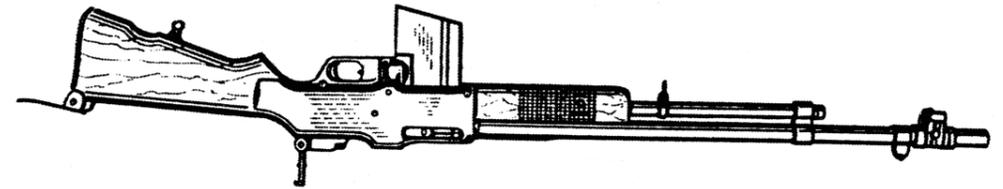


**WAR**



**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 terrified after the Covid 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 expansion of the Russian enemy at home. That subcultural leeway 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 coming weeks and months, we are 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 democrats support Ukraine by 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 mobilization, by scorning any cadre and recruiting mentality, by attacking internal rearmament and militarization, by sabotaging military supply lines and blockading the arms industry.

Meanwhile, what is happening in Ukraine seems muddled to us: while the death toll of civilians is skyrocketing, we hear rumors that civilians are being armed. Should the chaotic events develop in the direction of a guerrilla or partisan war, this could possibly – by no means inevitably – open up possibilities for revolutionaries. And so, anarchists

who are in the territory of the Russian state speculate that a failure of the war of aggression could result in uprisings and revolts in Russia.

However, given the ongoing bloodshed, we are aware that war and militarization usually only breed more war and militarization, and their suffering and misery overshadow possibilities for social liberation... in this sense, our thoughts are with the people on the ground who are exploring their own paths without bowing to the orders and ideologies of a state.

February 27, 2022

Translated from *In der Tat* No. 14, Spring 2022

**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 chases 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.**

**So what? one would say. Well, just that this anonymous 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, handguns, rifles and machine guns have been produced here, artillery units and mortars are manufactured, and tanks, jeeps, helicopters etc. are equipped with weapons systems. All over the world, armies and law enforcement agencies have been equipped by this Belgian company to carry out their massacres. And over time, many arms companies have come to Herstal, supported by their partners in the technology industry located in the Hauts-Sarts industrial zone. The fact is that all these companies had their power cut off and their production was paralyzed for at least one day. At least one day without these factories spitting out their tools of death, without them being able to reinforce the armed State.**

**Refusing war, attacking arms production is possible. By targeting the companies themselves or by striking upstream, by striking what they all depend on: electric current and the telecommunication network.**

**“Belgian arms production at a standstill”, *anarchie!* n°6, September 2020**

direct actions that have taken place since the war began.

In recent days, there have been several attacks against the state. All or most of them are clearly spontaneous. But this radical element is an excellent environment for the activities of more trained fighters. Below is a brief summary.

During an anti-war rally on February 28, a car with the inscriptions “People, get up” and “This is war” rammed a police cordon on Pushkinskaya Square in Moscow. After the collision, the car caught fire, which suggests the presence of flammable substances inside the vehicle. The car was quickly surrounded by snowplows. The driver has been arrested, but the name is not yet known. In general, the security forces are clearly hiding information about this incident; only fragmentary details have become public. For example, on YouTube you can find a short video clip.

On the night of March 1, four young people tried to set fire to a police station in Smolensk. One hammer was thrown, a fire broke out. Unfortunately, the daredevils were detained. The official media are cautious about the political nature of the attack. According to them, the reason for the arson was “the increased destructive impact of Ukrainian intelligence on the Russian information space.” In the published video, the detainees give the necessary confessions to the security forces. The torture methods of obtaining such testimony are well known.

According to the *Black Book of Capitalism*, on the night of March 2-3 in Voronezh, an unknown person threw a Molotov cocktail into the military registration and enlistment office building. The security forces failed to detain anyone. We wish the partisan strength and good luck in new good undertakings.

Also, according to the Cheka, a 36-year-old man was arrested in Moscow, who threw two Molotovs towards the Kremlin wall and scattered anti-war leaflets. Now he is arrested under article 213 “hooliganism.” The name of this brave man is still unknown.

In St. Petersburg, 24-year-old bartender Zakhar Tatuiko was arrested. According to investigators, at an anti-war rally, he sprayed pepper spray in the face of garbage [“mycop,” the Russian word for trash, is also—understandably—a colloquial expression for “police officer”], and not an ordinary one, but the commander of a special regiment. We do not know whether Zakhar committed the act he is accused of, but the act itself certainly deserves admiration.

In Lukhovitsy near Moscow, a military registration and enlistment office was burned.

An unknown guerrilla released a video and a statement. The attack is directed against Putin’s aggression in Ukraine. We welcome the sabotage of the war machine of the aggressors. We call on all awakened residents of Russia and Belarus to follow the example of a brave saboteur near Moscow:

*“The other day, I set fire to the military registration and enlistment office in the city of Lukhovitsy, Moscow Region, and filmed it on gopro. He painted the gate in the colors of the Ukrainian flag and wrote: “I will not go to kill my brothers!” After which he climbed over the fence, doused the facade with gasoline, broke the windows and sent Molotov cocktails into them. The goal was to destroy the archive with the personal files of recruits, it is located in this part. This should prevent mobilization in the district. I hope that I will not see my classmates in captivity or lists of the dead.*

*I think it needs to be expanded. Ukrainians will know that in Russia they are fighting for them, not everyone is afraid and not everyone is indifferent. Our protesters need to be inspired and act more decisively. And this should further break the spirit of the Russian army and government. Let these motherfuckers know that their own people hate them and will extinguish them. The earth will soon begin to burn 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 quite rightly 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 Zhlobitsky spread across the country. [Mikhail Zhlobitsky 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 accordingly. Join the resistance, organize it where organizational strength is needed. Take action.

Excerpt from the *Crimethinc Ex-Worker* podcast #83.

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 communique concludes.

16/10, Nuremberg (Germany). Following the sentencing of antifascists in Leipzig, a truck of the logistics company *Deutsche Bahn/Schenker* was set on fire. This company works for NATO and supplies equipment to 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 *Frontex* 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 *MAN*. 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.*”

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1/1, Bremen (Germany). *Autonomous anti-militarists* smash several windows of the arms company *Orbitale Hochtechnologie Bremen (OHB)* and then set fire to the offices. “*OHB is considered a renowned 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 multinational energy company *Shell* 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.

