural characteristics. The state reproduces this kind of responsibility as important and reiterates it through every governmental and social institution (religion, education, advertising campaigns, etc.). The reproduction of the workforce and soldiers to defend the homeland is vital to the national state.

In the same manner, the existence of these individuals (preferably healthy and fertile women) who are assigned household care, reproduction of future soldiers through the family, and assistance on the battlefield (e.g., food, clothing) is essential to the military machine. Moreover, women also appear as a "reward" for the soldier returning from the battlefield. This sexist perception of women's position in societies such as Greece's has been recurrent throughout the history of the state. Similarly, national art is used to amplify this construction, permeating several forms of popular culture. The constructions of nation and homeland, and the dominant forms of

entertainment/leisure, shape and reinforce the patriarchal world of violence and sexism.

Internationally, the participation of “women” in national armies as armed participants has been celebrated and highlighted as progress toward gender equality and intersectionality.

In reality, the dominant power desires as many people as possible available to kill and to be killed in a potential war. Non-cis males are being called to live up to macho traits, both behavioral and physical, trying to gain value through their

service to the homeland/nation. Participation/drafting in the military reinforces patriarchal structures and distances all individuals from freedom. The army trains in the art of slaughter, imposition, hierarchy, obedience, and power. The army and war are expressions of humanity’s worst traits, both consciously and unconsciously. They transform living humans into thoughtless machines marching relentlessly toward destruction. The inclusion of “women” in such structures does not constitute emancipation, nor does it promote equality logics that challenge the patriarchal world.



Propaganda campaign against sexism (sic) from the Swedish military: Typical girls

What Anti-Militarism Means...

Militarism invades a person's life early on to properly discipline them. Action figures, children's toys, tv shows and films serve as the ultimate mimetic model. From very specific body structures to macho behavioral traits, the human type being built in cis-male individuals is quite specific. The glorification of violence and posthumous fame prepares them to become fierce warriors, self-sacrificing with few doubts. The army desires males who are both hegemonic and simultaneously obedient, heterosexual, and with minimal emotional expression. Only such individuals can withstand the sickness of war, enter battle, and function as what they are meant to be: killing machines, puppets of the ruling status quo. The worship of violence, war, and feelings of national pride are born through the indoctrination of ideas and morals from a young age, distracting from the essence of war and its consequences — alienation and (self-)destruction.

The state monopoly of violence (including both the military and the police), as a mechanism of repression, has historically been the strongest protector of a state against internal enemies. After all, the existence of the military as a repressive force precedes the police, while police units appeared historically much later. Over the years, rulers have implemented so many modifications to suppress revolutionary actions and uprisings that the very face of large urban centers has radically changed.

There is nothing that unites exploiters and oppressors, regardless of their ethnicity, with the exploited and oppressed.

On the contrary, everything divides us: our class position, survival capabilities and methods, and the fact that for us the prospect of destroying the existing world and building another way of life is the only positive and hopeful political perspective. Armed conflict is the consequence of other conflicts that have already taken place (economic, political, nationalist propaganda). That is why we recognize no side to defend in any interstate war and acknowledge no state.

That is why we fight, in times of “peace” and war, against every state and every form of oppression and exploitation, without any submission to national unity or reliance on left or right “saviors.” We refuse to serve in their armies, and we fight against the army and the war industry. We sabotage war preparations and national wars. We refuse to kill each other for the interests of capital and the glory of any nation or state. We show solidarity with all conscientious objectors and total draft resisters. We continue social and class struggles against militarism, the destruction of nature, patriarchy, until total liberation.

For anarchy

Our common discussions have concluded that no matter how much the rule of law and social peace that states try to impose, as well as the broader cultural elements in every corner of the planet differ, the exploitation and oppression of people and the existing world of power must be eliminated. The anti-state and anti-authoritarian struggle must turn into a priority and practice across the entire planet. Solidarity, beyond borders and other artificial divisions, must grow stronger. Acts of resistance must succeed in dismantling every form of authority.

Our response to states, bosses, armies, and calls for national unity is refusal of submission: total draft refusal, marches, strikes, sabotage, clashes, and every means of struggle — to end the exploitation of humans by humans, nature by humans, to eliminate divisions of oppressors and subordinates, for an anarchist society without rulers, based on common ownership and equality. For a world where solidarity and mutual aid are its fundamental core elements. For this world, we will fight until the end, for the social and class revolution that will spread worldwide.

For total liberation.

For Anarchy...

Always traitors of the national idea!

NO WAR BUT CLASS WAR

Fienden är banker, departement och staten!

Ο εχθρός είναι στις τράπεζες, στα υπουργεία και στην κρατική προπαγανδα!

Ett medlemskap i NATO visar på ett symboliskt och materiellt sätt att staten önskar att ta del i det globala maktspillet, säkra profit och intresser för kapitalistisk aktivitet. Men det är vi, vanliga människor, som erfar och lider av konsekvenserna, oavsett om det är genom folkdöd, migration eller fattigdom.

Vår trygghet baseras på solidaritet, ömsesidig hjälp och genom att stötta varandra. Den nationella enighetens illusion skapar social fred, gömmer klasskillnader och säkrar ekonomisk och politisk profit för eliten.

