

... ONE DAY

Casalecchio (ITA), 12.06. : A hut belonging to the Italian Alpine military mountain hunters was set on fire while they were celebrating their 95th annual meeting 100 km away.

France, 12.06. : Following the victory of the right-wing in the elections, several demonstrations were marred by attacks and material damage: banks, shops, police stations and courts were attacked in Lyon, Toulouse, Bordeaux and Paris.

France, 14.06. : Despite the presence of 130,000 policemen, 571 cars are set on fire on this traditionally fiery day. A police car in Gonesse, the mayor's car and two cars belonging to the town in Mandeure and a guard's car outside the prison in Perpignan.

Cherbourg (FR), 16.06. : After the police killed 19-year-old Sullivan, riots broke out during the night. A fire caused considerable damage to a France Travail company. Fifteen vehicles were set on fire and three policemen were injured.

Saix (FR), 17.06. : Ten masked people set fire to a tanker at a building site on the A69.

Cassis (FR), 18.06. : A cut signal cable next to a railway line causes delays.

Berlin, 18.06. : Three Teslas set alight in Mitte.

Lac de Frand Lieu (FR), 18.06. : NGE construction machine torched while concreting a nature reserve.

Roubaix (FR), 27.06. : Fire at the cop station during the night: 12 cars destroyed, 7 damaged.

Athens (GR), 28.06. : Attacks on two Israeli hotels in Zoia. *"States bring death. International solidarity from below"*.

Ariège (FR), 30.06. : Polling stations in three communes were glued up. Some slogans proclaimed: *"Elections cancelled (A)"*. A week later, a similar incident took place in the Dordogne.

Berlin, 07.07. : Attack on two radio masts. *"At the moment we see how technology plays a fundamental role in all wars and how its development is progressing to kill more "precisely" by means of artificial intelligence, algorithms and data collected on the Internet and analysed by hi-tech."*

Berlin, 12.07. : *"Bauer drilling crane set on fire because of its involvement in the smart city construction project "The Line" in Saudi Arabia."*

Bremen, 16.07. : *"Last night we moved into one of the high-priced corners of Bremen and smashed the windows of several shops. We hit the Amazon job centre, an Engel und Völkers Commercial real estate agency and the yuppie furniture store Ligne Roset (...) Maja, we're thinking of you. Freedom and happiness to all the antifas in prison and on the run!"*

Troyes (FR), 16.07. : All the windows of an RN office were smashed.

Berlin, 22.07. : An incendiary device is set off outside a prison in Reinickendorf. Cars have been burning in front of Berlin prisons for months. Tegel, Moabit, Plötzensee, Spandau and Heidering prisons have been affected several times. In the latter, eight cars belonging to guards were torched in one arson attack alone. There was a claim of responsibility for one attack.



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PAPER BEYOND GOOD AND EVIL



ON THE ANARCHIST CAPACITY TO ACT

A response to the text *"Waiting for the anarchist guerrilla..."*

"In order to provide an answer to the questions brought up earlier, the development of an anarchist guerrilla is proposed. This does not require a founding declaration or acronyms. It is not defined by the question of weapons or the desire to escalate violence, but is rather characterized by the determination of those involved to build a long-term committed structure that is capable of acting against the war waged from above. Only the sequence of determination — commitment — organization in a collective structure leads to further questions about the choice of means or any strategic orientation. We must also fight the incredible success that the capitalist system achieves every day by framing war in the consciousness of the masses as a war of nations and religions, thereby concealing its true nature as a class war."

- *Waiting for the anarchist guerrilla* (15.05.2024)

A few weeks ago, a remarkable text appeared on German counterinformation sites. "Waiting for the anarchist guerrilla?" is a discussion proposal that suggests nothing more and nothing less than the development of an asymmetric, informal anarchist guerrilla.

Oops, some people will probably gasp, and indeed the text is quite something. In the following, I will address some of its points. Admittedly, I was pleased with the text — it discusses perspectives, it doesn't repeat the same old mantras, and it has an international and historical horizon. All things missing from many anarchist texts these days. So come on, what questions does the text raise?

With reference to the North American text "Developing Incisive Capacity: Making Actions Count" (scenes.noblogs.org), the text begins by addressing the extent to which anarchists can develop the capacity to act in the face of the wars that surround us: "The anarchist space has also not yet

developed any practice against the State systems that are largely responsible for the current massacres (NATO/EU/Israel/Iran/Russia) or the war profiteers that is capable of influencing the course of history". The text thus expresses a dissatisfaction and a lack in the face of insufficiently powerful interventions against the war. This dissatisfaction is coupled with a dissociation from the PKK (with which the authors are still somehow sympathetic) and other militarist groups. However, as the title suggests, the text does not beat around the bush and discusses and consequently proposes the creation of an anarchist guerrilla on the basis of this problem. But what does this mean, the creation of an anarchist guerrilla? Or what is a guerrilla?