# RADICAL ACTIONS AGAINST THE WAR IN RUSSIA

## Боец Анархист [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 protesters herded 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 Russians aren’t passive, 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

# WAR STARTS HERE

For weeks, the air has been thick with announcements and signs of its imminent fulfillment, and 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 aims, 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 it is 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 camp 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 by the oppressed against the oppressors, by the exploited against the exploiters. Our role is to call the subjugated 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 war 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 defenders 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 destruction, it is then 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 presented as a *war effort*, it is more than ever a matter of trying to damage the economy and the normal course of exploitation, production and consumption.

In order to be waged, every war needs a mountain 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 therefore necessary to try to block everything. Block and sabotage the research of death in laboratories and universities, block and sabotage the factories of death, block and sabotage communications, access and data exchange, block and sabotage the logistics of death that allow the circulation and delivery, by land, air and sea, of weapons, ammunition, 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, astonishingly, 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 record 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 surprising 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-offs of defense research and to make the defense domain benefit from the advances of civilian research*”, as is very clearly asserted by the delegate 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 lives. If this could at least silence those who still believe in the importance of the role of science and technological research for “human progress,” or at least convince them that these are not neutral, we for our part draw an additional conclusion that we encourage sharing with all those who care about fighting war: in times of war or in times of peace, it is necessary to look at the actors, the interests

and the structures which, intertwined, concretely make war possible and to search for the cogs of this industry, in order to try to give ourselves the means to sabotage the war machine. If the war machine is embodied in large corporations (namely *Nexter*, *Panhard Defense* and *Arquus* for land forces, *EADS*, *SAFRAN* and *Dassault* for aeronautics, *Thales* and *Sagem* for electronics, *Naval Group* for naval forces and *MBDA* for missile production), the military industry also relies on thousands of small companies that are just as indispensable and much more accessible. Bearing in mind, moreover, that the production of weapons and war machines, of defense and security systems, of surveillance and control, which are used to wage war, are the same as those which arm the forces of repression *here*.

Peace will remain an empty word as long as we have not destroyed all the States and their borders, as long as the interests thrive of those who get rich on exploitation and on war, those who wanted it, those who study it, those who promote it, those who finance it, those who prepare it, in short, all those who collaborate with it from near or far. Whatever their nationality, they are the ones we recognize as our enemies, because they will always be enemies of freedom.

*anarchie!* n° 23, march 2022

**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 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 massacres 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 actors exist behind these torturers: politicians, energy companies, banks, architects, construction companies, technology manufacturers, transportation companies and many other cogs that anyone can easily discover with research. Many of their offices, infrastructures 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,**

**Among the great questions rarely taken into consideration, there is one that is capable of interrogating the very civilization in which we live: what does energy serve in today's society? If the energy consumed by each individual in their daily life is negligible, contrary to what the energy multinationals tend to make us believe in their commercials, managing to make us forget that we could (re)learn to live without it, it is far from being the case for the civil and military industry, where one single company is capable of consuming an energy equivalent to that of an entire city each year. Not to mention war, which consumes energy at unimaginable levels.**

**We must therefore recognize that capitalism is not only good at smoking us out, but that it is also gifted in the art of evasion, with its myth of the energy transition. A diversion that is as effective as it is misleading, since our society tends to accumulate, not to replace or substitute, as the history of energy over the last two centuries has so terribly illustrated. But let us return to our initial question, to which two recent sabotage actions in Germany have provided an element of answer. On May 21 in Munich, night owls attacked the electricity and fiber-optic network, with the arms company Rohde & Schwarz as their main target, because - as a communique says - “*Rohde & Schwarz is one of the many companies that make their profits from the production of arms, war and death, and which have contributed to Germany being among the world's top five arms exporters for years.*” A simple fire in a trench, destroying about fifty medium voltage electrical cables, was enough to keep the death business in question without power for more than 24 hours.**

**A few days later, on the night of May 25-26, in the east of Berlin, the Volcano Group successfully set fire to six high-voltage power cables. The destruction of these cables, which are easily accessible, is not accidental, since they are located 250 meters from the site of the Tesla factory under construction. As a communique states, it was a reminder that “putting an end to the ideology of unlimited technological progress and the global destruction of the planet will not be done with just fine words. To the progress of this destruction - we oppose with sabotage”.**

**If energy supply is vital for the industries of domination, both civil and military... then cutting them off at the source is just as vital. No more and no less.**

**“An energy of future: fire?”, *anarchie!* n°15, June 2021**

one of the biggest suppliers of vehicles for the police, for private security companies and for the army.

1/05, Jena (Germany). Broken windows and paint thrown against the branches of Commerzbank and Deutsche Bank, which are targeted for their

investments of the German military industry, supplier of the Erdogan regime. “Let's break capitalism and fascism all over the world”.

15/5, Greece. *Direct Action Cells* claim responsibility 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' experience. The targets attacked in Athens: the Foundation for Economic and Industrial Research (IOBE), the 3rd Tax Center, the residence of Stratos Mavroeidakos (coordinator of Nea Demokratia's governmental projects), a police vehicle, the home of retired Greek police lieutenant general Christos Kontaridis, the home of the brigadier general of the Greek police, Michalis Ladomenou, the home of Giannis Katsiamakas (president of the Panhellenic Federation of Civil Servants of Athens (POAXIA) and retired lieutenant general of the Greek police, the home and car of Katerina Magga, head of the Patissia police. The targets attacked in Thessaloniki : Hellenic-American Union offices, a Ministry of Labor vehicle, military residences, across from NATO headquarters, the gate of the Ministry of Macedonia-Thrace, the home of police officer Hatzi Ilias, the home of the president of the Thessaloniki Police Union, Dimitrios Padiotis, the home of retired magistrate, former president of the Court of Appeal, Antonios Tsalaportas, the house of the politician of Nea Demokratia Aphrodite Latinopoulou, a vehicle of the diplomatic corps, the house of the right wing family, of the lieutenant colonel Georgios Paskonis, the house of the family Nakos, right wing, the house of the family Kosmidis, right wing.

