





In this brochure we bring together texts that deal with the current repressive situation. On the one hand, it is of course prompted by how anarchists in and outside Munich are being prosecuted and imprisoned by the Bavarian public prosecutor's office, with their surroundings also being persecuted and monitored as a result. Information on the proceedings can be found right at the beginning in the text "Talking Straight: When Repression Targets Our Newspapers". The §129 proceedings (formation of a criminal organization) against the three anarchists accused of the alleged "Zündlumpen" editorial team, for which the anarchists N. and M. are currently imprisoned in Aichach and Stadelheim, have been ongoing since 2022 and trial is expected to begin in autumn 2025.

On the other hand, there are also repressive tendencies beyond this context and affect a wide variety of anarchist environments. We therefore think it is important to use the text "Militarization of Social Discourse" to discuss how militarization has also intensified in this country with the Covid pandemic, how war rhetoric has intensified since the beginning of the Ukraine war and especially since 7 October 2023, and what consequences this has for newspaper projects, protests, and movements.

"The Legal Framework of Censorship" provides an overview of the German censorship landscape against political printed materials. The text „The Underground Press: A Thorn in the Side of the State" comments on what it means when ideas, relationships, and written words are also increasingly persecuted and censored.

"Eco-anarchism?" explains why a critique of technology and industrialization is essential if we want to question and overcome green capitalism as a continuation of the all-encompassing destruction of nature.

The anarchists M. and N., who are currently in custody, are not only accused of being part of the Zündlumpen editorial team, they are also alleged to have distributed the newspaper "Hetzblatt gegen den Windpark" [Inflammatory Paper Against the Wind Farm] with three other people, which is directed against the construction of an industrial wind farm in the middle of the Altöttinger Forest. To contextualize this, there is an article on "The Problem with Wind Turbines". As sabotage is a recurring theme in all the criminal charges and investigations, the text "On the Practice of Sabotage in Ecological Struggles" deals with precisely this topic. And at the end of this magazine there is an (incomplete) overview of arson attacks against state and capitalist structures in Munich and the surrounding region in recent years.

As fellow comrades in solidarity, we do not want to let the ideas being indicted by the state be put on trial in the courtroom.

Let's show our solidarity with words and deeds!

June 2025

broadband distribution box at Wittelsbacher Brücke on the same night, which is why the authorities and town hall in Holzkirchen no longer have an internet and telephone connection.

12/15 - Two forestry machines go up in flames in Pullach. The Bavarian state makes hundreds of millions of euros a year at the expense of the forests.

12/18 - Two forestry machines burn to the ground in Hofoldingen Forst.

12/25 - On Christmas Day, an excavator burns down on a building site.

## 2024

2/5 - A huge fire breaks out at a gravel works in Kirchseeon: early Monday morning, a hall, an outbuilding, two wheel loaders and several conveyor belts are damaged or destroyed.

4/4 - Four construction vehicles burn down on a building site for the second Munich S-Bahn main line. The scene is only a few meters away from the Munich state parliament.

7/31 - A 200-metre-long railway track construction line is set on fire in several places.

10/28 - "In the night of October 28, 2024, a TÜV Süd building in Munich was attacked with an incendiary device made of petrol and wooden pallets. TÜV Süd is partly responsible for the dam collapse at an open-cast iron ore mine in Brazil in 2019, in which over 270 people died, and refuses to compensate their relatives. It is also serving the German nuclear lobby with their expert opinions and preparing the ground for a return to the use of nuclear energy."



9/2 - A fire at a Max Bögl concrete plant in the north of Munich, which destroys a conveyor belt, several vehicles and a silo, impedes the progress of foundation construction work for three new wind turbines.

11/25 - Two Strabag excavators torched in the Au.

## 2025

1/25 - Twenty-three cars belonging to the dog squad burn down shortly before the NATO security conference in Munich. The cops' containers on the site are also charred.

4/9 - After an arson attack on fiber optic and signal cables of the railroad, there are massive train cancellations in Bavaria.

4/21 - Two Strabag excavators go up in flames in Obersendling.

5/22 - Six trucks on the premises of the police riding squadron in Trudering burn down.







5/19 - Two e-cars belonging to Stadtwerke München burn down in Sendling. Graffiti was left nearby – “No HKW” – meaning no combined heat and power plant.

5/26 - Twenty-six fiber optic cable drums are destroyed in a major fire on a construction site in Harlaching. That’s it for the fast Internet connection in the home office for now.

6/9 - A Telekom transmission mast in Waldtrudering burns down completely, or rather up, because the fire spreads to the top of the 30-meter-high mast.

6/26 - On Sunday morning, the ZDF television team was still broadcasting the service live from St. Maximilian’s Church, and on Monday morning, all that was left of the mobile production team’s MAN truck in front of the church, including its special equipment, was rubble and ashes.

7/4 - A Tesla and an e-mini burn down at an e-charging station in the Au.

7/8 - Three birds with one stone: An excavator under an Isar bridge on the Föhringer Ring burns, charring the cable shafts running under the bridge and causing traffic on the ring road to be stopped.

7/10 - “The repression against climate activists should not go unanswered” As a first reaction, in the night from 9.7. to 10.7. we forced two BMW SUVs into early retirement by means of an incendiary device.”



7/16 - A cell tower in Forstenrieder Park near Pullach was set on fire.

7/26 - Two excavators set fire to the fenced-in construction site for a new subway station in Martinsried. A new biotechnology research center of the Technical University of Munich is being built in Martinsried. On the same night, a forestry machine burns down in Perlacher Forst.

8/14 - An excavator catches fire at a Stadtwerke München construction site in the south of Munich.

8/16 - An asphalt paving machine catches fire at a construction site on a highway in the east of Munich.



10/23 - Europe’s largest geothermal network project suffers a severe blow: the laying of new geothermal pipelines in Perlacher Forst is sabotaged by three fires. Completion of the project is delayed by six months.

10/28 - A railroad crane catches fire on the train tracks in the direction of the airport and blocks freight traffic.

11/10 - An excavator and a truck burn at a MVG construction site in Johanneskirchen.

12/11 - At the Ludwigsbrücke bridge in the center of Munich, a cable shaft burns on a pedestrian bridge that was set up because of a construction site. Consequences unclear. On the same night, a harvester burns in Perlacher Forst and in Forst Karsten – two forest destruction machines less. In addition, there is apparently a fire in a

If you want to write letters to the imprisoned anarchists N. and M., ask for their address here: [solidaritaet-mit-n-und-m@riseup.net](mailto:solidaritaet-mit-n-und-m@riseup.net)

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## Talking Straight: When Repression Targets Our Newspapers

Repression, jail and censorship against anarchists in Munich

On February 26, 2025, a series of repressive strikes against anarchists in Munich came to a climax: at ten o’clock in the evening, a total of eight properties in Bavaria and Austria were stormed and searched by 140 cops and the comrades N. and M. were arrested. The Bavarian public prosecutor’s office accused the two and a third person of publishing the anarchist periodical “Zündlumpen”. Since 2022, criminal association proceedings have been open against these three defendants, who are allegedly behind the “Zündlumpen”



newspaper. In addition, N. and M. and three other people are accused of distributing a newspaper called “Inflammatory Paper Against the Wind Farm”, which is said to endorse criminal offenses (§140StGB). It also became known that M. and N. were “initially suspected” of having committed six arsons. However, the majority of the house searches were carried out on people who were only supposed to be witnesses to the criminal proceedings or “contacts” of the accused.



It is obvious that with this repressive strike, as well as with the house searches and investigations since 2022, anarchist projects, spaces and relationships in Munich and beyond are generally to be persecuted and suppressed. In the course of the house searches in 2022, the cops confiscated an entire print shop, hundreds of anarchist books and newspapers, as well as tens of thousands of pages of unprinted paper, which are still in their evidence rooms today. The cops also put pressure on the landlord of the “Anarchist Library Frevel” to terminate the library’s lease, forcing it to end its six-and-a-half-year existence in the winter of 2022.

**Zündlumpen [Ignition Rag] and Hetzblätter [Inflammatory Paper]**

There were various reasons why the cops decided to prosecute the Zündlumpen newspaper on such a large scale: on the one hand, the cops and the Office for the Protection of the Constitution considered the newspaper to be of great importance in German-speaking countries due to its frequent publication and growing size (85 issues in three years). Secondly, the cops didn’t like the clarity with which Zündlumpen celebrated violence against cops and other authorities. Zündlumpen always reported on attacks on structures of authority or social revolts and riots taking place in Munich and internationally. In addition, Zündlumpen also printed tips and instructions for clandestine behavior and sabotage. All this clearly shows that the cops associate Zündlumpen and the anarchist books and newspapers they confiscated in general with a certain offensive practice which was defended in the paper. Because if you look at the Munich area, you have to consider that the local press has been talking about a “series of fires” for many years, in the course of which cell towers, fiber optic cables, police cars, forestry machines, Deutsche Bahn signaling cables, and other structures of power go up in flames with a certain continuity. As the state identified the Munich anarchists and Zündlumpen in particular as a movement that endorses these attacks, the cops attempted to steal the printing presses that were allegedly used to print Zündlumpen, among other things, during their operation in spring 2022. On the other hand, they ensured that the anarchist library Frevel, a place that was close to militant anarchism and where Zündlumpen was also distributed, was closed. Of course, they did not miss the opportunity to steal all anarchist publications in general or even blank paper that could be turned into anarchist newspapers.

But Zündlumpen had already stopped being published before the house searches took place. There was a blog called zuendlappen.noblogs.org, behind which the cops suspected a follow-up project and were eager to find a printed version. Now the cops had loaded their evidence room to the top with truckloads of anarchist or unprinted

paper... And yet the “uncanny series of arsons” in Munich didn’t stop. Or did it even intensify?