Authoritarian and anarchist Guerrillas

First of all, it is useful to analyze in more detail what we mean by anarchist or at least anti-authoritarian guerrillas. The word guerrilla, a diminutive of the Spanish *continue on page 2*

word *guerra* [war], is in fact a catch-all for interpretations and conceptions of struggle and war that could not be more different. What all these interpretations have in common is that they involve guerrilla tactics. Guerrilla tactics refer to action in small, agile groups that know the territory, carry out ambushes or sabotage, disappear quickly, and thus can throw a larger, rigid army formation into chaos. But the similarities end there, because who uses these tactics and why can vary greatly. Guerrilla tactics can also be used by state armies to weaken the enemy behind their own lines. Likewise, groups may use guerrilla tactics hiding the fact that they are actually part of a state construct (see YPG). Or groups may take up arms for whatever reason, but that does not mean they are using guerrilla tactics (see “anarchists” in uniform in Ukraine sacrificing their lives for democracy in the trenches). A tactic is just a tactic and says nothing about the perspective of the actors.

Anarchist John Olday develops an interesting perspective on the debate in his 1976 article “Trotz Alledem. A polemic on guerrilla warfare”¹. In this polemic, he argues that guerrilla tactics have always been part of insurrectionary movements and uprisings, and that the generalization of sabotage has always been a strong reference point in the history of anarchism. Citing various historical examples, he argues that the urban guerrilla generations of

the 1970s, with their reinterpretation of guerrilla warfare, actually used anarchist methods but cloaked them in a Maoist discourse. His text is a plea for adopting guerrilla tactics and embedding them in the insurgent struggle, rather than leaving them to authoritarian groups that were increasingly isolated in their armed struggle with the state.

In this sense, it is necessary to make a clear distinction between antiauthoritarian guerrillas and authoritarian guerrillas, especially since historically these terms have always been conflated, which is probably one of the reasons why many anarchists have scruples about invoking the concept, as it seems to them to smack of militarism from the outset. Depending on the ideological interpretation, authoritarian guerrilla structures are concerned with the conquest of state power. Whether we are talking about Ché Guevara, the FARC or the PKK, authoritarian guerrillas have cadres, ranks and orders, bosses and future ministers, negotiations with the state and forced recruitment, executions of deserters (“traitors”) and “people’s prisons”.

On the other hand, there are the anarchist guerrillas. The text “Waiting for the anarchist guerrilla” refers, for example, to the anarchist guerrilla struggle against Franco or to the anarchist urban guerrilla groups in Greece that emerged after the December 2008

1 “Die Erstürmung des Horizonts”, second edition, May 2016, p. 21



...IN...

“Amazon Web Services (AWS) is a symbol of the link between state repression and capital. No wonder AWS also specialises in armaments. For example, AWS will offer a new type of data centre that can be used to gain a military advantage anywhere in the world”.

Nancy (FR), 01.05. : As the official May Day demonstration began to disperse, around fifty people decided to continue demonstrating without a permit and went to a fascist bookshop, which was then attacked with sledgehammers. They left a clear message on a window pane: *“Death to the fascists”.*

Frankfurt a.M., 01.05. : *“On the occasion of May Day we smashed the glass of the job centre in Bockenheim and decorated the wall in front of it with the slogan: WORK, WORK, WORK”*

Berlin, 06.05. : Attack on two Bauer drilling cranes because of their involvement in the Coastal Gaslink pipeline in Canada, which the Wet’suwet’en indigenous people are fighting. *“That’s why we attacked a company that is at the forefront of the destruction of indigenous territories and profits from it”.*

Berlin, 11.05. : Attack with stones, butyric acid and paint on the Bundeswehr Association and ZUG, a company that acts as an interface between politics and industry in matters of climate policy.

Leipzig, 13.05. : Two Teslas set on fire at a Tesla car dealership. *“Whether in Grünheide, Leipzig or in the countries where the raw materials for electric cars or other smart bullshit are mined, we are against both the “old” fossil world and the “new” green world!”*

Toulouse (FR), 18.05. : Excavator set on fire at metro construction site. *“A contribution of solidarity to the ZADists who are not discouraged and continue to occupy and sabotage the A69 construction site.”*

Athens (GR), 18.05. : The construction site of the metro line 4 in the Galatsi district was attacked. Two machines belonging to the company AVAX, partner of the French company ALSTOM, went up in smoke.

Athens (GR), 18.05. : Molotov cocktails were thrown from three sides at the MAT cops guarding the construction site in Exarchia square. *“15 years after the death of Mauricio Morales, we send a signal of fire and complicity from Greece to Chile.”*

L’Union (FR), 22.05. : 5G antenna torched. *“Fortunately, resistance is growing, oppressed populations are revolting everywhere. Solidarity with the Kanak revolts, with the ZADists of the A69 and elsewhere.”*

Lacroisille (FR), 24.05. : Another machine torched on the site of the A69.

Leipzig, 27.05. : *“On Monday the trial against two companions accused of conspiracy began in Berlin. (...) On the eve of the trial, we wanted to send a signal of solidarity against isolation by setting fire to a federal police car on the grounds of the Federal Network Agency in Leipzig-Gohlis.”*

Privas (FR), 31.05. : A major mobile phone cable in the Ardèche region was damaged by vandals who cut the lines, causing a major Internet blackout for DSL, fibre optics and telephone.

Leipzig, 01.06. : Several cars were set on fire on the premises of the Mercedes car dealership. Three people were arrested nearby.