6/5, La Ciotat (France). In Bouches-du-Rhône, a sabotage was committed on the *Athelia* source station of the electrical network during the night, depriving 15,000 customers of power in La Ciotat and Ceyreste. The *Athelia* industrial park (300 companies) is home to companies such as *Thales*, *Arpège*, *Trees Telecom* and also the Tier 4 submarine cable datacenter managed by *Interxion*, whose power was cut off. Repairs to the substation, which also supplies 17 substations in La Ciotat, took five days.

10/9, The Hague (Netherlands). 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 headquarters 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 armament *ThyssenKrupp* goes up in smoke around 3 am.

17/12, Zurich (Switzerland). The *Sehit Bager Nujyan Commando* claimed responsibility for the burning of two cars of a *Mercedes* dealership, on the day of Erdogan’s visit to Switzerland. *Mercedes* was singled out for its delivery of military vehicles to the Turkish regime.

## 2020

31/1, Berlin (Germany). In front of one of its establishments, three vans of the arms company *ThyssenKrupp* are set on fire “*to show our solidarity with the struggle of the self-organized forces of Rojava against Turkey,*” says the communique.

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, Herstal (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 Herstal. 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*” Hauts-Sart industrial zone. Herstal 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.

19/9, Cavaillon (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 revolt 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 antifascists arrested in Leipzig.

## 2021

14/2, Limeil-Brévannes (France). In the Val-de-Marne, one of the buildings of the company Ommic, housing laboratories where it designs and produces semiconductors and electronic chips for base stations, 5G, the army and aerospace, is set on fire by *passing Martians* who conclude: “*For freedom.*”

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 *Anarcho-Communist 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 “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”, funding has since been granted to 160 companies. They are all in the fields of defense, aeronautics, electronics, as well as bio-technologies (“agri-food” and “health”) and telecommunication, with many winning grants awarded to companies developing the industrial side of 5G (from robotization to data exploitation to tightening controls over production and logistics). [...] If the talk of reviving domestic industry is a drumbeat of war, lovers of freedom had better not be unaware, lulled to sleep by decades of “pacification” and accustomed to the implausibility of a major military conflict, of what that means. They had better think, right now, about how to continue to fight the State, even when it goes to war and foments massacre. And to broaden their view, by looking more closely at what the winning selection of 160 companies says about the world we live in, and how we can fight against the horrible fate it is leading us to.**

**From “Drum Rolls of War: Relaunching Domestic Industry”, *anarchie!* No. 14, May 2021**

**Because at some point we should stop paying lip service to the atrocities committed daily by power in order to monopolize resources around the globe, maintain their colonial influence and terrorize entire populations. For example, by taking a close look at the kind of small, scattered production units full of machine tools, autoclaves, ovens, foundries and molds that produce pieces of prepreg carbon, ceramics and electronics on a daily basis that are used directly for massacres. To all these decentralized workshops that are supplied with raw materials and energy to produce and transport these parts to camps and air bases. For how do we think that in 2020 this country has become the 5th largest producer of weapons, and the 3rd largest exporter in the world, if not also thanks to these less visible sharks of the military-industrial complex? The war is not as far away as one might think. It begins here, in the middle of the countryside bathed in a murderous candor.**

**Excerpt from “The war starts here”, *anarchie!* N°10, January 2021**

# TO THE BRUTALITY OF WAR

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 abyss that separates us from the rulers of the armies - if not with the radicality of an anti-militarist insurrection?

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, nor 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 enraging 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 disfigures 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 Muos<sup>1</sup>, we managed to invade a NATO base. I would do it a hundred times over,

<sup>1</sup> 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 communists by Saddam Hussein's regime.

The refusal of this mortifying binary logic is nourished and fed by "highly exemplary gestures" and by conflicts that can generate novel possibilities: in Naples, a little more than seventy years ago, a revolt of the inhabitants pushed back the Nazi army without waiting for the arrival of the American tanks; today, in prison under accusations

of massacre pronounced by those who know a lot about massacres for having planned terrible ones, there are companions accused of having placed homemade devices to set fire to military vehicles. Anyone who really wants to fight against the war should try not to fail to support those who have used their hearts as molotovs - and should try, alone or with company, to do the same in the way and with the methods that their own conscience suggests.

## LOGICS OF WAR

*Campism.* During the First World War, if Kropotkin's terrible position in favor of the victory of a part of the belligerent 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

**If we return to the question of means, we come full circle, for it is in the means that all sides resemble each other to the point of being confused. Whatever political design is deemed more just than another, the means of war meet the same fatal necessity that triggered it in the first place: the Euro-American Coalition is obliged to raze entire cities in the same way that Palestinian military organizations are obliged to strike civilians; the Irish Republicans are obliged to accept Gaddafi's help, the Lebanese communists are obliged to ally themselves with Hezbollah; the Resistance is obliged to shoot its dissidents in the same way as the French army did during the 1914-1918 war... When Annie Le Brun takes the side of Croatia (and NATO) in 1991, or when almost all the extreme left proclaims its support for the Kurdish militias today, it is in the wake of a thousand conflicts that have already been drawn up, with a clear division of the good guys and the bad guys. All these examples, some more caricatural than others, trace the destiny of a struggle for freedom turned into war.**

**It doesn't take much for the wind to change direction: a handful of people's leaders for the revolt of the damned to turn against a bloc, a race, a religion or another people; a few alliances for the movement to turn against all the upheavals it promises.**

**But it goes without saying that in a society based on violence, violence is not a matter of choice. As all those who have ventured into it have testified, war itself cannot be fought with a flower on a gun. The diffuse pervasiveness of war through research and recruitment centers, through death factories, through technology, through barracks and camps, is protected by men and women with guns. Can we strike blows against this machine of death without the means taking over the freedom we seek? Is another war possible?**

**Extract from the article "Of the Good Use of Evil", published in *De passage. Au cul les patries les frontières et les nations. Apériodique de critique sociale cuisinée maison n°2*, Winter and Spring 2020**

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 patriarchal 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 here*". *Thyssenkrupp* has an important development and production division dedicated to the defense sector.

