WAR AGAINST WAR

Anarchist and internationalist perspectives
Translated from Guerre à la guerre.
Perspectives anarchistes et internationalistes,
found on Indymedia Lille.
AGAINST WAR AND MILITARY MOBILIZATION: PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE INVASION OF UKRAINE

The Russian state is trying to conquer Ukraine. The same Russian state that supported the suppression of the Belarusian freedom movement and only a few weeks ago used tanks to put down the revolt in Kazakhstan. Putin is trying to extend his autocratic rule, crushing any movement of resistance or rebellion both inside and outside of their borders. But now, when all Western democrats sing the defense of freedom and peace in chorus, this is an orchestrated hypocrisy: these are the same democrats whose “peace operations”, aka. wars of aggression, drones, bombs and occupations enforce colonial relations of power and exploitation, supply dictators and torturers with weapons and are directly or indirectly responsible for massacres of refugees and insurgents.

The sacred peace in Europe, which in any case has not existed as advertised for 70 years, has always meant war in the global South – through proxy wars, arms supplies, borders and colonialism. If the West is fully behind Ukraine, it is because it is an ally. Both sides of this war disgust us: instead of positioning ourselves on one side of this war, we oppose all state armies and their wars – we abhor not only their massacres, but also their blind obedience, nationalism, the stench of barracks, discipline and hierarchies. Opposing any form of militarism and state, however, does not mean that we oppose the taking up of arms. If Ukrainian anarchists now choose to defend themselves with guns in hand – themselves and those close to them, not the Ukrainian state – then we stand in solidarity with them. But an anarchist position against war, even against an imperialist war of aggression, must not degenerate into defending a state and its democracy or becoming a pawn of it. We do not choose the side of the lesser evil or that of the more democratic rulers, because these same democracies are also only interested in the expansion of their own power and are also built on repression and imperialism.

The essence of any state is war: it occupies territory and declares itself the only legitimate wielder of force – it defends its borders and controls the population that has to serve it. In this sense, our thoughts and solidarity are also with all those who are now fleeing from forced recruitment, with all those who desert, who refuse to shoot at the enemy because he wears the wrong uniform or speaks the wrong language. This solidarity, which overcomes the constructed borders of nationalism and ultimately leads to fraternization, can be revolutionary. For when people in the territory of the Russian state take to the streets against the war and residents of Ukraine flee from forced recruitment, this is a dynamic that gets rid of all the nationalist muck that the state tries to plant in our hearts and brains, the result of which is only herd mentality, cults of leaders and masculinity, martyrdom, massacres, mass graves and genocides. This nationalism leads to dividing people into cannon fodder and enemies to be eliminated. It leads us to no longer see individuals, but only armies, uniforms, nations, ethnicities, believers – allies or enemies.

When people desert the state’s logic of war with or without weapons, when individuals resist any state occupation with or without weapons, when people help and support refugees and deserters, when they fraternize across borders and war lines, something can be done to counter the bloodbath of the state. If the state, its generals and politicians only know the language of oppression, the oppressed know the language of empathy and solidarity. At the end of the war, it is always the rich and powerful who wanted it, as they are the only ones who benefit from power and money. Those who are massacred are always the poor, and no matter what regime, the role of the enslaved, exploited and excluded is always intended for them. The Ukrainian big shots were the first to flee the country in their private jets.

While the West is supplying weapons to the Ukrainian army, the propaganda and rearmament machinery is also in full swing here on the home front: the Bundeswehr must be rearmed, the population must be mobilized against Russia. While bombs explode a few hundred kilometers away, militaristic “peace” prevails here: new weapons,
new equipment, new soldiers are to be bought, produced and trained. The population is once again called to “support the war effort” in the Russian state of emergency and it is clear who to follow and who to protect: Father State, armed to the teeth. 

Already in the first days of the war, we are confronted with a “cultural” mobilization. We are reminded that Ukraine is close to us not only in terms of kilometers but also in terms of culture. Immediately, the left-liberal to radical cultural faction knows how it too can support the war against the “enemies,” which the Russian enemy at home. That subcultural keyway for questions of lifestyle, which democracy so generously offers and which has been so massively restricted or relegated to the digital sphere in the last two years, is now invoked to activate and cement a sense of togetherness with the ally and separation from the enemy in the hearts of the population. For without the cultural support of the left-liberal educated class, the further material militarization of the West, which was already announced at the beginning of the war, cannot be implemented so easily.

This militaristic and cultural war propaganda can and must be disrupted and sabotaged. In the context of the post-Covid era, this is likely to be confronted with war rhetoric and propaganda aimed at getting the population to stand firmly behind the Western war effort, by all means: “We as democracy oppose the war; we demand an end to all means, because it is defending itself against the evil Russian dictatorship.” This will be the tenor, but NATO is not concerned with more or less freedoms for the Ukrainian population, but with geopolitical lines of defense, markets and spheres of influence, and for these it will be willing to invest billions of euros and munitions.

We want to oppose the war between two states with our anti-militarism: an anti-war movement that does not refer to solidarity with a nation or a state, but to the rejection of any state war. No matter which state territory we live in, we can disrupt, desert and sabotage the propaganda, logistics and logic of war; by throwing a wrench into the machinery of national and continental logistics and logic of war: by throwing a wrench into the network grid? No. During the night, flames ravaged a building in the suburb’s electrical substation, where high-voltage current is transformed into medium-voltage. The cause is unknown, except that it was obviously a “combustion”. But the result is undeniable: all power is cut off in a dozen municipalities.

So what? one would say. Well, just that this anony- mous suburb in the vicinity of Liege has a famous name that is well known in certain circles. More precisely, military circles, all over the world. Herstal. Base of Fabrique Nationale. Belgium’s largest armaments company, still majority owned by the Belgian state. FN Herstal has an age-old reputation: for more than a hundred years, the company has had a well-deserved reputation as the country of the Russian army and government. Let these motherfuckers know that their own people hate them and will extinguish them. The earth will soon be as hot under their feet, hell awaits at home too.”

It should be noted that the controlled media are reluctant to report information about radical anti-state actions. The authorities quietly fear that the example will become contagious. It is possible that in fact there have been more attacks in recent days, we simply do not know about some. May the spirit of the young hero Mikhail Zhlobinsky spread across the country. [Mikhail Zhlobinsky was a 17-year-old anarchist who died in an attack on the Arkhangelsk headquarters of the FSB, the Russian secret police who are widely known for torturing anarchists.] Today, all the security forces have become participants and accomplices of the fascist intervention, stranglers of freedom not only in our country, but also in a neighboring country. They must be treated accord ingly. Join the resistance, organize it where organizational strength is needed. Take action.

Excerpt from the CrimethInc Ex-Worker podcast #83.

A warm night in early August. The cool morning air rouses you awake in a home in a suburb of Liege, in the southeast of Belgium. However, that morning, only the sunlight chased away the remaining shadows: all electricity is cut. A short circuit? A problem on the distribution grid? No. During the night, flames ravaged a building in the suburb’s electrical substation, where high-voltage current is transformed into medium-voltage. The cause is unknown, except that it was obviously a “combustion”. But the result is undeniable: all power is cut off in a dozen municipalities.

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and operated on behalf of the railway company by the company Thales, is only a part of the business of the latter, specialized in the arms industry and security, including at the borders. "Thales profits from Fortress Europe, war and militarism. Thales is our enemy. Wherever the company is, it must be attacked," the communiqué concludes.

16/10, Nuremberg (Germany). Following the sentencing of antifascists in Leipzig, a truck of the logistics company Deutsche Bahn/Schender was set on fire in front of the company premises. The truck was loaded with materials for the Turkish army. "Freedom for all," concludes the claim.

24/11, Bremen (Germany). The day after a claim, two incendiary devices are discovered in front of the premises of the aerospace company OHB. The claim specified the role of this arms company, detailing in particular its collaboration with Fronesis and the army (development of radars and satellite detection and spying systems). "We decided to target HBW, because we see the need to openly point out precisely those actors who present themselves in civilian clothes, while at the same time they are responsible for the death of thousands of people, as well as inflicting economic damage on them. [...] Get organized, get ready and attack companies like OHB, but also Rheinmetall and KMW, or the federal army itself.

7/12, Bremen (Germany). A German army truck is set on fire downtown on the site of the war profiteers of the company MAW. The attack is claimed in memory of Alexis Grigoropoulos, whose murder by the Greek police in 2008 had led to a widespread revolt: "In line with the old slogan: what burns in Germany cannot cause damage anywhere else."

2022

1/1, Bremen (Germany). Autonomous anti-militarists smashed several windows of the arms company Orbital Hochtechnologie Bremen (OHB) and then set fire to the offices. "OHB is considered a notorious space and high-tech group. Since the 1950s, OHB has mainly built satellite-based systems used for military purposes. Several offices on two floors are ravaged by flames, while the rest of the building suffers from smoke and soot.