Pisa (ITA), 02.06. : *“We set fire to a fibre optic cable box with rags and petrol. We chose this target because it was located in the industrial area near a Carrefour supermarket, a robotics laboratory of the Sant’Anna Institute and the Bank of Pisa. Daily reality shows us how domination and war are directly linked to the development of these technologies, as shown by the intelligent extermination of the population in Gaza.”*

Lorient (FR), 02.06. : *“In Lorient, the headquarters of the Socialist Party was badly damaged.”* “Social traitor” was written on the façade of the Morbihan Socialist Party, and two large windows were smashed.

Mirepoix (FR), 04.06. : Conveyor belts in a gravel pit were cut and electrical equipment destroyed.

Berlin, 07.06. : In Pankow, a van carrying election propaganda bursts into flames in front of the AfD office. The fire spreads to the awning of the office.

Castanet-Tolosan (FR), 07.06. : Two Vinci lorries set on fire. *“BTP/TP and Vinci, two of France’s biggest companies, profit massively from the permanent war. Companies profit massively from the permanent war.”*

Noyarey (FR), 12.06. : Electricity cables set on fire under a bridge hit the defence company Lynred, the European specialist in infrared detectors. This company continued to supply Russia with top-of-the-range military technology until 2020.

Grenoble (FR), 12.06. : Two fires during the night at two different electricity distribution stations. The doors of the transformers were forced open and fires were set inside. Shops, households, a shopping centre and the tax office were affected.



...DESTROYED..

of wars that are co-financed and supported from here? For example, attack the infrastructure that makes these wars possible from here. We set fire to a Noske-Kaeser company car.”

Halle, 26.03. : The fascist gym ‘Gladiator Fight Academy’ is completely burnt down shortly before opening.

La Bastide-de-Sérou (FR), 31.03 : Bigwig golf course vandalised. The holes have been concreted over.

Berlin, 03.04. : Attack with hammers and bitumen on the office of the racist Senator of the Interior Iris Spranger.

Marseille (FR), 04.04. : Two police cars set on fire with Molotovs in front of a police station.

Munich, 04.04. : Four construction machines torched on a building site for the second S-Bahn main line. The scene of the crime is only a few metres away from the state parliament.

Brest (FR), 04.04. : Fire at the branch of the bank ‘Crédit Agricole’. Large parts of the building were destroyed. A BNP bank branch in the same town had already been partially damaged by arson on 1 March.

Agen (FR), 06.04. : Tanks of all machines on an NGE construction site sabotaged.

Pössneck (Thuringia), 10.04. : 70 metre high radio mast torched. Half a million in damage.

Conflans-Sainte-Honorine (FR), 11.04. : The fourth “fibre optic cabinet” burns in this town within a year. This time it is a modern fibre optic Internet cabinet, known in technical jargon as a “pooling point” (Pm).

Toulouse (FR), 12.04. : 5G antenna torched. *“We went to the Labège industrial estate with the intention of setting fire to an infrastructure of the current war. 5G is a key infrastructure for the forced digitalisation of our lives, for this new world that is being sold to us with technological advances. 5G is a key infrastructure for a new world under control, under constant surveillance.”*

Athens (GR), 15.04. : Attack on Starbucks and Israeli hotel. Starbucks supports the IDF and thus the genocide in Gaza.

Caen (FR), 15.04. : ‘On 15 April 2024, the internet cabinet of the Autorité de Sûreté Nucléaire (ASN) in Caen was set on fire to fight against nuclear energy in a very practical way.’

Saïx (FR), 17.04. : 30 hooded persons storm the guarded site of the A69 motorway and set fire to four machines.

Lleida (ESP), 17.04. : Fibre optic cables were on fire. Around 60,000 people in 25 municipalities in the province of Lleida had no internet and in many cases no mobile phone service. The press also reports a simultaneous ‘incident’ in Bell-lloc d’Urgell, 15 kilometres east of Barcelona.

Le Temps (CH), 19.04. : A controversial geothermal power station is to be built



here. But the sensors for deep geothermal drilling, known as geophones, were stolen and set on fire.

Beille (FR), 21.04. : A ski resort is set on fire. It had been under construction for 20 months and cost a whopping 8 million. The burglar alarm had been activated, but it was too late...

Oldenburg, 25.04. : *“We paid an anti-fascist visit to the martial arts studio “Chang-Tong Gym” of Nazi trainer Danny Gierden in Prinzhöfte (district of Oldenburg) and set it on fire. (...) So instead of thanking the “allies” or commemorating the resistance on 8 May, the slogan is “Form gangs and organise the Antifa!”*

Lacanau (FR), 25.04. : On the night of Thursday 23 May to Friday 24 May, a radio mast that was to be installed in Longarisse in the commune of Lacanau was destroyed by fire. The installation was due to be carried out the same day by the operator “Free”.

Tourcoing (FR), 29.04. : Double attack on the Stalinist party headquarters. A window was smashed and the front door was vandalised. The entire window front was covered with wooden panels for protection.

