

LA TEMPESTA

The unforeseen Palestinian
issue in the global war



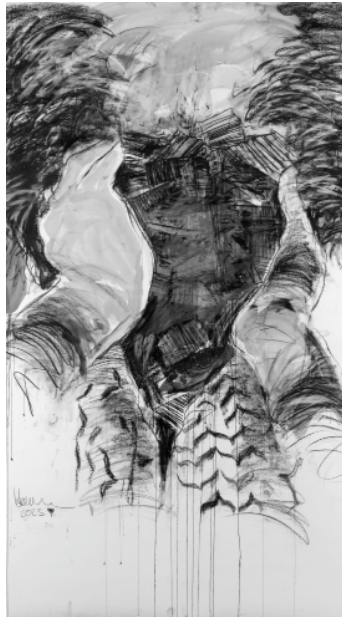
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LA TEMPESTA



Hazam Harb, *Dystopia is not a noun #1*, 2023

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Hazam Harb, *Dystopia is not a noun #2*, 2023

To read the introduction of the English and German translators,
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Preface

“The inferno of the living is not something that will be; if there is one, it is what is already here, the inferno where we live every day, that we form by being together. There are two ways to escape suffering it. The first is easy for many: accept the inferno and become such a part of it that you can no longer see it. The second is risky and demands constant vigilance and apprehension: seek and learn to recognize who and what, in the midst of the inferno, are not inferno, then make them endure, give them space.”

Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*

The main value of these texts, published in Italy last March, is undoubtedly the commitment of the authors to the fate of the struggle of the colonized, imprisoned and massacred Palestinian population, and, additionally, the fact that their position does not yield to the overwhelming blackmail of those who try to equate any “pro-Palestinian” position with anti-Semitism. Amidst the general indifference to the ongoing genocide in Gaza, there are few who care to act; La Tempesta does.

However, after a first reading of the various texts that make up this publication, we are left with a mixed impression and a certain uneasiness. We are struck by the fact that some of the analyses, proposals and points of view

with which we are in deep agreement are juxtaposed with others — sometimes separated by only a period or a comma — that evoke in us only repulsion, nausea and, since the authors are anarchists, dismay. We’re not used to well-argued and coherent words that, on the one hand, win our deepest convictions and, on the other, attract our most vigorous dissent.

Nevertheless, we have decided to translate these texts in order to make them available for reflection, discussion and debate. Some will find this an ambiguous choice, and they may be right. Despite the problematic aspects of the following texts, and despite the superficial, imprecise or unsubstantiated¹ aspects and passages that some

1. Among other things, when the authors summarize the development of events in Ukraine from 2014 to the present, heavily imbued with the “Putin narrative”, or when they casually describe the population of Gaza as a “people-class without a State.”

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will certainly notice, it seems to us that in the course of the decisive events we are living through, which herald calamities that are likely to be even worse, these texts express, develop or repeat certain ideas, certain premises, certain principles that we consider relevant both for understanding reality and for orienting anarchist action today. Among others:

- The importance of supporting, through international solidarity movements, the emancipatory impulse of decolonization struggles and a clear, uncompromising stand against Israeli colonialism.
- The inflexible need to destroy the state, whatever it may be, and the assertion that there is an unbridgeable gap between *political revolution* and *social revolution*.
- Despite its naivety and lack of realism, given the circumstances and poverty of the times — both existentially and in terms of ideals — the affirmation and argument that replacing the Israeli State (or any other State) with a free federation of free communities is the only desirable horizon², the only

perspective capable of preventing decades of violence and dehumanization from making living together impossible.

- The affirmation of the defeatist principle, still valid today, according to which the struggle of the exploited during a war must be directed first and foremost against their own state, which logically leads to the voluntarist incitement that the battle is being fought here, at home, and that “*it is up to us to attack the masters at home.*”
- The observation that “*if we do not do our part, with internationalist action from below, the initiative can only pass to the States*”, which stems from the conviction that only internationalist interventions can make a difference.
- An overview of the current context, summarized as follows: “*The war in Ukraine, as well as the conflict in West Asia (a definition that seems to us decidedly less Eurocentric than the so-called Middle East), are chapters, for certain aspects different frontlines, of an increasingly heated global conflict, which sees in prospect the direct clash between the USA and China within*

2. This necessarily means overcoming national, ethnic and religious barriers. Overcoming these barriers was a key feature of the Arab Spring uprisings, especially in Syria and more recently in Iran. In this respect, it is as significant as it is disastrous that during the pro-Palestinian rallies in Paris last October–November, groups of Iranian and Syrian exiles who criticized Hamas were sidelined by a Leftist anti-imperialism that was implicitly pro-Hamas.

the strategic horizon of the slow loss of hegemony by Western capitalism, even if it remains largely dominant for the time being.”

- The assertion that militarization is not an ongoing process, but a fundamental principle of modernity, its precondition. That the spread of war today must not be attributed solely to the military sphere, but is inseparable from the civil, social and economic spheres, once presented as separate and now shamelessly organized ever more closely by the masters of the abyss.

- Awareness of the threat posed by the inextricable link between war, increased forms of censorship and propaganda, and repression.

That said, we find it unacceptable that what happened on October 7th is presented with euphemistic and misleading language such as “*the October 7th action*” and “*the Palestinian resistance’s October 7th action.*” The choice of these terms — when we would find it more accurate to speak of a massacre, or at the very least, *bloody attacks* — is indicative of a more general problem in the various texts, namely a kind of

flight from reality on the part of the authors, an ideological relationship to the world that necessarily leads to the distortion of facts to the point of trapping oneself in a miserable campism: the purity of good on one side (the “Palestinian resistance”) and absolute evil on the other (Israel and those who live there).

For our part, we continue to believe that nothing can justify acts such as rape, torture and the slaughter of unarmed civilians, wherever they may come from, whatever the context, whoever the perpetrators, whatever the intentions. We used to think that one had to be a scumbag, a reactionary, or a Leftist — in short, a despicable person — not to oppose such acts adamantly, or to diminish their significance and sweep aside this abyss with a wave of the hand, on the pretext that they were “settlers”.³ We were wrong.⁴ Historically, while some anarchists have always sought to understand, promote and defend violence as a necessary and just means of action, this has always been a liberatory violence that has its own rules, its own ethics, and can in no way be indiscriminate violence. Need we remind you that

3. Settlers, really, the Thai workers, the Negev Bedouins, the Israeli Arabs, the exploited in the kibbutz, dead by the dozens on October 7, and taken hostage by the dozens and dozens?

4. We must admit that it is disturbing to discover that there can be agreement between anarchists and the above categories on these matters.

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the anarchists of the Makhnovshchina and the Spanish Revolution punished rape and pogroms with death?

It is one thing to not want to “cry with the wolves” against the October 7 attack, justifying it on the whole by the fact that “when someone is locked up in terrible conditions, don’t be surprised if they blindly make a bloodbath when they escape the cage” (an already slippery argument), or by preferring to “dilute” certain horrors through the search for the “truth of the facts” and to minimize them through intellectual relativization (the relationship to “violence” in such a context of colonization has its own distinctive features that cannot be sidestepped). But that today’s anarchists can not only ignore the horrors of October 7, offering no criticism whatsoever, not even the slightest reservation — falling, by the way, into the same logic of dehumanizing the enemy that the authors identify in the “automated genocide” carried out by the Israeli state and its army — but even implicitly valorize and praise these horrors (“the retaliation of the human and oppressed variant against the techno-military omnipotence”) by presenting them as “Palestinian Resistance” is, in our view, as unjustifiable as it is toxic.

The recurrent use of the concept “Palestinian resistance” is, in our view,

a second source of problems. While speaking of “Palestinian resistance” (and sometimes even of “Palestinian Resistance”) is undoubtedly a convenient way to avoid dealing with the thorny issues that have accumulated over the past decades, it is also a distortion of reality, since it means using a smooth, homogeneous imaginary construct to cover up a complex reality. The “Palestinian resistance” here is nothing but a spectre that erases all the alterity, antagonisms, differences, rifts, contradictions, incompatibilities and conflicts between different real expressions of struggle — and struggles within the struggle — of the past and present in Palestine. This is tantamount to erasing the history and evolution of these struggles, their different elements, the perspectives of these different elements and the people who participated in them.

Is there no difference, then, between the intifadas of the past, the incendiary kites that set fire to Israeli fields in 2018, and bus bombings, or between demonstrations along the Israeli border and attacks like those of October 7? Is there no fundamental difference between the formation and organization of a religious “armed party” like Hamas — an offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood, which claims to find its principles in the Koran and to fight in the name of Islam, which has close ties to the Iranian state and the state

of Qatar, and which values martyrdom and suicide bombings — and armed groups that pursue ideals of freedom, social justice and emancipation, or popular uprisings with all their self-organization? Is there no difference, then, between military conflict and social insurrection, between combat orchestrated by politicians and popular uprisings? Concerns and reflections on problems such as the militarization of “the resistance”, the specialization into combatants, the concentration of decisions, the organization and material resources in the hands of a general staff, not to mention the dependence on foreign organizations and powers and the consequent subjection to their logic and interests, have marked the history of past struggles. To flatten these problems today under the guise of a fantasized “Palestinian resistance” would constitute a loss of immeasurable proportions. Struggles and resistance movements are not precious gemstones, and anarchists, revolutionaries and subversives are not jewelers: so let’s make sure that we bring together understanding, engagement, solidarity and criticism in the same movement, and that the quest for purity remains the sad business of diamond cutters.

After all, do we really need these ideological mystifications to criticize Israeli massacres, those of NATO,

the military industry or technology? Must we refrain from necessary criticism, must we deny ourselves our anti-authoritarian, anti-nationalist and anti-religious ideas in order to take a clear stand against Israeli colonialism and the ethnic cleansing it has been carrying out for several decades? How would an uncritical glorification of “Palestinian resistance” advance us *here* or contribute to the ongoing conflict *there*?

Contemporary history is littered with events that teach us that, contrary to the blind promise of the Enlightenment, it is not the sleep of reason that creates monsters, but reason itself. As for our worlds of perception, engulfed by the icy currents of progress, battered by the metallic dominion of technology, eroded by the metastases of politics, paralyzed by the cold waters of egotistical calculations, dazed by the drums of ideology, we are no longer stunned by the realization that very little remains. We believe, however, that it is of fundamental importance to preserve what remains, in spite of everything. Bringing clarity to the anarchist struggle today also means understanding events (and evaluating or commenting on the discourses that accompany them) in relation to the following: *the sleep of*

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emotion and sensitivity generates good reasons.

A plethora of commentators (be they military experts, politicians, intellectuals, journalists, activists or militants) are forever reiterating their *good reasons* to justify this or that ongoing or future war, spewing their *good reasons* in the face of piles of corpses and shattered existences. How many of them would swallow these *good reasons* if they (or their loved ones) found themselves in the middle of mass graves and bloody quagmires, surrounded by desolation, directly *affected* by the events? Against the Western tradition that separates

reason and intellect from passions and affects, considering the former as noble and the latter as vile, we are committed to thinking, always, *with the heart and the mind*. It is for this reason, moreover, that we reproduce in the appendix a recently published text entitled “*Carnage in Palestine: The Reason of States Against Humanity*,” which combines intelligence, sensitivity, revolutionary and anarchist principles and ethics in a powerful response to all those who for months now have managed to intoxicate an already stale and unbreathable air.

The translators of the French edition

Here is the tragedy in our situation: while I am convinced of the existence of human virtue, I doubt the human capacity to halt the holocaust we all fear. And the doubt is there because it is not humanity who makes decisions about the world's ultimate fate but political blocs, constellations of power, clusters of States that speak a different language, that of power.

I believe that the natural enemy of mankind is the mega-organization. It robs the individual of his vital responsibility for his fellow man. It shuts down his propensity for solidarity and love, instead making him a stakeholder in a power that seems directed at others, but ultimately is directed at himself. Because what is power other than the feeling of not having to pay for the consequences of evil deeds with your own life but with those of others?

If, at last, I were to declare the futile dream that I like many others carry, it would be this one: that as many people as possible will realize the need to break away from the blocs, churches and organizations that hold a hostile power over the human being, not to mount new structures but to weaken the sway of power's life-destroying forces in the world. Such a realization may be humanity's only chance to relate as one fellow human being to another, to once again become one another's friend and source of joy.

Stig Dagerman, *The fate of humanity is at stake everywhere and at all times*

Introduction

Don't you realise that every generation is waiting for a dreadful cataclysm; that it feels the storm rising, and that every bourgeois is rushing to protect himself against imminent death, even if it means the death of all those dear to him? What use is schoolteacher talk to people who are three-quarters drowned?

Ernest Cœurderoy, *Jours d'exil*

If there are “people who are three-quarters drowned” today, it is undoubtedly the population of Gaza. Locked between two borders, systematically bombed for over four months, fleeing from the ruins, housed in thousands in emergency tents, exposed to hunger, thirst, disease. The destruction of hospitals and water desalination plants, the cementing of wells, the fire on ambulances, attacks on food supplies, a mass infanticide, the erasure of all historical and cultural memory: this horror without end has the unmistakable traits of genocide. What's more: given the structural use of artificial intelligence (*Gospel* is the name chosen for the algorithmic planning of the shelling on Gaza), we are witnessing the first automated genocide in history. Contemporaries of a new Nakba - with representatives of the Israeli government openly proposing

the deportation of the Gazawis to the Sinai desert, Congo or to an artificial island -, only resolute action can save us from inertia, inhumanity or tears. What can words do, at the brink of such an abyss? In a text from 1937 (*Power of Words*) Simone Weil wrote: “Let us capitalise words that have no meaning, and at the first opportunity men will shed rivers of blood; by repeating them over and over again they will heap ruin upon ruin [...]; nothing real can truly correspond to such words, because they mean nothing”. “Democracy”, “Western values”, “International law” are not just empty words buried under the ruins of Gaza; they are the “safeguards” of those bombs, of that blood, of those dead. To *other words* - to mouths and hearts capable of feeling their full weight - the young Simone entrusted an opposite, necessary and impossible task: “Clarifying

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concepts, discrediting words that are intrinsically empty, defining the use of others through precise analysis, here is a job that, strange as it may seem, could preserve human lives". We must think, speak, and write *as if it were so*.

Within its ineradicable peculiarities - which pertain to the dual nature of the Israeli State: an outpost of Western imperialism and at the same time the only settlement colonialism not yet concluded - the war against the Palestinians is part of a worldwide conflict between different

Statal capitalistic blocks. For this, the Palestinian question is both a reflection of a world system and at the same time its unforeseen

outcome. Not only because the action of the 7th of October - however one might read it - signified the retaliation of the human and oppressed variant against the techno-military omnipotence, from its electronic walls, its drones, its mass surveillance; but also because the solution of the Palestinian question cannot take place without the dismantling of an entire colonial system and the western imperialism that supports it. Whatever is in the minds of the Palestinian resisters, liberation from Zionism can only come through a revolutionary clash against our own

oppressors. Here lies both the relationship between the class struggle in our latitude and the decolonisation of that land, and the need to give precise meaning to the expression "free Palestine". "Two peoples, two States" is now a joke stained with blood. The "occupied Palestinian territories" represent 22 percent of historical Palestine; one Israeli settler for every three Palestinians is installed in the West Bank; the Palestinian National Authority is a de facto policeman and prison guard

It is up to us to attack the masters at home, to break the collaborations between "our" State and the slaughterers of the Palestinian people

employed by the occupier. But above all: *never* in history has a State of colonized people existed next to a State of colonizers.