The media and police discourse about the fires that took place in 2023 and 2024 always tried to construct the image of individual, crazy perpetrators who acted in isolation and confusion (“firebugs”). In order to put an end to the spook, the “Raute Investigation Group” was set up with 20 investigators to track down those responsible for the series of fires. Meanwhile, the cops in the Zündlumpen case (“Ermittlungsgruppe Schrift”) [“Investigation group Font”] were busy for years trying to track down the accused N. so that they could finally steal her DNA, because her involvement in the production of Zündlumpen was to be argued through the presence of DNA traces found on issues of Zündlumpen. In the meantime, there was also a fourth defendant who was accused of having smoked a cigarette in the confiscated print shop because of a cigarette butt found there, and therefore of being part of the criminal organization. This led to two further house searches, but the accusation was eventually dropped – the minimum of three suspects required to constitute a criminal organization had already been found, anyway.

Behind all these investigations is the “ZET” (Central Office for Combating Extremism and Terrorism) of the Munich Public Prosecutor General’s Office, which was only founded a few years ago. The same office also took it upon itself to carry out house searches in Brussels and Amsterdam in the meantime, as the anarchists whose homes were searched there are being investigated in relation to arson attacks in Munich and Upper Bavaria. The German authorities were pleased by the successful cooperation with the foreign authorities... But they didn’t seem entirely satisfied, after all, the “firebug” was still up to mischief in Munich and the practice of direct action enjoyed widespread use in the Bavarian foothills of the Alps in 2024 and 2025.

As the investigators did not seem to be able to get to the bottom of the phenomenon of fiery attacks on structures of domination, despite new investigation teams, they asked whether there was anyone who could be accused of defending these direct actions and sabotages in speech and writing. And lo and behold! A self-described “incendiary paper against the wind farm” made it into the local press in Altöttingen in 2025. It was precisely this inflammatory newspaper that intervened in the local conflict in which several hectares of forest were to be cleared on behalf of the local chemical industry for the installation of 27 wind turbines. Many Altötting residents tormented by the chemical industry seem to prefer living forests to dead wind turbines, which is why the “Hetzblatt” tried to fuel the social conflict with analyses and proposals. This same newspaper also documented some direct actions against wind turbines, the forestry industry and concrete

12/13 - Cars belonging to Vonovia and Dussmann burn down. [There is a night-time curfew in Bavaria during this and the following winter months].

12/26 - BauWatch truck burns down in Untergiesing.

12/31 - Several “energy connection pillars” are sabotaged during the Covid curfew in Neuperlach shortly before New Year’s Eve. “No more New Year’s greetings via Skype or Zoom”, headlines the press.

2021

2/7 - A Telekom car burns.

5/21 - A fire in a construction pit causes a power cut in the east of Munich. The attack is directed against the Rohde & Schwarz defense contractor impacted by the power cut.

7/13 - Signal cable fire in Obergiesing. The fire is extinguished early.

8/3 - The 350 meter long conveyor belt in the gravel pit in Forst Kasten burns down. The pit was to be enlarged, which is why Forst Kasten was to be cleared.



8/6 - Three Porsches burn down under a carport. A collector’s item is also involved, which is why the damage amounts to around two million euros.

11/3 - A fire at a gravel works in Oberhaching causes one million euros in damage. Gravel works not only dig horrible pits in the ground, but also supply the material for the production of concrete so that even more highways, prisons and wind turbines can be built.

11/25 - Private car of a policewoman torched outside a police station.

2022

2/10 - The idyllic Egggarten is to be demolished. But after two excavators used for the demolition burn down, there is an unplanned stop to the demolition.

3/17 - In Ebersberg, a railway switch box catches fire, 20 meters away the switch box of a cell tower.

6/22 - While the G7 summit is taking place in Elmau, eight police vehicles are torched in Munich Haidhausen..

7/25 - Several construction site trucks, a number of construction machines, equipment, work materials and several large cable drums burn at a construction site warehouse for fiber optic cables. As a result, the expansion of the fiber optic network in Obersending is delayed by six months.

11/19 - Two cars are torched in a parking lot at the Bundeswehr University in Neubiberg.

2023

2/22 - “on the morning of 22.03.23, we consigned a top-of-the-range porsche to the flames. the vehicle was standing at the end of a covered porch of the porsche center munich. ecological destruction starts here, this is where we have to stop it. we are working on it.”





# Sparks & Diabolical Fires Against Domination

The following is an incomplete list of some arson attacks against state and capitalist structures in Munich and the region in recent years. We concentrate on attacks with fire, as including everything else would go beyond the scope of this text, but in doing so we don't intend to promote a hierarchy of means. With this list, we want to prevent all these moments of revolt from being forgotten, and at the same time emphasize and contextualize the fact that sabotage and arson attacks have become more widespread and intensified in Munich in recent years. The media's talk of "series of crimes" has been around for many, many years. We are obviously not dealing with confused individual perpetrators, but with fiery



responses to the projects of power. These acts happen within a social conflict, because obviously not everyone seems to agree with the city turning into a smart tech paradise for elites and cops, while the wheels of exploitation, environmental destruction and repression

run smoothly and undisturbed... the chronicle could have extended many years further into the past, because rebellious moments and sabotage are nothing new in Munich and will obviously not be put to an end by the occasional wave of repression or arrests.

## 2019

11/19 - A cell tower in Landsberger Str. burns down completely.

12/19 - "In the night of 19.12.2019, we paralyzed two main cables of Vodafone and Stadtwerke München at two Isar bridges in Munich with fire. In addition to large companies such as BMW, the cables supply the Munich municipal utilities' northern cogeneration plant. The aim was to cause as much property damage as possible in order to practically attack the prevailing climate policy."

## 2020

2/19 - Fire at a cell tower and two transformer cabinets in Perlacher Forst. [Shortly afterwards: start of movement restrictions and Covid state of emergency].

4/17 - In Allach and Johanneskirchen there are fires on railway cables and fiber optic cables.



5/22 - A Bavarian Radio transmission mast is set on fire.

7/8 - A huge radio mast on the premises of the Bavarian State Agency for New Media (BLM) burns down completely.

8/28 - An excavator and a compressor burn down at a building materials warehouse in Neuhausen.

plants — which the state interprets as the "approval of criminal acts". And the state obviously wants to stifle this approval of acts of resistance. Because the paragraph in the criminal code for "approval of criminal acts" is the reason why several doors in Bavaria and Austria splintered at the end of February — and the same arsons that are reported on in the "Hetzblatt" are now to be blamed on N. and M.

## Censorship? Never!

In the three years since the investigations into Zündlumpen became public, in addition to all the new investigations and house searches, there have been numerous surveillance and repressive measures against the accused in the Zündlumpen case and those around them: their bank account data was analyzed for years, they were under physical surveillance, their phones and in some cases their parents' phones were tapped, all the letters, documents and newspapers seized from them were analyzed, landlords, janitors, neighbors and employers were contacted and questioned... and in addition to all this snooping, it wasn't beyond the stupidity of the German cops to write to the website archive.org asking them to please delete the issues of Zündlumpen that could be viewed there. Which, nonetheless, did not happen. If you want to ignore the censorship efforts of the Bavarian police, you can find all issues of the banned, persecuted and confiscated anarchist newspaper Zündlumpen in German at [https://archive.org/details/@z\\_ndlumpen](https://archive.org/details/@z_ndlumpen). A book of English translations is also available – see "Zündlumpen Anthology" at [actforfree.noblogs.org](https://actforfree.noblogs.org).

Have fun reading!



## The criminal organization "Zündlumpen" has committed the following crimes...

1. In the article "Burn, e-scooter, burn!" they reported on the burning of two such motor vehicles. They describe the vehicles as a "plague" that must be sabotaged. (Approval of arson)
2. In the article "Two e-scooters go up in flames" about the fire of two such motor vehicles, with the sentence "fortunately, the other one is a total loss in the four-digit euro range", the defendants condoned the arson. (Approval of arson)
3. They published instructions on how to make a so-called "bitumen bomb", a glass container filled with bitumen. This was to be hurled against house walls in order to cause lasting damage. (Incitement to damage property)
4. They reported in the article "Bull\*innenschweine fressen Steine" (Cops eat stones) about a police operation in which several police officers were injured by bottles and stones being thrown: "We hope that it hurts long and hard!" (Approval of dangerous bodily harm)
5. They published a call "War begins here. And must be stopped here" to attack 14 companies and facilities in the city and greater Munich area that they considered important to the war effort. These were to be "marked" by spray attacks, "blocked" by



setting fires and "sabotaged" by setting fire to and cutting off the power supply. (Incitement to anti-constitutional sabotage, damage to property, destruction of important work equipment, disruption of public businesses, disruption of telecommunications systems and arson).

6. They reported in the article "The occupational risk of cops is rising again" on the statistics published by the Bavarian Ministry of the Interior on attacks against police officers in 2017 and 2018 with an increasing number of cases. This is described as "pleasing" but "very expandable". "Ultimately, the goal must be that every – and I mean every – operation ends with an attack on the pigs." (Approval of dangerous bodily harm against police officers; incitement to insult, dangerous bodily harm as well as resistance and assault against law enforcement officers).