Hermannsburg, 29.04. : *“We placed an incendiary device on Armin Papperger’s garden house on the corner of Turnerstrasse and Immenboop in Hermannsburg. Papperger is the CEO of Rheinmetall (...) But the so-called Zeitenwende does not only mean a gigantic rearmament and new record profits for the arms industry. It also means that the whole of society is being geared towards the military and war.”*

Madrid (ESP), 30.04. : *“Attack on the cogs of exploitation on the day before May Day...”* On the night of the 30th of April, some anarchists decided to add a little noise and fire to the prevailing social peace. The windows of a Caixa bank and a “Fremap” health centre were smashed with hammers, and the locks of several temporary employment agencies were broken. An Amazon van and a SEUR [parcel delivery] van were set on fire with a lighter and petrol.

Volvic (FR), 01.05. : Volvic’s production plant is at a standstill following an arson attack on the technical room. Volvic exploits the nearby rivers.

Berlin, 01.05. : 16 Amazon trucks torched.

uprising. In theory, these groups had no ranks, insignia, orders or ambitions to conquer the state. However, both examples reflect the tendency towards centrality, rigidity and power struggles. For example, the anarchist struggle against the Franco dictatorship in the years after the Spanish Revolution of 1936 (in which the anarchists actually conquered the state and held ministerial positions, oops, and partly with guerrilla tactics) was led by the exiled CNT, which tried to keep the entire resistance under its thumb. Attacks and guerrilla actions in the safe, democratic exile of France were explicitly forbidden.

Any action in Spain had to be approved by the CNT leaders. The actions of the anarchist guerrillas were thus in a constant state of tension between defying the will of “the organization” (e.g., by robbing banks in Lyon) and organizing informally outside it. Anarchist guerrillas like Sabaté or Caracremada sometimes acted explicitly against the will of the organization or, like the latter, explicitly in smaller, autonomous contexts or alone, far from the organization.

The history of the Greek urban guerrilla group CCF [Conspiracy Cells of Fire] is also a history of centralization. In the beginning, it was a coordination of different groups and individuals that enjoyed a great deal of autonomy and used different sub-names², but after a while it was centralized and after a few years the group operated only as one *fixed* group with one *fixed* name. When parts of this were criticized in prison by a comrade who was also in the same prison for making common cause with Mafiosi³ and organizing themselves partly in a Mafiosi-way, the collective could think of nothing better than to beat the critic in the yard with sticks in a Stalinist manner and to write a communiqué about it. This act reflects a certain militaristic attitude typical of centralized groups that want to suppress criticism. Either you are with us – or you are against us.

We don’t want to compare the CNT with the CCF – particularly since the first example was about the subversion of a hierarchical organisation by informal dynamics and the latter was about an informal group with acronym which became step by step one of the rigid organisations which they actually wanted to fight – but in both groups and their particular struggles we see a conflict with the problem of centralisation – a typical attribute of militarism, a lurking danger in the proposal of guerrilla struggle. So guerrilla groups always find themselves in a conflictual relationship with the inner militarisation and rigidification – including everything, that’s part of it: the coercion for being effective, ostracism of people who drop out, arising of chefs and leaders, tactical associations with authoritarian groups,

recruitment of less experienced people for the “cause”, collateral damages, the entering into a duel fight with the state etc.

“Guerrilla tactics have always been part of insurrectionary movements and uprisings, and that the generalization of sabotage has always been a strong reference point in the history of anarchism.”

The history of the German urban guerrillas is particularly complex and contradictory, considering the anti-authoritarian ambitions of the protagonists (RZ, Rote Zora, Bewegung 2. Juni) and the simultaneous cooperation with authoritarian groups (PLO, PFLP, Carlos Group) and ideologically Maoist-Leninist guerrillas (RAF), who in turn cooperated with real-socialist states and secret services at certain points. In the case of the RZ, we are dealing with a group that overcame its own (informal) cadre structures, which still existed in the early years, as well as its material dependence on international contacts with authoritarian groups. While the members of the Bewegung 2. Juni largely had an anarchist self-image, ideologically they constantly referred to Mao, Ché, etc. and their guerrilla concepts for the conquest of state power, while some members of Bewegung 2. Juni even joined the RAF towards the end.

Insurgent dynamics and movements

If the study of guerrilla tactics is not limited to the well-known, more or less formal groups with notorious names, we must consider guerrilla tactics as part of insurgent movements and uprisings. Guerrilla tactics are and have always been part of insurrectionary movements, revolutions, anti-colonial struggles, slave, peasant and Cossack uprisings. In these dynamics of struggles and revolts, methods of attack generalize and the insurrection arms itself. If we look at the revolutionary cycles of 1905 and 1917 in the Russian Empire or the insurrectionary uprisings in Spain before 1936, it becomes clear how the use of guerrilla tactics within the social conflict spread and intensified on a massive scale within these insurrectionary processes and moments. The emergence of the German urban guer-

2 theanarchistlibrary.org/library/conspiracy-of-cells-of-fire-2008-s-communicues

3 machorka.espiivblogs.net/2014/01/06/letter-of-giannis-naxakis-from-koridallós-prisons/

rilla can only be understood against the background of the social upheavals of 1967/68, just as the experience of the December 2008 uprising was crucial in determining why various anarchist individuals and contexts took up arms to continue the armed attack on the state. But perhaps it was also a mistake of the post-68 generation of urban guerrillas that they wanted to form the armed vanguard of the '68 revolt instead of introducing and spreading guerrilla tactics within the insurrectionary movement. Because if the question is not how to build and recruit the vanguard of the revolution, but how to get to the point where insurrectionary methods spread within struggles and revolts and don't disappear like flashes in the pan, then we must first ask ourselves how to organize.