The prospect of a single, non-confessional state to be erected on the ruins of the Zionist colonial system is certainly more logical and consequential (in fact, this has always been the Palestinians' claim from the late 1960s until Al Fatah's "betrayal" with the Oslo accords, and today it is forcefully back in the debate). But such a perspective - which, we repeat, presupposes a real revolutionary process both in the region and in international relations - would lead to the development of that Palestinian bourgeois class that within the colonial system can only remain little more

than a privileged and collaborationist class. In a nutshell: as has always been the case in history, in Palestine too, the state, any state, would block the way for a genuine *social* revolution, which is always possible until the time is up. If, as the German Jewish anarchist Gustav Landauer wrote back in 1907, “the State is the historical form that has replaced coexistence”, only the replacement of the Israeli state with a free federation of free communities can stop decades of violence and dehumanisation from impeding future coexistence with the creation of a new class domination. This is what “Free Palestine” means for us, an interweaving of decolonisation and radical transformation of post-colonial social relations. It is too late, in this sense, for school-teacher talk. Firstly, because when at stake are not the living *conditions*, as for the Western proletariat, but survival itself in a system that makes elimination an organizing principle, recourse to violence is an absolute necessity; secondly, because only those who are fighting in those lands can concretely decide their future.¹ It is up to us to attack the masters at home, to break the collaborations between “our” State and the slaughterers of the Palestinian peo-

ple (collaborations that the military operation against Yemen turns into *direct* support for the ongoing genocide). Only an international movement capable of forcing the Israel system into crisis will have a voice in the common future of the land and of the Earth.

In the storm of a structural tendency towards war, while all the glorifiers of domination would have us remain open-mouthed in the face of the imperious necessity of Force, the forces at play are demonstrating their *contingent* character more and more every day. NATO is losing in Ukraine, Africa is boiling over, world trade is being undermined by one of the poorest countries on earth, US military bases are being hit by non-state formations. Thus the repression against immigrants (and comrades) is advancing. Thus the rearmament plans, the announcements of mass recruitment, the censorship that casts off all masks. “Revolution or war”: here is a concept that is already implicit in the substance of the world; a concept that, “strange as it may seem, could preserve human lives”. As the storm rises, this *single release* wants to blow in that direction ■

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1. We can understand the need to resort to violence, while at the same time criticizing or even condemning certain types of recourse to violence, certain forms of violence. For those who believe that coherence between means and ends is necessarily paramount, that it is from this very source that the anarchist ideal draws, criticism, however harsh it may be, has nothing to do with school teacher talk and everything to do with the living, concrete expression of anarchist principles. Making autonomous judgments, expressing one's own thoughts and offering sincere criticism is in no way equivalent to deciding other people's futures. On the contrary, we see these practices as essential to the development and growth of a "movement of struggle," through debate, clarification, and the necessary splits which this enables, as well as to the emergence of a free life. What about single-mindedness, the rejection of criticism and the repetition of political mantras? (*French translators' note*)

By the side of the oppressed Palestinians

As the current war in Palestine has to be read first and foremost from the Gazawi's *will* to rebel against increasingly inhuman and unbearable living conditions, it is equally clear that every political and military initiative is set in a context, and that every organized resistance considers when to act and what it expects to achieve (at least in terms of immediate objectives). It seems quite plausible to us that, with the action of 7 October, the *political* aim of at least some Palestinian resistance organizations was to insert themselves as a wedge in the process of normalization of the so-called Middle East (and further isolation of Iran) initiated by the

While in Ukraine the actual factions and their armaments make the fight both politically and militarily symmetric, there is a simply ferocious asymmetry in the conflict in Palestine

Abrahamic Pacts, which would definitively eclipse the Palestinian question from the horizon of the Arab-Islamic states; while the choice of the period in which the action was carried out, coinciding with the moment of maximum fatigue of the Kiev troops in Ukraine (and therefore of the western imperialism that arms them), does not seem casual to us.¹ Having said that, the differences between the conflict in Ukraine and the ongoing massacre in Gaza seem to us absolutely relevant. While in Ukraine the *actual* factions and their armaments make the fight both politically and militarily symmetric, there is a simply ferocious asymmetry

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in the conflict in Palestine. On the one hand, a people-class without a State (to the extent of not even possessing passports), which has nothing to lose but its own imprisoned life; on the other hand the outpost-state of Western imperialism in the Middle East. On the one hand, a resistance that can at best arm itself with homemade rockets; on the other, one of the most *high-tech* armies in the world, as well as a world *hub* for war (and social) experiments of all kinds, that is everywhere exporting weapon systems and technologies that have been tested on the *corpore vili* of the Palestinians. On the one hand, those who slaughter thousands of men, women, elderly men and children; on the other, those who cannot give much more than their own blood to keep international attention on their cause.²

If we move from the battlefield to the geopolitical level, the asymmetry is equally evident. The idea of a possible “international direction” (within that kind of informal alliance known as the Axis of Resistance, which brings together Iran, Hezbollah, the so-called Huthi of Yemen, the Iraqi Shiite militias and the semi-failed states of Lebanon and Syria, as well as Hamas itself) has only been denied in recent months. First, last 3rd November, came the speech of Hezbollah leader, Hassan Nasrallah, who assured in his apology for the heroism of Gaza that the action

of 7 October “was conceived and implemented 100 percent by the Palestinians” (those who know the situation in West Asia know that both Palestinians and Israelis *trust* the declarations of Nasrallah, historically known for not speaking in vain); and then, above all, came the Riyadh summit on 11th November, attended by all the countries of the Arab League and the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation. From the Saudi “moderates” to the Iranian “extremists”, from Bin Salman to Raisi, all expressed words of condemnation towards Israel, while assuring that *no one* would lift a finger. Neither by intervening directly, nor by implementing economic sanctions, nor by closing their airspace to the air fighters and drones of Israel and its international accomplices. The reason is quickly stated. With its Suez Canal, its straits (such as Bâb el-Mandeb and Hormuz), and the gas and oil pipelines that cross it, contemporary West Asia is a true crossroads of political and economic interests that end up tying countries such as Russia or Turkey, China or the petrol-monarchies of the Gulf to both the one and the other wagon (to Israel and its Western godfathers as to Iran). Whilst historically the Palestinians have *always* been betrayed by the Arab and Islamic states (round and round, doing business with the West is more convenient than fighting it), today even those who would like to erase the

While the scenarios that could unfold simply make one shudder, a “disarmist” position in favour of desertion and “ceasefire” *on both sides* seems to us – in this case – to be completely unsustainable

Zionist state from the face of the earth suffer greatly from the destabilisation work carried out by the USA (and Israel itself) over the last twenty years. Amidst failed states (Lebanon, Iraq), partially occupied by others’ troops (Syria), strangled by debt (Egypt) or insufficiently equipped for a conflict with the West (Iran), all fear that a war would mark their end. Even an organisation like Hezbollah is forced to tread lightly, limiting itself to keeping busy a part of the IDF with launches on the Lebanese border. In case of a new war in Lebanon, in fact, Hezbollah would risk a very heavy political price, perhaps even the end of the organisation itself.

Palestinian resistance, in short, seems to have no saints in the paradise of States. It is rather the *peoples* of the Arab-Islamic countries, outraged by the inertia of their own leaders, who are trying to push them towards intervention; it is no coincidence that the only government that has shown concrete solidarity with the Palestinians is that of Yemen, which emerged from an insurrection against the previous pro-Western regime and the *proxy*

war that followed (first with ISIS, then with the Saudi monarchy and its allies as *proxies* for the US). To seek the widening of the conflict – starting with the attacks and “extrajudicial executions” in Iran, Syria and Lebanon –, conversely, seems to be Israel and the Western powers (led by the USA and Great Britain, with France, Germany and Italy in tow). The former in order to get out of the *quagmire* in Gaza and take over the Strip, something that is impossible without wiping out the Palestinian resistance and thus all its international supporters (first of all Iran). The latter in order to reassert its supremacy over the region, taking the opportunity to prevent it from being penetrated by the Chinese State (which has very close relations with Iran in the framework of the “Silk Roads” and to which the Iranian government exports about 90% of its national oil). We do not know where this situation may lead, but the possibility of a globally *waged war* seems to us to be more and more around the corner. If the attack on Yemen brings Iran into the arena, this could lead to the intervention of

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In a context such as this, supporting one warring camp (the oppressed Palestinians) by attacking the other (the State of Israel and its godfathers, who are also our direct oppressors) seems to us not a contribution, but an *antidote* to the widening of the conflict

China and Russia, with the domino effect typical of past planetary conflicts. After all, “a world war does not suddenly appear. It becomes one”.

While the scenarios that could unfold simply make one shudder, a “disarmist” position in favour of desertion and “ceasefire” *on both sides* seems to us – in this case - to be completely unsustainable. Not only because there is no *symmetry* between the state of Israel – one of the most oppressive, equipped and ferocious States in the world – and the Palestinians – one of the poorest and most oppressed peoples on the planet; not only because Israel has always been the outpost of Western imperialism in the so-called Middle East, while there is no defined capitalist bloc around the Palestinians (which may eventually form in the course of the war itself); and not only because it would be ethically unacceptable to ask a population that has been colonised, hunted down and murdered for more than a century not to rebel (while asking the Gazawi to “defect”... their open-air prison, would simply be

absurd). There is more. Assuming and not conceding that the State of Israel (currently led by a veritable Ku Klux Klan gang) is willing to stop and give up on the final solution to the Gaza issue,³ a “ceasefire” on Israel’s terms – i.e. *without the release of Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails* – would only be a surrender. While in doing so the Palestinians would miss an historic opportunity, the Israeli-system would simply wait for a new pretext to complete the job it has always done throughout its history. Do we remember – without going too far back in time – Jenin, the “Cast Lead” and “Protective Edge” operations? And what about the 2018-2019 “March of Return”, when 234 Palestinians were killed (and almost 33000 seriously wounded) while parading almost unarmed near the electronic Wall?

If settler colonialism “is not an event”, but a “structure” that operates until it reaches its end, the Palestinian question can only have two solutions: either the elimination of the natives or the end of the “structure” itself,

i.e. the Israeli colonialist State and the whole architecture of the colonial system. While it would be indecorous to abandon the Palestinians to their fate in the name of “peace” (which one? whose?), we strongly doubt that the conditions are there. In a context such as this, supporting one warring camp (the oppressed Palestinians) by attacking the other (the State of Israel and its godfathers, who are also our direct oppressors) seems to us not a contribution, but an *antidote* to the widening of the conflict (desired and sought in every way, it must be reiterated, by “our own”). If we do not do our part, with internationalist action from below, the initiative can only pass to the States.

We are convinced that internationalist mobilization could make a difference. The point is to wonder *how*. Although the Israeli economy is taking very hard hits from many sides (from the inside: *start-up* employees have been mobilized into the army for months, while Palestinian workers can no longer travel to work in Israel; from the outside: the Red Sea blockade, moreover at the moment only *exacerbated* by Western involvement; the international campaign of boycott and sabotage of Israeli-related activities, remarkable in its intensity and results already achieved), the economic weapon may not be enough. Engaged in a confrontation that is now *existential*, and moreover currently in the hands of

a government clique steeped in theocratic militarism, the Zionist State will have no choice but to go all the way. While attacking businesses in various forms is worthwhile in any case (and, in the case of the technology sector, is also an unmissable opportunity for turmoil concerning the link between research, warfare and the technological incarceration of society), it should not be overestimated either. The central issue is probably another.

Only a *deep social crisis* – that is, a generalized revolt – within the various Western countries could lead Israel to retreat. It is in this direction that we must push

As an outpost of Western imperialism since ever, Israel is being foraged by it (in both military and economic terms) *for exactly this reason and purpose*; and without the collective foraging of the West, Israel would not last long. If this is as true as it is, then only a *deep social crisis* – that is, a generalized revolt – within the various Western countries could lead Israel to retreat. It is in this direction that we must push; a direction, mind you, that the ruling class of “our” countries has feared since the aftermath of 7 October. Why did the German and French

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States repress all demonstrations in solidarity with Palestine with the highest degree of harshness from the very beginning? And why, conversely (and despite initial threats along these lines), have demonstrations been allowed in Italy?

The fear has been, from the beginning, of an uprising of the Arab and Islamic masses within Western countries, and their possible bonding with “white” discontent. Where the squares have shown a certain activeness several times in recent years (with semi-insurrectionary moments in the French case), the authority has pro-

ceeded with an iron fist; in Italy, on the other hand, after an initial moment, it judged that it was better to let it be. After all, as long as these Italians just parade... *it's better to take it easy*. Otherwise – to use a joke circulating abroad – *they might wake up, too*. While in Palestine pure horror has been on worldwide viewing for the past four and a half months, a world of horrors is being set up in all latitudes, including our own. Only a generalized revolt can stop it. In this sense, the salvation of the oppressed Palestinians is at one with our own. And it provides us with *a leverage* to achieve it ■

1. The idea that “the current war in Palestine has to be read first and foremost from the Gazans’ *will* to rebel against increasingly inhuman and unbearable living conditions” seems misguided to us. On the one hand, it implies that “Gazans” were at the origin of the October 7th massacre, when in fact it was the armed wing of Hamas that planned, organized and carried it out. On the other hand, because it leads us to consider “the *will* of Gazans to rebel against increasingly inhuman and unbearable living conditions” only in a unilateral way (Gazans against Israel), thus totally ignoring the fact that this will is also expressed *against Hamas itself*, as the demonstrations in the Gaza Strip in 2019 or last August, put down in blood and torture by the Gazan police, unequivocally demonstrate. (*French translators’ note*)

2. While the conflict in Palestine does indeed seem ferociously asymmetrical, the binarity presented here is troubling; because “international attention” on the Palestinian cause seems to have been scandalously absent for several years now no matter the blood “given” by the Palestinians; and because what attracted “international attention” on October 7th and the first few weeks that followed was not the blood of Gazans, but *the blood that some of them spilled on the other side of the wall*. (*French translators’ note*)

3. In our view, this analogy is far from coherent with Simone Weil’s intention, as quoted in the introduction. If it is necessary to “*clarify concepts, discredit words that are*

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intrinsically empty, define the use of others through precise analysis”, the use here of the analogy with the Final Solution, far from being a precise analysis, *blurs concepts* more than anything else. At least if by the term “Final Solution” we mean the Nazi project to exterminate all European Jews. (*French translators’ note*)



Mustafa El Hallaj, *Untitled*, 1968

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Abed Abdi, *Refugees*, 1967

Notes on the Ukrainian front of the global war

War of attrition, civil war and defeatist perspective

What has been fought in Ukraine for the past two years is the first “traditional” war to stain Europe with blood since the end of World War II. A symmetrical war that sees for the first time NATO and the Russian Federation directly counterposed, with a serious risk of nuclear *escalation*. A central chapter in a wider conflict between blocs of capitalist countries over the partition of the world. What is at stake is the supremacy and the redefinition of power relations within the international balance. Palestinian affairs are not autonomous and indifferent from the context of this international tug-

of-war, although they have their own specificity. In this article, we will try to take a look at the “eastern front” of this conflict.