1/2, Malmö (Sweden). A trailer of the multinationals arms company BAE is set on fire in the night by the "Death to Tyrants" group, in solidarity with the uprising in Kazakhstan where the company operates oil and gas.

9/03, Belarus. Since the beginning of the war in Ukraine, at least 8 people have been arrested in Belarus for sabotaging the railway system. Damaging the Belarusian railway system is one of the ways people are continuing the resistance against the war of Putin and Lukashenko.

11/03 Mozyr (Belarus). Two residents are suspected of preparing for the destruction of Russian military equipment that is currently on the territory of the republic and is on its way to Ukraine. The two are accused of planning the destruction of military equipment of the Russian Federation during its movement on the territory of the Mozyr district. For this purpose they prepared ten molotov cocktails.

W ar starts here

RADICAL ACTIONS AGAINST THE WAR IN RUSSIA

BOE ANARKHIST [militant anarchist], March 5, 2022

On March 5th, the collective "Militant Anarchist" released a short roundup of news about radical actions that took place in Russia over the preceding week.

We've heard plenty of accounts of peaceful protest being headed off to jail merely for holding signs - and indeed we applaud their courage. But there's another, spikier side to the anti-war resistance that's equally important to convey. Radical Russian, and the country itself, and they aren't just victims; they are taking active, militant action against the state and its capacity to make war and repress dissent. Let's hear about some of the courageous for weeks, the air has been thick with announcements and signs of its imminent fulfillment. Now war has broken out. A new war, this time at the gates of Europe. A tailored narrative is already in minds and on many lips: it's Putin's fault. A simple formula, from which this follows: since Russia is the camp of Evil, then its enemies and adversaries can only be in the camp of Good. The enterprise of producing and shaping opinions that is modern communication has nothing to do with aesthetics or spirituality, on the contrary, the aim is all the more practical: to produce attitudes and behaviors and to banish others. In this case, the grand narrative that we are fed all day long, among other things, to line up the entire population behind the prospect of an intervention by the French army and a direct military confrontation (for the moment unlikely), as much as to make the multifaceted engagement of the French state and its allies in this new war seem like a just cause. Driven by laudable intentions, the interests of capitalists and states would then suddenly coincide with those of everyone. However, we must state the obvious: the cause of the war that is tearing Ukraine apart today, as of all those that preceded it, lies precisely in the existence of states. Historically, the State was born of military force; it developed by using military force; and it still must logically rely on military force to maintain or extend its power, whether in Russia or the NATO countries. If the existence of individuals (civilians and soldiers) who die on both sides of the front is supposed to belong to two different bastards, in reality only the color of their respective flags differ, but their nature is the same: whether Russian or Ukrainian, the state is always organized oppression for the benefit of a privileged minority.

When, a century ago, the First World Slaughter claimed millions of lives, dragging almost the entire labor and revolutionary movement into its war logic, a movement which was supposed to uphold that, because of their similar conditions of exploitation, proletarians belong to the same group whatever their country of origin, internationalist anarchists recalled that: "The role of anarchists whatever the place or situation in which they find themselves, in the current tragedy, is to continue to proclaim that there is only one war of liberation: the one which, in all countries, is waged against the oppressors, by the exploited against the exploiters. Our role is to call thesubjegated to revolt against their masters. Anarchist propaganda and action must be applied with perseverance to weaken and disintegrate the various states, to cultivate the spirit of revolt, and to instill discontent in the people and in the armies." The total war mobilizing every aspect of life and every part of society could only be stopped by the direct action of the proletarians themselves, by their insubordination at work as well as at the front, by blocking production, by disobeying their superiors, by disarming them, by mutinying, by interrupting the mobilization, by deserting, by insurgency. In short, it was the entire organization of life around the State and its warlike imperatives that had to be dismantled and disordered.

War between states always needs social peace, and the calls for unity and national solidarity that are coming from all sides have no objective other than to impose an internal truce in a context that unfortunately does not already have heightened conflict. The geopolitical analyses and the refined calculations are useless to push back the war, that will be achieved only by breaking the internal front which is erected day after day, by undermining the national unity, by opposing the militarization of society and the language which did not begin today ("war against terrorism", "war against the virus..."), by affirming loudly and clearly that we do not share the warmongering perspectives of the European Union and NATO countries any more than those of Putin's Russia, and by openly inciting defection: it is a question of transforming the war between States into a war against States. And so, what could be a coherent practice with the internationalist and antimilitarist perspective that anarchists uphold? How to be "in solidarity" with those who, in Russia and Ukraine, oppose the war and their own state, exposing themselves to death, imprisonment and torture? This can consist, among other things, in attacking, on the territory where one lives, "your" State, "your" employers and industrialists, "your" patriotism, "your" economy, "your" militarism. Because if it is obviously not their defendes and their supporters who will suffer the direct consequences of the power games between States, but the people living in the zone of military confrontation, within the reach of the bullets, of the bombs and of the tank shells, anywhere in the world, a question of breaking this feeling of safety for the powerful. Since one of the economic consequences of war is the increase in the cost of energy, fuel and
raw materials, and consequently of all consumer goods, and since the acceptance of this increase is already a battle, as it is a matter of trying to change the economy and the normal course of exploitation, production and consumption.

In order to be waged, every war needs a moun-
tain of weapons, machines and military equipment, which are permanently produced in seemingly banal factories by workers who get up every morning to do their daily routine. Against war, it is no use to block even to block everything. Block and sabotage the research of death in laborato-
ries and universities, block and sabotage the factories of death, block and sabotage communica-
tions, access and water exchange, block and sabotage the logistics of death that allow the circulation and delivery, by land, air and sea, of weapons, ammuni-
tion, vehicles and materials of war. The parade of hypocrites, those leaders, experts, economists and other journalists who congratulate and cheer the signing of a new maxi-contract for the sale of arms and other military vehicles to another state every month, while they now seem to discover and worry about the fact that war piles up the dead - because, astonishing! - bullets and bombs kill! - is indicative of at least one thing: wars and militarization are produced here, they are prepared and planned here, they bring in juicy profits largely here (testified to by the profits of Dassault Aviation for the year 2021 as well as the rise of more than 30% in the stock market value of Thales in a context of generalized decline). Faced with this, it’s all about bringing the war home.

Finally, and although it may seem surpris-
ing to say this in the current climate of war, it is impossible to make a fundamental distinction between wartime and peacetime, among other reasons, because one of the pillars of militarism today and for the past hundred years has been dual research, aiming “simultaneously to maximize the civilian spin-off of defense research and to make the defense domain benefit from the advances of civilian research”, as is very clearly asserted by the delegation general for armaments responsible for the program n°191 Dual research (civilian and military) in the 2022 budget, and as is evidenced by the existence of the array of electronic objects that pervade our daily life and for the past hundred years has been dual research, aiming “simultaneously to maximize the civilian spin-off of defense research and to make the defense domain benefit from the advances of civilian research”.

Anyone who takes a moment to reflect on the origins of the raw materials that underlie our daily activities, from the uranium that is used for nuclear power, to the rare earths, cobalt, coltan or lithium so necessary for manufacturing our beloved technological prostheses, to oil, should easily come to understand the inextricable link between the war and the energy industry. Every time we buy a phone, every time we put gasoline in our car, we should be reminded of the endless atrocities that enable their existence. But this awareness in itself will not change anything, and the simple boycott seems to be a very pathetic solution faced with the ongoing horror, or even worse a nice way to give oneself a good conscience while remaining passive. Another thing would be to declare war on war, and for me, that means first of all to become aware of the fact that the horror is not only the product of those torturers or massacre that haunt our minds but that always remain too far away, and that are perhaps out of reach for us. As we have seen, many other companies exist outside these torturers: political assassins, energy companies, banks, architects, construction companies, technology manufacturers, transportation companies and many other cogs that anyone can easily discover with research. Many of those research outcomes and personnel are located here, in the country where we live, perhaps in the same city and even neighborhood. If stopping the massacre is probably impossible for us, the investments of the German military industry, sup-
pler of the Erdogan regime. “Let’s break capitalism and fascism all over the world.”

15/5, Greece. Direct Action Cells claim responsi-
bility for twenty incendiary attacks on police and state targets in Athens and Thessaloniki. Their actions have taken place in recent months and many of them had already been claimed, but the claim contains a proposal to create a “network of revolutionary violence” in order to amplify the Direct Action Cells. Two ticket dispensers of the Dutch railroads (Nederlandse Spoorwegen, NS) were set on fire at the station in the Moerwijk district. These machines managed
(incarcerated in Hamburg for charges around the G20) and with "Fire and flames to the prisons and to the arms manufacturers".