A significant difference between the RZ, Roter Zora and Bewegung 2. Juni and the RAF, for example, was that they lived in legality and were active in nonclandestine groups for as long as possible, and moreover aimed to spread the struggle: the RZ distributed their instructions and made them accessible to everyone, while 2. Juni explicitly referred to itself as a "movement" and tried to remain part of the exploited class and its struggles. Thus, we have already addressed three points that seem elementary for preventing internal militarization and hardening: no specialisation, no idealization of clandestinity, and intervening and actively participating within struggles.

"Thus, we have already addressed three points that seem elementary for preventing internal militarization and hardening: no specialisation, no idealization of clandestinity, and intervening and actively participating within struggles."

It is also interesting that the text quoted at the beginning of this article states that the anarchist guerrilla does not need acronyms or founding declarations. There is no doubt that the formal character of any group name (or campaign name) is an obstacle to the generalization of struggles. By acting as a fixed group, the focus is on identity and not on method – generalization and imitation are hindered – and the actors enter the circus of politics and the struggle for prestige, status, hegemony,

followers and fans. The spectator-effect addressed in the text "Waiting for the anarchist guerrilla...", which makes the spectacle created passive rather than inviting. So if you want to nourish a dynamic in which conflicts are wild, diffuse and chaotic, you would do well to operate in the shadows of informality and anonymity instead of promoting yourself and your group.

Thus, it is not only the historical and ideological burden of the red recuperation on the shoulders of the guerrilla concept, but also the political dimension of social understanding inherent in the term. Guerrilla groups tend to read the social conflict as a political conflict, that is, as a conflict with clear, fixed political affiliations that can only analyze society along the categories of left and right, revolutionary and counterrevolutionary. From this reading, the left side, both the movement and the proletariat, must be organized to build counterpower, to pose the question of power, and ultimately to conquer it. In this sense, a left guerrilla understanding is simply a coupist understanding of revolution, in which the guerrilla forms the vanguard of the (imaginary) people or proletariat and conquers power. In its dissolution text, the Rote Zora questioned the guerrilla method in general as a method of seizing power. "The guerrilla concept is not an orientation for us today, as far as it is aimed at conquering power with military formations. We do not want to conquer patriarchal power, we want to destroy it. In history, we know only the seizure of power, enforced and secured by independent military formations, as a change of patriarchal rule. In the same way, the securing of power has been and still is linked to bodies that can "enforce rule over the oppressed by force and weapons". And if guerrilla tactics are linked to this very understanding of revolution, then the Zoras are certainly right. So if we want to discuss anarchist guerrillas, we must also break with the classical understanding of revolution of the marxist-leninist guerrillas.

If we get away from the purely political left-right interpretation of social conflicts, we see that there is boiling everywhere, that there are sparks and smoke in all corners of society, and that people are angry, revolting, breaking out, rioting, organizing themselves criminally, going on the attack and, at least for a moment, stealing back their self-determination and dignity. But these conflicts and their protagonists are not correct in our political categories, morally good and bearers of the right ideology. Anarchist theory has always seen revolutionary potential in the dissemination of methods of attack in the struggles and revolts of the excluded, the lowest of the low, the lumpen and the thieves. It is only through struggle, through liberation, that consciousness changes. In the social uprisings and revolts there are

ROME WAS NOT...



Marseille (FR), 12.02. : Two excavators set on fire at a construction site widening a road. *"Fuck concrete and its world".*

Berlin, 15.02. : A Mercedes van belonging to the French arms company Thales was torched. *"Standing up for the oppressed in Gaza and Palestine is a question of dignity".*

Sainte-Baume (FR), 15.02.: Three people broke into a laboratory, poured petrol over it and set it on fire. Any laboratory? No, the laboratory works with the police in Marseille and specialises in analysing computer discs and researching erased data.

Chamborêt (FR), 19.02.: NGE crawler excavator torched in solidarity with the fight against the A69. NGE is involved in the construction of the A69 and the high-speed rail link in the south-west (Bordeaux-Toulouse).

Saïx (FR), 18.02.: Occupiers of the ZAD against the A69 attacked the police and set fire to two construction machines.

Thessaloniki (GR), 19.02.: Parcel bomb by the group "Armed Response" in front of a court, addressed to the president of the court. *"The work of the judicial officials is clearly aimed at torturing and impoverishing the prisoners and, in general, all those who have the misfortune to be confronted with them. Judges, prosecutors, appellants, all of them, with the help and complicity of the government, have over the years created a closed group of torturers?".* The bomb has been defused.



Nancy (FR), 21.02. : A police station was so badly damaged during the Nahel riots that it was only reopened by the mayor on 8.3.