An “internal” war

The state that engages in war with another state must *first and foremost* force its own population to fight, i.e. to become cannon fodder. This is why Simone Weil wrote that war “constitutes first and foremost a fact of internal politics – and the most heinous of all”. This applies to any war between States, and the war in Ukraine is certainly no exception.¹ Once the war has started, soldiers who die have to be

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replaced with others. Those who refuse are persecuted, beaten, arrested. The state fights on the *internal front* through real war policies against its own population: be they economic, repressive, ideological or disinformation policies, when not directly military.

While this is true in general, for several specific reasons the war in Ukraine qualifies as a *civil war* among the cruellest, certainly the most dangerous. First of all, because the con-

transactions with Western markets. The combination of the collapse of the State Capitalism regimes (with the consequent wave of anti-communism generated by the demise of the odious Stalinist dictatorships) and NATO's reckless expansion into Eastern Europe (whether through *soft power* and "voluntary" membership or to the sounds of depleted uranium bombs, as in the former Yugoslavia) has generated the geopolitical "masterpiece" of a

The war in Ukraine almost immediately became an industrial war, and the confrontation, with the massive plans of military aid from Western capitalism to the government in Kyiv, soon turned into a more general competition between the war-producing capacities of the two blocs of capitalist countries involved

frontation is being waged by those who only thirty years ago were the two major adherent republics of the Soviet Union. Not only has Kyiv played a fundamental and almost mythological role in the Russian epic since the early Middle Ages, but in more recent times Ukraine has had two Soviet presidents and, after the Second World War, maintained a small independent diplomatic representation in Stalinism's attempt to multiply its seats at the United Nations and to modulate areas that would act as a bridge for economic-political

veritable Balkanization of the former USSR, with consequences that are all the more dangerous because, in this case, a nuclear superpower is involved.

Secondly, in Ukraine a civil war in the strict sense has been fought since 2014. The events of Maidan and the gaining of relative hegemony by openly neo-Nazi forces are at the root of the shattering of the Ukrainian social tissue. This has developed in different forms. Crimea was immediately annexed by the Russian Federation, practically without fighting².

What is involved in attrition warfare is a tug-of-war between technology, economics, and industry

In Odessa, street protests against the new regime had as response an atrocious anti-worker pogrom, with the Trade Union House being burned down by groups of neo-Nazis escorted by the police, and the death of dozens of protesters who had taken refuge inside. In the Donbas, the independence insurrection lasted for eight years and turned into an open war that left 14,000 dead.³ If all this makes the Ukrainian war a *fratricidal* war, then only *fraternisation* between the proletarians on both sides of the front can put an end to the slaughter.

The industrialisation of death and the fractures in the internal front

After the first invasion attempt, the Russian armed forces soon turned towards the approach of a wearisome war of attrition, choosing the terrain on which they felt, probably rightly, that they were strongest. The war in Ukraine almost immediately became an industrial war, and the confrontation, with the massive plans of military aid from Western capitalism to the government in Kyiv, soon turned into a more general competition between the war-producing capacities of the two blocs of capitalist countries involved.

This has given significant input to scientific research, which has always been structurally interconnected with the military apparatus. Geolocation of targets, “intelligent” autonomy of missiles capable of evading interception attempts or conversely “chasing” them when it comes to anti-aircraft munitions, and massive use of drones. Lately, Ukrainian sources expressed concern that Russia was beginning to use swarms of drones connected by neural networks, so that they would not have to be remotely piloted individually, but would be able to devise collective strategies to attract anti-aircraft, detect their source and launch themselves against it, or drop individually on ground targets when they are detected.

Recently, an Italian study (by Dario Guarascio of the Sapienza University of Rome, Andrea Coveri of the University of Urbino, and Claudio Cozza of UniParthenope) highlighted the increasingly interconnected role of the military apparatus and so-called Big Tech. While the leviathan nature of the industrial-military apparatus is certainly nothing new, what is striking today is the small number of players involved at the top of the pyramid: a handful of billionaires hold the *clouds*

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Between autumn and winter, the bloody and futile efforts to shift the balance led to a significant deterioration in morale on both sides, with an increase in desertions and refusals to fight.

with the data used by the intelligence services, they own the space infrastructures that enable communication and geolocation, and they have the economic availability for massive investment in research into so-called artificial intelligence. This is as far as the Western field is concerned. If we add to this the large state-owned or semi-state-owned enterprises of *high-tech* and military research in China, or if we think of the peculiar structure of the Russian economy (with the so-called “oligarchs”), it is not a suggestion to say that we are faced with a situation that in many aspects resembles that of the classical age of imperialism: militarism, industrial development and monopolies (to tell the truth, with a difference today of many “zeros” in the current accounts of the monopolist themselves)⁴.

In this context, scientific research had to adapt to the tactical require-

ments of the conflict. High-tech but extremely expensive weapons proved to be ineffective. What is involved in attrition warfare is a tug-of-war between technology, economics, and industry. One must produce more than the enemy, at a lower cost, lose less than can be reproduced, and destroy more than the enemy can reproduce.

From this point of view, the consideration that in capitalism human beings are a commodity, just like other commodities, has never been more dramatic. The reproductive capacity calculation of the stockpile of humans to be sent to the front is one of the fields on which the friction between NATO and Russia in Ukraine is confronted. The expression “meat grinder”, used to describe the two major battles of the last year (Bachmut and Avdiivka) gives terribly the the idea. The life and death of soldiers at the front often depend on a fierce economic calculation, i.e. whether or not the cost of the equipment available to destroy a certain number of soldiers is worth the investment. This discourages the concentration of forces and contributes to the relative stability of the front line, prolonging the carnage.

Generally, the more losses in the field increase, the more nationalist sentiment gives way to a refusal to die, which spreads from soldiers to their families. Renunciation, desertion, flight, and protests by family members

make the tools of recruitment even more coercive, and the conscripted less and less “able”. This is what is happening in Ukraine, where episodes of desertion and clashes in villages to prevent the capture of mobilised soldiers by the military police are multiplying.

In early December, Zelensky himself admitted the failure of the counteroffensive. Ukraine is thus forced to entrench itself in defensive positions while waiting for Europe and the United States to decide that it is time to sit down to negotiations, with the territories occupied by the Russian army. Between autumn and winter, the bloody and futile efforts to shift the balance led to a significant deterioration in morale on both sides, with an increase in desertions and refusals to fight⁵.

In one episode on the Russian side of the front, 300 soldiers were kidnapped for their refusal to return to fight⁶. In many Ukrainian cities, protests by women to demobilise their sons and husbands, who in many cases have been fighting since the beginning of the war with ten days of annual leave, have continued and increased.

All this has political repercussions for the Ukrainian ruling class. The most sensational episode, potentially fraught with consequences, was the replacement of the charismatic commander-in-chief Valery Zaluzhny after months of controversy and disagreements with President Zelensky. At the

root of the disagreements were the strategic choices on how to continue the war. Zaluzhny (who is certainly no moderate and has repeatedly been photographed in the company of Pravyj Sektor leaders) would have preferred to withdraw his forces and place them in more defensible positions in certain specific situations. At the same time, Zaluzhny insisted on a new mobilisation of 500,000 men. The positions of the Soviet school general derive from the technical knowledge of how a war of attrition should be conducted, trying on the one hand not to waste all material in lost battles (including material in *human flesh*), and on the other hand to acquire new one. By contrast, the checkmate Zelensky finds himself in is all political, fearing the social consequences of a new mobilisation and at the same time not daring to announce retreats to his own public opinion and especially to international supporters.

Instead, a draft law has passed that provides for, among other things, the recruitment of Ukrainian citizens living abroad (on pain of having their passports invalidated) and online recruitment (via e-mail, already used by the Russian army), thanks to the recent digitalisation of military registers. With these now increasingly desperate attempts to procure *cannon fodder*, while prison sentences for conscription defectors increase and prisoners are sent to replace miners engaged at

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the front, the need to defend themselves against Russian occupation is being replaced for many Ukrainians by the need to defend themselves against their *own army*⁷. During the autumn, there was a wave of attacks on houses and cars of magistrates, police offices, and on both sides of the front-line arson attacks on recruitment centres.

A global war

Since the so-called “doubling” of the Suez Canal, the geopolitical category of the “enlarged Mediterranean” has become fashionable in financial, diplomatic and military circles: this refers to the world region of the Mediterranean and the seas directly bordering it (the Red Sea and the Black Sea) as a single logistical and financial flow. From Crimea to Yemen, via Palestine, not forgetting the migration crisis in North Africa and the Balkan route, we see that it’s the whole area to be on fire. We are already in a Great War. If we consider that the only Chinese base abroad is in Djibouti and that Sudan is one of those African countries that has recently come under Russian influence, we realise what a crazy friction of forces runs through the area.

The war in Ukraine, as well as the conflict in West Asia (a definition that seems to us decidedly less Eurocentric than the so-called Middle East), are chapters, for certain aspects different frontlines, of an increasingly

heated global conflict, which sees in prospect the direct clash between the USA and China within the strategic horizon of the slow loss of hegemony by Western capitalism, even if it remains largely dominant for the time being.

However, one must not overlook the huge differences between the Ukrainian situation and the Palestinian issue. In Ukraine, a fratricidal war is being fought between two states, otherwise in Gaza a genocide is being carried out by a regional power supported by the United States and its allies against the remaining Palestinian population already decimated by 70 years of military occupation and mass deportations. Far from forming an opposition, local and international, between symmetrical forces, the Palestinians have been abandoned by all Arab countries. The latter has even refused to prevent, in most cases, the overflight of their airspace or the navigation of their sea space by Western vehicles loaded with military aid for Israel. Putin’s Russia itself has historically maintained a solid alliance with Israel (also dictated by the fact that the latest generation of settlers comes for the most part from Jewish populations living in the Soviet Union). Only recently has this alliance been soured by the Russian government’s moderate criticism of the Zionist military policy, described as “disproportionate”.

As far as we are concerned, we will continue to consider “our” state the main enemy. Not only as a matter of principle and internationalist consistency: Italy is severely compromised in the ongoing global carnage

The defeatist principle remains valid everywhere, whereby the struggle of the exploited during a war must first and foremost be directed against their own state. But if for the Ukrainians and Russians this means overthrowing their respective governments, the only state the Palestinians have known during their lifetime is the Zionist state and its military occupation regime (or at most the collaborationist bureaucracy of the PNA).

The Palestinian story can certainly be framed within the ongoing global conflict, but the form in which it presents itself is that of the *unforeseen*. The same international solidarity that has developed and the important episodes of class struggle that many of the world’s workers have put up against the genocide (the blockade of ports, international solidarity strikes, direct actions) are giving new life and energy to the internationalist struggle against all wars.

Deserting the global war by nailing our rulers to their responsibilities

As far as we are concerned, we will

continue to consider “our” state the main enemy. Not only as a matter of principle and internationalist consistency: Italy is severely compromised in the ongoing global carnage. Our governments are supporting the Kiev regime militarily and economically, they are training the Ukrainian military on Italian territory, they are participating in the trade war through a policy of sanctions that impoverishes above all the proletarians of our country. At the same time, the Italian government is engaged in diplomatic action to support the genocide of the Palestinians, in many ways even more brazenly than other Western governments (see the abstention votes at the UN). While the slaughter goes on, it continues to provide weapons and scientific collaboration to Israel. There is no lack of ideological collaboration, with a communication system monopolized by Zionist propaganda, starting with State TV. A protagonism that was finally rewarded with the Italian military command of the European naval mission in the Red Sea against the Huthi.

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Emphasizing the responsibilities of the Italian state also allows us to clarify the position of anarchists with respect to possible opportunist temptations of various origins, including those of a certain opposition to NATO wars that tend to reduce the faults of the Italian ruling classes to a mere colonial servitude to the so-called star-studded “Empire”. On the contrary, the role of military leadership assigned to an Italian admiral in the Aspides mission against the Huthi confirms a direct responsibility of tricolour militarism in what is a dirty deterrence operation in support of the genocide of the Palestinians and, more generally, a very important commitment along the fault line that from the Red Sea leads to the Black Sea that has been mentioned. Then again, the NATO spy planes that fly over Crimea and provide precious indications for the Ukrainian bombardments depart from military bases located on Italian soil (in particular from Sigonella).

All this is rewarded through rich quotas in the colonial booty. In this sense, it is simply shameful the agreement between ENI and the Israeli Ministry of Energy and Infrastructure for the allocation of six licenses to extract gas from Gaza (in the so-called “Zone G”, 62% Palestinian according to international treaties). Quite simply, a robbery deal. This is happening while both wars are making staggering prof-

its for the Italian arms industries, with Leonardo reporting an 82% increase in market capitalization in 2023.

All the more urgent for us to oppose the war by nailing the ruling classes of our country to their responsibilities. They must pay - let this not be a rhetorical statement ■

1. While the authors rightly denounce the Ukrainian army’s use of human beings as *cannon fodder*, like any other commodity, just as they rightly denounce in a later text the “breathing space” calibrated by the Israelis (i.e. the calculation of calories needed to ensure mere survival for the people of Gaza), we deplore that a kind of latent campism has led them to a certain incoherence. Namely, that they remain totally silent in the face of the fact that, in the context of the October 7 attack, Hamas did nothing other than consider the Gazans who would die following Israel’s attack as mere pawns, counted by the thousands. If, several weeks after October 7th, Hamas was able to consider the events a strategic and political victory, it’s because the inhabitants of Gaza have been commodified, reduced to being seen as a price to be paid in order to achieve strategic and political objectives, that they are nothing more than variables in an equation. Therein lies all the sickness of which politics is fundamentally composed, a sickness that is in no way exclusive to the “megamachine”. (*French translators’ note*)

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2. In the first edition of this single issue, the sentence was: “Crimea was occupied by the Russian armed forces from the outset, practically without fighting”. The modified version as it appears here had already been discussed and agreed on by the editors of the first issue.