4/12, Thessaloniki (Greece), The Anarchist Action Organization claimed responsibility for the arson attack on the NATO barracks at the headquarter of NATO-Rapid Deployable Corps Greece, in response to the war unleashed by the Turkish army against Kurdish rebels.

10/12, Kiev (Ukraine), Makhnovists claim incendiary destruction of a cell phone antenna of Lifecell (a subsidiary of the Turkish telecommunications company Turkcell) in response to the war in Rojava: "Kurdish partisans destroy Turkcell's antennas - we are happy to take up the torch of struggle in turn."

11/12, Berlin (Germany), In the district of Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf, a car of the giant of the armaments ThyssenKrupp was set on fire in a parking lot of a Nissan dealer in the Köpenick district. In the claim, they point out that Nissan is attacking those responsible for it, in diverse ways, seems to me to be within everyone's reach. In spite of the hypocritical indignation of the citizenry and the indifference of the masses demanding work and security, and against the disposition to obedience, passivity and delegation, let's act to break the chains and disrupt the murderous normality that governs the world.

Excerpt from "Nothing extraordinary: French involvement in the Yemeni massacre." anarchie! N°10, January 2021

In the midst of the "health crisis", the French government launched an investment plan called France Relance to support strategic industry projects - growth, increasing production, research projects, etc. Embellished with fashionable concepts such as "boosting the resilience of the French economy" and "a major supplier of military vehicles to the Turkish army and ends with "Freedom."

19/9, Cavillon (France). The research center of Saint-Gobain, which develops products for the Defense and whose shareholder is one of the richest families in Chile, received two incendiary devices. The 200 employees are evacuated and bomb experts are sent on site. Claimed in "Solidarity with the prisoners of the result in Chile" and the anarchists "Monica and Francisco."

31/12, Leipzig (Germany), Seven military jeeps parked on the premises of a Mercedes dealership were set on fire. The long claim explaining the harmful role of the army ends with "For a rebellious 2021!" and stands in solidarity with the anarchists arrested in Leipzig.

2020

31/1, Berlin (Germany), In front of one of its establishments, three vans of the armaments company ThyssenKrupp were set on fire "to show our solidarity with the struggle of the self-organized forces of Rojava against Turkey," says the commune.

6/3, Zurich (Switzerland), Several cars are set on fire in the parking lot of a Mercedes dealer in Oerlikon. The claim stresses that Mercedes is a major supplier of military vehicles to the Turkish army and ends with "Fight for Rojava!"

8/3, Ukraine, The Children of Mother Anarchy (a reference to the song attributed to Makhno) claim the burning of a Turkcell (Turkish telecommunications company) antenna as a salute to the women fighters in Kurdistan: "Death to all tyrants, from Erdogan to Putin".

7/6, Wuppertal (Germany), In North Rhine-Westphalia, an army T6-Widder van is set on fire in the early hours of the morning, a week before the "Bundeswehr Day" which takes place at various military bases around the country.

5/8, Herzst (Belgium), In the province of Liège, the origin of the fire remains unknown, except that it was a "combustion", but the facts are quite curious: around 6 a.m., fire breaks out in a building of the electricity transformation station of Herzat. The station was heavily damaged and the power (it transformed high voltage into medium voltage) was cut off in several municipalities, including the "extremely energy-intensive" Haaro-Sart industrial zone. Herzat is well known for its concentration of armament companies, such as the famous FN Herstal. All death factories are at a standstill after this fire.

15/8, Cluj-Napoca (Romania), The police has arrested 11 people for incendiary activities in the Cluj-Napoca region.

24/2, Berlin (Germany), A vehicle of the armaments company ThyssenKrupp, which supplies among others the Greek military fleet, is set on fire in solidarity with D. Koufontinas on hunger strike.

27/2, Thessaloniki. The Anarchist Community Anti-Militarist Initiative claimed the placement of an incendiary device on the private car of a military man downtown.

14/04, Berlin (Germany), Autonomous Groups set fire to about 20 new cars, mostly SUVs, on the parking lot of a Nissan dealer in the Köpenick district. In the claim, they point out that Nissan is attacking those responsible for it, in diverse ways, seems to me to be within everyone's reach. In spite of the hypocritical indignation of the citizenry and the indifference of the masses demanding work and security, and against the disposition to obedience, passivity and delegation, let's act to break the chains and disrupt the murderous normality that governs the world.

Excerpt from "The war starts here", anarchie! N°10, January 2021

To the brutality of war, and I address myself to those who are still capable of "feeling it", we must respond by resorting to the best of human sensibilities, through empathy and solidarity: but how can we talk about this, how can we enact this ethical alms that separates us from the rulers of the armies - if not with the solidarity of an anti-militarist revolution?

All the cynical and glacial geopolitical analyses from which, in the end, one deduces that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend" make me sad and enraged: a logic that brings together both the philo-Transatlanticist democrats pointing the finger at the Russian autocracy (ready to assert in the Ukrainian events the principles that obviously were not valid for Kosovo) and the defenders of Putin as a bulwark against Nato imperialism (who are not ashamed to stand in solidarity with those who have just drowned the revolt of the Kazakh people in blood, not to stand with Lukashenko instead of supporting the struggles of the workers in Belarus). Any vision of the world that comes to consider the bombed civilians as pawns of an inevitable Risk is enraged and upsetting.

But it will not be thanks to a pacifism reduced to only the dimension of the mind - just as proud of its utopian horizon as it is capable of self-absorption about its material inefficiency - that this logic can be fought and defeated.

Let's start from the places we live: let's say clearly and strongly - making it visible - that the military in the streets do not make our cities "safer" but irremediably disfigure them. And let's reflect critically on what has happened so that we don't resign ourselves to the helplessness of what will come. One consideration comes to mind: for two years, in the most intense moment of the mobilization against the Muo1, we managed to invade a NATO base. I would do it a hundred times over.

1 MUOS (literally Mobile User Objective System) is a telecommunications station based in Niscemi, Sicily, which provides top-secret communications for land, sea and air forces as well as for the C4 (Command, Control, Computer, Communications and Intelligence) centers of the US Navy.
but I can’t forgive myself for not having managed to give my contribution - even in terms of personal risk - so that we were not left with only a dignified account of these demonstrations. These antennas had to be sabotaged, dismantled, destroyed. The fact that we did not succeed, that we did not even try to do it thoroughly, with all the necessary means, is one of the limits that turns against us today, every time some idiot comes to thank Putin for opposing US domination.

I don’t need anyone to remind me of the hypocrisy with which dirty business in the West is covered with the rhetorical banner of human rights: I know well what it means to be allied with Saudi Arabia, or with the Egyptian military - just as I know perfectly well how much colonial logic there is in imposing its political model on half the world, sending European Union commissioners to monitor the regularity of elections in Palestine and Egypt, only to revoke the results as soon as the popular consensus goes to the Muslim Brotherhood or Hamas. On the other hand, it is more useful to remind ourselves that opposing the war in Serbia did not mean siding with Milosevic, just as opposing the war in Iraq did not mean forgetting the use of gas against Kurdish communities by Saddam Hussein’s regime.

The refusal of this morphing binary logic is nourished and fed by “highly exemplary gestures” and “diligent states and even in the name of the hope of emancipation itself became famous, it is no doubt because it embodied the ever possible bankruptcy of internationalism and antimilitarism despite the responses received from conference in Munich was taking place, ending with “We have established a local practice of direct sabotage against the global madness of military and economic oppression.”

1/3, Munich, Germany. In Bavaria, two cars of the control, surveillance and war technology company Siemens are set on fire in the night east of the city. “Against war, borders, domination and exploitation. Strength and courage to those arrested in Turin and Zurich” ends the claim.

12/8, Frankfurt am Main (Germany). In the district of Bockenheim, a vehicle of Siemens, a multinational involved in the military and prison industry, is set on fire in solidarity with all the anarchist prisoners.

5/9, Bremen (Germany). Around 2:45 am, a bus of the Bundeswehr, the German army, is set on fire in the center of town. The attack is claimed in solidarity with the anarchist prisoners, in particular because “The German army is part of this shitty patriarchical and authoritarian normality which kills.” 15,000 euros of damage.

17/10, Berlin (Germany). The headquarters of the company Thyssenkrupp is attacked with hammers. The assailants leave a tag “Fight war and fascism but no violence” and claim responsibility for the burning of a van of the energy company Volaia, whose logistics subsidiary, NOB, is a service provider for NATO armies.

5/11, Berlin, Germany. The windows of the offices of the industrial company Karsher are smashed, in particular for its participation in the development of war material.

6/11, Berlin (Germany). The facade of a Mercedes dealership is attacked with stones and paint, in particular for its contracts with many armies around the world for the supply of military vehicles.