7. In the article "Tips for a relaxed approach to Covid" they called for looting stores, burning down the state, and destroying civilization. (Incitement to damage to property, arson and breach of the peace)

8. In the article "If you suspect you have Covid: Just cough at a cop!", they report that police officers were coughed on several times during checks by the people being questioned and commented on this with the words: "they did the only sensible thing left to do in this situation: they coughed on the cops in the hope of incapacitating at least some of the state guards. That's right! At this point, we wish all infected cops a particularly severe course of the disease." (Approval of attempted grievous bodily harm; incitement to grievous bodily harm)

9. They published the article "Invitation to a dangerous May 2020". In it, they called for police vehicles to be sabotaged and set on fire, police officers to be beaten up, fiber optic cables to be sabotaged and cell tower and electricity pylons to be toppled or set on fire, particularly in April and May 2020. (Incitement to anti-constitutional sabotage; damage to property; arson; breach of the peace, assault and battery on police officers)

10. In the comic article "Rebellion against the curfew", they called for the slashing of police vehicle tires and creating barricades from burning garbage containers. (Incitement to anti-constitutional sabotage; damage to property; destruction of important work equipment; arson and breach of the peace)

11. In the article "What our (secret) readers think, say and write about us", they published a threatening message to the Bavarian Minister of the Interior, Dr. Joachim Herrmann: "Dear Joachim, I for one have learned from the experiences of other subversives with people like you... Discussing with a tyrant? You must know that I am historically on the side of those – purely in terms of thought, of course ;-) – who would rather let tyrants bite the dust before their time. And one thing should be clear to you, police chiefs have always been highly valued, even more so than emperors, tsars and kings." (Threat)

12. In the article "How to destroy cell towers – A recipe for a standard-sized cell tower used by two to three mobile phone providers", they published a detailed description of how cell towers can be destroyed by setting fire to them. In addition, tips are given on how to prepare the act and how to avoid leaving traces. (Incitement to anti-constitutional sabotage, trespassing, damage to property, disruption of public businesses and disruption of telecommunications systems)

13. In the article "Creating dark corners" they published a detailed description of how a streetlight can be put out of operation without endangering yourself. The instructions can also be used to sabotage electricity distribution boxes, which are similarly constructed and wired. In the article, the accused also called on people to sabotage the lighting in the city of Munich in order to make police checks more difficult. (Incitement to anti-constitutional sabotage, damage to property, disruption of public businesses and disruption of telecommunications systems)

14. They published the article "600 meters of conveyor belt in gravel pit go up in flames." They reported on the fire on a gravel conveyor belt in the gravel pit in Forst Kasten. The article concludes with the words "May the anger of the people break out even more in an uncontrolled manner and express itself in irreconcilable attacks against the existent!" (Approval of arson)



of people reacted in such a way that they independently decided to saw down hundreds of electricity pylons in a decentralized manner. In this way, the power grid of the industry was weakened and attacked, which also needs all the harmful nuclear energy in Germany. These attacks were explained and discussed in autonomist and anarchist magazines and brochures, which often led to these publications being censored and banned. Nevertheless, instructions on how to saw down electricity pylons were widespread and from Starnberg to Gorleben the pylons weighing several tons wobbled and fell at regular intervals. But the industry was also confronted with this wave of diffuse, barbaric attacks beyond the borders of the Federal Republic of Germany, which caused massive damage. Hundreds of electricity pylons were cut down in Italy in particular, but also in Switzerland and Austria. The German police had such a problem with falling electricity pylons at the time that they attached microphones to the pylons themselves, which responded to the squealing of the hacksaws to notify the nearest police station.

Perhaps it is not surprising that with the resurgence of ecological struggles in recent years, logistics, data and energy flows are once again increasingly being targeted by saboteurs. Shortly after the evacuation of Lützerath in 2022 for the expansion of the coal mine in Garzweiler, a huge pole was cut down, which almost led to the mine operated by RWE having to be stopped completely. While technology in general has expanded massively since the 1980s and we are surrounded everywhere by cell towers, fiber optic cables, wind turbines and e-charging stations, the attacks and struggles against the industrial system of destruction have also changed and expanded. Sabotages of these various technological infrastructures are small disruptions and pin pricks that can annoy and attack the industrial system and its destruction of the earth. If they

are part of broader offensive dynamics, they can ensure that the expansion of destructive infrastructure projects is halted... and the system of industrial destruction is increasingly challenged. Considering all the industrial mega-projects under construction, such as new industrial wind farms, new mines and highways, and at the same time all the local resistance initiatives, protests and acts of sabotage, we can only hope and wager everything that a radical movement and offensive revolt against the absolute industrial destruction of the earth is only in its infancy... and will intensify cyclically and dynamically.

We think that in the future it will be very important to link the struggles against ecocide and war: both are obviously taking place against the same background of intensifying technological exploitation and a global arms race for raw materials. If we succeed in anchoring sabotage as a point of reference in the social imagination of these struggles, this can be a means of making increasingly deep breaches in the mega-machine and approaching the horizon of a generalized liberatory revolt.



hide or to be better able to fight battles against the rulers — was a common practice over the centuries. Accordingly, such places were always a thorn in the side of the rulers and so forests, swamps, bogs, etc. were not only cleared and drained in order to farm there, but also to make it impossible to retreat or flee to an area outside the industrial mega-machine. Lands were enclosed, forests became state or private property, and living, sleeping, collecting wood and hunting in them became illegal and forbidden. But even today this perspective of opting out still exists — however, the industrial system is so tightly enmeshed today and the capitalist destruction so massive that it is impossible to opt out completely without being confronted with the projects of domination. The agricultural industry has turned large parts of the world into inhospitable deserts, deforestation is cutting ever deeper furrows into the forests, the climate crisis does not stop at borders and it is almost impossible to escape the noise of airplanes, freeways and wind turbine blades. Incidentally, substantial amounts of the artificially created monocultural forests in northern Europe have turned into forest cemeteries because they were not resistant enough to parasites, significant parts of the forests in southern Europe are nothing more than thousands of charred tree stumps. In this sense, the industrial mega-machine doesn't really care whether we want to live out our days in peace in our dropout commune in Wallachia — the expansion efforts of capitalism are present all over the world — in the cities, in the forests, in the sea, in space, on the deep seabed and on the moon and Mars.

One option to oppose these expansionist efforts is to try to occupy forests or land, for example, and defend the remaining pieces of nature. Unfortunately, it must be mentioned here that most of what is currently referred to as “forest occupations” in the territory of the German state are unfortunately not occupations, with a few exceptions — e.g. the Hambach Forest — but registered permanent demonstrations, which are forced to cooperate with the cops on an ongoing basis if they do not want to lose their legal status. The latter in turn shows that even the attempt to preserve specific places is to a certain extent dependent on the goodwill of those in power, unless the strength is developed to defend these places. Whereby, from an anarchist point of view, strength here must be social and not military, because the idea is to destroy domination and not to take it over... But what do we mean by social strength when politics, negotiations and power games are rejected? Social strength stems from self-organization among the exploited and oppressed, from social struggles and the quality of social relations, which generates tension against domination and can be the starting point for attacks and insurrectionary efforts against the power apparatus. If the perspective is not to beg for concessions or positions of power within struggles, but rather to push back and destroy the structures of the industrial

infrastructure and the global system of domination and exploitation that accompanies it, it is necessary to insist on a confrontational stance and not to allow oneself to be integrated or lulled by the enemy. The insurrectionary proposal within this confrontational stance is to weaken the infrastructure of the enemy by proposing and practicing the self-organized attack. The anarchists thus aim to spread this practice of self-organized attack against the destructive structures of the enemy. They try to spread their propaganda of attacking the enemy's infrastructure through words and deeds. This proposal to carry out scattered pin pricks against the ubiquitous infrastructure of domination can cause disruptions in the engine room of the industrial system... and with any luck, these disruptions can spread and expand.

The extent to which social struggles take on an offensive dynamic depends on various factors. In Germany, the general mood within social struggles is one of pacification and negotiation. However, this was not always the case. One example of a massive and offensive conflict with the state apparatus and its industry is the decades-long anti-nuclear struggle in Germany. This was crystallized on the one hand in the fight against a nuclear repository in Wackersorf and on the other in the long-lasting struggle against a nuclear interim storage facility in Wendland. While a broad collection of local residents, ecological groups and autonomous and anarchist movements contributed to the prevention of a nuclear repository in Wackersdorf in 1986 through protests, riots and confrontations, the struggle in Wendland, which continued into 2012, experienced many ups and downs. While the struggle was characterized by a strong and diverse local protest culture, there was one factor in particular that gave the struggle a special strength: the broad solidarity between different forms of resistance and attack. While the farmers blocked the cops and nuclear transports with their tractors, others locked themselves to the tracks using concrete, while others organized sleeping and cooking infrastructure, others demonstrated, and still others attacked the cops and targeted the companies of the nuclear mafia in fiery attacks beyond Wendland. Ultimately, it was decided in 2012 that no interim nuclear storage facility would be built there. From today's perspective, it is exciting to see that the issue of global warming was already present in ecological struggles in the 1980s and 1990s, but this did not lead to those acting at the time to glorify nuclear power, as happens in too many circles today, because it is supposedly low in CO<sup>2</sup> (which is not true, considering uranium mining). But above all, in those years, the Chernobyl nuclear meltdown was an extremely high-profile event that made the whole of humanity aware of how cruel and disgusting nuclear technology is (and not just its use as a bomb, as we saw in Fukushima and Nagasaki). While lockdowns were imposed and acid rain poured down on Europe in the months following Chernobyl, a number

# The Militarization of Social Discourse

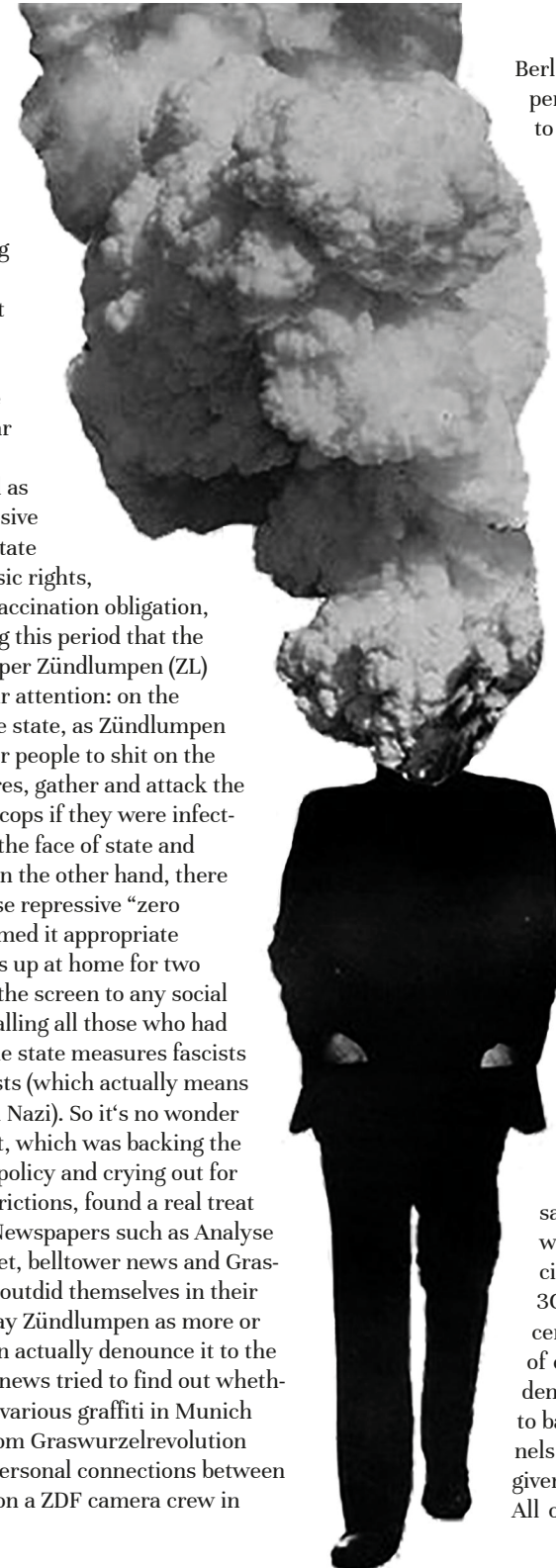
Zündlumpen and the Covid state of emergency

