

**THE  
UNGOVERNABLE  
REVOLT THAT  
DISTURBS  
THE SLEEP OF  
RULERS**



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Facção Fictícia

Translators foreword:

English language context for events in Brazil since 2013 is sorely lacking. Almost all “left” communications from Brazil are practically mouth-pieces of Lula and his Partido do Trabalhador (PT), with very little access to anarchist currents.

What follows is a very rough translation aimed at proliferating information about and analysis of some of the vibrant struggles in the south.

For context, this text was written in January 2020, with Lula out of prison, and the PT (and their puppets) blaming anarchists and anti-authoritarians for their electoral demise. In this case, an anarchist militant is being accused of having fascist sympathies for a video depicting her expressing solidarity with a political prisoner during the revolt of 2013. This prisoner was being persecuted for punching the Secretary of Government Works at a removal operation in the lead up to the World Cup. Unfortunately, he turned out to have extreme right leanings, and this has been used to defame this militant and has spread to include conspiracy theories of pizza-gate proportions.

Some specific context english-speaking audiences may not know will be communicated in footnotes.

*New Orleans, LA*

reality remains there, that this militant faces these charges, in spite of the introspective discourses – and she is stronger than any spectacular *fake news* that they can propagate. When the popular revolt arrives, just as it has spread throughout Latin America and the world in recent times, their policy will be powerless. The potency of 2013 never disappeared, same with the criminalization, same with the repression, same with the nonsense they write. Just as the earth does not stop spinning because some said it’s flat, the insurrection is not killed by some empty discourse. Absurdities are not fought with arguments, but with actions.

We could continue and speculate how much this “controversy” meets the electoral interests of the hegemonic force of the left. How this can be a means to keep their auxiliary lines in place. But this dispute doesn’t concern us as anarchists. As the saying goes: “those who are white understand each other.”<sup>7</sup> For us, only interest in revolt and our solidarity to friends in struggle who are target of bad faith of the institutional left and their herd on the internet.

*We will continue stating:*

*Every prisoner is a political prisoner!*

*No government combats fascism until the end, because it uses fascism when feeling threatened!*

*Peace between us, war to the lords and their servants!*

*Fire on the fascists! The fire of the revolt!*

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7 T/N: From “Eles que são brancos que se entendam” or literally “those who are white understand each other”. This generally equates to “birds of a feather flock together” but where the birds are flocking together because they’re all white.

that struggle against the removals – is this what is expected? Nor is it possible to assume that one should know well all those who were criminalized for ethical actions before defending the action against criminalization. And against the removals, that an authority figure got punched in the face is nothing: well deserved, very well deserved. So after it turns out that this person defends integralism, the Bolsonaro government, the military coup... Good, none of this is embodied in their action of punching the person who commanded the removals in the face, there isn't anything to be lamented in this timely support for an action and not for an individual.

But we live in the time of the construction of narratives capable of forging absurdities for social media, that individuals are worth more than actions, of personalities, of *fake news*, of discourse war. Everyone in recent history watched the advent of contemporary fascism walk in step together to the defense of flat-earth and of baby bottles<sup>5</sup>. Representative institutional policy grows due to the whim of the spectacle. *But what fundamental difference is there in believing in the baby bottles or that 2013 was orchestrated by the CIA*<sup>6</sup>? Institutional policy tries to deny the concrete reality because it fears it. Since the popular uprising, the institutional left tries to associate the revolt it does not control with the right, trying to erase the political position that doesn't fit in what is digestible for their electoral objectives. In this narrative, the blame for the rise of fascism lies with those who radicalized the streets. The right thing would be to accept the line of the great “messiahs” that will bring us peace through class reconciliation. For this “left”, the only legitimate policy is for big cabinet deals. Also to try to obscure the fact that those who have always struggled against fascism until the end without concessions and who disputed the depoliticization of the streets in 2013 were autonomous political forces and anarchists. But even still the strikes and insurrections spread across the world in the face of a failed institutional left that opens space more and more for the strengthening of the extreme right.

For all this, once again, what we would like to say is that this concrete

5 T/N: In the days leading up to the 2018 presidential election, a right-wing conspiratorial video was circulated claiming the PT candidate, Fernando Haddad, intended to give out baby bottles with a penis-shaped teat, part of what Bolsonaro refers to as the “gay kit”.