7/11, Berlin (Germany). Windows are broken and paint is thrown at the advertising agency Croosmedia, which is in charge of the Bundeswehr (army) recruitment campaign.

8/11, Stuttgart (Germany). The entrance of a factory of the Thyssenkrupp industrial group, which supplies the electrical systems of the Leopard 2 tanks used by the Turkish army in Syria, takes some stones. The assailants also set fire to the entrance and claim their action as an act of solidarity with “the Kurdish people”.

11/11, Kiev (Ukraine). The Revolutionary Solidarity Cell claims responsibility for the arson sabotage of two antenna towers in Zahalstsy and Piskivka, in the vicinity of the capital. The antennas belong to the company Lifecell, a subsidiary of Turkcell, a major Turkish telecommunications company. The attacks are described in solidarity against the Turkish invasion of Syria.

15/11, Geisenheim (Germany). In Hesse, using tires, the Autonomous Gruppe Kommando Hills Oregoroc/Anna Campbell sets fire to the back of the administration building of the arms company Ferrostal. The long claim explains the role of this company, which delivers its material of death in particular to the regime of Erdogan and Saudi Arabia and expresses its solidarity with the “Kurdish liberation struggle”, “all the compañeros on the run, in prison and in struggle” and “Loic and the parkhaus 3”.

27/11, Dresden (Germany). A heavy truck of the industrial group Thyssen-Krupp is “demolished”. A good part of Thyssen-Krupp’s activities are in the defense sector, and one of their slogans is “Enemies of Freedom” which lists companies in this sector, found on herzdeskrieges.blackblogs.org

11/29, Genoa (Italy). A car of the Turkish consulate is set on fire in the Castelletto district. Claimed by the Anarchist Cell Lorenzo Oreetti, against the war and especially because “It is up to us, the anarchists, to finish those who one day decided that some could commit others, by force and arrogance. We must be a permanent thorn in the side of the oppressor, we must dictate the times of the attack and not just do it when here and there in the world the thunder of repression falls.”

1/12, Hamburg (Germany). An autonomous feminist cell claims responsibility for the burning of a utility vehicle of the company Bosch, the industrial giant whose activities are largely concentrated in the security and defense sector.

2/12, Berlin (Germany). During the night, saboteurs enter the premises of the arms company Thyssen-Krupp and set fire to three heavy trucks. Thyssen-Krupp is a big supplier of the Erdogan regime, as the claim explains, which ends with greetings to the “parkhaus 3” and to Loic
homes and 650 businesses as well as the court and a zone dedicated to biotech (causing a fire to start at Bayer) were without power for several hours. 4000 customers were left without internet.

April 2018, Berlin (Germany). The windows of the Alliance branch at Strausberger Platz were destroyed. This insurance company finances and invests in many German arms companies, including Rheinmetall. The claim said: “We see this action as part of the many and varied actions of recent months and call for the continuation of the attack on war profiteers and investors by all means at our disposal.”

10/04, Berlin (Germany). In the district of Biesdorf, a vehicle of the metal and arms company ThyssenKrupp went up in smoke.

13/04, Dresden (Germany). Fire of a vehicle of the arms company ThyssenKrupp. Claimed by militant Jugend.

19/04, Bremen (Germany). A group of women claimed to have broken the windows of a Commerzbank branch as part of their collaboration in the export of German military equipment to Turkey.

24/04, Leipzig (Germany). During the night, a fire started in an office of Siemens in an industrial area of Hannover. The Siemens building is broken and several motorcycles were thrown in. Elsewhere, a Siemens vehicle burned. Both were completely destroyed by the flames. Siemens plays an important role in the German war industry, and the claim of these attacks is part of the solidarity campaign with the defenders of Afrin.

12/05, Bern (Switzerland). Arson attack on the office of the German arms company Deutsche Bahn (DB Schenker) in the Wedding district. The claim said: “We see this action as part of the many and varied actions of recent months and call for the continuation of the attack on war profiteers and investors by all means at our disposal.”

15/2, Munich (Germany). During the NATO security conference, a police minibus from the Western states, which is not going to stop working at full speed for so little, since war, massacres and planetary devastation are already intrinsically part of its operations.

And to add insult to injury, there are various interests that the two warring states are careful not to tear apart in this murderous war, so as not to discard their common interests that two immense Brotherhood and Suez gas pipelines coming from Russia, which cross the whole of the Ukrainian territory, before being redirected to Germany and Italy. In neither of the two wishes to touch other targets that are as sensitive for their national economy as they are vital for the European defense aeronautics industry (notably Airbus and Safran), such as the FSMPO-Zemla group’s titanium factory located in the city of Nikopol, which is still under Ukrainian control, and which is nevertheless the direct property of the main exporter of Russia’s military-industrial complex, Rostorexport. What might seem like a paradox is in reality only the bitter illustration of one of the characteristics of inter-state wars: although they are shamelessly triggered by nationalistic, religious or ethnic hatred, it is rarely the powerful who pay the price - obviously being obviously capable of coming to an agreement if necessary - , but the populations who suffer all the deadly consequences. A bit like the fact that France continued to supply Russia between 2014 and 2020 with thermal cameras to equip its armored vehicles despite a world-scale war in Ukraine, or navigation systems and infrared detectors for its fighter planes and helicopters, while now supplying Ukraine with anti-aircraft and anti-tank missiles. When it comes to energy as well as military equipment, the financiers and profiteers of war are also located here, and it is also here that they can be fought.
One of the advantages of the creation of small autonomous groups deciding on their own targets and timing of attacks or who would look at the war in a different way or who elsewhere would not have the opportunity to flee or would voluntarily decide to stay - could reside, for instance, in the sabotage of capitalist and strategic interests common to the leaders of the two states and their allies, which can no longer be of use to either of them, whoever wins. This is certainly another possibility, but one that will not simply fall from the sky. The difficulties involved, requiring, perhaps, to have already previously developed and prepared these methods, notably with the help of organizational tools facilitating the sharing of initiatives, knowledge and appropriate means. This old question of the interest at stake already animating the networks of French resistance fighters under German occupation, whose command as well as the Anglo-American services insisted on course on the fact that their industrial sabotage of such sites and sensitive structures remained above all reversible by being limited to slowing down enemy production, or only destroying targets that are not critical for the future revival of the country.

Somber, this did not always happen, given the lack of intense engagement in urban areas at the moment, the Russian army has been proceeding for several weeks to encircle and intensively bomb several cities, accompanied by the destruction of the already contaminated in Aleppino. In Mariupol, for example, where 300,000 people are surviving under siege in terrible conditions, many have had to understand at their own expense that they are in fact being held hostage under the fire of the two states. In the midst of gutted buildings, many small groups of starving civilians have to face their own army as they emerge from shelters to search for food in the abandoned shops, talking of the ways in which industrial structures can only mean war. And to their war we respond with solidarity without the resistance in Afrin.

12/29, Cagliari (Italy). A vehicle of the company Vitrocet, a notorious collaborator of the army based in Sardinia, goes up in smoke just before Christmas. Earlier this month, it was already reported that the Rubino brothers' company (RubinoGru s.s.c.), another of the companies contracted by the Italian army, had also been suffering from incendiary sabotage for several months, including on September 30, 2017, in Assemini, when one of its large vehicles (a mobile crane) was deliberately destroyed by fire.

6/01, Thessaloniki (Greece). The information offices of the Ministry of National Defense, the French consulate and the city hall (in a highly guarded area), are attacked with four low-powered explosive devices. Claimed by “Marechist Action Organization”.

In times of peace, the purchase of equipment for the Greek air force, the agreements with Israel and the sale of ammunitions to Saudi Arabia show that, in the mouth of the statues, defense can only mean war. And to their war we respond with war. Not national war, not religious war, but social revolutionary war.

6/02, Frankfurt (Germany). A vehicle of the industrial and military technology company Thyssenkrupp goes up in smoke. Claimed by Autonomous Gruppen.

21/02, Bremen (Germany). Garbage containers are set on fire against the building of the armament company OHB. The fire did not succeed in burning down the building, which was claimed in solidarity with the struggle in Afrin.

11-12/3, Turin (Italy). In solidarity with Afrin, the windows of the entrance of the company Microtronica, manufacturer of electronic components for the helicopters used by Erdogan's regime, were broken during a demonstration. The next day, the warplane located in front of the Leonardo-Finmeccanica factory, supplier of the Turkish army, was set on fire.

13/03, Sofia (Bulgaria). Several trucks of the German army were set on fire at a NATO base. Claimed by the “anti-militarist group Sebil Efrin Potat”.

19/03, Eschede (Germany). Sabotage on the Hamburg-Hanover train line (cable shaft set on fire), where there is a factory of Rheinmetall, an arms company that has supplied the Turkish regime, notably with Leopard 2 tanks. Claimed as an act of “international solidarity with the resistance in Afrin”.