30/10, Berlin (Germany). *Autonomous Groups* claim responsibility for the arson of a van of the energy company *Veolia*, whose logistics subsidiary, *NOB*, is a service provider for NATO armies.

5/11, Berlin, Germany. The windows of the offices of the industrial company *Karcher* 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 *Crossmedia*, 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 Zahaltsy 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 were carried out in solidarity against the Turkish invasion of Syria.

15/11, Geisenheim (Germany). In Hesse, using tires, the *Autonomous Gruppe Kommando Hélén Qereçox/Anna Campbell* sets fire to the back of the administration building of the arms company *Ferrostaal*. 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 companions on the run, in prison and in struggle*" and "*Loïc and the parkbank 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 its name appears on the list "*Enemies of Freedom*" which lists companies in this sector, found on [herzdeskrieges.blackblogs.org](http://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 Orsetti*, against the war and especially because "*It is up to us, the anarchists, to finish those who one day decided that some could submit 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. *ThyssenKrupp* is a big supplier of the Erdogan regime, as the claim explains, which ends with greetings to the "*parkbank 3*" and to Loïc

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 *Allianz* 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 for its collaboration in the export of German military equipment to Turkey.

24/04, Leipzig (Germany). During the night, the window of an office of the *Siemens* building is broken and several molotovs 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 *State Secretariat for Economic Affairs* (SECO), following its responsibility for the export of 5 tons of isopropanol to Syria in 2014, a component in the production of the toxic gas sarin. Claimed in particular in the context of “*Fight for Afrin*” which, among other things, calls for attacking war profiteers in their own country.

27/05, Roverè della Luna (Italy). In Trentino, eight army vehicles, including two Leopard tanks and buses, were set on fire in this barracks, which was used as a shooting range and training center for engineers.

9/06, Dresden (Germany). Near a hotel, two vehicles of the *Bundeswehr*, the German army, were set on fire during the night.

7/07, Hanover (Germany). Two army trucks were set on fire in the industrial area of Hannover-Hainholz. They are completely destroyed. “*For a world without domination*”, says the communiqué.

16/07, Berlin (Germany). Arson of a car of the company *Dräger* in Hänsel street in Baumschulenweg. This company supplies gas masks to the police and the army (in Germany but also in Russia and Turkey). “*Freedom for all the prisoners of the G20*” says the communiqué.

8/08, Berlin (Germany). A truck of the subsidiary of the German railway company *Deutsche Bahn* (*DB Schenker*) is burned in the Wedding district. It is in charge of the army’s logistics headquarters in Kassel. Claimed by the autonomous groups, against the collaboration of the German army with the Turkish regime and in solidarity “*with all the prisoners of the social war locked up in the detention centers of the system*”.

21/08, Berlin (Germany). Autonomous groups attacked the *German Society for Foreign Policy*, a circle of scientists, politicians and entrepreneurs dedicated to security, with an incendiary device consisting of 13 liters of gasoline and oil. The claim inserts this attack in the fight against war and the military industry.

18/12, Leipzig (Germany). A van of the arms company *ThyssenKrupp* is set on fire, as a response to the threat of the Turkish army’s invasion of Rojava and in solidarity with the struggles in the Kurdish regions.

## 2019

29/1, Rostock (Germany). Four trucks of *Deutsche Bahn/ Schenker* are set on fire. *DB/Schenker* is a service provider of NATO and the German army. The claim specifies the role of the German arms industry in the war in Kurdistan and concludes “*war on war, freedom for all*”.

15/2, Munich (Germany). During the NATO security conference, a police minibus from the Rhineland-Palatinate region, temporarily assigned to Munich to protect the conference, was set on fire around 2 a.m. in the Zamdorf district. The damage is estimated at 70,000 Euros.

17/2, Bremen (Germany). During the night, two trucks of the German army are destroyed by fire in the district of Neustadt. The claim states that this action was carried out while the NATO security

other anarchists. A campist position that was not even original, since the main socialist parties and workers’ unions of the time had already yielded to the sirens of national union by aligning themselves behind their own warmongering state. If it would be absurd to forget that some anarchists sometimes faltered when up against a wall, including in other types of situations such as civil wars (let’s remember the dilemma “*war or revolution?*” decided in favor of the former by the leadership of the Spanish CNT), it would be a bit hasty to remember only that.

In the course of the wars that have punctuated the last century, and in which companions have been involved, it was also *against them* that a good number of subversive interventions could be put into practice, according to where they were located. This included the formation of *autonomous* combat groups (generally decentralized and coordinated), to build networks to help deserters on both sides, to sabotage the military-industrial apparatus behind the fronts, to undermine the mobilization of loyalty and national unity, to exacerbate discontent and defeatism by attempting to transform these wars for the fatherland into insurrections for freedom. We may be told that conditions have changed since those experiments, but certainly not to the extent that we cannot draw on this arsenal if we wish to intervene in hostilities, i.e., starting first with our own ideas and projectualities, rather than *the lesser evil* of supporting the side and interests of one state against another. For if we are against the peace of the markets, against the peace of authority, against the peace of numbness and servitude, we are obviously also against war. Because peace and war are in reality two terms that cover the same continuity of capitalist exploitation and state domination.

*Energy*. Among the different sets of bombastic sanctions taken by the Western states to hit their Russian counterpart at its head as well as at its base, everyone will have been able to notice the little well-understood games of deception. Among the major exceptions to these sanctions (now in their fourth round) are Russian exports of energy raw materials (oil and gas) and mining. And this is fortunate, since Russia produces 40% of the world’s palladium and 25% of its titanium, while being the world’s second largest producer of aluminum and gas, and third largest producer of nickel and oil. All materials whose prices are soaring since the beginning of the invasion of the Ukrainian territory by providing more money to Russia... which is also largely provided by the powerful of the same countries that constantly make humanitarian statements about the current

situation. For example, since the beginning of this war, the European Union has been paying Russia more than 400 million dollars *a day* for its gas and nearly 280 million for its oil, collected directly through the two banks spared from the financial sanctions (and for good reason!), namely *Sberbank* and *Gazprombank*. And we’ll skip the gigantic amounts for everything else, which is essential to the Western automobile industry (palladium), to its aeronautics and defense (titanium) or to electric batteries (nickel).