6 T/N: A popular PT conspiracy, some pundits blame the June 2013 uprising on the CIA.

*It didn't begin in June, it's not going to end in 2022!*

The uprising of June 2013 was not a monolithic event. Its beauty and complexity is fixed in this truism. There were Junes before June, there were Junes after June. There was the June in São Paulo, which was different from what happened in Rio de Janeiro which, for its part, had different developments from the June of the gaúcho and the miner, just as the manifestations in Espírito Santo, in Pará, in Ceará or in Goiás and so on were different. The explanations of June 2013 of all different “sides” aim to be the gravediggers of the ongoing revolt. The fire sometimes cools, but its ember remains under the ashes and any wind can reanimate the flame. June is being. It is remembering each moment in Brazilian politics. That is why the best texts about June 2013 are analyses of its effects, treating it like an occurrence and reports a range of testimony.

Both what is conventionally called right, and what is called left hate June 2013. But the left that was ruling at that time hated it more and for a very simple reason: June devalued its main source of political capital which had been sparingly accumulated since the so-called political opening<sup>1</sup>. This capital had been skillfully negotiated with the emissaries of national and foreign elites: the control of the streets. The

1 Translator's note(T/N): The “political opening” refers to the shift from the military dictatorship towards democratization that took place from the late 70's and into the 80's.

party and statist left will never forgive the June revolts for imploding their golden calf.

So don't be surprised that 2020 has begun with the "political flat-eartherism" of the PT blogosphere. These authors decided to publicly defame a militant who was imprisoned and persecuted insinuating that she was involved with fascism and with the attack on the the production building for the comedy group Porta dos Fundos<sup>2</sup>. Sites like DCM, Revista Fórum and PT ventriloquists on the internet engaged in a dishonest, scoundrel attack on a person that had her life destroyed by the political persecution of the PT government, making a chorus with voices of the extreme right. Such polarization between left and right quickly fades away. The unifying force this time, was a video from 2013 in solidarity with several protesters arrested. However, nothing is being said about 2013. On the contrary, they aim to use the video as a means to defame people and social movements, which says more about the character and opportunism of a certain left-wing militancy than about the people that appear in a video from six years ago.

When the PT blogosphere conjures a caricature to criminalize people that were in the streets in June 2013, they do it out of fear of an uncontrollable, popular revolt like what blew up in 2019 and is still ongoing in several places around the world. But this criminalization is done also in resentment of what the revolt scandalously exposed: *radical transformation is needed*. It is evident, for what is observed in our continental neighbors, that popular revolt is the only possible answer to rising fascism with which all governments have been and are accessories. Including the ruling party in June 2013, because it helped to implement measures that favored such fascism: politics of public security, the anti-terrorism law and exclusionary city projects that accompanied mega-events in Brazil, especially in Rio de Janeiro. Removals were nothing more than a part of this project, that was put on course by the PT government in alliance with PMDB<sup>3</sup>. *Maybe this*

2 T/N: Porta dos Fundos is a comedy group that produced a film called The First Temptation of Jesus, in which Jesus is gay and brings a boyfriend home to meet his family. On December 24, 2019, their offices were attacked with molotovs by the fascist group "Popular Nationalist Insurgency Command of the Large Brazilian Integralist Family".

3 T/N: Removals were rampant in the lead up to the mega-events of the World Cup and the Olympics. Large sections of informal land occupations were bulldozed for development projects all under the stewardship of the PT

*is a part of the history that most would like to forget*. It was the resistance to these removals that was being supported at that moment, nothing more.

So there we go, once again to recapture 2013. Were there fascists at the demonstrations? Groups from the extreme right? Yes, there were! In the extreme minority, but they were there, as well as other political forces trying to absorb the popular revolt for their purposes, whether it was to say it was all just against corruption, or that the people wanted political reform – even while we scream for revolution.

Now, when there is a multi-faceted revolt, with more than a million people in the streets, it is natural that forces of the political establishment try to co-opt the revolt for their previously established interests in the political game. But what's most important about 2013 is that this didn't work, and it didn't work for anyone.

*"A part of this society has absolute interest that order keeps reigning, the other, that everything collapses as quickly as possible. To decide what side is the first step." -Ai Ferri Corti*

The revolt grew to be impossible to co-opt and thus became uncontrollable; and therefore was judged necessary to criminalize it. Now, when the individual who punched the Secretary of Government Works Paes, in the middle of a demonstration against removals, is supported, who is supported? The integralist<sup>4</sup> individual, the fascist individual, the misogynist individual or any other unknown predicates for the people that supported them? Clearly not. What was being defended was the release of protesters, including the one that punched the secretary in the face during a removal – it was the action and not the individual that was being supported. There wasn't any support for fascism or any single political position of this individual. If this action wasn't defended, should we defend the criminalization of those

administration. PMDB refers to the Brazilian Democratic Party, an older centrist party.

4 T/N: Integralism is a nationalist ideology that borrowed much from Italian fascism in the 1930's and participated actively in the military dictatorship that followed the 1964 coup. Integralism is experiencing a revitalization with the rise of Bolsonaro.