20/03, Berlin (Germany). A vehicle belonging to Siemens, a multinational technology and arms company, was set on fire.

21/03, Berlin (Germany). The windows of the arms company ThyssenKrupp in Pohlstrasse were smashed. ThyssenKrupp has contracts with the Turkish regime for the delivery of military equipment.

24/03, Leipzig (Germany). Three branches of Deutsche Bank, four of Allianz and one of Commerzbank were smashed, all three being involved in the financing of the German war industry which supplies the Erdogan regime.

03/26, Berlin (Germany). The Vulkangruppe NetzHerrschaft zerkleinert (Volcano Group Destroying Network Domination) claims the arson of two large four-meter wide and thirty-meter long fiber optic and power cable links under the Mörserbrücke bridge, belonging to Base (Belgian operator), Level3 (submarine cable operator) and Globalmetro (operator for military bases), “Tele-Com, LIT” (in charge of the administration networks in Berlin), Colt (German state network operator) as well as other military and non-military operators. The aim is to disrupt the Tegel airport, the administration in Berlin, military communications and technology companies. As for the burned 10,000 volt power cables, 6,500
transport of oil reserves to the respective regions is already in full swing. Therefore, there seems to us to be no reason to wait for a possible outbreak of war, but all the considerations made in the following could already have a great effect now, in the run-up to a possible military confrontation. And of course, just at this moment, the transfer of war equipment can be sabotaged in advance in one way or another.

NATO pipeline system

For the purpose of supplying its troops within some European alliance countries, NATO operates a pipeline system consisting of 10 pipeline networks. This basically consists of military-use/usable ports with various (partly secret, partly civilian) oil storage sites (tank farms) throughout Europe, as well as with cargo stations, (civilian and military) airports and certain troop locations. In Germany, two of these pipeline networks are of particular importance: the Central Europe Pipeline System (CEPS), which extends through parts of Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg and connects 29 NATO depots, six non-military depots, military and civilian airports, refineries, and seaports in the North Sea region over a route length of 5300 kilometers, and the North European Pipeline System (NEPS), which connects Frederikshavn in Denmark with the German border. Incidentally, in the mid-1980s, numerous groups of the RZ, RAF and others carried out explosive attacks on mainly CEPS pumping stations.

The CEPS is also used primarily for civilian purposes, but in the event of a military operation, the military is guaranteed the necessary capacities. Thanks to various civilian actors, however, there are better insights into the infrastructure in some cases. As of 2018, the following CEPS facilities are still in operation on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany:
- 14 tank depots
- 22 high-pressure pumps
- 1765 kilometers of underground pipelines, the course of which can be researched/estimated using the typical above-ground survey points, as well as pumping stations and gated shafts associated with them
- 11 tank filling plants
- 2 rail tank car filling plants

Rail networks

Some tank depots are not accessible by pipelines or at least additionally also by rail. In general, the European rail networks provide NATO military forces with a good infrastructure for moving large quantities of fuel and/or war materiel quickly and efficiently. However, the whole thing can also be paralyzed with corresponding ease. Whether by blocking the tracks, small inconspicuous and temporary sabotages, as recently implemented and proposed in Canada, or by destroying rails by force, interrupting power supply (though there are also diesel locomotives) and destroying important signal infrastructure.

Train facilities are actually generally marked on all available map material. Of particular interest in this case may be not only the busy main lines, but especially those lines that serve tank depots, as well as those that cross the country’s borders towards Ukraine, but also the connecting lines to ports and/or tank filling plants, where transport can be transferred from the roads to the railways.

The TRAINSTOPPING brochure may provide further ideas here.

Roads & Ports

Of course, roads and ports can also be blocked. Here, however, it might be advantageous to find out beforehand very specifically when and where corresponding military supplies are also blocked, because such blockades are usually not of long duration. For those who prefer to engage in civil disobedience rather than attack undercover of darkness, however, this might be a more interesting starting point.

The possible war in Ukraine, it starts here and now. Let’s stop it together here and now!

Published in German on zuendlappen.noblogs.org, February 9, 2022.

2017

1/03. Rennes. A trash can positioned against the door of the electric transformer of the Maguerite barracks is set on fire.

8/04. During the night unknown individuals set fire to the Cryptolab laboratory, in the Faculty of Sciences of Provo (Trento), Cryptolab is involved in research projects in collaboration with the Ministry of Defense, the aerospace sector, military each being it rules into replaceable subjects, at the price of their annihilation as individuals.

Lugano. For many years, waves of threats have been branded and instrumentalized at every turn to distill fear, within an even more militarized management of social “peace”: terrorism, ecological catastrophe, Covid-19... or now a possible nuclear flare-up in the extension of the conflict that burns at the borders of Europe. And of course, the music of yet more sacrifices to be made in rank and file behind the State becomes more stringent every day. But perhaps it is true that there is something to be sacrificed without having to travel thousands of kilometers. For isn’t this whole vast system of large-scale death fueled by energy, industry, transportation, communications, and technology that marches by day right before our eyes? To send the war back to the world that produces it by interrupting its supply, would then be another way of breaking the ranks of the enemy, by dispersing the conflict against it everywhere.

Storm Warnings. Anarchist bulletin for the social war, #1, March 2022

“So we are desperate, but what’s it to us?”

This is the question that someone asked himself, several decades ago, in response to the obsolescence of the human being.

And that we ask ourselves today, permanently.

Yes, we are aware. After the eternal nuclear threat, after the pandemic of the motorized car, after global warming, after the arrival of the digitized Big Brother, after the erosion of meaning, after the trivialization of language, after the colonization of fantasy... - the list of reasons that give cause to resignation, whether monastic or hedonistic, is always growing - what is left to do? What thought should be spread among human beings who are now indiff- erent to any idea, partial to chewing on inoffensive opinions? What action can be accomplished in a formatted world, whose slightest facet is predetermined, adept overseers of ephemeral agitations?

And the more the question is asked of how to obtain useful, immediate, concrete results, to be branded as if it were a success that would justify our efforts, the reward for our investment, the more the following decision is arrived at, faced with the social catastrophe that is worsening day by day: there is nothing more to be done, it is better to remain mute and not waste words, it is better to remain still and not run any risks.

But if the question is not “how to overcome”, but rather “how to live”, it is not a question of adapting to the world that is agonizing outside of us, but of materializing the world that is bubbling up inside - then there is no room for doubt. So we are desperate, but what’s it to us? Nothing, absolutely nothing. Rather than rotting in resentment and complaint for what it is, it is a thousand times better to experience what could be in the imagination and in the flesh. The realization of our powerlessness only makes sense if it pushes us to discover how to overcome this powerlessness. Let us give two examples.

Everyone is against war. Nobody wants its massacres, nobody approves of them, and yet the universal condemnation of war is accompanied by its almost equally universal justification. Horrible, but inevitable. Politicians declare it, generals manage it, scientists innovate it, industrialists equip it, journalists support it, soldiers fight it, common people watch it or ignore it when it is far away, they die of it when it is near.

What is it against war, what can they do today? To what extent have the possibilities of anti-militarist action changed in a century?

It is a useless exercise, apart from aiming to console ourselves, to remember that in 1911 there was a general strike against the war in Italy, during which, in Emilia Romagna, the railway and telegraph lines were interrupted and the military convoys blocked; or that on May 17, 1915 about 100,000 people demonstrated in Turin against Italy’s entry into the war, unleashing such repression by the Cavalry that on that same afternoon some workers looted an armory and engaged in armed conflict with the police. But does the present, with its ever more sophisticated technologies of social control, only allow for a more or less virtual demonstration of opposition to the massacres?

On the night of November 3 to 4 [2019], the day of National Unity and the Armed Forces, the main Italian military factory was set into disarray.

The workers of the former Oto Melara of La Spezia found themselves short of energy for several days, due to a blackout that hit a transformer. An epic- socle, to which the mass media obviously did not give much space, that makes you think.

In May 1988, the work of this same factory had been put into question by anarchist dynamite that
exploded with a bang inside its walls; thirty-one years later, a “technical problem” that occurred within an air-fired boiler elsewhere was enough to interrupt the production of guns, tanks and other death machines.

Many have understood that one of the preconditions for authentic social transformation is the interruption of imposed daily normality. As has been rightly pointed out, “Through their daily activities, “modern” men, like tribesmen and slaves, reproduce the inhabitants, the social relations and the ideas of their society; they reproduce the social form of daily life.” (The Reproduction of Daily Life, Fredy Perlman). It is from this observation that the need and the urgency to block everything is born; from the public administrations that summon us as citizens to the stores we enter as consumers, from the schools and universities we attend as students to the workplaces where we exhaust ourselves as employees. For the more we behave as citizens, consumers, students or employees, the more we will only have the future of being citizens, consumers, students and employees.