When we say that *the war starts here*, it often sounds like a simple rehashing of an old ideological slogan from the last century, but if someone were to ask today *who* is actually financing the Russian attack, they could turn to exactly the same people who are financing the other side, namely the Ukrainian defense: the techno-industrial system of 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 harm their common Western financiers: the two immense *Brotherhood* and *Soyuz* gas pipelines coming from Russia, *which cross the whole of the Ukrainian territory*, before being redirected to Germany and Italy. In the same way that 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 *VSMPO-Avisma* 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, *Rosoboronexport*. 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 - 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 currently used in the 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 timeframes - for those *here* 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 given 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 interests at stake already animated the networks of French resistance fighters under German occupation, whose command as well as the Anglo-American services insisted of 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.

*Subjects.* In this dirty war, given the lack of intense engagement in urban areas at the moment, the Russian army has been proceeding for several weeks to encircle and intensely bomb several cities, according to a tactic already tested in Aleppo. In Marioupol, 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.

In order to maintain its monopoly on the ruins and to continue to allocate all resources primarily to men in arms, the Ukrainian State has thus entrusted the volunteers of the *Territorial Defense brigades (Teroborona)* not only with the task of protecting its critical infrastructures on the second line, but also with that of preserving public order, which concerns, for example, the attempts of desperate people to loot. For a state that has declared martial law, essentially tolerating in the bombed-out cities forms of contained self-organization that supplement its own deficiencies, the patriotic duty would of course be to wait for your crumbs on an empty stomach while drinking water from the radiators, since it is well known that looting the sacrosanct deserted property can only be carried out by enemy soldiers or traitors, as the orders of the day hammer home. And beyond the tragic

situation in Marioupol, it is the same logic that is being implemented in the capital Kiev as it is surrounded by Russian troops, this time with curfews, the latest of which was no longer nocturnal but 36 hours straight in order to prioritize the army and the police, considering “*all those in the street during this period as members of enemy sabotage groups*”, with the consequences that follow.

Here again, to affirm that in times of war the State imposes its iron fist even more than in times of peace, not only on the minds but also on the bodies of *all its subjects*, is not just a stale cliché: cannon fodder or bombing fodder, in search of food or accomplices in self-organizing outside of the statist shackles, or even simply to breathe another air than the cramped shelters or to understand the situation for oneself, every individual is summoned to fade away willingly or forcibly on the chessboard of the two armies present. A situation that obviously extends to the western borders of Ukraine, which more than three million refugees have already crossed... after being duly controlled to exclude all men between 18 and 60 years of age fit for service. If a wave of mutual aid with families has spread on both sides of the border, one of the most remarkable aspects is the tenuous solidarity that is beginning to be established, despite the hostility of a part of the population, with those who refuse to fight and who do not all have the option of paying 1500€ to the corrupt Ukrainian border guards. Notably thanks to the establishment of false medical certificates or donations of biometric passports, the only official document accepted in Hungary or Romania during the first two weeks of the conflict in order to let refugees enter their territory.

Sorting, selecting, prioritizing, registering, classifying in order to separate the good poor from the bad at the borders (including according to their nationality, as immigrants from African countries have experienced) is of course not unique to the Ukrainian state at war, but part of the continuity of a vast hell of inter-state collaborations, economic bargaining and geostrategic imperatives. This is how some are condemned to drown in the Mediterranean, others to languish in UNHCR camps in order to be settled in neighboring territories, and to serve their homeland gloriously or as wage slaves in rich countries that are always in search of exploitable labor at low prices. For ultimately, the ferocity of power - which is never revealed as explicitly as through the wars, misery and massacres it engenders - is perhaps first and foremost due to this: its intrinsic claim to reign as master in the name of its own interests on the territory it controls, attempting then to transform

companies (such as *Finmeccanica*) and the army. The inscription “Cryptolab researches for war” is found on a wall nearby.

September 2017, Belgium. On the night of September 25, in Mechelen, a 5000 square meter hangar of the company Varec goes up in smoke. This company produces tank tracks and tires for military vehicles, including the United States. On the 27th in Ghent, two buildings of the Teksam Company (a military company manufacturing telescopic, pneumatic and cross-sectional masts) were burned down, destroying the workshops and offices and destroying all the products custom made for armies around the world. On the 28th in Herstal a device of small gas canisters connected to a fuse is found on a roof of the building of Forges de Zeebrugge, a military company specialized in the manufacture of ammunition, shells, and missile warheads.

## 2018

12/29, Cagliari (Italy). A vehicle of the company Vitrociset, 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.a.s.), 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 “*Anarchist Action Organization*”: “*In times of peace, the purchase of equipment for the Greek air force, the agreements with Israel and the sale of ammunition to Saudi Arabia show that, in the mouth of the statist, 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.

11-12/03, Turin (Italy). In solidarity with Afrin, the windows of the entrance of the company *Microtecnica*, 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, Soltau (Germany). Several trucks of the German army were set on fire at a NATO base. Claimed by the “*anti-militarist group Sehid Efrin Polat*”.

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 zerreißen (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 Mörschbrücke bridge, belonging to Base (Belgian operator), Level3 (submarine cable operator), 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 of the action was 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 connects militarily used/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 basically 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.

Track 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 rails to the roads.

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 under cover 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](http://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.

*Urgency.* For many years, waves of threats have been brandished and instrumentalized at every turn to distill fear, within an ever 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 strident 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 march by daily 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*, #51, March 2022

# DESPAIR IS OBSOLETE

*"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 indifferent 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

brandished as if it were a success that would justify our efforts, the reward for our investment, the more the following depressing conclusion 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", if 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 us - 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 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.

But whoever is 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 Libya, 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 sent 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 episode, 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 with great discretion 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 arsonists 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, the end of grand narratives, or rather... ?