The various proceedings against Munich anarchists are taking place in a climate of growing militarization: a militarization that became apparent during the Covid pandemic and the accompanying war rhetoric (“against the virus”) as well as the blatant repressive measures of the state (suspension of basic rights, curfew, indirect vaccination obligation, etc.). It was during this period that the anarchist newspaper Zündlumpen (ZL) received particular attention: on the one hand from the state, as Zündlumpen blatantly called for people to shit on the pandemic measures, gather and attack the state (and spit on cops if they were infected with Covid) in the face of state and social isolation. On the other hand, there was the left, whose repressive “zero Covid policy” deemed it appropriate to lock themselves up at home for two years, preferring the screen to any social encounters and calling all those who had a problem with the state measures fascists or social Darwinists (which actually means calling someone a Nazi). So it's no wonder that the entire left, which was backing the state's pandemic policy and crying out for even harsher restrictions, found a real treat in Zündlumpen. Newspapers such as Analyse und Kritik, konkret, belltower news and Graswurzelrevolution outdid themselves in their attempts to portray Zündlumpen as more or less fascist or even actually denounce it to the cops... (belltower news tried to find out whether ZL was behind various graffiti in Munich and Lou Marin from Graswurzelrevolution investigated the personal connections between ZL and an attack on a ZDF camera crew in

Berlin). In other words, the armchair left did the perfect groundwork during the Covid years to prepare the repression against ZL. We do not want to put in doubt here that ZL has always been a source of provocation, polemics and controversy - but this will certainly not be the place to discuss the content of these controversies. We just want to emphasize that to portray ZL as fascist because of its criticism of the Covid state of emergency is denunciation and slander, and ultimately an absurdity. Especially when you consider that Zündlumpen, unlike many others at the time, consistently opposed essential foundations of fascism such as conformism, deference to authority, managing people as a “mass”, social control, militarization and the technological progress that fueled all of these things.

## New words, new discourses, new propaganda

The militarization of the Covid years had a long-term impact on how the state and media make policy. Language always reflects ways of thinking and acting as well as norms, and therefore power. While we found ourselves in a situation of extreme social isolation, denunciation and state repression (penalties for meeting people, going outside, etc.), everyone stared spellbound at their smartphones and screens and were confronted with impressive propaganda. There were new threat scenarios, incidences, rules and restrictions every hour and at the same time you were just bombarded with new words: AHA rule, zoom party, super spreader, citizen test center, drive-in test center, 1G, 2G, 3G, lockdown, boosted, one-friend rule, epicenter, proof of immunity, and on and on... and of course the “Covid denier”. The term “Covid denier” became a repressive term that was used to ban demonstrations, block social media channels and distribute warnings. Consideration was given to criminalizing the “denial” of Covid itself. All of this was embedded in a vague discourse





# On the Practice of Sabotage in Ecological Struggles

on “hate speech”, which portrays any departure from the state framework of what one may and may not say as undemocratic and therefore punishable, which in concrete terms led to increased censorship on the Internet. The pandemic discourse was so morally charged that any criticism of the behavior demanded by the state was described as “antisocial”, “irresponsible” and “lacking solidarity”. This discourse was explicitly about punishing those who did not support the discourse (“the unvaccinated”, “the Covid deniers”), restricting them, declaring them scapegoats and granting them less “freedom” (to consume, leave the house, meet people, etc.). Within these two and a half years, a large part of the left not only cried out for more social isolation, but also for harsher repression against the scapegoats (“the super-spreaders” who hang out at “super-spreader events and parties”, “the deniers” and “skeptics”).

There is no doubt that many right-wingers were affected by these repressive measures — but the old song that new repressive measures justified by protecting the public from Nazis, terrorists, hate speech and rapists are quickly used against us should be familiar to us since 9/11 at the latest. For example, it was also fascists close to Putin, who adorn themselves with the “Z” symbol, to whom the revised paragraph of the criminal code §140 concerning endorsing criminal acts was applied for the first time. Since 2021, this paragraph also applies to crimes committed abroad and, according to the court, wearing the “Z” proves that one approves of the Russian war of aggression and thus condones a criminal offense.

## Militarization in the face of the Ukraine war and genocide in Palestine

The Covid state of emergency transitioned seamlessly into the military “turning point”. Since the beginning of the war in Ukraine and especially since October 7, 2023, the war rhetoric of the German state has increased many times over. While in the context of the war in Ukraine, any dissenting position was labeled a “Putin-supporter”, in the context of Israel’s war in Gaza and Germany’s complicity in it, any opposition is “anti-Semitic”. This militarization has various legal consequences and highlights the racism of the German state: not only are specific slogans or parts of slogans banned (“From the river to the sea...”), congresses are also prevented, entry bans are imposed, freedom of assembly is rigorously curtailed (demonstrations are no longer allowed to move) and the shouting of Arab slogans is generally prohibited (no joke). New anti-Semitism clauses in the state cultural sector demand unconditional complicity with Israel from all those who receive funding. Social institutions in which social workers who are pro-Palestinian are employed are closed, while politicians claim

that if academics publicly criticize police operations against Palestine camps, they are leaving the ground of constitutional law.

All these repressive measures mentioned in this context are not necessarily new — what is new, however, is the extent to which the public, media and state discourse is becoming militarized. Someone once said that the first thing to die in war is the truth: a state at war only wants one truth, one narrative, one direction... so it’s not surprising that Germany bans media portals like Russia Today in passing, while Israel does the same with Al-Jazeera. If, according to the Ministry of Truth, any criticism of a war is “anti-Semitic”, then, in Orwellian terms, war equals peace and 1984 is already a reality. It is obvious that the militarization of public discourse always goes hand in hand with repression against social movements and unwelcome public opinion and press. During the Covid years, the state’s aim was to prevent widespread criticism of the measures and, accordingly, the movement of critics of the measures was subjected to harsh repression. At the same time, questioning the vaccination and social distancing was presented in the media as an attack on the common good. While thousands of people were fined for breaking the Infection Protection Act or the curfew, the agitation in Zündlumpen against the pandemic policy was also to be subject to special repression.

With regard to the Palestine solidarity movement, the state’s concern is even clearer: to stifle any criticism of the German state’s military and logistical complicity in the genocide perpetrated by Israel. There must not and should not be a movement on German streets that obviously rejects Israel’s war. The media agitation and all the legal bans on speech and slogans are part of the strategy to make Germany once again “fit for war”.

## One war, one people, one state, one opinion

Society is to be trimmed for war — the “people” are to stand behind “their” state and its wars. Thousands of soldiers are being recruited, the German armed forces are being upgraded and Europe is reorganizing its entire defence system. It is hugely important for the state that the population backs the wars and “its” soldiers and covers their backs on the home front. If compulsory military service is reintroduced soon, from the State’s perspective there must be no broad and massive rejection of this war preparation measure. Historically, censorship measures have always effected newspapers that incite disobedience and dissidence and threaten to undermine the social acceptance of state directives. In 1972, for example, the text “Tragt den Klassenkampf in die Armee” [Carry the class

It is widely acknowledged that the increasing frequency and intensity of natural disasters and the global extinction of species are a direct consequence of the harmful effects of industrial capitalism. While apocalyptic forest fires, catastrophic floods and states of emergency triggered by mass fish die-off are taking hold of the Mediterranean region, ever more severe droughts and famines are plaguing the sub-Saharan region, and at the same time a war has been waged in the Congo for over 30 years over the

raw materials that are so urgently needed by industrial capitalism. Despite all the horror and all the misery in this world polluted by wars and nuclear radiation, questioning the general conditions of material production in industrial capitalism seems to be “realistic” for only a few. Our lives and survival are so intertwined and connected with industry and technology. Or are our lives just much more likely to be colonized by them? Just like our imagination and our revolutionary memory?