As a result, in order to interrupt the functioning of this society and win the space and time necessary to create something else, perhaps we should wait for the arrival of a particularly combative social movement? And in its absence, but also in its concurrence, wouldn’t it be better to try to interrupt a maximum of possible points that technically feed social reproduction? At dawn last January 9 [2020], a double sabotage targeted the fiber optic highway that connects Toulouse and Montauban, in France. Two arsons disrupted the daily normality of thousands of customers of different telecommunication operators, preventing them from accessing the Internet and the telephone. A hassle not only for citizens, but also for large companies (at the Leroy Merlin in the area, for example, the telephone line was down). An additional consequence of one of the two fires was the paralysis of rail traffic. All this lasted only a few hours, during which nothing was like before.

So, lovers of the wildest freedom, what would you rather do? Continue to whine about the integration of the proletariat, the “betrayal” of parties and unions, the omnipresence of video surveillance, and unions, the omnipresence of video surveillance, or rather...? From great distances: “End the world, and the world that needs it”

“After all, anarchists are against anti-militarism (oh dear, the tip of the tongue, you see, a slip of the tongue never happens completely by accident, in fact anarchists are also against a certain kind of “anti-subservience”). Anyway, to avoid unpleasant misunderstandings, let’s try to be clearer. I’ll correct myself: anarchists are against militarism. There is no doubt about that. They are against militarism, and this not in the name of a monotonous pacifism. They are against militarism first of all because they have a different conception of struggle. That is, they have nothing against weapons, they have nothing against the concept of defense from oppression. But, on the other hand, they have a lot against a certain use of arms, ordered and commanded by the state, and organized by repressive structures. They have much to say against a militaristic use of arms. While conversely, they agree, or at least in their vast majority they agree, with the use of arms against the oppressor, with the use of arms against those who oppress and exploit, with the use of arms in a war of liberation. With the use of weapons against certain people, against certain forms of exploitation.

So it is wrong to say “the revolutionaries are anti-militarists, which is the same as saying that they are pacifists”. The anarchists are not against militarism because they are all pacifists. They do not object to the symbol of the gun, nor can they accept a condemnation of armed struggle in general, to use that strictly technical term which would deserve extended consideration. On the contrary, they are in complete agreement, and in fact anarchists are also against a certain kind of “anti-subservience”). Anyway, to avoid unpleasant misunderstandings, let’s try to be clearer. I’ll correct myself: anarchists are against militarism. There is no doubt about that.

We publish this text on the Internet because we want to share these thoughts with as many like-minded people as possible, with whom it would be impossible for us to discuss these issues face to face. However, we think that any (strategic) exploration of this debate should not take place on the Internet above all because this merely serves repression but is unlikely to have any added value for those who are also determined to use their creative energy to pursue some of the thoughts raised here.

To some, the information presented here will also hardly be new. After all, most of it is clear and well known. Nevertheless, we think it is worthwhile to recall some details of military logistics that have perhaps been pushed a little into the background in the debates about distant wars.

Oh yes, and just to anticipate one thing: attacking the infrastructure of war in no way means choosing a side, in this case Russia’s. Anyone who has some sense knows that war always affects the population and hardly ever the rulers who start it. As anti-militarists we are against all wars and all actors who want to start them and as anti-authoritarians we strive for nothing less than the complete destruction of all states!

A few months ago we read with some interest the text “Fragments for an Insurgent Struggle Against Militarism and the World That Needs It” in Zündlumpen #085. Under the heading “(ii) The Infrastructure of War” it raises some old familiar points, such as that the invading military makes use of roads, rails, bridges, etc., just as mapping of the terrain and (also civilian) communications infrastructure are of great help to the military. What this point somewhat neglects, in our opinion, is the logistics of the supply chains. Although the sabotage of arms production is eagerly discussed beforehand, probably the most important raw material of the war is more or less left out: oil or energy in general. Especially at the beginning of a war, the amount of energy needed to move troops is gigantic, but basically, throughout the war, fuel is transported from various stockpiles and/or refineries to the front, where it is needed to fuel the engines of the war machines. And especially when a war does not take place directly in one’s own territory, but the logistics of supplying the troops with energy run through this territory, it might be worthwhile to take a closer look at this infrastructure.

Where currently, according to media reports as well as various observations from the population, the troops are being put on standby everywhere in Europe and war equipment is more or less already being diligently moved to strategically favorable locations, it is of course also to be expected that the
way for the armies and/or the police or even private security forces. Anything that helps to make space for the armies, of course, can also be used militarily for that very purpose. Roads and railways allow the military to quickly penetrate any developed corner, bridges help to overcome natural obstacles such as rivers, gorges and valleys, and agricultural land not only makes it possible to survey large areas from a single vantage point, but also, and more importantly, makes it easier to advance off the roads; so far, you may have heard this before. In fact, these are only the infrastructures used by the armies. Rivers that have been straightened and deepened for shipping with the help of locks and dams enable reliable transport of war materiel far inland, ports enable the rapid landing of war materiel, just as not only airports can be used for military purposes, but also various dead-straight highway sections serve as runways for fighter planes and are partly designed as such.

Beyond such a logistical infrastructure, a modern army naturally also needs stable and reliable communications infrastructure. Satellite communications used specifically for military purposes, whose ground stations are located on mobile bases, on ships or in the air, and ad hoc radio networks set up by the military on a mobile basis, via which various units can communicate with each other and with their command staff, are just as necessary as the established radio and mobile phone networks of the authorities, which are covered by various radio masts and which can, of course, also be used for military purposes (the radio network of the authorities already enables the police to radio for reinforcements from all these technologies prove to be tools of propaganda in the service of militarism. But this requires learning to control militarily. But this requires learning to navigate this world beyond controlled paths, a skill that not only requires identifying the choke points that cause critical infrastructures to collapse. And just knowing these, even if in detail, may not be enough, as argued in the text "Fahrtenbuch" (Break Rank), it also requires the specific knowledge of how to successfully sabotage them, from the production of the necessary "materials" to their proper or improper use. I think that it is precisely this aspect of knowledge that is often underestimated in countries that are not currently waging an open war against their own population. This knowledge becomes all the more important in the scenario of an insurgency, which, after all, we are not only all eagerly awaiting, but also preparing for. In such a situation, knowing how to render the infrastructure of war harmless could possibly prove crucial.

(iii) The Propaganda of war

For the functioning of militarism, and especially for the mobilization not only of soldiers in war, but also of those parts of the population that always support war, propaganda is of crucial importance in the present epoch. Perhaps comparable to the World War propaganda is the viral war propaganda that has been exploited in the past few years. A long time ago, all media, from newspapers, to radio and television, to the so-called social media, have been synchronized in a way that personally would not have thought possible before. And they all go along with it, from the liberal business daily to the left-wing monthly, from the state broadcaster to tech giants like Google and Facebook, which prominently promote the state’s view of the pandemic on their Internet platforms and either algorithmically devalue and so hide critical voices or blatantly censor them. Who would have thought that the companies that once claimed (wrongly, of course) to have made the Arab Spring possible would now, when it is in the Western states that are pushing (Internet) censorship, so willingly offer themselves as enforcers. Oh, yes, actually, that was to be expected.

All communications technology, from newspapers to broadcasting to the Internet, is now becoming an instrument of freedom of speech. In a state of war all these technologies prove to be tools of propaganda more than ever before. 

agreement with a certain use of weapons. Which one? The one in which these objects are used to liberate oneself, since no liberation will be possible without human power and successful use of human power. For those who possess power will never be so polite as to stand aside in peace of mind, without resisting and without trying to obtain power at any cost."

From Alfredo Bonanno. "Like a thief in the night."

What is war? What is militarism?

Over the course of different eras, wars have manifested themselves in different ways. Some (early) campaigns of conquest, in which a civilizing imperial power annexes territories previously inhabited only by stateless communities, may have been conducted differently, at least on the part of the stateless communities, than those wars in which the armies of monarchs, aristocrats, merchants, businessmen, churches, or nation-states clash with one another. They may even have more in common with certain modern forms of war, to which I will return. For the time being, however, I will answer the question of what war and militarism are on the basis of those parts of the population that always support war.

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What is war? What is militarism?