Translated from “*Filo scoperto. Contro l'Energia e il suo mondo*”

# FRAGMENTS FOR AN INSURGENT STRUGGLE AGAINST MILITARISM AND THE WORLD THAT NEEDS IT

*“After all, anarchists are against anti-militarism (oh dear, there's the slip 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-militarism”). 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 pacifist view. 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 anarchists 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*

Even if one could certainly say a few things about the strategies with which the rulers manage not only to stir up the necessary fear of the virus among a large part of the population, but also to get them in the mood for the necessity of the virus war that has been raging for a long time, in the final analysis this perspective would be unnecessary, and would perhaps only be of use to the rulers, who could thereby refine their mechanisms. Viewed from the necessary distance, I think one must come to the conclusion that it is the sheer existence of mass media that makes this war propaganda possible, and consequently an effective fight against it can only come down to the destruction of this mass media.

*Zundlumpen, n° 83, May 2021*

# WAR STARTS HERE: LET'S CRIPPLE ITS INFRASTRUCTURE WHERE WE CAN

It is difficult to judge the current situation in Ukraine from a political point of view. Is the whole thing just the well-known dick measuring, some megalomaniac and war-mongering armies and politicians, or will it really come to war? This text leaves such questions aside and devotes itself instead to those questions that make much more sense from our point of view: how can a military conflict, a war, a potential NATO war be sabotaged? It is in the nature of things that this text can at most give a few suggestions and we do not want to present ready-made solutions, but simply put a few ideas into the room.

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 *Zundlumpen* #083. 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 has to be transported from some stockpile and/or refinery 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, 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 controllable can, of course, 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 most obvious 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 military bases all over the world, 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 important as the already 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 almost anywhere). In particular, drones and any other form of unmanned vehicle need such radio networks to transmit information and receive commands. The fiber optic network, which is primarily used for the Internet, can also be used for military communications, and a functioning power grid that can supply an almost unlimited amount of energy almost anywhere facilitates any military operation. Not to be neglected is the lighting, which is getting out of hand in cities and makes it possible to see hundreds of meters into alleys, parks, backyards, etc., even at night, and to look into almost every dark corner from close range. And video surveillance, which is also becoming rampant, is already enabling an increasingly tightly meshed network of police control.

We live in a surveilled and mapped world that, as long as its infrastructure is intact, is easier to control militarily than it might appear, if one considers the reports of guerrilla resistance fighters in other parts of the world who are difficult to

control militarily. But this requires learning to navigate this world beyond controlled paths, a skill that cannot be learned simply overnight, just as it 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 “*Fabrtenbuch*” (Break Ranks), 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 we have been experiencing for more than a year. 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 I 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 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, has always been the means of choice for propagandistic indoctrination. How else could one reach the masses? The media diversity that is often claimed today does not exist any more than the Internet is 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 in a peaceful way. 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 traditional conflicts among rulers in which they set their armies on each other in order to assert any claims to power or even to settle personal disputes.

The prince who commands his own army, for example, may have many reasons for going to war against the army of another. Perhaps he has been humiliated, perhaps he is courting the love of a princess, or rather the recognition and favor of her father, perhaps he does not like the shape of one of the borders of his realm and wants to expand it a bit, perhaps he wants to capture a treasure or secure the right to exploit more peasants. Sometimes he strives for the position of another, higher prince, sometimes he may have had an inspiration from God or taken some myth too seriously. No matter what his reason: for his subjects and mercenaries this should hardly be reason enough to give their lives and safety for him and his cause. There may even be several subjects who do not go to war for the prince’s cause, but consider their own cause (a higher post, a share of the booty, etc.) connected with that of the prince. The number of such subjects, however, will always be small, and like the prince, they are equally unwilling to stick their necks out when swords clash with shields, arrows pierce armor, and lances shatter what may once have been the unharmed body of a man.

In order to raise an army, the prince must come up with a way to rouse the interest of any of his subjects – not necessarily his own – to take part in

the slaughter and to stay there, if necessary, until the bitter end. A simple way to rouse this interest is to pay one’s warriors. The prince calls these mercenaries but he is aware of the problem that they will be fickle. After all, he has only been able to persuade them to serve him by paying them or promising them payment – sometimes also by promising them a share of a rich booty, an extremely cunning trick because it also immediately interests the mercenary in being victorious. And the prince knows that not only he has money, but his enemy does as well. It is also not uncommon for mercenaries to desert in the face of an enemy force or during battle with it, along with their pay and the weapons issued to them, to prove unfit for battle, or to refuse to do anything at all for which they feel they have not received sufficient pay. Mercenary armies are therefore not particularly popular with our prince. The so-called feudal system is an attempt to replace this purely monetary bond of the mercenaries with a dependency of the subjects, henceforth called *vassals*. In exchange for the right to be a despot himself and to administer a small part of the lord’s lands, to subjugate the peasants living on them and to gain a certain social status, the vassal performs all kinds of services for his lord, the feudal lord, above all he goes to war for him, and also obliges some of his subjects to do so. What the mercenary was not willing to do for the little pay he received, the vassal, this *noble knight*, now does with glee in exchange for something even dirtier: a fancy suit of armor and a position in the administration of his prince’s realm. Militarism is born.

The armored vassal, unlike the mercenary, will never again be able to plead his own cause, for when he returns to the hearth at home from a long, tiring, and energy-sapping campaign, he will be there to take care of the administration of his liege lord’s realm, he will extort taxes from the peasants on the land he administers, he will do the necessary bureaucracy, and he will prepare for the next battle – for him, after the war is before the war. He may believe that it is his cause that he defends here, but he will remain at most a deceived egoist all his life.

His liege lord, on the other hand, our prince, rubs his hands together in his castle, his hall or his palace and toasts his clever idea. Not only does he no longer have to worry about managing his lands, he can now wage wars whenever he wants, and his vassals will follow him almost unconditionally. Quickly these vassals, the so-called sword nobility, will appoint sub-vassals and these in turn will appoint other sub-vassals. The resulting hierarchies not only enables the administration of rapidly growing empires, but also determines the order of the army and ensures a functional

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 militaristic virtue will be constantly practiced when the vassals serve their respective lords in civilian state life.

This militaristic 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 bourgeoisie. After the heads of the nobility roll in France, a restructuring of the military is also imposed. 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 bourgeoisie continues to use militaristic 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 deceived egoists, because they may have believed that they went into battle for their own cause, i.e. for their power, influence and status, the bourgeoisie 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 cultivate the necessary discipline of marching in step during peacetime. And while the vassals had to ensure in peacetime that they would always have enough war horses at their disposal, the new underclass, the so-called proletariat, is rapidly producing in the factories, even in peacetime, the implements of war that will maim it in wartime.