3. This presentation of Ukrainian events leaves us more than a little perplexed. On the one hand, the Maidan uprising is seen solely as an element in the “shattering of the Ukrainian social fabric”, without in any way taking into account the process of self-organization of the demonstrators, the liberatory forms they brought forth, or the active participation of part of the revolutionary movement within it. Moreover, can we aspire to bring about radical change, a violent upheaval of order, an insurrection, without causing a “shattering of the social fabric”? It seems to us that the risk of a revolution turning into civil war is always present and, somehow, inevitable. To analyze the Maidan events solely in this way is to echo the Kremlin’s discourse, according to which any instance of revolt against Russian control in Ukraine is merely an attempt at division driven by the West, and the military invasion a denazification operation. While not writing a single line about the bloody repression of the Maidan, the authors focus on the repression of the “pro-independence uprising in Donbass” (called by Russia “the Russian Spring”), this time overlooking the fact that the Russian state supported and financed “separatist” (according to Ukraine) or “pro-federation” (according to Russia) groups, and used these uprisings to invade Donbass militarily. How these bloody events are interpreted is crucial. Presenting history in this summary and intentionally partial way certainly doesn’t help to develop an anti-authoritarian analysis that takes into account the complex relationships between liberatory forces, nationalism and geo-political interests in contexts of extreme violence. On the contrary, one has the impression that they prefer an interpretation of events very similar to that of the Kremlin: the enemy of my enemy...? (*French translators’ note*)

4. Giovanna Branca, “Two sides of the same coin: Big Tech and the military industry,” *Il manifesto*.

5. “War, Prison or Disability: Russian Military Desertions Surge,” *The Moscow Times*.

6. “Anger on the front lines and anxiety at home as Russia’s mobilization is mired in problems,” *CNN*.

7. “Strike at a military airfield and other refusals to fight in Russia and Ukraine. Mid-autumn 2023,” *libcom.org*

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Akram Al Halabi, *Cheek by jowl*, 2017-2022

Untermenschen from all over the world, let us unite!

In order to understand what is happening in Gaza (and the West Bank) and to give a liberating perspective to solidarity with the oppressed Palestinians, it is necessary to go beyond the chronicle – albeit a chronicle of horror – and to grasp the basic socio-historical elements. Without a deep understanding of what settlement colonialism is, regardless of the ideology under which it is disguised from time to time, one runs the risk of applying inadequate or even misleading interpretative schemes to the Palestinian context.

A historian wrote that “the colonial invasion of land to create set-

Palestinians are not proletarians whom Israeli capitalism wants to exploit, but indigenous people whom Zionist colonialism wants to eliminate. The theft is not of labour time, but of space

tlements is a structure, not an event”. A structure that continues to operate both against the native population and within colonial society, since the constant project of eliminating the former (“elimination is an organizational principle”) produces the total mobilization of the latter.

Palestinians are not proletarians whom Israeli capitalism wants to exploit, but indigenous people whom Zionist colonialism wants to eliminate. The theft is not of labour time, but of space. The more the colonial system manages without the Indigenous labour force – and this tendency of the Israeli apparatus has

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intensified particularly since the 1990s – the more the colonized masses become *excess*. “As Palestinians become more and more useless, the Gaza Strip and the West Bank resemble increasingly less Bantustan and more and more reserves or the Warsaw ghetto”. The time then becomes ripe for two solutions – the first intrinsic to colonial logic, the second always possible in case of resistance: deportation to another territory, or mass murder.

headquarters, its own universities. The indistinctness between the civilian and the military, the settler and the soldier, the professor and the officer, the mobility of its borders – to which correspond that of its legal foundations – as well as the psychology of siege, mean that every innovation – technological, architectural, doctrinal – is constitutively *dual*. It is precisely because civilian-military fusion is now a widespread trend that Israeli high-

The system-Israel, however, exports not only weapons, technologies, and techniques of police, military, and urban administration but also a model for dealing with one of the problems of our time: what to do with the masses that capitalism no longer wants or can integrate

However, there are two aspects in which Palestinians are needed by the Israeli state and technology industry. Everything that the system-Israel exports – and that guarantees it, alongside the U.S. support for its economic structure – is being tested on the bodies and lives of Palestinians. The Israeli techno-military machine is at the forefront of the world because it tests its technologies and weapons permanently and directly, just a few kilometres from its own laboratories, its own

tech products were sold in 2021 to 130 countries and that more than 40 percent of the world’s funding in the IT sector was absorbed in the same year by the Israeli technocracy. The system-Israel, however, exports not only weapons, technologies, and techniques of police, military, and urban administration but also a *model* for dealing with one of the problems of our time: what to do with the masses that capitalism no longer wants or can integrate. In the incremental worsen-

ing of war entanglement, ecological disaster and algorithmic human replacement, where today's exploited may become tomorrow's displaced person or "climate refugee", and the technocrat a new settler moving with arms and baggage to another "productive ecosystem", the structure of settlement colonialism is not a remnant of the past, but rather a *working program*. After all, administrative detention – an invention of historical colonialism

is largely dependent on international "donors". On these funds and supplies, the State of Israel imposes both its control and its "tax levies" and then it redistributes the small slice to the Palestinian National Authority, around which a privileged (and collaborationist) elite has thus gathered. Techniques of torture and humiliation, exploitation of clan and social divisions, false agreements with the moderate Palestinian and false disagreements

That in the only democracy in the Middle East a few million people belonging to a "hostile population" are openly called animals or subhumans (untermenschen, doesn't that remind you of anything?) reveals not only the genocidal nature of settlement colonialism, as well as the perfect compatibility between democratic form and extermination practices, but also the extent of Palestinian liberation

and relaunched by the State of Israel itself – has long been operational in most parts of the world against undocumented migrants.

The other aspect for which Palestinians are raw material to be exploited is somehow collateral to the first. The construction of technologically guarded ghettos (and panoptic colonial fortresses), territorial shattering, and violent repression have made impossible any economic autonomy in the Palestinian territories, whose survival

with the particularly brutal settler, dosage of "breathing space" (an expression used to denote the calculation of calories needed to ensure mere survival for the people of Gaza) and space of terror – all this is very palatable *know-how* in an age where the line between the "humanitarian" administration of life and the industrial production of death tends to become blurred. It only takes "a single move on the command dial" to set off the "blood-fueled turbine". That in the *only democracy in*

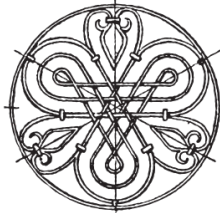
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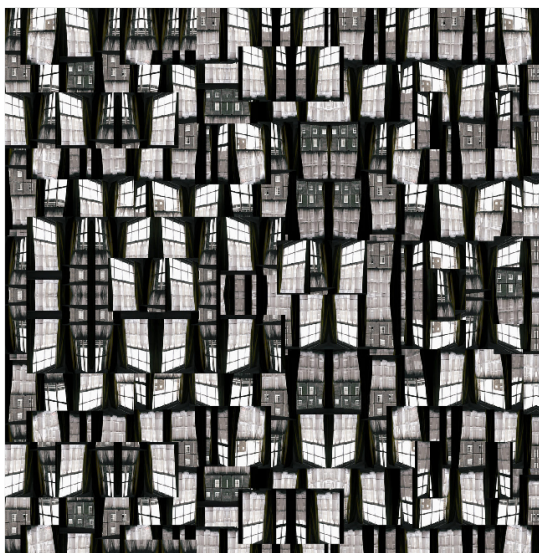
the Middle East a few million people belonging to a “hostile population” are openly called animals or subhumans (*untermenschen*, doesn’t that remind you of anything?) reveals not only the genocidal nature of settlement colonialism, as well as the perfect compatibility between democratic form and extermination practices, but also the extent of Palestinian liberation. The dismantling of the Israeli colonial system – that is, of the imperialist garrison in the Middle East – can only have a breakthrough effect on the exploited and oppressed throughout the world. In the squares, thousands of immigrants are not only shouting “Terrorist Israel”, but also “Gaza will win”, testifying how anguish and anger over the ongoing massacre are mixed with enthusiasm and a deep need for retaliation.

Anti-Zionist liberation can only be against the Palestinian National Authority and the system of privileges on which it is based. And it marks the human (and class) variant revenge against the electronic Wall, its automated checkpoints, its sensors, its drones – that is, that society of gateways under construction even in our latitudes, ready to leave out all those *who do not fit*.

Toward where can the current situation lead? We do not know. What we do know is that if the outcome is always the result of the forces at work, we must put our own spin on it. First by *practically* disassociating ourselves from “our” state and “our” capitalism, active accomplices in the ongoing genocide in Gaza. The hatred for what the West is accomplishing is indelible and without return ■

In the squares, thousands of immigrants are not only shouting
“Israel terrorist”, but also “Gaza will win”, testifying how
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enthusiasm and a deep need for retaliation





Steve Sabella, *In Exile*, 2008

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Abdelrahman Al Muzayen, *Palestine Series*, 2000

Internationalist glimmers in solidarity with Gaza

In the Western world, the solidarity from below with the oppressed Palestinians to impose a ceasefire on Gaza has manifested itself in very different forms, but all converging on the need and urgency to be on the streets and to act concretely against the genocide that the State of Israel is carrying out towards the Palestinian people and against the Israel-system. In both England and the United States, some of the largest demonstrations ever in support of the Palestinian cause took place, involving hundreds of thousands of people, some of them promoted by explicitly anti-Zionist Jewish organisations, such as the occupation of Grand Central Station in New York and the invasion of Congress in Washington; while in France and Germany the squares defied the legal prohibitions imposed by the authorities on several occasions since the beginning

of October.

The solidarity with Palestine also took shape in logistical blockades: roads, railways, bridges (particularly striking was the Bay Bridge in San Francisco, where protesters threw their car keys into the water to obstruct the restoration of traffic) were blocked, and in European, American (one for all, the partly successful attempt to set up a “coordinated” blockade between the port of Oakland and Tacoma) and Australian ports, the operations of ships engaged in the transport of weapons, in particular those of the Israeli company ZIM, were obstructed and in some cases blocked. Some port unions have declared their refusal to transport arms to Israel.

Many actions have targeted arms and military technology manufacturers. In this sense, the campaign against the Elbit conglomerate in En-

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gland was particularly vigorous, with the occupation of its headquarters in London and the halting of production at its factories in Southampton, Edinburgh and Bristol. Leonardo UK, the UK branch of the Italian company, was also affected by the campaign and one college suspended relations with the company following student protests, while banks and investment groups were attacked for funding the war industry.

There have been and are many direct actions that have indicated as responsible for the genocide the multinational companies that have tight relations with Israeli capital or make profits from commercial activities in the occupied territories: McDonald's, Starbucks, KFC, Carrefour, Puma, Zara; a responsibility extended to the media apparatus for its complicity with the Israeli narrative of the war from the actions against BBC, CBC, Fox News, New York Times. In the universities, students responded to the appeals of young Palestinians demanding an immediate end to relations with Israeli universities and companies that, not

only militarily, collaborate with Israel. Offices and facilities of government agencies, as well as offices of government parties, were occupied and damaged.

A fact that seems to emerge along with the constancy of the demonstrations is that the mobilizations that show the most continuity and "participation" seem to be inspired by the model of *campaigns against specific targets*: the actions in this case seek to put the spotlight on the collaborations of a specific element of the economic and political system in relation to the genocide carried out by Israel in an attempt to strike at its profits or to stop such agreements. As in

As in an X-ray, these actions bring out, behind the facade of a West in which peace reigns, the network of military, economic, commercial, political, and academic relations that guarantees the functioning of the Israeli death machine

an *X-ray*, these actions bring out, behind the facade of a West in which peace reigns (and which perhaps even allows itself the occasional rebuke of Netanyahu when the carnage touches the most atrocious peaks), the network of military, economic, commercial, political, and academic relations that guarantees the functioning of the Israeli death machine. Through this map of interventions, the decades-long op-

pression and current genocide of the Palestinians are revealed as *deeply and structurally rooted* in our latitudes.

In Italy, the movement of solidarity with Palestine has not reached the intensity of other countries, both in participation in demonstrations and in the initiatives to attack the complicity of Italian companies in the massacre, but some facts seem to be moving in the right direction, in an attempt to make the national master and others pay the price for their (co-)responsibility in the conflict.

The internationalist conflictual syndicalism, in which part of the immigrant proletariat that has been fighting with greater determination in recent years in the logistics of large-scale distribution is organized, shortly after the beginning of Israel's war against the Palestinians in Gaza (on 20 and 21 October 2023) promoted two days of mobilization and struggle against the war and in solidarity with the Palestinian resistance, proclaiming for the 20th a general strike of all categories (then repeated on 17 November) and for the 21st calling a demonstration in Ghedi, attend-

ed by some of the largest Palestinian organizations in Italy. In the ports of Genoa and Salerno, workers and solidarists blocked the gates to impede the transport of arms and condemn the connivance of the Italian terminal operators with the Israeli company ZIM.

Students occupied various universities throughout Italy demanding the cessation of their universities' relations with Israel in response to a call for mobilization by the University of Birzeit in the West Bank: the objectives included opposition to the militarisation of research and the university's relations with the war industry, starting with Leonardo s. p.a. And many protests have been and are being held in var-

The risk is to run into the misunderstanding that the Palestinian "question" is a separate issue and as such should be dealt with, rather than becoming an opportunity to criticize the entire research and university system

ious parts of Italy to at least boycott the companies that collaborate with the Isreal-system, from Carrefour to McDonald's to local businesses. And if in some cities, the street mobilizations in solidarity with the Palestinian resistance seem to struggle to be the occasion for a real moment of unity of the anti-war instances and of concrete internationalist solidarity, sometimes being characterized by an imbalance

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in the composition (where the protagonism of Italian activists or militants is more significant, there is a scarce presence of Arab immigrants, and vice versa), in other cities, this convergence seems to be stronger. Thousands of people pour into the main streets of Milan every Saturday, just to give a few examples. However, a closer look at the composition of the squares and the different initiatives, with a few exceptions, reveals how the interclass nature of the aggregate that mobilizes, mainly the world of activists, moves towards ethical-moral drives in which little appears, or is only on the horizon, in the way of material reasoning about the ongoing war and its consequences on our lives.

The mobilizations in universities and the world of research are a perfect testimony to this. Thanks to the appeals of Palestinian universities, in fact, an attempt has been made to identify the agreements between Italian and Israeli universities as a point of criticism, demanding their termination through the practice of occupation and, in the case of research, through letters and stances by researchers who do not want to feel co-responsible for the massacre. From this position, however, they have often not moved forward. Not always, in fact, is there a critique of the need to which these agreements respond in the world we inhabit, and what trend they reinforce. The risk is

to run into the misunderstanding that the Palestinian “question” is a separate issue and as such should be dealt with, rather than becoming an opportunity to criticize the entire research and university system.

If we take into account the previous difficulty in constructing an opposition to the war in Ukraine and the separation – in discourse, in practice – in which this is maintained with regard to the genocide taking place in Gaza, we can see how the Palestinian “question” runs the risk of being perceived as a separate issue. If the above-mentioned asymmetry explains this difficulty (in Palestine, the results of centuries of oppression are concentrated and condensed in number and intensity), there remains the risk of not being able to see what unites the current conflicts and the context in which they are taking place (the global dispute between the USA and China and the multiple conflictual flaws it opens up in regional contexts; the possible development of war on a global scale), and therefore not being able to build up, over time, an opposition that can provide a response, albeit a small but effective one, to the new scenarios that are increasingly taking place every day.

A new opportunity was given in the days of struggle on 23 and 24 February called by grassroots syndicalism, taking up the call of the Young Palestinians to block Italy against the posi-

single issue

tion of the government, NATO, European and Western states that support the genocide that Israel has been carrying out since 7 October and the colonial occupation that has lasted over 75 years in Palestine.