Over the course of different eras, wars have manifested themselves in different ways. Some (early) campaigns of conquest, in which a civilizing imperial power annexes territories previously inhabited only by stateless communities, may have been conducted differently, at least on the part of the stateless communities, than those wars in which the armies of monarchs, aristocrats, merchants, businessmen, churches, or nation-states clash with one another. They may even have more in common with certain modern forms of war, to which I will return. For the time being, however, I will answer the question of what war and militarism are on the basis of those parts of the population that always support war, propaganda is of crucial importance in the present epoch. Perhaps comparable to the World War propaganda is the viral war propaganda that has been exploited in the past few years. For a long time now, all media, from newspapers, to radio and television, to the so-called social media, have been synchronized in a way that personally would not have thought possible before. And they all go along with it, from the liberal business daily to the left-wing monthly, from the state broadcaster to tech giants like Google and Facebook, which prominently promote the state’s view of the pandemic on their Internet platforms and either algorithmically devalue and so hide critical voices or blatantly censor them. Who would have thought that the companies that once claimed (wrongly, of course) to have made the Arab Spring possible would now, when it is in the Western states that are pushing (Internet) censorship, so willingly offer themselves as enforcers. Oh, yes, actually, that was to be expected.

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chain of command. For it is not only in war that obedience and above all discipline will henceforth be the most important virtue of a subject, but also in times of peace this martialist virtue will be constantly practiced when the vassals serve their respective lords in civilian state life. A new order will remain in place, despite numerous power struggles, intrigues and coup attempts, until a new class reaches for power and overthrows this system from the outside: the bourgeois. After the heads of the nobility roll in defeat after defeat, the military is also abolished. A middle class that has arisen to become the new upper class cannot, of course, claim the military services of the nobility for itself and, in any case, its loyalty would no longer be assured now that we are no longer dealing with petty despots in the favor of a commanding prince. The bourgeois continues to use martialist logic, but now needs new subjects who will fight for their cause. In France and the U.S., and later throughout the Western world, the first nations will emerge, and it will be nationalism, the myth of national unity, that will henceforth mobilize subjects into war for the cause of the rulers. If the vassals can still be regarded as beings capable of shaping their own lives, because they may have believed that they went into battle for their own cause, i.e. for their power, influence and status, the bourgeois succeeds in eradicating all egoism in military affairs. From now on, people go to war for a fictitious nation that they believe to be their own, for the fatherland, and they are prepared to have half their face blown off for the fatherland, to have their limbs blown off or, later, to inhale poison gas. The administrative participation in ruling, which ensured the discipline of the vassals even in peacetime, is eliminated and replaced by something much more terrible: factories. To function to the beat of the machine, they will henceforth no longer be able to use the egoism of the mercenary soldiers. They are, however, still the apparatus by which capital can be extracted from the workforce and raw materials. Although international capital has always been interested in this state-organized military, it is also increasingly deploying its own security forces in various parts of the world (for example, in South America) to oversee the expansion of an extractive infrastructure there and to crush resistance to it. However, where the main purpose of an increasingly international military is to put down insurgencies, intervene in civil wars, and protect the economic interests of the capitalist class, national mobilization strategies are still in operation. Although there are obviously still plenty of Nazis in the ranks of the military to satisfy their longing to serve their fatherland, the majority of people can no longer be so clumsily deceived. Instead of hostile nations, in times of global understanding and an international community of states, a new enemy is now needed, against whom at least the sympathies of the people can be roused for the strike forces of their country. And in times when the international military is training for deployment in urban areas, when civil war scenarios and counterinsurgency operations are being practiced by the military, it is also necessary for the enemy to hide in the population. The enemy has been called international terrorism since at least 2001, but not just since then. And it is probably an ingenious move that this millions of individual parts. Manufacturing compa- nies themselves often do not follow from beginning to end who their suppliers are, let alone who their suppliers' suppliers are, who their suppliers of turn supply. Even if there are efforts in the defense industry, more than anywhere else, to trace these production chains and—if they are indispensable for the production process—to secure them accordingly, this also applies at least in part to the manufacturers of tanks, aircraft, drones and the like. In the history of the production of high-tech goods—and also in the defense indus- try—it is said that production halls have to a standstill for days because a certain nut, which could not easily be bought in the hardware store, had not been delivered or because a supplier went bankrupt and they first had to find a replacement for the component it had supplied. And when, a few years ago, the world market prices for rare earths skyrocketed because China reduced its exports, the suppliers to the automotive industry—and what is needed for cars is often also needed in one form or another for armored vehicles—experienced considerable supply bottlenecks. But I don’t want to get too specific here. In any case, it seems interesting to me that beyond the desire to produce strategic raw material units such as the UN blue berets for primarily international military missions designed to secure raw materials. Although international capital has always been interested in this state-organized military, it is also increasingly deploying its own security forces in various parts of the world (for example, in South America) to oversee the expansion of an extractive infrastructure there and to crush resistance to it. However, where the main purpose of an increasingly international military is to put down insurgencies, intervene in civil wars, and protect the economic interests of the capitalist class, national mobilization strategies are still in operation. Although there are obviously still plenty of Nazis in the ranks of the military to satisfy their longing to serve their fatherland, the majority of people can no longer be so clumsily deceived. 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(ii) The infrastructure of war

Arms have always feared forests, mountains and wars of the resistance movements; those environ- mentalist have so far only passingly penetrated, so far, and where they lack the necessary infrastructure, as well as often geographic knowledge and expe- rience, to successfully control their environment. It is no wonder that all special divisions of the military send their “elite soldiers” on expeditions—called death marches outside of military training—through the harsh wilderness, and train them, except for the possibility of using a certain way on their own initiative, to make their own decisions and to fight independently of the movements of other units of their armies. These special detachments are the military instrument to penetrate areas that are free of the minimal infrastructure that is necessary for the typical military intervention. But in a sense, these units are a relic of times past. Modern war technology relies primarily on drones, satellites, reconnaiss- ance flights, (infrared) surveillance technology, etc., to penetrate even the most remote areas of this world at any time. And in the few cases in the past when the wilderness proved all too impermeable, NATO and the U.S. increasingly deployed troops—poisons, napalm and other biochemical weapons. The Roman legions cleared forests to create a suitable battlefield for their troops, the US Army almost always had a “reactive zone” to lure their enemies out of cover. These, of course, only two of the most popular examples of how total control over their environment played a significant role for militaries then and now. Even if the strategic destruction of the environment still plays an important role in this or that military con- flict today, it can be argued that war technology is at least looking for ways to avoid environmental destruction on such a scale (in the course of its local deployment, because the destruction of raw materials for military equipment alone destroys the environment on a gigantic scale) if possible, and to instead penetrate ever more “blind spots” with the help of high-tech. In this context, it is not only the military technologies that play a role, with which until now unknown “enemy territory” is to be opened up during or prior to a military intervention, but in times when wars are primarily directed against individual population groups in an otherwise opened-up area, be they indigenous populations, rebels, foreigners, what is meant today by the term “terrorist,” or simply imposing one’s will on groups that are not prepared to give way to the construction of a mine, a factory, a road, etc. It is rather the “civilian technologies” that prepare the
Horizons of an anti-militarist practice of attack

The production of war

Recent anti-militarist campaigns, operating within the truce of which is sometimes called "Fortress Europe", have identified the production of arms, munitions, and other war equipment as a field of intervention. If the supplies coming from this production stopped reaching the front lines of the war, which are elsewhere in the world, the war would also come to a standstill. And indeed, without an unbroken chain of supplies, the wars of the past do not support the militarism of YPG,YPJ and their social-democratic to Leninist parties, the PYD and the PKK, as well as against any rule in general. Even against that of what is called democratic federalism, in which any case can only be considered anarchic in the eyes of a Trotskyist who has declared himself an anarchist without further ado.

... But even this modernized understanding of war needs to be reconsidered these days, as we have been experiencing a new form of war, or more precisely, civil war, for more than a year now. Terrorism, which has become largely obsolete, fills at most the margins of the daily newspapers. Instead, another, even more fictional enemy, fills the headlines: Covid-19. This invisible super-terrorist who haunts people invisibly and insidiously, whom the Turks behind every word wrote is that he is the ultimate enemy and his warfare requires a very special form of mass mobilization: mobilization for absence. The modern war hero, he – or she, this modern army has now really overcome any gender differences – lounges at home on the sofa, munches on junk food and anxiously follows the headlines that flicker across all screens every minute. And even though the number of dead has long since been reduced to a meaningless "inciden-"tence", the war-loving masses are still cheering. And everyone else? "The best medicine is called discipline", or something like that is the slogan of one of the federal government's latest advertising campaigns urging the population to block the oil interests of an empire. Instead, another, even more fictional enemy, fills the headlines: Covid-19. This invisible super-terrorist who haunts people invisibly and insidiously, whom the Turks behind every word wrote is that he is the ultimate enemy and his warfare requires a very special form of mass mobilization: mobilization for absence. The modern war hero, he – or she, this modern army has now really overcome any gender differences – lounges at home on the sofa, munches on junk food and anxiously follows the headlines that flicker across all screens every minute. And even though the number of dead has long since been reduced to a meaningless "inciden-"tence", the war-loving masses are still cheering. And everyone else? "The best medicine is called discipline", or something like that is the slogan of one of the federal government's latest advertising campaigns urging the population to block the oil interests of an empire.