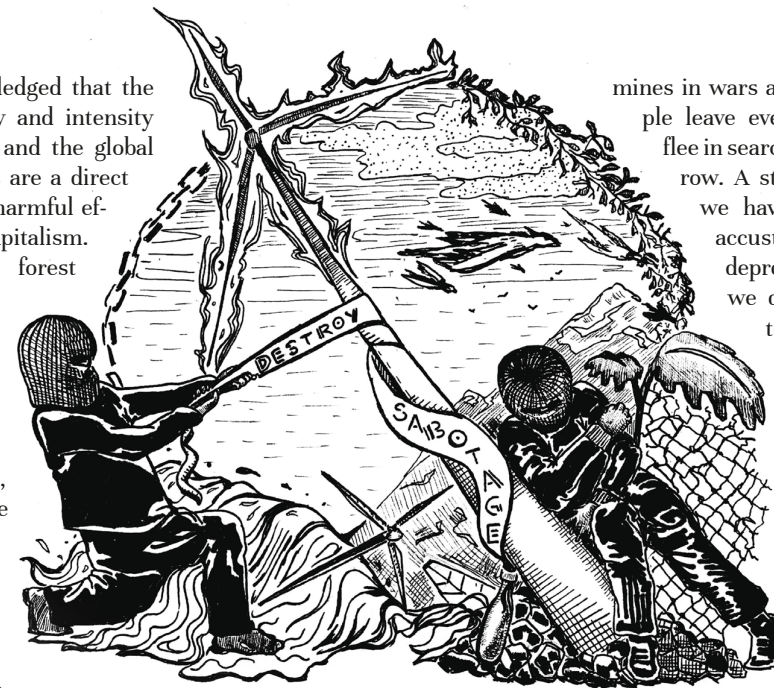
We are currently in the midst of another industrial restructuring: this will increase the colonization of our thoughts and actions through technology many times over. The ongoing fourth industrial “revolution” will ensure that everything is produced using artificial “intelligence” and that AI is also implemented in all technical products — which in turn means new consumer markets and technological developments, as well as new raw material requirements, new mines and new industrial destruction. While we silently observe all this, the soil under our feet has become infertile from all the chemical fertilizers of the agricultural industry, the nuclear power plants and pharmaceutical industry have contaminated and poisoned the rivers, on average one in three of our friends gets cancer and suffers from autoimmune diseases, while microplastics and nanotechnology pollute our food and drinking water. At the same time, it is part of everyday life within the capitalist status quo that every week thousands of people are torn apart by bombs and

mines in wars and millions of people leave everything behind to flee in search of a better tomorrow. A status quo to which we have already become accustomed? Within this depressing scenario, we do not believe that tens of thousands of new wind turbines, burying concentrated CO<sup>2</sup>, self-driving cars, intelligent killer drones or talking sex robots will save us or even improve anything about this misery. We think that we need to break

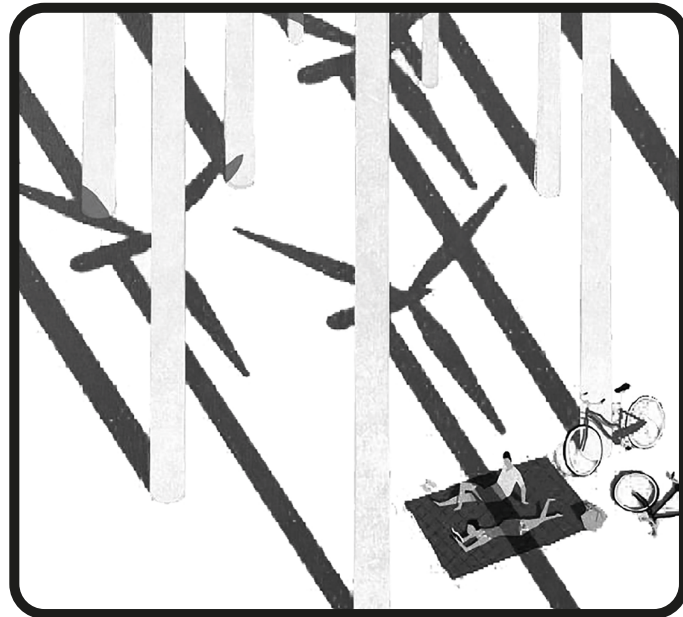
with the current system and not go on like this. We want to live in a way that is in harmony with the earth and all the animals, mountains, forests, rivers and oceans that inhabit it, instead of poisoning them, sucking them dry, bombing them to death, genetically manipulating them and resurrecting them as zombies.

So if we want to talk about a life in freedom, we consider a fundamental critique of every form of domination to be indispensable. The current domination, destruction and colonization of the earth has been made possible and accomplished by the all-encompassing capitalist industrial system — a critique of the means of domination, of the technological infrastructure in general, must therefore be part of a revolutionary perspective. In the context of the ongoing industrial restructuring, new highways and factories are being built all over the world, new mines are being opened, new industrial wind turbines, dams and server farms are being built. All these projects signify an advance in industrial destruction, and that is why they can also be points of attack and crystallization for struggles.

You could also say, well, we don’t want to live in the midst of industrial capitalism — let’s get out. And indeed, this idea and practice of moving away from domination and the industrial mega-machine has been very present in the history of resistance struggles. Taking refuge in forests, swamps and other inhospitable regions — whether to







turbine that a municipality puts up.” Mainly because this one wind turbine does not exist in this one municipality. Because what is needed to make an industrial wind turbine possible — because that is what we are talking about here — is a technological industrial complex, including its extractivist apparatus, its supply chains and its production facilities. And it is precisely for this complex that the expansion of wind turbines on an industrial scale is being driven forward — to perpetuate and secure it.

A good example of this is the wind farm for which the Altöttinger Forst in Bavaria is to be sacrificed and against which the “Hetzblatt gegen den Windpark” has been published. This wind farm will not replace fossil fuels. Its purpose is to supply the petrochemical companies of the so-called Bavarian chemical triangle with even more energy and to give them a green image.

... the real problem:  
blackmail by the mega-machine

In view of the devastating social and ecological disasters caused by the mega-machine in which we are all forced to live, why is there hardly any social discussion about slowing it down or even switching it off? Why is the “green energy” pill so easily swallowed?

Perhaps because most people unconsciously realize that our survival depends on their continued existence — at least for the time being. The nasty thing is that even those who realize this and who are hostile to the state and capital (must) have a material interest in their continued existence.

And this even if it is not unlikely that the mega-machine with its insatiable hunger will at some point devour the entire planet with all the foundations of life.

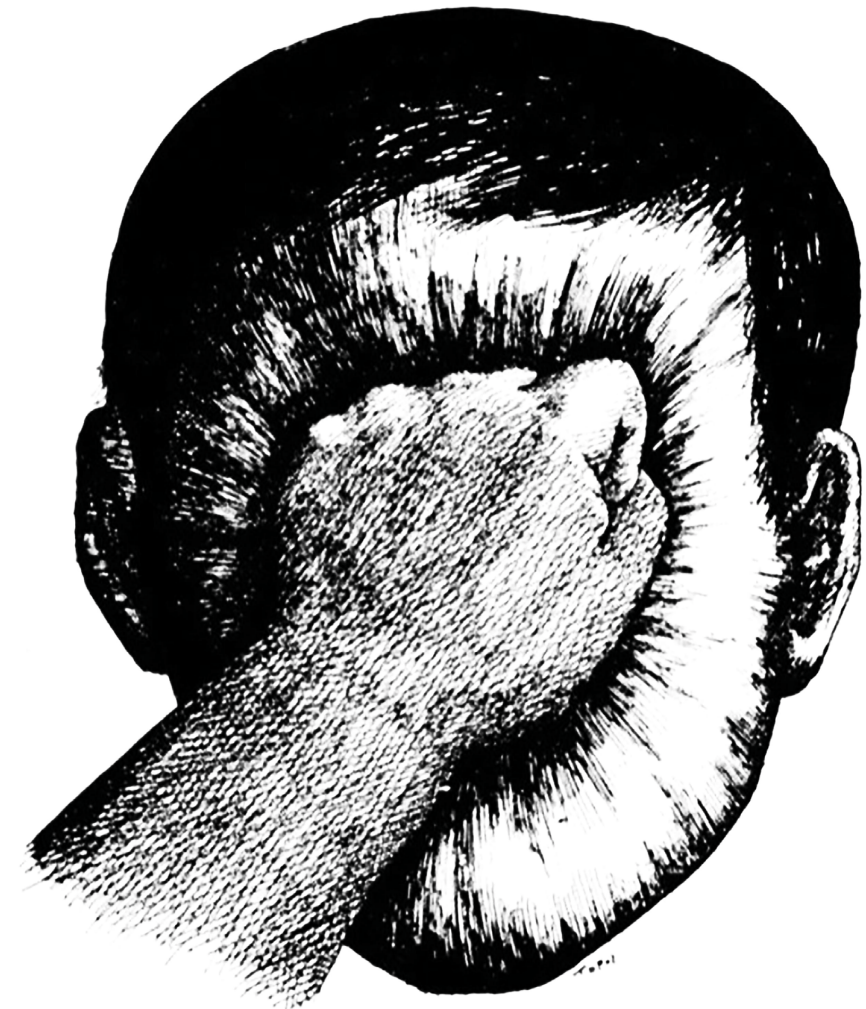
This is the real problem: that every new energy carrier and every new energy source that is extracted or developed on an industrial scale further increases the forced dependency on the mega-machine and its capacity for destruction — and not just since nuclear energy.

Even if this has equipped both coercive dependency and destructive capacity to a level that is an existential threat — nuclear blackmail.

We can see this in the first source of energy that the mega-machine always seizes — food. As soon as the mega-machine discovers and subjugates a human population, it makes their subsistence, i.e. their autonomy to feed themselves, impossible. From then on, people must toil for the good and the goals of the megamachine, which are now also their good and their goals.



struggle into the army] and in 1981 the text “Lieber krank feiern als gesund schuften” [Better to party sick than to toil healthy] were banned. The former might have called into question the cadaver obedience within the army and one or two soldiers might have preferred desertion to ending up as cannon fodder after reading it. The other text serves to question the work ethic in society and gives all kinds of tips on how to obtain certificates to avoid going to work — a seemingly insignificant suggestion in itself, but one that can become a problem for the state if morale on the home front drops. Ultimately, it is logical that the increasing military mobilization is accompanied by increasing censorship and repression against the “enemy within”. In order to make Germany “fit for war” again, every movement hostile to the state must be silenced.





# The Legal Framework for Censorship

The pool from which the German state can draw to censor press is extremely rich: German press law is very restrictive compared to other countries, as every publication must include an imprint, i.e. a person responsible within the framework of press law (V.i.S.d.P.) and a place of printing, so that the authors and printers can always be held accountable. Although there is no censorship according to paragraph five of the constitutional law,

around 10,000 books and thousands of sound recordings are indexed, i.e. banned, in the Federal Republic of Germany. These include depictions of violence, pornography, fascism, Satanism... but also overly seditious ideas. Even though the comprehensive censorship of “fornication” and “nudity” up until the 1980s went hand in hand with a deeply reactionary and authoritarian idea of sexuality, we will focus below on the obviously politically (and not morally or religiously) motivated censorship of the revolutionary press. It should be noted, however, that the majority of censorship measures at the time had precisely this “obscenity” background.