Η συμμετοχή στο ΝΑΤΟ αποδεικνύει με ένα συμβολικό όσο και πρακτικό τρόπο την επιθυμία ενός κράτους να πάρει μέρος στο παγκόσμιο παιχνίδι εξουσίας και να κατοχυρώνει κέρδη και σφαίρες επιρροής της καπιταλιστικής του δραστηριότητας. Όμως, είμαστε οι από τα κάτω, που βιώνουμε την καταπίεση και εκμετάλλευση του κόσμου που χτίζουν.

Η εθνική ενότητα διασφαλίζει την κοινωνική ειρήνη για τα αφεντικά, εξαφανίζει από το οπτικό πεδίο τις ταξικές διαφορές και εξασφαλίζει οικονομικά και κοινωνικά κέρδη για τις ελίτ.



Δεν έχει σημασία αν βρίσκονται στην Ελλάδα, τη Σουηδία, τις ΗΠΑ, τη Ρωσία, το Ισραήλ ή την Ουκρανία.

Det spelar ingen roll om det är i Grekland, i Sverige, i USA, i Ryssland eller i Ukraina.

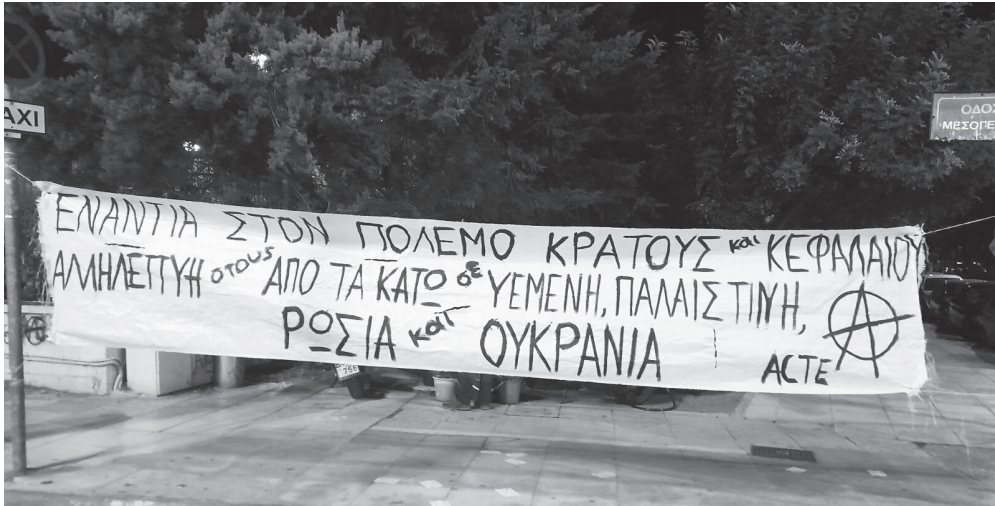
Ανοήματα να υπηρετούσαμε τους στρατούς τους. Μαχόμαστε ενάντια στις πολεμικές βιομηχανίες. Δείχνουμε αλληλεγγύη στους αντιρρησίες συνείδησης και ολικούς αρνητές στράτευσης. Συνεχίζουμε τον κοινωνικό και ταξικό πόλεμο ενάντια στον милитарισμό στην λεηλασία της φύσης στην πατριαρχία, μέχρι την ολική απελευθέρωση. Μέχρι να οικοδομήσουμε μια ζωή αλληλεγγύης ισότητας αλληλοβοήθειας μέχρι την αναρχία.

Vi vägrar delta i deras arméer, vi slåss mot militärindustrin. Vi visar solidaritet med alla som vägrar vapen. Vi fortsätter kämpa mot sociala orättvisor och föra klasskamp, mot militarism, naturens förstörelse och mot patriarkatet tills vi nått total frigörelse!

sodraklubben@riseup.net/sodraklubben.nobloggs.org
actee@riseup.net/actee.espblogs.net



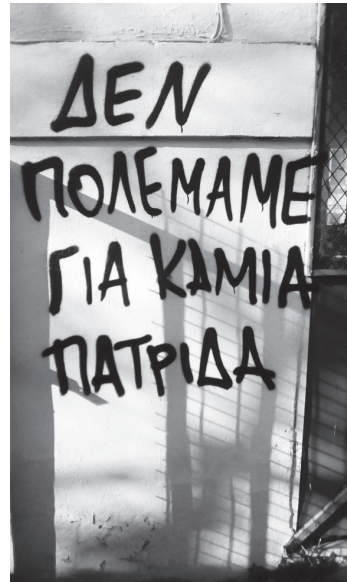
Common anti-militarist poster by Södra Klubben (Malmö) and Acte (Athens)



Acte's antimilitarist banner in solidarity with those from below in palestine, yemen, russia, ukraine – Against the War of State and Capital



Södra Klubben's poster: Always traitors of the national idea



We fight for no fatherland – slogan from a wall in Athens



From the 2003 antimilitarist demo on the island of Crete against the american military base

Södra Klubben

— Malmö —

Acte

— Athens —



— November 2025 —