These two days were born out of the need to give a united, internationalist response that is capable of exer-

cising solidarity with concrete acts, in an attempt to build “opportunities” to interrupt the economic flows of the masters by bringing together all those who are paying or will pay for the consequences of the current world conflict, giving strength to an internationalist anti-war movement ■



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Walid Abu Shakra, *Sand storm*, 1978

Global civil war and the internal front

Considerations and pre-occupations

Since the newly elected catholic pontiff coined the formula “world war in pieces” in 2014, it has become a ubiquitous analytical mantra. By finding a historical category for a series of war restitution phenomena, such as attacks on European soil, political instabilities more or less far from the West, and

the words of journalists, pre-paid or improvised geopolitical analysts, and even – though not with papal reference – in the texts of the variegated militant Italian scene.

If Clausewitz said that “war is nothing but the continuation of politics by other means” and Foucault that

Current times require us to bring back to the forefront what we mean by “war” and to refocus on what we have always known and what Alfredo Bonanno has clearly written several times:

“The State is war”

forms of cyberattacks on digital infrastructures, thus not ascribable to the old Caporetto imagery, Jorge Bergoglio has been accepted urbi et orbi as a philosopher of history, thanks God!

The emphasis on the spatiality of the dimension of war echoes daily in

the continuation of the war is the politic, maybe their relationship is a little more complex and consubstantial to be represented in these continuums that pass from one sphere to the other in such a formalized manner, whatever the direction of the vector. To

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rely today on an analytical landscape that traces international rights and to believe that there is an ascertainable alternation of territories at war and others at peace, albeit in a changing

the State is always war does not mean however ignoring the particular atrocities of the hot fronts, of the war being fought. Indeed, the more than 30,000 dead bodies in the Gaza Strip are not

Militarisation is not an ongoing process but a founding principle of modernity, a presupposition of it

process, would be short-sighted or naive. Rather, current times require us to bring back to the forefront what we mean by “war” and to refocus on what we have always known and what Alfredo Bonanno has clearly written several times: “The State is war”. Thus, there is no factual risk such as that of world war in pieces, but there is a horrifying reality in which Western politics has completely divested itself of the positive theatrics mask carried on for a few decades with certain pieces of the indigenous population. Its true face has always been that of almost total coincidence with belligerence, and it feels no need to conceal it any longer: politics is war, war is politics. There is no possible right of the people to act as a brake or opium for the peoples and beautiful souls, but it reigns absolutely that of finance, industry, and technology with their tendency to extreme conquest and consequently to extreme terms, to police bombing, to pure annihilation of which Günther Anders spoke. Keeping in mind that

just another number or statistical variant, but the most heinous consequence of the epistemological and technical model of this factory of death. In its paradigmatic example, the elimination of the human problem through decimation is the generalized form of all instituting action and excludes even the well-trodden biopolitical practices of social prophylaxis.

Precisely from these awarenesses, it is imperative to be able to look at the relationship between belligerence, peace and politics on the one hand, and enemy, citizen and state on the other, with the gaze untainted by the dominants and logics of international rights in the era of its blatant unveiling, as well as the aforementioned one of politics. We need it above all to understand what we can do here, in the proximity of experience, and not get lost in the stream of news reaching us from the four corners of the globe in a sophisticatedly mediated – if not totally false – manner, chaining us to a dependence on informational channels,

displacing in virtuality our presence in the world, and bending us addicted to the pornography of pain. From these premises, what follows are two thematic nodes: first, which is the political space where war acts and how it does not correspond to a relegation outside the national limes; second, how the extension of war is not to be ascribed only to the military element, but how it is at one with the civil, social and economic elements, once presented as separate and now shamelessly organized ever more closely by the lords of the abyss. Sometimes a naivety emerges in our comrades' words whereby the historical categorical binomials of the political doctrines of state-society and civil-military would be broken down; words that forget that these elements have never been separated, but certainly in the past set in a more complex dialectic in which social conflict in the last century played a central role. Why should we think of these elements as historically separate when they are now explicitly brought back into unity even in political discourse? On the other hand, however, it does not mean taking refuge in the same old refrain of militarisation, the one that sees only the most overt phenomena, such as soldiers in the streets, bringing forward the argument that the military should be extended to civil society.

Militarisation is not an ongoing process but a founding principle

of modernity, a presupposition of it. Moreover, in the last decade, remaining with the well-known example of dual-use technologies, the wars we have heard about suggest more and more often that their extensive use is first tested in the general "civil" environment, especially in urban contexts, and then refined in armed conflicts. Start-ups and sector companies – given the way production (and competition between "player") is organized – in highly capitalized contexts first launch their sordid products through the local administrations with which they have territorial growth agreements, along the lines of the smart city, and only after they have been roped in and subsidized for an economy of scale, do they move on to the broader market. Although the juxtaposition may seem peregrine, equally significant is the use in recent weeks of reservist Israeli settlers as official soldiers precisely in the territories occupied by them, so that in the West Bank many Palestinians have found themselves having to submit no longer unofficially but officially to the abuse of the land robbers, who have become military authority overnight. The intention here is not to deny that the general framework of a certain technological production had its primary input in the administration of the military, but rather that the general scope of the war-policy has different fields of research and different imple-

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mentation regimes that cannot be sectorialized.

Militarisation, given this organization of domain relations, falls into its meaning of becoming, of a kind of enlargement, and confirms the identity of war and the State. What is happening today is the blatant unveiling of this unity, the collapse of any fictitious emancipatory promise of State and capital, as it was fictitiously presented to the generations of the welfare state, who were basically nothing more than those who had seized a relationship of power less crushed by the panoply of the dominant. The institutional ideology that presents the “State”, with capital ‘S’, as an abstract product of international agreements of the last two centuries, as a combination of pacts and laws balanced in a normative framework of progress towards ever more mature forms of the political, in which the element of war would be given as an “exception” in time and as a process of “militarisation” in space, is a fakery good only for those who would like to claim more locally guaranteed legal orders and more balanced international protection organs. This would not lead very far, for example, from the cultural agony for a better and more democratic school or for academic research that is less colluded with the big-armed multinationals. It certainly does not mean ignoring or deserting situations in which aggrega-

tions against the processes of war production, such as the university, could develop, but rather keeping the bar straight in thinking about the substantial difference between goals for the reproduction of institutions less bound to the economic sector of war and the tension for a free life.

Concerning how the ranks of the State apparatus are closing around its pivotal institutions (a.k.a. the P.A.) or its cultural compartments (schools and the like), it is possibly more cogent to find communicable words about the change regarding how the State looks at the citizen and about the quality of the social relationship it builds with them. In practice, it seems that there are no longer any free zones in the practices of social space, the ones that democrats once thought were safe from active participation in what is a total and continuous mobilization of the population of European states. And yet this State of things is not primarily based on trying to put the helmet on the citizen or make him the object of the bayonet, but on verifying his readiness to be continuously mobilized in the reproduction of life relations. Without questioning himself, with obedience, with a continuous demonstration of his filiation to authority, under threat of elimination from the civilized community. The two-year Covid period with a daily decree even about attending cousins

and uncles on alternate days is in this sense a paroxysmal representation. It is no coincidence that the protests that arose against pandemic management have never been directed towards the demand for something, for an extra right of movement or service, but towards the invocation of a general freedom from this oppressive relationship.

If in recent years world history seems to have taken unexpected turns, sometimes described as accelerations, other times as overturning or changing of a world order previously conceived as stable, we cannot forget that the trends of domination are long-standing, some clear since decades. To orient ourselves in this chaos, an important intellectual figure such as Carl Schmitt gives us a suggestion somewhat devoid of ideology: that of the friendship/enemy paradigm, which in the final phase of his life he no longer sees only in the relationship between States but in a panorama of global civil conflict. In a neutral space of pure domination in which citizenship rights or their absence, military or civil status, moral or legal discrimination of the adversary, are nothing but bodiless phantoms in the face of the universality of technology and police apparatus. The figure of the enemy, once a nomenclature attributed by the State only to certain combatant groups, is destined for the German jurist to become general. In the time of a generation, we have also

been able to see how this has happened, reaching even the ordinary citizen, who could find himself identified as an absolute terrorist/enemy even for just two lines on social networks. In epochal diagnoses, this analysis is certainly not new. It has been almost a topos in some lectures of the last two decades, whether in the analysis of the militarization of urban space post-2001 or in the so-called “criminal law of the enemy”. What, therefore, is unheard today? First, the issue that the enemy is potentially anyone, not just specific groups, depending on the various emergencies that are now not only fast-moving in succession but overlapping and tending toward governmental entropy (contradicting laws, regulatory conflicts between central and local governments, the chaos of digitization and online life with attempts at legal framing, glaring contradictions between people’s real-life possibilities and legal apparatuses, the decision-making autonomy of various state organs). Second, the fact that the population is seen in various ways as criminogenic because there are no longer intermediate bodies and soft practices of social holding and control such as the welfare state. But the absolute unprecedented is that more and more low-conflict, or even a-conflictual, individuals are the object of such “charge” like the case of two trade unionists in Lille, who were investigated

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for terrorism starting with a pro-Palestinian statement. If the State's gaze toward the citizenry, toward the home front, thus now emerges manifestly as politics-war, the other side of the coin must be taken into consideration. The gathering of this relationship, that of civil confrontation, of civil war, is not unidirectional and tends to activate much broader and anomic circuits of violence. The sharpening of the struggle of all against all for life chances has

already set in place dynamics that are no longer about social struggle, but increasingly atrocious conflicts between people in spaces of horizontal proximity, such as in some European suburbs. Some of the phenomena of war restitution, such as those mentioned at the beginning, may target unconscious people and also those who, like us, although aware, may find themselves having to watch their backs not only from the forces of authority ■





Mustafa El Hallaj, *Untitled*, 1977

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Samira Badran, *Limits of confinement 4*, 2015

The megamachine dripping with blood

The State of Israel's military response to the events of 7 October is making visible the result of a century of settlement colonialism in the land of Palestine. The process of subjugating native Arabs has progressively assumed the appearance of a huge experiment in high-tech prison engineering. One of the world's most developed advanced-capitalist democracies is becoming guilty of abnormal atrocities in an attempt to permanently crush a resistance that, despite attacks, expulsions, daily anguish, and apartheid, is still able to raise its head. As the situation in Gaza grows more dramatic with thousands dead, with hundreds of thousands fleeing from an almost completely devastated territory, the

conflict continues to spread. The axis of resistance, with the backing of all Arab formations that support it, is exposing the U.S. to increasing pressure with direct attacks on U.S. bases in Iraq and Syria and Red Sea trade routes. The bottleneck created in the Bab el-Mandeb Strait not only threatens European interests but also puts Egypt's already disastrous economy in serious trouble with possible repercussions throughout North Africa. The increasingly massive U.S. bombing response against so-called Iranian *proxies* and Anẖār Allāh positions in Yemen consequently opens up scenarios that could have unpredictable developments. All this fits within the broader global clash between great

powers for military and technological supremacy, starting also with the war in Ukraine.

In this framework, one aspect that deserves attention and puts us immediately in the heart of the clash is certainly the growing role and military weight of the European Union, which without any decency is made explicit in the so-called “defence of the values of the West” and thus in perfect continuity with the genocide of the Palestinian people. The attempt on the part of the EU in today’s restructuring cycle is to have more weight in international scenarios where a delay in direct intervention could mean the opening of a deep economic and social crisis. If the EU’s involvement as a key part of the Atlantic alliance appears to be getting stronger and stronger, also individual actions aiming for political autonomy are multiplying. In this context should be read the important signal given with the 50 billion funding signed at the end of January by the EU in support of Ukraine (with an addition of 5 billion for the European Peace Facility and the Armament Group Procurement Assistance Fund) exactly in a moment when overseas funding hits an historical minimum. In this regard should be read the European flanking of the Anglo-American-led Operation Prosperity Guardian and the autonomous intervention of Italy, France and Germany, via the *Aspides* mission, in

the Red Sea (which in turn adds to existing missions). At the same time, the EU’s increasingly prominent role in NATO stands above all as the driving force behind a proper “Marshall Plan” of technological and military restructuring of the Western bloc.

On February 17 and 18, 2024, the leaders of the Alliance’s armed forces met in Brussels for the NATO Military Committee. The hot topic: how to accelerate the process of transforming strategies and “combat capabilities” and how to ensure the immediate implementation of the new “defense plans” approved at the Vilnius summit last summer. These are the words of the committee’s deputy secretary, Dutch Admiral Rob Bauer: “Never before have the defense plans of NATO and the member nations been so closely interlinked [...]. They contain the Force Structure Requirements, by which the number and types of required equipment and weapons systems have been set, in all geographical regions and domains. Militarily, the new defense plans call for more people, more training activities and exercises, more arsenals and operational capabilities, and more defense investment programs”. Instead, this is the statement of Chris Badia, deputy supreme commander of Allied Commander Transformation (ACT), the Virginia-based command in charge of leading NATO’s strategic transformation processes: “Because

tomorrow's warfare will be even more complex from the perspective of multiple domains, we need to be even faster from all points of view and better than our adversaries [...]. We will achieve this through integrated multi-domain operations, thus conducting seamless conflict in the naval, land, and air domains. But along with these classic domains are two new ones, cyber and space". And with regard to the space and *cyberwar* sector, General Chris

tainly not new as technological upgrading and transformation constitute two fundamental aspects of military deterrence, and, especially in the cyber arena, such programs have been continuously overlapping since World War II. Today, however, the means of modernization and innovation are undergoing unprecedented acceleration thanks to the push of quantum and artificial intelligence research. "Quantum technologies are on the

The rhetoric associated with *human enhancement*, also called *human augmentation*, is particularly effective: through the indefinite and endless promise of improvement and progress, we become familiar with that dehumanization of the human being which then comes to fruition on the battlefield

Badia explained that NATO aims to increase cooperation with non-military actors: "Particularly in the space sector, there are several civilian infrastructures. It is not necessary to duplicate everything in this field but on the contrary, it is better to move toward joint extension and transformation. How can we cooperate with the civilian world and find all these synergies? By synchronizing and converging for example military and non-military actors [...] coming to their integration".

Statements of this kind are cer-

verge of revolutionizing the world of innovation and can change the rules of the security game, including those of modern warfare" NATO leadership explains. "This is why quantum is one of the technology areas that the Alliance has prioritized because of its implications for defense and security. It includes artificial intelligence, data collection and computing, automation, biotechnology, and human enhancements".