## Laws vs. solidarity

The passing of laws that serve political censorship is always associated with the emergence of resistance movements or the intensification of anti-state activities. Such a strengthening of revolutionary activities and a comprehensive social revolt occurred in West Germany in 1967/68. As a result of these confrontations with state power, not only were the emergency laws passed, but also §111 (“public incitement to commit crimes” — up to five years in prison; also applies to crimes committed abroad since 2020), §140 hardened (approval of crimes up to 5 years in prison; from 1976 three years in prison and from 2021 also for crimes that have not yet been committed) as well as §88 (anti-constitutional sabotage, up to five years). Section 126 (“disturbing the public peace by threatening criminal acts”) was also widely used in those years (the scope of the section was also extended in 2021).



With the (re)emergence of a revolutionary movement, increasing arson and explosive attacks against military facilities and banks and the emergence of West German urban guerrillas, various criminal code paragraphs in the 1970s and 1980s aimed to prevent solidarity and support for revolutionary counter-violence. On the one hand, §130a (“incitement to commit crimes” — up to 3 years in prison) was passed. On the other hand, in addition

to §129, §129a and b were added to the code, which are directed against membership in a terrorist organization or support and membership in a foreign terrorist organization. Paragraph 129a was commonly referred to as the “anti-RAF paragraph”.

All these laws led to hundreds of house searches at bookstores and infoshops in those years, as they were accused of distributing criminal newspapers. While censorship measures against newspapers that reported on sabotage, encouraged sabotage or printed communiqués from urban guerrilla groups were carried out en masse in the 1970s and 1980s, resistance to these measures was also quite widespread in some cases: banned articles were reprinted, redistributed, published by other newspapers, republished with hundreds of signatures or republished with the imprint in foreign locations. In 1976, for example, sixty publishers joined forces to republish Bommi Baumann’s banned book “Wie alles anfang” (How It All Began), which talks about his time in the June 2nd movement.

## Censorship in the recent past

While the major proceedings against the newspaper Radikal from the 80s and 90s are remembered today, dozens of revolutionary and anarchist newspapers were actually affected by the censorship measures (even the pacifist Graswurzelrevolution). More recently, some may remember the wave of house raids in 2010, in which the state tried to prevent the publication of a single issue of Interim, which explained how to build a time-delayed

# The Problem with Wind Turbines

The imprisoned comrades N. and M., together with two other anarchists, are accused of approving and rewarding criminal acts in an additional case. The four are accused of distributing an agitation pamphlet entitled “Hetzblatt - Gegen den Windpark” [Incendiary Paper Against the Wind Farm] in the Altöttingen region of Bavaria in the fall of 2024. This leaflet caused an uproar locally, as the articles it contained were probably so accessible that they were “likely to cause a not inconsiderable number of people in the population of the Federal Republic of Germany to lose confidence in the rule of law.”

„These nutters, what are they up to again, now they’re even against wind turbines! These nest-soilers are really ruining everything for us! Wind turbines are the answer to climate change! What’s wrong with you! Now the state is doing what you wanted — renewable energies — and then you’re even more against it.“

Quite simply, wind turbines on an industrial scale are neither renewable, climate-friendly nor sustainable, but that’s not the real problem...

... they also spoil the landscape.

## Not renewable.

Unless you live in a fantasy world where the environment, reduced to “resources”, is simply created out of nothing. Otherwise, it becomes clear at first glance at the materials required for a single wind turbine that it cannot be renewable. We are talking about thousands of tons of material per wind turbine (concrete, steel, iron, fiberglass, copper and various rare earths). Not to mention all the petroleum-powered machines that have to run in the background to extract all the resources from the ground and the coal that is burned in the manufacturing process, as well as all the petroleum-powered machines that then transport and assemble the parts.



At second glance, if you then look at their lifespan (currently 10-15 years off-shore, 20-40 onshore) and the fact that most of the materials are either too expensive or too difficult to recycle and millions of tons of toxic waste will be produced with the rotor blades (even if, of course, promises are made

today that all this will still be solved, as was once the case with the final disposal of nuclear waste), then it becomes clear that the “renewable” in “renewable energy” is just a marketing gimmick.

## Not climate and environmentally friendly.

The fact that the climate has to be used as a pretext for the massive expansion of wind power, i.e. for even more destruction of the earth, is somehow paradoxical, but also not surprising. In this way, “the climate” serves as a very efficient confusion strategy for those in power to shift the fundamental processes of destruction inherent in contemporary civilization to an abstract level, where criticism is then channelled into individual consumption and purchasing behaviour.

In all of this, it is almost funny that wind farms are anything but climate-friendly — and how could it be otherwise? They exploit the power of the wind to produce energy. Of course, this has real effects: wind farms change the local climate up to a radius of 30-50 kilometers behind the wind farms — less wind, more heat. And this is just one example of many that could be listed here of how wind turbines influence or permanently poison the area in which they are installed.

## Not sustainable.

“Renewable energy” is also being sold as sustainable and as a replacement for fossil fuels, which is also completely ludicrous.

“Renewable energy” is a supplement to fossil fuels. Nothing more and nothing less. The problem is not “one wind





**Gotcha:  
you use technology too!**

*This is an accusation that is often made when people criticize technology and its social and ecological consequences or argue that they are not compatible with the goal of a free life without domination. This accusation is a typical straw man argument. A straw man argument puts claims in your mouth that you have never made. This straw man argument is often used by people who do not want to deal with the content of the criticism. In this case, they claim that criticizing technology and its effects and/or perhaps suggesting that it should be removed from the world is tantamount to a moral decree that it should never be used.*

*Which is absurd, because the way the world is shaped through these devices, such as the Internet, means that we are constantly forced to use them if we want to survive in this world – which is perhaps precisely the starting point for criticizing it.*

incendiary device. The newspapers zeck and Prisma were also impacted by this censorship measure. In this context, countless bookshops and infoshops were searched, as they were accused of aiding and abetting criminal acts and violating the law.

Another case is the Radikal case from 2013. Twenty-one house searches were carried out across Germany in May 2013 as part of investigations into membership of and the formation of a criminal organization (Section 129). In addition to private residences, workplaces and association premises in Stuttgart, Berlin and Magdeburg were also searched. Specifically, 9 suspects are alleged to belong to the Revolutionary Left or the Revolutionary Action Cells, to have supported them and/or to have participated in the publication of the magazine Radikal. In recent years, the Revolutionary Action Cells have been responsible for several arson attacks in Berlin and for sending out bullets. Eight years later, a trial for aiding and abetting arson was held against one of the accused, which ended with a suspended sentence.

The last major censorship measure, which the radical left in Germany may actually have perceived as such, affected the internet platform linksunten.indymedia.org, which was censored as revenge for the G20 riots in 2017. The ban was confirmed before the highest legal authorities and the website is no longer allowed to be active, just as the linksunten “((i))” symbol may no longer be used. However, another attempt by the cops to punish an online mirror of the banned site failed in court.

#### International proceedings

Meanwhile, the Kurdish movement in Germany, for example, is far more frequently confronted with heavy censorship, which also targets its public: in the course of ongoing 129b investigations, Kurdish associations and groups are repeatedly raided and banned. In 2019, for example, Mesopotamien Verlag [publishing house] was completely banned and 50,000 books from the publisher's stock were confiscated. The publishing house was accused of being a sub-organization of the banned PKK — the confiscated books included many works by PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan. Interestingly, none of the individual works published by the publishing house were indexed, only the publishing house itself was completely banned. Three left-wing publishers in Germany, Switzerland and Austria then decided to include the titles in their catalog and republish them.

In Western Europe, the anarchist movement is repeatedly confronted with severe repression against its press, especially in Italy: in 2023, for example, ten anarchists were arrested in northern Italy because they were accused of publishing the anarchist newspaper Bezmotivny. Some

comrades were temporarily held under house arrest, but this measure has since been lifted. In the course of the house searches, a commercial print shop was absurdly confiscated. The trial for this case [Operation Scripta Scelera] ultimately took place against four defendants in April 2025 — all charges were dropped. Only one comrade was sentenced to 8 months in prison for “attacking the honor of the President of the Republic”.

In 2025, another operation [Sibilla] came to an end in a trial against six anarchists accused of publishing the anarchist newspaper “Vetriolo”. The accused Italian anarchists, including comrade Alfredo Cospito, who was imprisoned in 41bis solitary confinement, confessed to having published the newspaper and defended their ideas in court. However, the court decided to discontinue the proceedings. Another example of repression against the anarchist press is the attempt to charge comrade Toby Shone, who was imprisoned in England from 2021 to 2024, with publishing the newspaper 325, which is accused of condoning international terrorism (FAI, CCF, ALF, etc.). However, this charge was not brought to trial either.

#### The pig people!?!

The proceedings against Zündlumpen are special in several respects: paragraph 129 has been used more and more in Germany in recent years and the first convictions against anti-fascists in Dresden under §129 have also taken place, which means that the paragraph is obviously no longer just a “snooping paragraph”, as there have actually been convictions. However, the fact that three people are accused of having founded a criminal organization whose only offence was to publish and distribute a newspaper is, to our knowledge, a novelty. In the Radikal trials, the issue was that the respective Radikal editors were members or supporters of various militant groups [for the 1995 trial, Antiimperialist Cells; K.O.M.I.T.E.E.; RAF; for the 2013 trial, Revolutionary Action Cells].

However, the criminal organization now going to trial is only accused of publishing articles. It should not be forgotten that paragraph 129 was reformed in 2017. Previously, it had to be an association that posed a “significant threat to public safety”. This sentence was removed when the paragraph was revised. Previously, attempts to convict squatters who had defended their barricaded house or Nazis who had committed “xenophobic damage to property”, for example, failed under Section 129, as these crimes did not pose a “significant threat to public safety”.