The organizational civil hierarchies that were formally dissolved in bourgeois democracy, but which guaranteed functioning chains of command in war, are being trained in the factories, which are not coincidentally organized according to a militaristic logic. Even if most of today's states have a standing professional army, which from this point of view may have more resemblance to the mercenary system, which never completely disappeared anyway – mercenary auxiliaries were often simply

necessary to be able to muster enough soldiers – the experience of the world wars, as well as the wars of the recent past, show that mobilization of workers is not only necessary, but works all too well thanks to generalized militaristic discipline and trained obedience.

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But the age of the wars of nations seems to be coming to an end, even to be already over, with few exceptions. At the latest with the end of the Cold War, the two remaining military-imperial factions have integrated themselves into an international community of states in which conflicts arise less over conventional territorial control and increasingly over claims to resources and international police disagreements. Of course, this does not mean that wars would no longer exist. But we must update our understanding of war if we are to adequately understand contemporary military operations.

The carcasses of national armies, while continuing to exist for a number of nostalgic reasons, are being welded together in military alliances such as NATO and deployed in international intervention units such as the UN blue berets for primarily international policing missions designed to secure raw materials. Although international capital has almost unlimited access to 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, nationalist mobilization strategies are also crumbling. 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 this enemy to hide among 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 companies themselves often do not follow from beginning to end who their suppliers' suppliers are, much less who their suppliers in 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 industry – it is said that production halls have come 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 direct production sites of the armaments industry, which are often monitored by military technology and are usually located in unappealing areas, the neglected industrial periphery of this sector may sometimes lie dormant in small villages, sometimes on the outskirts of far more appealing industrial areas in large cities, and may offer a great deal of potential for sparking anti-militaristic ideas.

In a similar way, perhaps strategic improvements could be made in the area of logistics. The frequent freight rail connections of the production sites of armament companies and the logistic company names of the trucks passing through the factory gates could reveal starting points here, even though I think that the qualitative gain for an anti-militarist practice of attack could consist primarily in identifying and blocking/destroying actual freight to and from the armament industry, if not outright attacking and sabotaging the entire logistical system in which these are shipped, loaded, transported by rail or truck, rather than limiting itself to attacks on these logistics companies, which in this case are rather symbolic. Such attacks, while certainly causing financial damage, are unlikely to have much of an effective impact on the smooth operation of war production.

It remains to be noted that various insurgent projects in the past have been particularly successful where they identified corresponding weak points in production and supply chains and focused their attacks on them.

## (ii) The infrastructure of war

Armies have always feared forests, mountains and wilderness; those environments where their civilization has so far only sparsely penetrated, if at all, and where they lack the necessary infrastructure, as well as often geographic knowledge and experience, 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, contrary to the usual militaristic logic, to act in 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, reconnaissance 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 where the wilderness proved all too impenetrable, they knew how to help themselves with plant poisons, napalm and other biochemical weapons. The Roman legions cleared forests to create a suitable battlefield for their troops, the US Army sprayed the environmental poison "Agent Orange" to lure their enemies out of cover. These are, 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 conflict 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 of course the production of raw materials for military equipment alone destroys the environment on a gigantic scale) if possible, and to instead penetrate every previously "blind spot" 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 especially where 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 terrorists, or simply impoverished population 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

(yes, the goal to fill 40% of the posts with women and the targeted presentation of female military personnel by the propaganda seems to be sufficient today) or “ecological revolution”. This is a narrative that demands immediate “solutions” that have top priority and to which consequently everything else must and will be subordinated. This narrative not only serves to legitimize a militia, but it is also meant to justify all the rest, which may be otherwise promised by the propaganda of the new administration, but in practice comes across as correspondingly authoritarian. “Haven’t had time to take care of it yet.” This is exactly the propaganda that established states also use when they call on the working class in a state of war to make personal sacrifices for the sake of the nation’s interests, while at the same time presenting military operations at home and abroad as urgent, without alternative, and as a basic prerequisite for dealing with the problem in question in the future.

It may perhaps be surprising that an anti-militarist movement in particular does not recognize this narrative as a classic stylistic device of war propaganda, and pages of reflection could certainly be written on why this may not be so surprising. But I want instead to return to the topic of this text: what could an insurgent perspective look like that not only attacks the militarism of the Turkish regime, that of NATO and that of IS, but that precisely also opposes the militarism of YPG and 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, which in any case can only be considered anarchist in the eyes of a Trotskyist who has declared himself an anarchist without further ado?

## **Horizons of an anti-militarist practice of attack**

### **(i) The production of war**

Recent anti-militarist campaigns, operating within the truce of what 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 and present would (have) been impossible to continue. At least, that’s the theory, anyway.

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 long 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 whoever believes that by participating 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 equipment, etc., as well as a perhaps even larger series of paint attacks on the headquarters of these companies offered and still offer a militant perspective of intervention in war production.

And yet: it would be news to me that supplies to the fronts of the wars ever came to a standstill in the process. The interruption of production was too minor, the sabotage of logistics too insignificant. Nothing that could not have been made up for by an additional night shift. And the financial damage? Well, let’s say the management of these companies make calculations in other dimensions.

It is by no means my intention to talk down these attempts at intervention, to discourage people from attacking even when the enemy seems to be overpowering and one’s own room to maneuver 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 production of war material definitely falls into this category, is in itself an extremely unstable affair. It 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 fears of an anarchist or otherwise subversive, 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 subjugated 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 buried under the two office towers of the World 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 retrospect, was only created by these wars in the first place. But the “war on terror” has not only triggered wars against a spectre 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, every citizen is a potential terrorist, to the extent that they look “Arab”, practice the Muslim faith, or can be otherwise racialized. The U.S. Transportation Security Administration (TSA), which has been operating in overdrive since 2001, is convinced that terrorists can be identified not only 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 flees 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 instrumentalization 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.