Berlin, 26.02. : Car of "Ga-tec" alias "Sodexo" torched. *"Sodexo claims to be involved in 89 prisons on 3 continents in 10 countries, seven of which it runs completely. The company therefore represents the global prison system".*

Toulouse (FR), 29.02. : *"In support of the opponents of the A69 (motorway project), we sabotaged the Toulouse-Narbonne railway line during the night of 28th to 29th February".*

Berlin, 05.03. : The "Volcano Group Tesla Shutdown" claims responsibility for the arson attack on an electricity pylon near the Tesla Gigafactory. *"We wanted to hit the overhead line of a high voltage pylon where it connects to the underground cables at the waterproof cable sleeves and short-circuit the six 110 kV cables inside. To do this, we opened the shaft to the cable joints, half of which was under water. However, we were still burning the exposed power cables, which in combination with the water may have caused a short circuit. Damage to cable joints is often time consuming and expensive to repair. At the same time, we set the fire big and high with many car tyres to weaken the steel structure and cause instability of the mast".*

Vecqueville (FR), 11.03. : FERRY CAPITAIN industrial foundry cut off from the electricity grid! *"Identify and attack the collaborators of the nuclear disaster! With these words in our hearts and a lot of anger in our stomachs, we visited another regional profiteer of the nuclear mafia in the early morning of 11 March, on the occasion of the 13th anniversary of the Fukushima nuclear disaster".*

Berlin, 15.03. : Six concrete mixers set on fire. *"Armed with incendiary devices and anger, we temporarily destroyed a HeidelbergMaterials AG cement plant on the A100 construction site last night."*

Genon (FR), 16.03. : Two NGE construction machines sabotaged.

Mandres-en-Barrois (FR), 19.03. : An ANDRA information event on the nuclear waste repository in Bure was sabotaged and disrupted. First, the venue had to be changed because electrical equipment was destroyed at the first one. Later, the officials were pelted with flour and eggs.

Hamburg, 24.03. : *"What can we do in view*

tively feel, based on the intelligence of the observer, that something cannot be right. This feeling is visceral. Primal and genuine in nature. It is a simple feeling that is only secondarily modified by external contamination. For many, constructing and enriching theories proves to be a means of finding answers to the question of how best to experience this primal feeling. More precisely, when, with whom and in what way we intervene in our reality. At first glance, this crystal clear analysis seems to be a recipe for success. But success with what? No anti-authoritarian theory has yet led to an actual social upheaval. Instead, it has been shown that only a few activists feel confirmed and fulfilled with their anti-authoritarian approach and behaviour in their respective anti-authoritarian bubble (group, houses, projects, associations). In a way, affirmation can be seen as fulfilment, as it can represent a moment of success. For many, this one-off moment is enough for them not to seek an uncompromising and permanent confrontation with this society because they assume that change can be achieved in a different way, with less effort and risk. The distraction and retreat from confrontation with oneself and from outward action are to be seen as essential characteristics of a cold-blooded analytical approach. In contrast, the visceral point of view deconstructs the individual and reduces it to the essential in order to allow it to act essentially. The not-lost tend to respond to meanness and repression with violence, anger, retaliation and vigilante justice, or at least act proactively. Nevertheless, many of them do not act in the way they actually want to and could. In retrospect, we justify our timid behaviour with a multitude of 'rational' arguments that prompt us not to respond quite so violently, not to act quite so wildly and not to jump down the throats of our tormentors. In a concrete situation, such as that of our lives, we allow ourselves to be slowed down by abstract considerations. So do these abstractions prevent us from giving free rein to our free will? The question arises as to whether it is expedient to continue to occupy ourselves with analytical considera-

tions and moralisms that ultimately prevent instinctive, visceral and revolutionary actions. *Our* anarchy probably represents the highest and most difficult form of wanting to live out free, self-confident and individual will in association with other individuals. Such "negative" trains of thought and the search for an *ego with a backbone* hardly find acceptance in society, as they contradict the prevailing opinion. The hope of a world revolution is an illusion that is only cherished by those who are already lost.

If we want the collapse of this world, do we need an unleashed, unrestrained being, or a modelled, misguided, reformed one? So that these abstractions described here do not remain meaningless words.

With glowing eyes, towards the
blazing sun of the future*.

*Extract from the
"Anthem of the International" (Italy, 1874)

*Let us raise our heads
or remain bowed by toil.
On the top of the mountain
Shines the sun of the future.
The sun of the future is shining.*

*The proud heroes of gold
The shepherds of every flock.
In temple or palace,
Let the stars fade.*

*Peace, peace to the huts of the poor.
War, war for the palaces and churches.
No escape from the hated bourgeoisie
that insults the hunger of the lumpen.*

*The bosses have robbed us
the sweat of our fathers,
They have abused our sisters.
They have robbed us of all joy.*

*They have robbed us of all joy.
Only one cry: Death to the thieves!
From the field to the workshop.
No more the laws of robbery!
No more the shame of servitude!*



no clear political identities – they are united by rejection. If we maintain this anti-political reading of social conflict, our focus must be on introducing, discussing, intensifying and disseminating the methods of attack and self-organization within the chaotic social conflicts. This is what John Olday means when he says that "the role of isolated anarchists has always been to function like yeast." This intervention aims at a generalization of the conflict, away from all political groups – we try to explicitly remove the conflicts from the power and hegemony of the political groups and their management. If the destructive dynamics of struggles and revolts actually develop insurrectionary potential, the goal must be to arm the insurrection, not to hope that a single wellorganized group will do so and take control of the revolt.