This race to modernize weapon systems is intertwined, through sci-

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entific research, with the activities of leading academic institutions, bodies and corporations both public and private, European and international, and enjoys a discrete amount of public advocacy. In this respect, the rhetoric associated with *human enhancement*, also called *human augmentation*, is particularly effective: through the indefinite and endless promise of improvement and progress, we become familiar with that dehumanization of the human being which then comes to fruition on the battlefield. The same concept ultimately runs in the world of *wargaming*, a term broadly used in the military to define software that creates virtual warfare scenarios but which are primarily developed in the commercial gaming environment. Such is the case with the Milan-based company Slitherine, which with Command Modern Operations, a universal military simulator capable of replicating in detail every aspect of both logistics and warfare, has rocketed through the world market in the field. By the admission of its CEO, “the breakthrough” came with the massive use of its “games” during various lockdowns throughout the pandemic. Today the pro edition of Command is used in 23 different countries and by more than 150 entities, which among others include the U.S. Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps, the U.K. Defense Science and Technology Laboratory

and the Luftwaffe, as well as contractors such as Boeing, Bae and Lockheed Martin. “Wired” magazine in this regard reports, “what Ralph Chatman, a senior member of the U.S. Defense Science Department in the early 2000s, claimed: “Virtual games don’t teach you how to walk in tall grass, but they do teach you what to think about when you walk in tall grass, and that is a major advantage for when you are actually in tall grass”. Seemingly trivial, the reflection confirms how much the electronic surrogate is not pure fiction, but telos, praxis and ethos, end, act and ethics. The fact that simulation is a strategic training environment is well known. Somewhat less that is now a key part of AI and machine learning development. These software, in fact, play against themselves and against real-life military experts, self-learning how to implement the best strategies to apply in real-world scenarios. It is no coincidence that the powerful “computing machines” that make AI applications possible use the famous GPUs (Graphics Processing Units: ultra-powerful graphics processors also developed in gaming and object of commercial wars for years already) instead of the normal CPUs (Central Processing Units). We can see the results of these *wargames* being applied directly in Gaza, with *targeting* systems such as Gospel, used by the Israeli army to produce targets to hit in

a very short time.

This mad race for supremacy in the speed of data transmission can be found both in the field of H.A. (Human Augmentation), both in the euphoric style of Elon Musk's announcements (with Neuralink), and in the far more worrying studies of research organizations such as the RAND Corporation. While in the former the rhetoric is all about the possibility of treating certain diseases, in the latter the human-machine interface "could

technical innovation of the military machine is already sufficient to outline some basic aspects of the current wars including the current confrontation in Palestine. The policies of national States cluster together in dynamics very similar to those that preceded the great wars of the last century: mobilizing civil society to ideally and physically adhere to the precepts of the reference block (in our case, the rhetoric of the values of Western-style NATO-led democracy) and great plans

To the difficulty in concretizing both forms of attack and the construction of otherness compared to the dominant system, today is added the powerful role played by technologies, especially information technologies, in sublimating instances that would otherwise explode in all their materiality

serve as a means of ultra-fast communication during military operations". The study "Plagues, Cyborgs, and Supersoldiers. The Human Domain of War" published by RAND on January 2 states among other things that: "genetic engineering will be a field of absolute importance in the strategy of future warfare [...] and for the creation of super-soldiers also through genetic modifications that would improve the physical and psychological capabilities of individuals".

This partial picture in the field of

for restructuring. But it is urgent at this stage to grasp the elements of discontinuity from the past. The unprecedented impact that new technologies and contemporary production relations seem to have on the degree of alienation of the masses manifests itself in a substantial difficulty in turning widespread, although still ethereal, opposition and discontent into concrete acts that can reconstruct a revolutionary perspective. To the difficulty in concretizing both forms of attack and the construction of otherness compared to

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the dominant system, today is added the powerful role played by technologies, especially information technologies, in sublimating instances that would otherwise explode in all their materiality.

This process of sublimation is now taking place at all levels of individuals' lives and, unless it is derailed, will quickly see the disappearance of human activity as we know it (through AI, quantum and genetic engineering). At stake is that know-how, never in danger as today, which requires all our physicality.

Power is showing, again and like countless other times, its true face (alas, also thanks to Telegram) and what were threats the day before yesterday are now real aggressions on both the internal and external fronts. In this unfolding clash, the great variable remains the degree to which the masses are internally involved in the production processes that give rise to war, where the means of production coincide with the means of destruction. To such a level of alienation in which not even a live-streamed genocide stirs conscience is added the States' will to power with their death-dealing devices. After all, the artificialisation of living consists precisely of this: the replacement of the natural environment and human action by something programmable and domesticated. We must always remem-

ber it: the technical management of the catastrophe plays in favour of this substitution, which is the only anchor of salvation for murderers in uniform. The cry of Gaza and Palestine is telling us just that. There is still a humanity that, despite the very high price paid, does not give up. The form of Palestinian resistance is a peculiar one, in which very complex social and cultural factors play a role. Forms of struggle that are sometimes distant from ours as they are corroborated by religious beliefs, permeable to internal and external power games, but still represent, after all, one of the last fronts of directly anti-colonial struggle.¹ This front does not only consist of military opposition. This front is one of the last bastions of that attachment to the land intended as an inseparable place from life and culture. Land with which there is a relationship of equal interchange, where gesture still has a direct value of cause and effect. Without this attachment (diametrically opposed to the artificial Zionist attachment)² the Palestinian people would have already been kicked out. As anarchist internationalists, we have a huge responsibility at this time. The historical themes that agitated the revolutions of the past are crystallized in front of our eyes, unresolved, in the form of a new totalizing scientist nightmare. What works in our favour is not a small thing: the more complex the machine becomes,

the more fragile it becomes; the more pervasive it becomes, the more it exposes itself with a thousand ganglia scattered throughout the territory. The more barbarity manifests itself, the more the reasons of those who oppose it will fuel the possibilities of its sabotage ■

1. If being “one of the last fronts of directly anti-colonial struggle” is an argument, it’s a dubious one, to say the least, and leaves us perplexed: where would it lead us if we were to apply this special status for “last fronts of struggle” to other terrains of struggle? In what way would the “content” or methods of a struggle be better or worse because it’s the “last front of struggle”, or conversely if it’s one among hundreds of others? (*French translators’ note*)

2. While we can’t speak of an “earthly” attachment, given the extent it is built on “fables” (such as stories from the Old Testament and other sacred texts), the Zionist attachment to the land of Israel seems to us to be far from artificial, understood as “constructed from nothing.” It’s a messianic link, imbued with religiosity, between reclamation, looking to the past and the gradual realization of a prophecy to come. (*French translators’ note*)



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Hosni Radwan, *Exile 1*, 2022

Media strategies of domination and Palestine

In times of war, controlling the hearts and minds of the population is of fundamental importance to those in power. The media have the function of building consensus and are firmly in the hands of the ruling system. Despite this, it is interesting to note that there is a growing distrust of the official media. This mistrust is linked to an obvious detachment between a part of public opinion and the choices made by the governments of Western capitalist countries regarding recent serious international crises: the SARS-CoV-2 epidemic, the war between Russia and Ukraine and the conflict in the Middle East. In order to deal with the SARS-CoV-2 epidemic, a state of health emergency was applied, which led to a full-fledged military management of the pandemic. Power was able to experiment with mass control and manipulation, exploiting the fear

of death and disease. The media implemented real war propaganda, and those who did not submit to the dominant narrative were singled out as the enemy, ridiculed and criminalized.

The emergency device was also applied to the war between Russia and Ukraine, whose outcome was easily foreseeable from the outset: Ukraine would be devastated, the entire Europe would be impacted, and humanity would be subjected to the risk of a global, nuclear conflict. The European political class not only refused the path of diplomatic mediation but, on the contrary, sacrificed the Ukrainians by arming and financing them for suicidal action in the service of international capitalist interests. To secure these interests, the media's depiction of the war in Ukraine is pure fiction. Not only because the fragments of the story are false - for example, video game

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sequences have been passed off as real scenes, images documenting completely different episodes have been used, and numerous news items have been invented out of thin air –, but it is the overall sense of this tragic event that is completely falsified, with the aim of influencing a largely European public opinion that is against military adventures on its own continent.

The media discredited and censored every critical voice, including those of liberal intellectuals, to induce a camp choice according to the friend-enemy dichotomy: or you stand with the free and democratic world's painful but necessary war, or you are a pro-Russian, a Putinist.

In the war against the Palestinians, Israel and its Western bloc have on their side the majority of the international media, whose function is to delegitimize the 7th October action of the Palestinian resistance, justify the military operation and the genocide of the Palestinians, conceal and criminalize the international mobilization in support of the Palestinian people, and finally justify the extension of the conflict. The media systematically use a double standard when describing and commenting on the actions of Westerners and those who are considered enemies. For example, if the parts were reversed, the naval blockade implemented by Anṣār Allāh (the so-called Huthi) in the Red Sea would

not be described as a terrorist action, but as a humanitarian intervention in compliance with international law.

War propaganda, i.e. the narration of events in favour of one's own side, dates back to antiquity, from Homer to Julius Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*, and goes as far as the use of artificial intelligence to create parallel realities. The role of the press in promoting the war-mongering choices of governments has always been of primary importance, just think of Benito Mussolini, editor of the "Popolo d'Italia", whose interventionism pushed Italy to participate in the Great War.

During the Vietnam conflict, the freedom of action granted to Western journalists had allowed the general public to know at least part of the reality of the war, undermining the internal front and contributing to the emergence of fighting movements that influenced the defeat of the United States. Subsequently, military strategies to control information evolved, and with the military intervention in Iraq in 1991, the US military imposed the model of *embedded* journalism, i.e. subjugated and incorporated into the war machine.

Currently, the Israeli government prevents journalists from circulating freely in war zones. As "Repubblica" admits, in order to be allowed to enter the Gaza Strip, newspapers must be incorporated into the Israeli army and

comply with a protocol that, according to the newspaper's editorial board, applies military rather than political censorship. But evidently Raffaele Oriani, a contributor to "Venerdì" of "Repubblica", must not have felt reassured by the impartiality guaranteed by this protocol, so much so that he resigned after twelve years, declaring that "This massacre has a media bodyguard that makes it possible. This bodyguard is us".

Comparing the media strategies used by power to construct the narra-

as a "response" to an enemy attack. According to Zionist propaganda, the Palestinians have been the ones provoking the war since 1947, i.e. since the Palestinian leadership's decision to boycott UN Resolution 181. A decision that provided for the partition of land between two political entities and by which, de facto, the international community legitimized Zionism's colonialist project. Similarly, the invasion of Ukraine by the army of the Russian Federation is described as the beginning of the war at the hands of Putin's

Comparing the media strategies used by power to construct the narrative of the two war scenarios (Ukraine and Palestine), one can see that the manipulation techniques are the same

tive of the two war scenarios (Ukraine and Palestine), one can see that the manipulation techniques are the same.

Decontextualization: the Palestinian resistance action of 7 October is recounted as a terrorist aggression isolated from context and history. Omitting the fact that for years Israel has been militarily attacking civilians, causing thousands of casualties, and carrying out a process of ethnic cleansing, is a camp choice meant to attribute responsibility for the conflict to the Palestinians. Historically, Israeli military actions are always described

expansionist raptus, whereas the destabilization of the region conducted by the NATO front to enlarge its area of influence has been operational since at least 2014, with Euromaidan and the bombing of the Donbas and other Russian-speaking regions.

Falsification: controversial episodes are used to support one's propaganda. News stories with no certain sources are fabricated and frequently debunked as soon as their instrumental use is no longer indispensable. For instance, the Western media initially attributed the Nord Stream pipeline

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But the latest trend in media manipulation is to make people believe that the Western capitalist bloc disassociates itself from the Israeli government's violence and seeks peaceful mediation

explosion to Russia, even though Biden had previously openly stated that "If Russia invades, there will be no Nord Stream 2". Later, since the thesis of self-sabotage lacked credibility and to absolve NATO of responsibility for having destroyed a strategic infrastructure for Europe, the media spread the hypothesis that unspecified "Ukrainian forces" were responsible.

Similarly, the 7 October military attack in the immediate aftermath was only reported as an indiscriminate massacre of civilians, whereas according to later and more accurate sources, more than half of the victims were soldiers and policemen, and some of the civilians were killed by the Israeli army's bombing in compliance with the well-known "Hannibal protocol". Furthermore, it must be considered that the colonies are military settlements, the settlers are armed and are an active part of the occupation of the territories and the expulsion of the natives.

Emotive narrative: The media focus on the atrocities allegedly committed by Palestinian resisters (beheadings of children and sexual violence against women), going along with

Israeli propaganda without reporting the denials of the other side, hiding the atrocities perpetrated by the army, Israeli police and settlers systematically for decades. The aim is to lead populations to instantly and emotionally side with the Zionists. Violence is thus presented as an illegitimate weapon only for the enemies of the West, while it is denied that at the heart of every colonial process is violence, and that colonised man can only liberate himself in and through the violence that defines the oppressive system in which he lives.

Personalisation: we are told the biographies of the few Israeli hostages, to make us identify with them, while the thousands of Palestinian dead and hostages held in Israeli prisons are a shapeless mass with no face, hidden behind the term "side effects". Similarly, news about victims from regions considered pro-Russian is scarce while narratives about Ukrainian victims abound, and when it comes to neo-Nazi soldiers they are often incensed as heroes who fell for freedom.

The war-mongers apply one of the worst levers of consensus: the dehu-

manisation of the enemy, which has always served to justify the most infamous massacres. Arabs and Slavs are still described using zoological language, as inferior and subhuman beings, according to the worst racist and Nazi rhetoric.

The media as agents of preventive counter-insurgency

In support of the Palestinian population, a large international solidarity movement has been activated, a real thorn in the side of the Israeli State and the bloc of countries that support it. Punctually, the media attempted to disrupt this movement, again with a strategy that unfolded in various stages. Initially, the protesters were accused of supporting terrorism. Subsequently, anyone who supported the Palestinians or criticised the actions of the Israeli State became anti-Semitic. Anti-Semitism is thus instrumentalised, and it is no coincidence that when the media count the number of anti-Semitic actions, they put real racist actions in the same cauldron with critical initiatives and actions in opposition to the Israeli government. This has led to the paradox of accusing anti-Zionist Jews of anti-Semitism, who, by demonstrating all over the world in solidarity with the Palestinian people, make it clear that attacking Netanyahu's government and anti-Semitism are not synonymous.

But the latest trend in media manipulation is to make people believe that the Western capitalist bloc disassociates itself from the Israeli government's violence and seeks peaceful mediation. This narrative is at odds with the reality of the facts: Western countries send funding, weapons and fleets to support Israel, warn neighbouring countries not to intervene, and oppose resolutions condemning Israel in international institutions.

Evidently, Israeli military operations are agreed and shared with the US and the EU. The propaganda in this case serves to clear Westerners of co-responsibility with Israeli crimes. Western governments could intervene to stop the genocide in Gaza and instead they fuel the expansion of the conflict into a regional war. At the same time, the media try to minimise and normalise the war in order to accustom public opinion to the situation and to quell protest movements.

War on truth and the limits of tele-matic communication

The war on truth waged by the Zionist regime is not only ideological but also material: more than a hundred journalists have been killed by the Israeli Defence Forces in Gaza, many as a result of targeted attacks with drones or guided missiles. In the rest of Israel, non-aligned journalists have suffered dozens of arrests and administrative

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If anarchists and communists managed to publish their newspapers even during totalitarian regimes by recurring to clandestinity, how will we act within a communication system increasingly hostage to technologies whose access is not free but hostage to the will of companies and governments?

detentions. The Israeli government has thus tried to gain a monopoly on information, but this is not succeeding thanks to the strength of resistance and the courage and sacrifice of many activists.