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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, who lurks behind every touch, every encounter, 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 “incidence”, 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 nation to “persevere”. And discipline is truly needed to fight as a soldier in this war. The classical war had at least a “furlough” from time to time, just as at least a part of the population did not need to go to war. The modern viral war on the other hand recruits the whole population and knows at most a “relaxation of measures”. Even here, the attentive observer asks themselves how it is that an ever more intensified situation of measures (lockdown and contact restrictions have actually remained the whole time and have recently been extended by curfews) can be sold again and again as a “relaxation”.

And whoever will now sincerely claim not to have noticed the war rhetoric so far and consequently may be of the opinion that this is not a war at all, may perhaps explain to me how it is that Rheinmetall and other weapons companies produce Corona protective masks, of all things.

But of course it is not just the rhetoric of war, for a so-called good cause (whatever that might be), that we are dealing with here. To anyone for whom it may have escaped, I would like to remind you once again that we are in a global state of emergency. A state of emergency that not only closed the previously existing national borders, but also established entirely new border regimes. Whether global open-air prison (though “open air” has now been debunked as overly optimistic) or the “camp as nomos of modernity” posited by a philosophizing democrat, which doesn’t seem

particularly philosophical at all today, the current reality has a bit of both. Even if the quarantine prison (mostly) no longer knows 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 in Germany – 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 senses considerably if one still rejects these analyses. 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 *greencard* 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 depending on the person and the situation, and the pigs at least metaphorically stay 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 mainland, that are even more real, 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 left-wing army. Those who in the past refused “armed service” and preferred to do “civilian service”, have been recruited on their original profession: in hospitals and nursing homes, precisely there, where even in the past people preferred to wipe patients’ butts rather than getting weapons and deserting with them. And consequently, today it is not the assault rifle with which the Corona vanguard goes into battle, but the syringe – only for 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 understanding of war? 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 regimentation of all social relations outside the already eternally institutionalized relations of the family, they serve to recruit an army of moralists and denouncers, who from now on are to discipline and prosecute delinquents more efficiently than any police force.

*The modern war, then, is fought only in the peripheries with armed force, it gives only the “incorrigible”, the “terrorists”, the “criminals”, etc. to the destructive force of armies and even prefers to arrest them, to bring them before a court and to lock them up in prison – or in a camp. Meanwhile, however, it increasingly knows less of a distinction between territories of peace and those of war. Is it the police that are increasingly appropriating the strategies of the military, or is it rather the military that is pursuing a police logic even in the territories of war? I think this question alone reveals a huge misconception: the police and the military are in fact one and the same, and may have always been. The propaganda of the modern rule of law may obviously paint a different picture here, but war has always been seen by some as the continuation of politics by other means, and still others have concluded that, conversely, politics must be the continuation of war by other means. Likewise, the police differ from the military at most in the means employed, and even here the development of modern war technologies and a more recent military armament of the police has increasingly blurred these differences.*

### **False Allies in the Fight Against Militarism**

*“One does not have to go back to the Manifesto of the Sixteen – in which well-known anarchists called for joining one of two opposing camps, that of the French revolutionary tradition and potential against the imperial absolutism of the German Kaiser – to find examples of the complete loss of orientation and sense of the interests involved on the part of anarchists in the face of war and the interests at play. Most of today’s “anti-fascist” discourse reproduces the same errors in miniature, reflecting the ideas of “anti-imperialism” prevalent in the 1970s: democrats vs. fascists here, Third World states vs. Western states there. More recently, supporters of the fight against*

**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. Not wanting to participate in the operations of international politics, on one side of the struggle, does not mean that we should be disinterested in the reality of these operations.” Playing our own game, then. By identity politics reflexes? By ideological enclosure 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 anarchic 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 freedom are often present 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 enthusiasms 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**

*the “fascism” of the jihadists in Syria even accept U.S. Air Force troops in their own camp, a position that was already present during that war that led to the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Similarly, many defend with wrinkled noses the international interventions to contain the atrocities committed during the “civil wars” in many African countries (preferably the interventions of the Blue Helmets, which provoke less rejection than those of the French Foreign Legion or those of a NATO coalition). Nowadays, it almost seems that Western armies use volunteer recruits rather than*

*mass recruitment to do their dirty work, this being the only factor that spares us from seeing libertarians join the armies to fight the “bad guys” who are even more counter-revolutionary than the supporters of commercial democracy.”*

*From *Break Ranks. Against War, Against Peace, For Social Revolution**

One would think it need not be noted that a state could never be an ally in the struggle against militarism. And yet, past and recent positions of anti-militarists seem to be in urgent need of such clarification. And when I say state in this context, I also mean any militarist effort with the intention of establishing a state or otherwise taking over state functions. What seems at least illogical from an anti-militarist perspective, as I understand it, is totally irreconcilable from an anarchist perspective. In the past, what could be observed in solidarity movements with the Bolshevik regime, Fatah and Hamas, or in the Cuba solidarity movement, finds expression these days, for example, in those who literally wave the flags of YPG and YPJ. They are beautiful anarchists and anti-militarists who carry the banners of military units, who carry out arrests, run prisons and camps, and demand from their mercenaries the militaristic discipline of killing on command.

It is less interesting to note this fact, but far more interesting to ask, why? How is it that blatantly militaristic and authoritarian organizations end up being defended by who are in fact their opponents as a “lesser evil” – which is still the most honest way of looking at it – or even as a “necessity” in the war against imperialist militarism. That antimilitarism used here as a mobilization strategy for militarism may seem like a cruel irony, but I assume that these recuperations of antimilitarism try to reinterpret the goal of antimilitarism as the absence of war, the order of social peace and the repressive control over any tendencies disturbing this order. This may perhaps be the goal of a humanist, communist, or democratic antimilitarism, but as the goal of an anarchist antimilitarism it seems to me to be quite inadequate. What I find interesting in the current example of Rojava solidarity, which even among anarchists, if not uncritically adopted, remains largely uncommented upon, is how a certain manner of argumentation is reproduced, which conversely is rightly criticized as a statist, capitalist or nationalist legitimization of and propaganda for militarism. It is the narrative of a national defense against an enemy on the march – even if this national motive may be veiled and partly hidden behind identity-politics with more appealing terms like “women’s revolution”