It remains to be seen whether this initiative by the public prosecutor's office will stand up in court. In any case, we are not surprised that it is once again the Bavarian judiciary that is taking this step forward. Back in 2017, two





people were on trial in Munich accused of distributing the anarchist street newspaper “Fernweh”. In this absurd case, the public prosecutor’s office attempted to charge the two not only for condoning criminal acts, but also for “incitement of the people”, as the distributed newspaper contained the word “pigs”. The criminal offense of incitement to hatred ultimately did not stand up in court, as the specific sentence was not about all cops, but about a specific group of cops in a specific situation, which is why the group was too small. The two were convicted for “condoning criminal acts”. The trial was written about at the time in a way that is still very relevant for the upcoming trial:

*“This is not about the conflict between individuals and the state, but about a very concrete attempt by the cops and the public prosecutor’s office to muzzle people and prepare the ground for a tougher suppression of statements (written or spoken) that are directed against the state, against authorities, against Nazis, against cops. More and more, the oh-so-cherished democratic freedom of expression is being exposed for what it has always been: the carrot for all the obedient lambs who believe they live in the best of all possible systems and who can say anything because they have nothing “wrong” to say. For those whose imagination and ability to dream has not yet been killed off and who continue to resolutely attack democracy and any form of domination — be it democratic or fascist, religious or secular — the laws of democracy will certainly not have much to offer. That is hardly a surprise.*

*“Nevertheless, it is important for all those who have not yet given up the idea of real freedom not to accept such judgments at any level, as they lay the foundation for more and more repression against enemies of authority and the reduction of opportunities to agitate here.”*

public. (See also: The Problem with Wind Turbines).

Another point that often causes heated discussions among green anarchists is the observation that it is not enough to only address oppression and exploitation by a system of domination, such as the nation state, because this often only polishes the rough edges of domination. Rather, it is necessary to understand how power structures develop and manage new populations.

Enclosure is constantly being renewed, for example when domination develops and renews itself, and is largely dependent on the technologies available to it. For example, the ongoing enclosure of all of us into the digital AI realm can also be understood as a process that is dependent on the obedience and compliance of all those being enclosed. And even if domination in its current form of state and capital has countless means of open violence at its disposal to subjugate and administer populations — above all hunger, which historically and even today is always a means of choice to subjugate or destroy unwelcome populations — it is much more potent in the long term to integrate new populations into one’s own cosmovision by means of soft power.

And it is precisely here that anti-civilizational anarchists accuse other anarchists of being far too caught up in the cosmovision of the existing order. They often believe that all they have to do is get rid of the ruling class and self-manage the means of production (in a grassroots democratic way) and there it would be, the “liberated society”.

Green anarchists argue against this assumption, because the means of production of this society — techno-industrialism — are not neutral, they cannot simply be adopted. The division of labour, specialization and bureaucracy

## Enclosure

A well-known historical example of enclosure is the enclosure of the commons in England in the 16th century. The common was shared land where people worked together to earn their subsistence. Subsistence means having the autonomy to produce the food necessary for survival. This autonomy was destroyed with the enclosure of the commons. As a result, people were forced to move to the cities, where they were interned in workhouses or forced to sell their life force in factories. With each new wave of enclosure, domination snatches more autonomy from us.

that they entail cement class and gender relations. The infrastructure on which they are built is based on the ongoing subjugation and destruction of the environment.

For these reasons, the social processes that need to be initiated in order to lead to a social revolution are much more comprehensive for eco-anarchists. They repeatedly emphasize that they understand their content as a critique that is necessary in order to avoid ending up in a new system of domination or to reform the existing one. However, this critique is not a program for how a new society must be built. What this new society will look like will be revealed in the struggles of the subjugated against the megamachine, as well as through which technologies and infrastructures they will and will not use afterwards.

## Cosmovision

Cosmovision refers to the story or stories that a society or community tells itself about its relationship to the cosmos and the world. For example, whether “nature” is a whore to be subjugated and whose secrets are to be elicited by means of torture, as Bacon, one of the founders of modern science, proclaimed, or whether “nature” is, for example, a network of living relationships between the most diverse living beings, where everything is connected to everything else and with which it is necessary to interact in a correspondingly respectful manner.



## Eco-anarchism?

It has been repeatedly claimed in the media that the two imprisoned anarchists are close to eco-anarchism. Whether this is the case remains to be seen. But what is this eco-anarchism anyway?

The term eco-anarchism is often used to describe certain currents in anarchism that share certain basic assumptions but then diverge on other points. These currents include: green anarchism, anarcho-primitivism or anarchist critique of civilization.

Anarchism is a social movement that wants to eliminate all forms of domination. This is because domination and the pursuit of domination is seen as one of the most important drivers for the emergence of patriarchy, statehood and capitalism, as well as the rise of elites, the enforcement of property and the division of labor. Which in turn means the division of society into classes and the consolidation of gender roles, as well as misery and devastation, war, oppression, exploitation and the destruction of the living world.

Accordingly, anarchists are people who try to take action against domination — and not just because they have to in order to survive, like many other people, but out of conviction. One slogan that anarchists repeatedly use is: against the domination of humans over humans and nature.



Most anarchists can probably agree with this slogan, but opinions differ as to what exactly this means, how domination over humans and nature comes about and how it reproduces itself again and again, and how action should therefore be taken against it.

This is where the eco-anarchists, green anarchists, anarcho-primitivists and anti-civilizational anarchists make their appearance by firmly contradicting many of the basic assumptions of other anarchists.

One of the main points of contention is probably the question of the use of technology — the “achievements” of the mega-machine. Unlike most other movements seeking to change society, be they other anarchists, Marxists, etc... green anarchists

claim that it is not only how a technology is used that matters.

They say that the existing social conditions produce the tools and means that are necessary to maintain and expand them. And that it is therefore not only important how a technology is used, but that the social conditions that produced them are inscribed into the technologies which are therefore anything but neutral.

This also applies to the infrastructure that works in the background to make the technologies possible, which is usually overlooked or even forgotten by the

### Megamachine

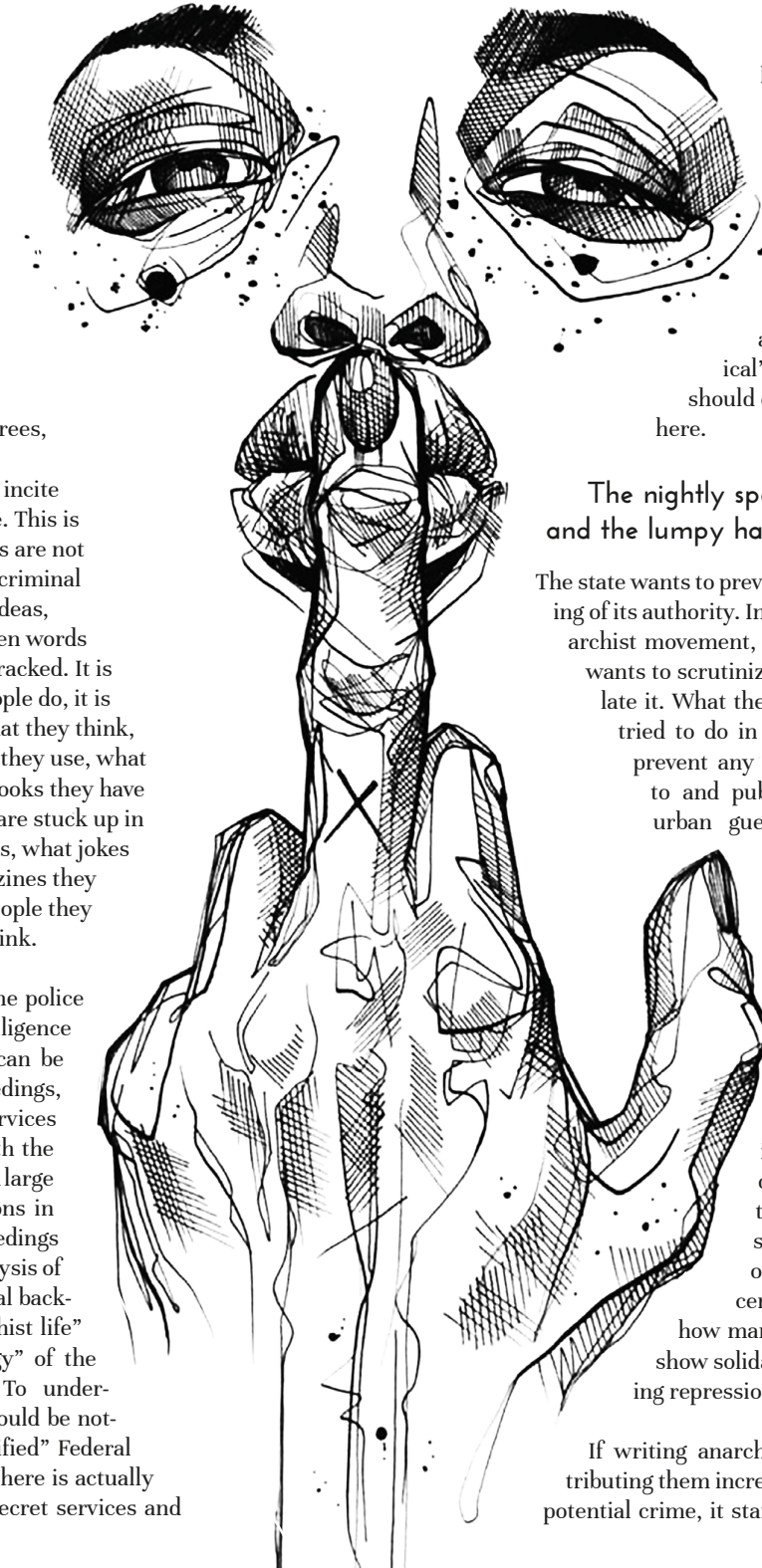
The term megamachine is often used in discussions as a synonym for civilization. It goes back to the technology critic Lewis Mumford, who was not an anarchist. Mumford uses it to describe how societies that are permeated by domination become so mechanized that society ends up resembling a single megamachine, where each individual is just a cog synchronized for the good of the machine to keep it going. What is exciting about this concept is that Mumford shows that it does not depend on how complex the technology of the civilization in question is. Both the Roman Empire, for example, and our techno-industrial civilization can be seen as mega-machines.