The main media belong to the large financial and industrial groups or governments, Western journalists are trained within the dominant paradigms of neo-liberal capitalism, and the *strong* instrument of censorship is no longer even needed to guide them. Some truthful descriptions remain in countries where certain professional deontology resists, such as the United States or France, but certainly not in Italy, where the falsification of reality is so blatant that part of the population has stopped believing in it. This is demonstrated by the collapse in television news ratings and the increasingly poor sales of national newspapers. It is no coincidence that this trend has intensified in the years following the media handling of the Covid epidemic. Certainly, there is a substantial part

of the population that ideologically adheres to the system and a part that is politically disinterested and dispossessed of the desire for knowledge and cognitive faculties. But there is also another substantial part that does not trust the system and believes what it is told to be false. The fact that there is a growing distrust in the dominant system is a positive element, but it must be acknowledged that for now, this scepticism seems to act only on the level of the consciousness of the excluded, who are beginning to cut some of those bonds that used to tie them to society, including, precisely, that of recognition in the media-spectacular system of domination.

On the other hand, alternative information channels have an increasing following, which denotes a desire for what would once have been called counter-information, and this is a fact that must be assumed regardless of the quality of the content and the political orientation of the various blogs, Telegram channels, and so on.

The Internet is the place where these *different* sources propagate because of their simplicity of use, their endless potential for diffusion, and their costs, which are decidedly low compared to traditional counter-information tools (press and radio). But if virtual space seems to redefine the media system by giving some illusion of decentralisation, this seems more and more distant from the promise of freedom that web theologians of the left and right used to take for granted. Through the oligopoly of the companies that own the network infrastructure, the capitalist system has granted an apparent fluidity to telematic communication only to facilitate its growth and global expansion. But in these times of war, the trend is reversing: now non-aligned communication tools are victims of police control and repression, they are blacked out or singled out as spreaders of fake news. After all, “without some form of censorship, propaganda in the strict sense of the word is impossible”. Some examples of this censorship clampdown are the hunt for so-called “fake news” during the Covid pandemic, the closure of Russian channels after the war with Ukraine, and the closure of internet networks in Gaza. Even at our latitudes, we have experienced how the tools of telematic communication are not as free as they appear – it is enough to make a post in support of Palestine

to find one’s social profile obscured or the DIGOS (police departments dealing with political offenses, t/n) at home, as happened to an Algerian refugee here in Italy – and with the escalation of military conflicts and the desirable increase in social conflict, the true nature of the web will only emerge.

The telematic communication system has intrinsic limitations that are poorly suited to the needs of those who wish to combat an increasingly pervasive domain: the physical structures that make it work are highly centralised and firmly in the hands of the military-industrial complex, they are highly energy-consuming and in the event of a revolution one would not have the technical skills to manage them; the platforms are owned by private individuals who can exclude at will content they do not share, and the dictatorship of the algorithm automatically promotes pro-system content, blocking antagonistic content; furthermore, these tools are always dual, i.e. they allow communication but also serve the police to control and repress subversives.

The prodromes of the repression against freedom of expression can be identified by recalling the house raids several people underwent during the Covid, guilty of writing dissenting posts on social networks. About the more strictly militant sphere, the re-

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pressive clampdown on those components of the anarchist movement that have maintained an active conflict against the State and capital in recent decades is a litmus test of the ongoing evolutions. At the top of this trend is the use of the 41 bis prison regime, a veritable war prison reserved for enemies of the State. In this regime, any kind of external-internal communication is prevented, and revolutionary prisoners can no longer communicate with the world outside prison. As an example, we cite the statement made by the anarchist Alfredo Cospito to the surveillance court of Sassari on 20 October 2022. That political document was censored and still cannot be, and has not been, spread. Other examples of censorship concern the increasing use of “incitement to commit crimes” accusation, sometimes with the aggravating circumstance of terrorist purposes, the requests for arrest for speaking at rallies, and the application of precautionary measures for writing articles.

Some recent judicial investigations against anarchists (*Scripta Manent*, *Sibilla*, *Diana*, *Scripta Scelera*) have also, or mainly, involved the publication of newspapers and the run-

ning of websites, and there have also been seizures of publications, as well as the seizure of a commercial printing house and the shutdown of websites. The West is increasingly dominated by emergency policies and democracies are evolving towards increasingly authoritarian models of government. A near future of censorship and manipulation lies ahead. With regard to the latter, the introduction of artificial intelligence – a sophisticated new tool for manipulating reality – introduces new and disturbing scenarios. If anarchists and communists managed to publish their newspapers even during totalitarian regimes by recurring to clandestinity, how will we act within a communication system increasingly hostage to technologies whose access is not free but hostage to the will of companies and governments? We are convinced that the authoritarian drift, of which censorship and war propaganda are expressions, represents a sign of crisis and weakness of capitalist domination that will be beneficial for a break between the excluded and the system, as is already timidly happening. If the word returns to fear today, it is because it can find ears willing to listen to it ■

Carnage in Palestine

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These people are not like us! A people of savages! They had it coming! All they know is violence! No matter how old they are, the children are nothing but potential murderers! Seeds of terrorism! If we bury them alive under a carpet of bombs, it's their fault! It's the laws of war! We have no choice, it's a war of civilization!

Since October 7th, how many times have we tried to turn on a radio or television and heard this kind of monstrosity, which, in order to justify the bloodbath that is taking place before our eyes, aims to dehumanize a part of humanity, just like any genocidal propaganda. The right to defend oneself means the right to exterminate civilians by the tens of thousands, to starve millions, to systematically raze their homes and hospitals. Because these civilians are not really civilians, because they are suspected terrorists by nature, whatever their age, whatever their condition, because they are a backward people. It means that collective responsibility binds them together

and allows any form of collective punishment, even the death penalty, which is also collective. It means that it is permissible to kill children if they are born among the wrong people, because they are inherently guilty. Because they're not really human and therefore not really children. Because they are "animals," scapegoats to be immolated on the altar of the reason of the State! Someone has to pay! It means that at least there are peoples, some of them chosen, promised a land by a god, others cursed and ungrateful. So ungrateful for the few crumbs left to them from the very land from which they were expelled that they deserve to be mercilessly bombed. It means that there are peoples, some of whom are necessarily victims, and others of whom are necessarily at fault, or at the very least accountable for the faults of those who govern them. It means that they have differentiated rights and even a differentiated level of humanity.

There is indeed a problem of humanity! Or rather, inhumanity!

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An ideology that rots the minds of those who end up thinking that the systematic slaughter of a part of humanity could be justified. A mirror of this world of policed, moralizing, rule-of-law States, which, with their media and elected representatives, are capable of trying to legitimize a mass slaughter of tens of thousands of civilians that is announced, documented and even claimed. A live massacre based on a division of humanity between peoples, who could be punished according to whether they were categorized as good or bad, held responsible or not for the atrocities of their leaders.

And why should a radical right-wing government limit the extermination of civilians when the US, the most powerful of the rule-of-law States, guarantees it unconditional support? Unconditional to the point of resupplying it with bombs whenever necessary and using its veto power to block any feeble resolution that might limit the carnage! Why should a notoriously racist power curb its ethnic cleansing operations when so many rule-of-law States back it, either paying lip service to criticism or preferring to look the other way?

Why should Netanyahu hesitate to systematically target hospitals when the doublethink dictated by media

propaganda enables these massacres to be presented as something other than terrorism? Because for the ideology that divides humanity into rival artificial categories, whether an act is terrorism is not determined by whether it plans massacres targeting civilians rather than targeting their authorities, but instead by the identities attributed to the victims and killers. Mass murders committed by a government can be equated by its supporters with “the laws of war,” “collateral damage,” or at most a “disproportionate response,” at the extreme limit a “blunder,” never “terrorism.” On the other hand, the term is often applied to the civilian victims to justify the slaughter.

Distance, whether physical, national, cultural or political, becomes a fault. Proximity, a virtue. The strategy of splitting up the proletariat, which allows States to conceal the real antagonisms linked to social exploitation, may be old, but it's still the order of the day. This hypocrisy is nothing new, as rule-of-law States have long practiced terrorism on a massive scale. Proof, if it were needed, is Hiroshima and Nagasaki, where the US, in order to assert its atomic omnipotence, did not hesitate to sacrifice more than 200,000 civilians under nuclear fire, whose only crime was to have been born Japanese and

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who were therefore condemned to pay with their lives for the atrocities of their leaders. It's true that the lives of populations, whoever they may be, have never been a major preoccupation of all States. Not only ultra-authoritarian regimes, but also market democracies that, behind the facade of their universalism, deform reality to express a unidirectional indignation that betrays political and economic interests.

The blatant cynicism of these States partly explains why the Palestine issue mobilizes so many more people than other distant massacres such as those in Darfur, where civilian victims number in the hundreds of thousands. Their hypocrisy is not surprising, but it amplifies the anger tenfold and exposes vulnerabilities that don't exist in openly authoritarian states.

Where we might be surprised, however, is at rallies for Gaza or in the militant niche of social media. There are reactions that suggest a parallel to this identity-based "double-standardism." There is sometimes a tendency to distort the facts in all directions in order to avoid explicitly condemning other massacres of civilians, those organized by the Hamas military leadership, in which hundreds of people were shot dead simply because they were considered

Jewish. Since Israeli children can in no way be held remotely responsible for the many atrocities of the Netanyahu government, the very fact that they were targeted, whether for kidnapping or murder, is proof that this act was aimed at human beings, not because of any direct complicity with Israeli apartheid, but because of their belonging to an ethnic group.

Here, too, children and other civilians have been deliberately killed on the basis of assigned ethnicity by a State structure whose political calculations have no regard for human life, whether of foreigners or its subjects. Again, we sometimes hear "they had it coming," with the added bonus of a cynical conflation of the authorities and the governed.

Some of the reflections of leftist militants show an essentialist indifference, a distortion of indignation. It's as if for them the mass murder and hostage-taking of ordinary people on the basis of ethnic differentiation could, depending on the case, be interpreted as something other than an act of fascist brutality. Which begs the question: aren't many of these "leftists" actually reactionary? One wonders if the liberal ideology that divides humanity into rival identities might not have developed a "leftist" version, just with

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a different hierarchy... a different racist dehumanization... a different “somebody has to pay”...

One wonders whether the tendency to think in terms of “collective responsibility” and then “collective punishment,” following the example of the extreme right, might not be catching on?

A minimum of revolutionary coherence, however, requires that we vigorously denounce racism in all its forms, without the slightest ambiguity and without the slightest exception. Not only because we can’t hope to subvert the world without fighting the ideas that racialize human beings, but also because any reactionary approach to this issue plays into the hands of nationalist propaganda, especially the Israeli version, which is only too eager to conflate anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism.

Again at these rallies, there is a tendency to think that the October 7th massacre is just a detail, a “detail of history,” given the scale of the ongoing massacre... It’s true that the multiplication of atrocities planned by the IDF is part of a genocidal logic, and it’s true that “social relations in the region are the product of the colonial situation,” but this doesn’t legitimize everything and anything,

and a massacre of civilians remains an abomination that bears the hallmark of fascist ideologies.

And a lower death toll doesn’t make it any more tolerable! If we start ranking the killing of populations, what’s the next step? Ranking them in order of importance, just as the media imposes on us, treating them differently according to inherently absurd criteria in order to legitimize some of them? Entering the game of rivalry between victims, as this perverse circus encourages, would only validate it and ensure an ideological victory for the proponents of an ethno-nationalist division of humanity.

In some discussions among militants, we have even heard discourses that, to our dismay, downplay the issue of rape! It suddenly seems taboo, not to say secondary. Has sexual aggression become an acceptable weapon of war, depending on the background of the rapists and the victims? Did they have it coming? Could some rape be justified because “social relations in the region are the product of the colonial situation”?

Some militants tend to take offence at the use of the term “terrorism” to describe the murder and hostage-taking of civilians, many of them

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children! Could the latter be considered responsible for the genocidal policies of Israel's radical far-right government? Are there cases in which targeting civilians rather than their leaders in order to instill terror in a population could be defined as something other than terrorism? By what criteria... "race"... "people"? You can see how far essentialism can go! The fact that Israel practices systematic State terrorism on a much larger scale doesn't change a thing! What's the point of reproducing the crap of the ultra-Zionists, whose avowed racism has been coupled, at least since Deir Yassin, with an overt terrorism aimed at imposing an ethnic war that leaves no possibility of coexistence? To imitate them, or to support those who do, is to allow ourselves to be drawn into their strategy of ethnic cleansing and to give them the certainty of victory.

In fact, in some rallies or militant texts, we sometimes sense a moralistic pressure to forbid any criticism of the Hamas leadership, on the pretext that it would be a form of "betrayal"! Because Hamas is the resistance... Because those who claim to be the "legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people" demand "unconditional support"... But for whom? For a reactionary, nationalist, patriarchal and homophobic group

that represses the desire for freedom of the population it controls...

The critique of "unconditional support" is nothing new, since it is synonymous with a blank cheque to politician organizations that pose as representatives of a human group they claim to lead. This is the exact opposite of class solidarity, which is based on the idea that social struggles against the same system mutually reinforce each other by autonomy coming together, through reciprocally sharing analyses and experiences.

Denouncing the oppression to which people are subjected is one thing, and an indispensable one at that. Blindly adopting the often nauseating discourses of those who claim to be their leaders is quite another... and one that also contributes to reinforcing this confiscation of speech. If the logic of support, in contrast to solidarity, requires us to validate opinions that we don't share, the contortions to which this condemns us are all the more untenable because they are "unconditional"!

Could we support the "Women, Life, Freedom" movement in Iran, fighting against an ultra-reactionary regime, without criticizing it ourselves? And yet, to refrain from criticizing the leadership of Hamas would also be

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to refrain from fighting its Iranian sponsor!

Refusing to condemn the practices of Hamas would be tantamount to refusing to denounce Qatar, which, with Israel's blessing, provides Hamas with the means for its clientelism through the annual payment of hundreds of millions of dollars. Qatar, which, needless to say, is responsible for the forced labor of tens of thousands of migrant workers, nearly 6,000 of whom are believed to have died on the construction sites for the 2022 World Cup. Should we also look the other way when this absolute monarchy criminalizes homosexuality?

The same homophobic delusions can be found among Hamas' ideological allies, the AKP in Turkey and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, both of which are responsible for the bloody repression of all forms of protest. How could we denounce what the people of Kurdistan are suffering while sparing Erdogan, who is responsible for so many atrocities against them?

And to claim that Hamas is the resistance to Israel is to validate the idea that Hezbollah is too, since it also confronts the Zionist state. By this logic, we'd have to remain silent when Hassan Nasrallah, its secretary general, calls for the killing

of members of the Lebanese LGBT+ community, as he did in July 2023. And let's not forget that in 2012, this other ally of the bloodthirsty Iranian regime made a military commitment to the Syrian state, and crushed the popular uprising in a barrage of unprecedented violence.

One of the arguments used to dismiss any criticism of the Hamas leadership is that a majority of Palestinians support this branch of the Muslim Brotherhood. At least that's what the Zionist and Hamas leaders claim, both of whom have a vested interest in this. But if it were so appreciated by the population it leads, why would Hamas need to systematically and harshly repress any social protest, as it did in March 2019 against "the revolt of the hungry"? Why do so many of the people it seeks to control want the leadership removed?