Of course, the propagandists of this modern war against international terrorism have also become convinced that the modern war against international terrorism has become not only a "relaxation" , the war-loving masses are still cheering. And even worse, they have finally come around to the idea that this is a potential terrorist, to the extent that they look "Al Qaeda" , practice the Muslim faith, or can even be raciallyized. The U.S. Transportation Security Administration (TSA), which has been operating in overdrive since 2001, is convinced that terror-ists can be iden-tified by traditional racial characteristics such as skin color or head shape, but also by a specific terrorist beard trim.

The war against international terrorism has also become the ultimate racist argumentation strategy against migration in Europe. Whoever flies from the war zones of this world in the direction of the wealthier metropolises could be a terrorist. Those who go berserk and run amok in the metropolises, on the other hand, remain the relatively harmless, misguided spree shooters from the neighborhood. I certainly don't have to explain all aspects of the fear of terrorism here, it should be all too present to most readers. Its targeted fomentation and subsequent instrumentaliation by politics in the form of the technological armament of the police – who now drive tanks and have hand grenades in their arsenal – and the military, as well as an expansion of border regimes, especially in Europe, is still in recent memory. It can be said that the specter of terrorism, as it haunts our brainwashed minds today, is the ideal image of the enemy, produced at great expense, to legitimize the military strategies being trained by an increasingly global army to secure a worldwide empire.

measured in terms of their practice, however, these interventions must so far be regarded as having largely failed. Blockades in front of production sites of the arms industry, often announced in advance and thus integrated into the production schedules of these companies, often lasted only a few hours and are not infrequently dissolved of their own accord after a certain time, when the participants of the blockade felt hungry or wanted to return to the comfort of their night camps, or had to think of their return to work the next day. I don't want to at all minimize the value of such collective efforts of protest with this assessment, but those who take part in such a predictable, calculable, and highly symbolic blockade they are actually contributing to blocking war production to the extent that it would have any effect on warfare is simply lying to themselves. But there was not only this form of mass blockades: sabotage of railroad tracks, arson attacks on company vehicles of arms corporations and their suppliers, as well as on the vehicles of logistics companies that shipped their war equip-ment, etc., as well as a perhaps even larger series of paint attacks on the headquarters of these compa-nies offered and still call for a militant perspective of intervention in war production.

As for the reasons why these attempts at intervention, to discourage people from attacking even when the enemy seems to be overpowering and one’s own room to manue-ver seems too small in comparison, one’s own resistance too insignificant. None of this is a reason for me to refrain from attacking. Rather, I think it is worthwhile to reconsider established strategies from time to time and, if necessary, to subject them to revision if it becomes apparent that one’s own actions within them are largely ineffective or are becoming predictable.

Today’s high-tech production, and the pro-dauction of war material definitively falls into this category, it is in itself an extremely unstable affair. The production is dependent on numerous expensive and difficult-to-obtain resources – ironically, the same resources the war revolves around in one way or another – and consists of a long production chain of intermediate products and their logistics to the production sites where the final product, be it a tank, a military jet, a drone, a missile launcher or anything else, is assembled from thousands or terrorism is so difficult to detect. Previously tested racist motives can be mobilized against it just as much as political fear, in advance and thus politically sub-\textit{tive}, insurgent conspiracy that will bring chaos to a world which is synchronized and in lockstep. And, of course, revolts in the Third World, in which the subdued rebel against their exploiters, can be declared terrorism just as easily as the regime of a country that refuses to conform to the oil interests of an empire.

How many Americans can identify with those blockades that took place under the two offshoots of the two U.S. Trade-Center, how few were there compared to the dead of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq? And yet this event and its propagandistic exploitation is enough to mobilize not only US-Americans, but also countless Europeans against something that presumably does not even exist, or that, in retro-spect, was only created by these wars in the first place. But the “war on terror” has not only trig-gered wars against a speck in the remote regions of the world powers, but has also established a warfare against domestic populations in the metropolises of power. From now on, everyone is a potential terrorist, to the extent that they look “Al Qaeda”, practice the Muslim faith, or can be raciallyized. The U.S. Transportation Security Administration (TSA), which has been operating in overdrive since 2001, is convinced that terror-ists can be identified by traditional racial characteristics such as skin color or head shape, but also by a specific terrorist beard trim.

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particularly philosophical at all today, the current reality has a bit of both. Even if the quarantine prison (mostly) no longer shows window bars and barbed wire fences, but here and there resorts to more modern instruments of confinement with electronic shackles, and elsewhere tests the even more modern form of self-confinement in a gigantic experiment, the risk-area camp. Often, there are certainly exceptions, it knows no excessively fixed boundaries, no fencing and, as far as I know, fugitives have not been shot by guards so far, at least not very frequently – incidents in directly neighboring countries and elsewhere in the world make this possible here as well, of course – the Corona mask must have dulled one’s sense considerably if one still rejects these escape routes. In addition, there are lots of new papers, from a pass in the form of a negative Corona test and a certificate from the employer to the international identification document of an electronic vaccination pass. A green card is what the war propaganda sometimes uncritically calls it.

But while at all the new borders, at least for the time being, shooting is not too frequent, border crossings are tolerated once in a while in a depending on the person and the situation, and the pigs at a distance of 1.5 meters, the situation at the nation-state borders, as well as especially at the European external borders, has once again worsened dramatically. The camps off the beaten path, that are more remote, lacking neither the barbed wire nor the sharp-shooting guards, are getting worse and worse. And the exclusively humanistic help of the left... is in lockdown. Mostly out of conviction. Last year, when the pictures of the burning Moria gave a spark of hope, the leftists demanded a new, more hygienic camp. But what does that have to do with the war? Unfortunately, quite a lot, since it proves that in Germany, for the first time in history, there is a specifically the biggest idiots is this less harmful. The preferred tool of the "angel of death", one would almost like to interject.

So what does this mean for an anarchist understate...? One thing is certain: less modern forms of war have not died out with this modern war, just as the war against terrorism has not made the traditional wars between states and civil wars obsolete. The viral war, even though its war propaganda must be unmistakably obvious, is not perceived by many as a war at all. In the tradition of the war on terror, the "peacekeeping" of blue berets, and the "diplomatic value" of the atomic bomb, viral warfare also promises peace, or worse, health. And it even seems to perfect this narrative by doing so. The militaristic logic of discipline that is currently imposed on all social life, the irrational and arbitrary segmentation of all social relations outside the already eternally institutionalized relational tipically legally leal. But what does that have to do with the spark of hope, the legalization of marijuana. The police and the military are in fact one and the same, even in the territories of war? I think we must be able to participate in the operations of international politics, on one side of the struggle, does not mean that we should be disinclined in the reality of these operations. Playing our own game, then. By identity politics? A more ideological frame: sure in the face of complex social and historical realities? Out of fear of getting bogged down and serving as foot soldiers? Beyond these difficulties, there are a few other reasons why we share the perspective expressed here by the old anarchistic fighter.

The first is that if authority does not give birth to freedom, and never has, and no self-organization can arise from an authoritarian, centralist and hierarchical approach to the struggle, it remains that tensions towards self-organization and terrorism are often inevitable within these conflicts, even when they are dominated by authoritarian currents (for example with an ideology of national liberation or communism). In this case, one knows in advance that the apparatuses of these organizations of struggle will not hesitate sooner or later to repress, crush, recuperate or eliminate these tensions, while showing (often, not always) prudence in order not to lose control of the situation. Rather than putting their energies and enthusiasm at the disposal of such an apparatus, could not anarchists instead imagine ways to support, defend, and expand these tensions toward self-organization and freedom, while preparing and gearing up for the inevitable decisive confrontation with authoritarian forces?

From "Rubicon", published in Storm Warnings. Anarchist Bulletin for the Social War, #2, February 2018

In this regard, we are reminded of the words of Louis Mercier Vega, a tireless anarchist fighter who has lived through many situations of acute conflict on different continents, words that date back to 1977, in the midst of the explosion of guerrilla wars: "As for the eternal consideration that every act, every feeling expressed, every attitude plays into the hands of one or other antagonist, it is undoubtedly correct. The question is to know if we must disappear, remain silent, become objects, for the simple reason that our existence can favor the triumph of one over the other. But only one truth is clear: no one will play our game if we don't play it ourselves. It is not wanting to participate in the operations of international politics, on one side of the struggle, does not mean that we should be disinclined in the reality of these operations." Playing our own game, then. By identity politics? A more ideological frame: sure in the face of complex social and historical realities? Out of fear of getting bogged down and serving as foot soldiers? Beyond these difficulties, there are a few other reasons why we share the perspective expressed here by the old anarchistic fighter.

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