## The Underground Press: A Thorn in the Side of the State

Big brother and the thought police

If the state has the comprehensive militarization of society in mind, it is essentially concerned with invisibilizing disloyal attitudes. The state wants to use force to create consensus and the image that everyone agrees, while suppressing and imprisoning those who incite revolt and disobedience. This is why state investigations are not exclusively focused on criminal acts, but increasingly, ideas, relationships and written words are also analyzed and tracked. It is not just about what people do, it is also centrally about what they think, write, say, what words they use, what texts they read, what books they have at home, what posters are stuck up in their shared apartments, what jokes they make, what magazines they collect.... And which people they know and what they think.

In such proceedings, the police ultimately take on intelligence service tasks and, as can be seen in the ZL proceedings, the intelligence services work hand in hand with the police and politicians. A large part of the investigations in the Zündlumpen proceedings revolve around the analysis of the texts, the ideological background and the “anarchist life” and “anarchist ideology” of the alleged perpetrators. To understand our enemy, it should be noted that in the “de-Nazified” Federal Republic of Germany, there is actually a strict separation of secret services and



police, as the Nazi Gestapo was an inglorious example of where it can lead if the police take on too much secret service and thus “ideological” work. But that should only be a side note here.

### The nightly sparks and the lumpy hacks

The state wants to prevent any undermining of its authority. In relation to the anarchist movement, this means that it wants to scrutinize, restrict and isolate it. What the state vehemently tried to do in the 1980s was to prevent any positive reference to and public expression of urban guerrillas and sabotage in general. As those acting in the night could not be prosecuted, or only with great difficulty, the repression was aimed at those who showed solidarity with them or disseminated their texts. In this sense, the strength of a movement certainly also lies in how many are prepared to show solidarity despite growing repression...

If writing anarchist texts and distributing them increasingly becomes a potential crime, it stands to reason that



the production and distribution of newspapers should be organized all the more secretly. However, this dynamic of specialization and increasing secrecy can have exactly the desired effect of the state: if the distribution, reading and production of anarchist newspapers becomes increasingly difficult and secret, it becomes all the more difficult for the vast majority to follow anarchist discussions. The media coverage of the latest wave of repression in Munich illustrates the state's efforts to marginalize anarchists: three years ago there was talk of a raid on an anarchist library and repressive measures against the "anarchist scene" (one newspaper even reported raids on 'journalists'), but now we read of repressive measures against a "clandestine anarchist cell". And this despite the fact that the accused are more or less the same.

**If you want to think freely,  
you must also be able to read freely**

There are countless countries in which the public appearance and advocacy of anarchist ideas is in itself associated with repression and therefore hardly possible: in Russia, the militarization of the country was obviously also accompanied by massive censorship against public protests and dissenters. Anarchists can often only express their dissent via encrypted chat channels, where they report on sabotage actions and claim responsibility for them. The impossibility of publicly expressing dissent often marks the line between democracy and dictatorship, but especially in times of war, this is a very blurred line in many countries. In Spain, the crossing of this line a few years ago, when a rapper was imprisoned for insulting the king in a text, triggered huge protests and riots.

In general, even in democracies, anarchists are confronted with constant police efforts to isolate our ideas and positions. In view of this development, public and non-anonymous visibility and vindication of our proposals as well as the broad presence and accessibility of these is a strength that enables all the more people to show solidarity. The more a movement and its ideas are marginalized, the easier it is for the state to make them invisible. For example, the massive distribution of newspapers and books can make censorship measures more difficult or superfluous. Other attempts in the past have aimed to ridicule censorship by pointing out that hundreds of anarchist and revolutionary books should be censored by the same logic, but they are all in public libraries. Other attempts were to circumvent the paragraphs by using new names or imprints, to decentralize the printing of newspapers and thus make them less vulnerable, to print banned articles in other newspapers, or to organize the printing abroad and smuggle the newspapers into the country... In East Germany, as in the entire Soviet Union, where basically every anarchist book was banned, there was a broad "Samizdat" movement: a movement to distribute

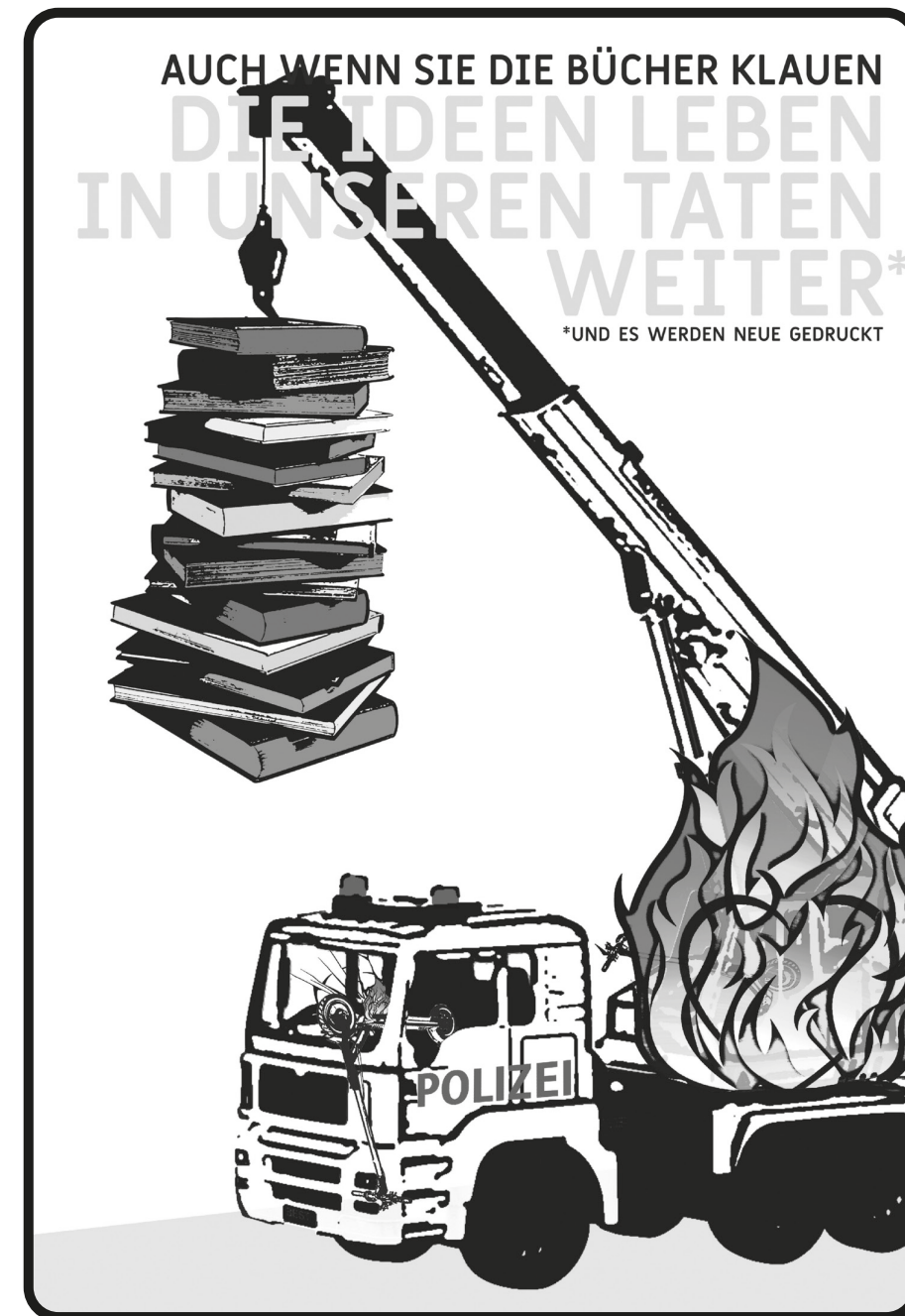
banned literature. The books were usually smuggled into East Germany from the West and then passed on clandestinely. The books often had false covers and titles, so that the actual content of the books was not apparent on a superficial inspection. This samizdat movement was closely linked to the youth and punk movement in East Germany, which is why the smuggling, reading and passing on of banned literature was often closely associated with equally banned music.

### Today's books are tomorrow's deeds

We think it is necessary to understand the ongoing measures to persecute anarchist newspapers and ideas in the context of the broad social militarization and our refusal to separate theory from practice. It is a thorn in the side of the state when subversive movements fuel direct action, sabotage and self-organization and also publicly promote, condone, justify or disseminate instructions for these. The state's greatest fear is that acts of revolt will spread and that an anti-state attitude will become openly evident and enjoy sympathy in society. Only when embedded in the social context and within the social conflict can repression against anarchist ideas be dealt with in a way that does not become self-centered navel-gazing. An analysis and a fight against state repression that reduces it to the duel of "anarchists vs. the state" seems doomed to failure. After all, isn't it the state's goal that anarchists withdraw into their bubble and only talk about the repression against anarchists instead of the social misery and the struggles against it?

Nevertheless, it is historically a peculiarity in Germany that anarchists experience such repression in the face of the accusation of having founded a criminal association whose only offense is the publication of articles. If we consider the possibility that the paragraph of "condoning criminal acts" may be applied more widely in the future and that in the past it was, so to speak, at the mercy of the state not to apply this paragraph from its repertoire more widely, we must ask ourselves what the consequences of publicly standing up for our ideas may be in the future and how we want to deal with them. This question needs to be widely discussed.

In any case, one thing remains clear to us: if it is a crime to write and distribute anarchist texts, then we are all criminals! And: only those who own a printing press have freedom of the press! And also: in view of the wars and massacres of this world of authority, it is absurd and self-destructive not to approve of and condone acts of revolt that attack and sabotage the state, capital and patriarchy.



*EVEN IF YOU STEAL THE BOOKS,  
THE IDEAS LIVE ON IN OUR ACTIONS\**

*\*AND NEW ONES ARE PRINTED*