Moreover, the question is not so much how to verify this alleged "popularity" as how to interpret it. Not only has the popularity of a politician never been a guarantee of whether they are revolutionary - on the contrary - but the political reality in Palestine has been marked for decades by sustained interventions by Israeli power to break any spirit of resistance. And the Zionist strategy, which first supported the emergence of Hamas to compete

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with the PLO before succeeding in corrupting the Palestinian Authority, aims to leave Palestinians with only rotten options, squeezed between two powers that are as clientelist as they are reactionary. Two competing forces, but with something in common: the determination to police the population and restrict any attempt at grassroots self-organization.

It's understandable that, faced with this impossible choice, a section of the population, deprived of everything, would still prefer the best-organized group, the least collaborationist or the best clientelist service. But this is no reason for revolutionary critique to refrain from denouncing the political or military leadership of a party that is as reactionary as it is religious. It's no reason to condone their crap with embarrassed silence, thereby risking to fall headlong into the trap set by the Zionist regime. It's no reason to equate all Palestinians with their leaders, as the radical far-right Israeli government hopes to do in justifying the bloodbath perpetrated by the IDF.

Being in solidarity also means taking advantage of our freedom of speech to voice criticisms that are immediately suppressed when voiced by those in revolt in Palestine. And since there's no question of claiming to speak on their behalf, we have to say what

we think is amiss. It's not a question of moralizing towards a population that is suffering appalling violence, but of not compromising with all the powers that are trying to manipulate this population, first and foremost all the States that are trying to advance their pawns in the region. And there are many of them, from Israel to Iran, the Western countries, the Gulf monarchies, Turkey...

But why this tendency to distort the facts? Why do so many "revolutionaries" choose to deny the thoroughly reactionary nature of Hamas? Could they be supporters? By choice? Or out of cowardice?

Or is it due to the myth that unity at all costs is strength, synonymous with falling in line behind the dominant party, even if it means denying its fascist practices and serving as its platform...? Could it be due to deliberate blindness? Does the horror of the situation in Gaza make us prefer the simplicity of a campist ideology that refuses to see half of reality? Has the ridiculous and binary aphorism "the enemies of my enemies are my friends" struck again?

After signing a non-aggression pact with Hitler in 1939, Stalin ultimately contributed to the Nazi defeat. Does that make him a comrade?

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A dictator who should never be levelled with any reproach?... This was once what some so-called “revolutionary” circles asserted, who did not hesitate to label any subversive criticism of the supposedly “communist” nomenklatura as an act of treason orchestrated by counter-revolutionaries.

Or does this double-standard denial stem from, for some, basically thinking that we can't expect the same of humans depending on the ethnic label assigned to them? But doesn't the idea that we can't expect the same of certain people denote a profound paternalistic contempt for them? A condescension that reflects not anti-Jewish, but anti-Arab racism!

Or is there a fear of telling some parts of the truth because it might do a disservice to the Palestinian cause? Except that this would be a very poor calculation, since ambiguity scares off many revolutionaries, and not only! Still, it would be useful to ask whether this unwillingness to call a spade a spade isn't counterproductive, and whether there wouldn't have been many more of us at the Gaza demonstrations if the condemnation of Hamas had been clearer and more forthright.

It's all very well to denounce the

hypocritical “double standards” of rule-of-law States that treat affronts differently depending on the identity of the civilian victims, but it's even better if we don't sabotage that critique by reproducing their ethnically-based “double standard” in another form.

We don't need to go easy on Hamas to denounce Zionism, along with all nationalisms. No matter what the Hamas leadership does, nothing will ever justify the massacre of civilians in Gaza to make an example. There's no need to distort anything to draw a parallel between Israel and apartheid South Africa, both of which operate on racist foundations, acting as representative democracies for some and dictatorships for others.

There's no denying that the Israeli state is inherently racist, inviting some people to settle in the territory it controls on the basis of their ethnic identity, while expelling others whose families have lived there for centuries. Nothing will prevent us from recalling that this State was originally founded on a campaign of ethnic cleansing based on terror, so that Zionist supporters could be in the majority. Since then, State terrorism has been systematized to invisibilize and silence those humans it deems forever undesirable.

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And when it's not hunting, torturing or killing them, it parks them on its doorstep in open-air mega-prisons, the internal management of which it has partly entrusted to the Palestinian Authority and Hamas. In this way, it keeps at its disposal a workforce that is at its mercy, without having to provide for the needs of this pool of reserve serfs, who survive largely on foreign aid. These workers are doubly captive, trapped as they are by the systemic unemployment linked to the blockade and the destruction of infrastructure organized by the IDF. They are all the more exploitable because the border with Israel is the place in the world where a physical separation between two neighboring territories has the greatest difference in GDP per capita: on average, in 2022, a human being in Gaza lived on 28 times less than a human being in Israel!

This doesn't prevent undocumented immigrants from all over the world, especially from Thailand, from being overexploited, since the capitalists, no matter who they are, use the same techniques of dividing and pitting the proletariat against each other in order to exert more and more pressure and increase their profits.

Moreover, when it comes to dividing the proletariat, Hamas is no better. Hasn't it killed and taken hostage

undocumented Thai immigrants? But also Bedouins, especially agricultural workers, who may have Israeli citizenship, but are nonetheless oppressed daily by the Hebrew State. But what could possibly have motivated Hamas leaders to organize the murder and kidnapping of Thai and Bedouin workers, who are also victims of the Zionist regime? While we must certainly look to nationalism, we can also wonder about its direct counterpart, xenophobia!

At the very least, we can see once again that the categorization and separation of humanity into different nations and peoples mechanically divides the exploited and threatens their ability to unite to resist capitalism. Further proof, if any were needed, that October 7th has nothing to do with class struggle or even any form of social resistance.

In fact, we certainly need to revisit the concept of resistance, as well as how it is presented to legitimize an ultra-reactionary State structure. Who is really resisting today? The political leadership of Hamas in Doha? Its military leadership, which, sheltered by its tunnels, knowingly organized the October 7 massacre, unable to ignore that the Israeli reaction would be terrible for the Gazans? The corrupt Palestinian Authority? Or the

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population of Gaza and the West Bank who are trying to survive under a hail of Israeli bombs and bullets? The real resisters are not those who establish themselves as representatives and want to co-opt the term, they are, of course, all those families plunged into absolute misery, who see their relatives murdered, but who refuse to bow their heads! They are the ones who are paying with their lives for their refusal to give in to the Zionist regime's planned ethnic cleansing. They are the ones who endure, they are the ones who struggle, they are the ones who can and must turn the tables tomorrow. As everywhere, it's up to the people to reclaim their lives locally and decide their fate, not to us, nor to those who confiscate their word by claiming to govern them. This should not prevent solidarity from expressing its own ideas, as long as it avoids paternalistic lecturing. But solidarity with our brothers and sisters over there, those who belong to the exploited human beings who form the immense majority, those who rebel against all authoritarianism, means not endangering them by supporting the politicians who crush them!

In this sense, we can also ask what we mean by "revolution" and the "resistance" that goes with it. Is it simply a question of challenging the

power of an occupying force in order to replace it with a nationalist State? Is it a question of opposing a single source of oppression, even if it means reproducing the others, be they social, sexist, racist, authoritarian...? Is it a question of participating in the logic of identity-based rivalry, of becoming trapped in the dominant ideology that seeks to mask the class antagonisms linked to the exploitation of human by human? Do we deny that all nations and peoples are nothing more than separate parts of humanity, the majority of which have in common that they are subject to a minority that holds economic and political power? A social elite that, in order to make us toil harder, strives to fragment the global proletariat by redistributing the crumbs in a differential way and trying to make us swallow its "war of civilization."

Are we fighting to establish governments that are, ultimately, hardly better than the dictatorial powers they replaced? Are we fighting for powers whose aim is to establish themselves as a new bourgeoisie that will exploit the rest of the population? Are we fighting to offer the leadership of a State to a future elite? Have we suddenly forgotten that colonialism is always the result of State structures that have become powerful enough to

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export the domination they exercise over one part of humanity to other parts?

Or is it a question of fighting for much more than that? To collectively resist all forms of domination, now and everywhere, without hierarchizing them, without borders, without waiting for vague intermediate stages!

In the many discussions we've had with comrades at the Gaza protests, there's one argument that comes back like a mantra about Hamas: this is not the time to dwell on criticizing it, given the scale of the current catastrophe caused by the genocidal policies of the Zionist regime. First of all, it would have to settle down... Not exactly convinced by this argument in view of the power struggles orchestrated by certain supporters who don't care about weakening solidarity, this text nevertheless remained stuck waiting at the bottom of a computer for several months. Which in itself isn't too serious, not to say completely insignificant.

What's frightening is that it doesn't let up, that the horror doesn't stop, as if there's nothing we can do about this madness, as if we can only watch this morbid spectacle that the weary majority seems to be losing interest in, as if the only option in the face

of the death toll is to lose our minds. And when it "settles down" a bit, it's with the threat that it worsens again!

But beyond the reservations and criticisms of certain discourses, it is unthinkable to stand idly by while an army deliberately massacres tens of thousands of civilians for months on end, lumping together the leaders and the governed. It's unthinkable to ignore the plight of human beings suffering State terrorism if you claim to be a revolutionary. It's unthinkable to say nothing, to remain self-centered on arguments in the West. Especially since refusing to show solidarity with these victims of State violence, in the name of the ambiguity of certain groups, would be tantamount to reproducing this conflation of a population that suffers and politicians who seek only to command it.

To be unconcerned would be to forget that the milestone that has just been reached in the management of populations affects everyone. In the past, so-called "rule-of-law" States have been known to massacre thousands of civilians, but the scarcity of images and their remoteness have allowed them to postpone awareness of the reality until the media spectacle has diverted enough attention. With this genocidal war live, programmed, organized, claimed, documented,

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filmed, tiktoked, for months on end, there is no longer any question of concealing large-scale State terrorism. All that remains is to display it, to show what it costs a population to resist. More than 2 million civilians taken hostage, starved and tortured as an example, women raped, more than 35,000 civilians deliberately murdered, live, before the eyes of the whole world... And the other rule-of-law States do not flinch! This isn't just a blank check given to a fascist power, it's a warning to every human being who dares to revolt against the established order: for States, whether they call themselves "democratic" or not, repression with extreme violence is an option.

The IDF, which has given itself the right of life and death over the Palestinians, has extended this right to anyone who might be able to help them. But when it deliberately shot dead 7 Western aid workers whose exact position had been reported to it by the NGO, it was a bit too much for certain commentators and politicians who felt that things had gone too far. History is likely to record that they too were complicit in this horror by their silence. Even Biden is pretending to be annoyed.

The "two peoples, two states" solution was then pulled out of the

hat by a number of politicians. Where the various proponents of the two-state solution differ is in the name of the leader they intend to install at the head of a future Palestinian state, each hoping to place his favorite. All this shows how little democratic States take the opinions of the people concerned into account.

Of course, the Palestinian population now living under Israeli bombs might be tempted by the recognition of a State that offers them a minimum of security compared to what they are currently enduring. Even if it's narrow-minded and implemented by a local elite whose sole aim is control. But how is it acceptable for a plan to cede only one-fifth of Palestine to a population that, in 1947, represented 70% of its inhabitants before being driven out, a plan that validates the seizure of the other four-fifths by a State which continues to practice racial segregation and to deny the right of return to all the refugees of the Nakba? Is it blindness or cynicism to present as generous a project that is so unjust and can only be accepted with a knife at the throat?

In the face of this mystification, the desire to call for a "two peoples, one state" solution is understandable, which would at least have the merit of no longer prohibiting the right of

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return. But return to what land when it has been occupied for decades?

This raises the question of ownership of land and buildings. Who should they belong to? The people who own them now and who were able to acquire them thanks to the Nakba? The previous owners? Often wealthy Ottoman landowners... The people who used to live there, whether or not they were the official owners? Which would mean that those who at the time were only entitled to a small shack would have to make do with it, while the old bourgeoisie would get their palaces back, and others would have nothing at all? Obviously, all this would hardly be just, and would only threaten to generate injustice and permanent conflict, especially between the two “peoples”. After all, we’ll always be faced with the separation of humanity into two fragments living on the same territory. And we can count on the extreme right on both sides to fan the embers and fuel a dual strategy of tension aimed at imposing an identity-based war.

They will be helped in this by politicians who support representative democracy and who, as they enter into electoral competition with each other, will soon be tempted to play on community antagonism as well,

especially through a demographic competition.

Even if, as is the case everywhere, this competition for control of a State does not prevent the bourgeoisie from agreeing to manage and share the cake. A State whose purpose, like all others, will naturally be to deprive the population of its ability to make decisions in order to guarantee its exploitation for the benefit of the ruling classes.

So what? What if we allowed ourselves to go further? What if we attacked the very foundations of colonialism: the state and capitalism? What if we dared to question the very idea of the State, the idea of private property, the idea of borders? What if we tried to invent something other than social relations based on the monopolization of goods and the exploitation of human beings by human beings? What if we were to question the very notion of “peoples” and its construction? Doesn’t it follow the same logic as that of the “nation-state”, which can only drift into nationalism and contribute to the atomization of the global proletariat? Don’t peoples tend to think of themselves as separate entities from the rest of humanity, participating in the division of the latter and the competition between its fragments

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by social elites eager to conceal the real divergence of interests between leaders and governed, exploiters and exploited? Class antagonisms that cut across all these artificial divisions!

So how about a revolutionary solution: “no people, no State, no class”! For many, such an idea would seem utopian, not to say completely insane! Obviously, given the level of hatred, it would be complicated, but always more realistic than the “solutions” that lead us straight into the logic of total ethnic war. Still less insane than accepting the prevailing fatalism that leads us to stop reacting when thousands of children are murdered! Still less stupid than this world that, with its binary and identity-based rulings, legitimizes massacres in the name of an ethnocentric division of humanity!

“No people, no State, no class” is of course just one option, to be built collectively. It will be up to the local population to decide what they want, and to create their own solutions according to their desires and social dynamics.

We can only hope that they have gained sufficient autonomy from the various interests that claim to represent and lead it.

Let's hope that in our context, the development of dynamics of solidarity with the autonomous struggles over there will resonate with their fight for liberation from colonialists, reactionaries and other merchants of death...

In the storm of a structural tendency towards war, while all the glorifiers of domination would have us remain open-mouthed in the face of the imperious necessity of Force, the forces at play are demonstrating their *contingent* character more and more every day. NATO is losing in Ukraine, Africa is boiling over, world trade is being undermined by one of the poorest countries on earth, US military bases are being hit by non-state formations. Thus the repression against immigrants (and comrades) is advancing. Thus the rearmament plans, the announcements of mass recruitment, the censorship that casts off all masks. «Revolution or war»: here is a concept that is already implicit in the substance of the world; a concept that, «strange as it may seem, could preserve human lives». As the storm rises, this *single issue* wants to blow in that direction.