Projectuality within the social war

When the text quoted at the beginning makes it clear what the creation of an anarchist guerrilla is specifically about, it becomes interesting: on the one hand, the idea "that a group of people organizes itself in a committed way over a longer period of time". On the other hand, the creation of longer-term perspectives and a departure from "politics fire brigades" and a "reactive relationship to state violence. On the first point, the text addresses a certain dissatisfaction with previous organizing experiences: "non-organization, short time in the scene and lack of commitment". This dissatisfaction understandably addresses a missing element in the

practice of informal organizing to date: our often abstract discussions often have no impact on our lives. "The concept of Affinity groups have been as ephemeral as many revolts themselves". Only on the basis of real experiences do we really learn, and only on that basis can we have practical discussions. Our informal organization must allow us to expand our radius of trust, to coordinate and discuss concrete perspectives and projects that we share with more than just our closest comrades. To organise in a committed way can mean that our own struggle is designed for a longer period of time and for the necessary organisation the necessary means are aquired. At the same time, intensifying relationships of trust and affinity can open a window: not only in a spatial and international perspective, but also in a temporal one. "One lesson for the future might be to

***"In the face of
increasing repression,
we must not allow
ourselves to be pushed
into clandestinity, thus
isolating our ideas and
becoming specialists
in the struggle."***

be better prepared for the closing of a historical window”. What the text describes as preparing for historical windows is often denigrated in anarchist circles as “prepperism”. Nevertheless, we think it is of theoretical and practical interest to discuss certain historical possibilities that may open up in the future. In recent years, many in the movement have been overwhelmed by the force and intensity of the social revolts that suddenly surrounded them, and have lacked the preparation to put anarchist capacities to act into practice in these short periods of time. On the other hand, it certainly makes sense to discuss not only the possibility of social revolts, but also the “worst-case scenarios” that might open up, and how we actually intend to deal with them and what is needed to do so... be it fascist coups, the military mobilization of the countries we live in, or deadly natural disasters that can also disrupt the status quo and are becoming more and more frequent.

The other point raised in the text relates to the development of anarchist projectualities. If we want to develop longer-term perspectives, we need to project ourselves into the future and think about what struggles and conflicts we might intensify and how. This discussion must start from an analysis of the social conflicts around us and the developments of domination. Locating a fatal point in the restructuring of domination can lead us to focus our energies on that point. The idea of “hitting where it hurts” could mean taking fundamental structures of power and their restructuring as a starting point for intervening in struggles and developing longer-term perspectives. For example, we can observe the essential role that new technologies play in the functioning of power today. At the same time, the global network of capital and states is initiating a massive restructuring in the context of “ecology” and “green capitalism”, the practical implementation of which means an intensification of environmental destruction, land grabbing, climate crisis and ultimately the exploitation of people and nature. Taking this restructuring as a basis for developing an insurrectionary projectuality within the social war between the exploited and the rulers could be a challenge. At the same time, the text mentions the urgency of a practical antimilitarism in the face of the building and escalation of wars. The struggle against militarism, the arms industry and military mobilization is also a moment in which we see the possibility and necessity of social ruptures and revolts – and undoubtedly the current militarization and technological development on an economic and ideological level is closely linked to the climate crisis and the “energy transition”.

However, when we discuss the question of the perspectives to be developed, we have to start from the reality that surrounds us. We see a small anarchist movement confronted with repression and social conflicts that develop and intensify, but always seem to be successfully managed and administered by politics and movement organizations. In this context, we are ambivalent about the proposal to create an anarchist guerrilla and we do not see why the proposal presented in the text has to bear this name. The development of an anonymous, invisible, informal movement with commitment, determination and long-term perspectives, using so-called guerrilla tactics, is to some extent a minimal practice of the international anarchist movement. Intensifying these practices and discussing perspectives – in any case! – but focusing on the proposal of creating a guerrilla in any way implies a hierarchization of means in struggles, which we reject in times of repression and isolation of the anarchist movement. Every means of revolt has its value, be it newspapers, books, discussions or attacks. In the face of increasing repression, we must not allow ourselves to be pushed into clandestinity, thus isolating our ideas and becoming specialists in the struggle. This threat of isolation from social conflict and the militarisation that can accompany it is a constant danger. Nevertheless, today it is important to emphasise that not everyone has to (or can) do everything and that it is necessary for anarchist fighters to concentrate on their projects, to study the weak points of the system and to act accordingly – thus creating longer-term perspectives within the social war through the interplay of different means.

This can also mean preparing for certain historical windows that may open. However, this intervention in the social war must not only be aimed at qualitatively intensifying the conflict – we are part of making the struggles diffuse and confusing, and thus insurrectionary. A historical stigma of guerrilla groups and their inspiration is the focus on scaring the rulers and appearing as threatening as possible (part of this is the fetish of weapons). We think that our projectuality within the social war must be aimed at intensifying and multiplying the initiatives and tensions within the conflicts, rather than being particularly threatening from an isolated position. If the conflicts run along points that can actually disrupt power, that is the danger and the potential that we should perceive – not the creation of dangerous looking groups..

(an external contribution)

**„Apathy can also be
a survival strategy.
Temporarily
functional,
seductive,
comfortable, but
potentially deadly.
Nothing for “us”.”**

absurd and boundless violence that we are served up every damn day. I deliberately say “we” here, because unfortunately there are too many lost people for whom neither the images nor the reality evoke empathy or any other emotion. Apathy can also be a survival strategy. Temporarily functional, seductive, comfortable, but potentially deadly. Nothing for “us”.

To oppose and derail the system requires more than strategic action, more than a “perfect” antithesis or blind reactionism. One image that comes to mind is that of viscera. Warm, organic, wild, naked, bestial, obscene. The needs of the guts are irrational. They want to be nourished, their desire is the precondition for everything that follows. Metaphysical ideas have no place in them... It is neither the place nor the time for abstractions that otherwise occupy and amuse our brains and produce filtered and inhibited behaviour. When our actions come from the depths of ourselves, they are unfiltered, authentic, blasphemous. This may be uncomfortable and frightening. But who keeps telling “us” that the worst will come out of us if we let go of our inhibitions, our control mechanisms? Who insists that “anarchy”, “our anarchy”, inevitably means only blind excesses of violence, rape and injustice? It is usually the fearful, the *will-less*, the *deaf* and *blind*, the enemies of “our” anarchy.

It doesn’t really help us to bewitch ourselves with countless external and new theories and images and to interpret and adopt their conclusions as the only ‘right’ way to act and think. We rarely concentrate on our abysses, our fears, our desires, our innermost being. We are too frightened by what we might find and so we avoid the strenuous immersion into our guts. There will probably be no happy ending. Hoping and believing in the concept of self-reflection in favour of ultimate individual enlightenment is an illusion and can lead to self-flagellation and forlornness because you seemingly never are and never will be good enough. Just because a large part of a social environment reveals a uniform behaviour and demands it does not automatically mean that it is “right” for everyone. When I have certain life situations in mind, I do not need or want to open a theoretical tome or convene a

plenary in order to know whether and how I want to and can (re-)act to/on them. Ideological guidelines mutilate the ego. Concrete and immediate action recedes into unattainable distance. In the absence of religion, ideology and hope, despair prevails, especially when we try to free ourselves from these theories and certainties and rummage around stark naked in the darkest corners of our guts... perhaps a different way of reflecting.

We can come back stronger from the duel with ourselves and the despair that arises... with the consciousness of who we are and where we want to go. If we act from our innermost being, the insurgent action can only be more authentic and at the same time more dangerous. Because then we probably need nothing (no ideologies, no blatant images and conditions) and no one (no leaders) to set us in motion. The delegation and appeal to flag-wavers, ideological, academic and religious abstractions pale in the face of the individual unfolding of passions and the establishment of the *ego* in relation to the conflict with civilisation. Those who continue to cling with their reason to the foundations of hope will have a hard time discovering the visceral perspective for themselves and will continue to deride it as pathetic drivel. They will continue to dance in circles, masturbating in the mirror, full of hubris, pride and conviction for their abstractions.

The intuitive/insurgent anarchists inevitably engage repeatedly in the struggle against the existing, but with a different starting point. The *ego*. Which is no longer altruistic, guilt-based, passive and imprisoned by privilege and pity. Through the visceral perspective, through the ethical binoculars of anarchy, we achieve the clarity that our destructive, iconoclastic actions in the here and now need neither reason nor any logical-rational, scientific apologia. Because, as a comrade once said: *I act because I can’t do otherwise.*

The majority of humanity, through the emotional intelligence with which they have been socialised, are able to see and feel reality, to understand it instinctively and even a little, without having to read a mountain of books. When you look at this world for a fraction of a second, you intuitively

**“If we want the
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THE VISCERAL VIEWPOINT

Visceral : “pertaining to the viscera” or “belonging to the viscera”



The understanding and meaning of solidarity is discussed time and time again. At every opportunity, we ask ourselves the classic questions of when, where, who and how we can show solidarity. Most people find a suitable answer to the itch in their fingers that many sort of feel. This itch usually arises when you read or hear about a case of repression, but above all when you are affected by repression yourself. It is vital to feel this anger and dismay, not to suppress it, but to consciously cultivate it; solidarity “gymnastics” can be very diverse, but also exhausting, monotonous and ritualising. We support the individual or project affected by repression or violence in dealing with the consequences. In this way, we try to generalise concern and responsibility and spread the burden across several shoulders. Through this empathic behaviour of many people, which is based on compassion, an important social competence, liberating actions and intimate bonds can arise that can make it easier for the individual to (survive) the repressive situation. However, everyone deals with repression and experiences of violence differently. Depending on when and in what context you find yourself: in postponed freedom, in front of screens, in *important* plenaries, others in “lockup”, surrounded by cement and sparse sunlight. It is not really easy for anyone, and solidarity seems to function like a basin that absorbs, integrates and assimilates anger, fear, love, trust and resilience. An understanding of solidary struggle emerges, or rather, a frontal cohesion against the hostile capitalist environment. The result is a mass identification with supposedly “right” views and behaviours against the “wrong” preachers of exploitation and oppression. At other times, people lose themselves in a welfare-humanism, a self-perpetuation that uses pseudo-religious behaviour to keep feelings of guilt at bay so that they can continue

to enjoy the comforts of their own life without fundamentally questioning this life and themselves. Only an *inhuman monster* could dare to criticise such self-sacrificing/solidary behaviour for some “good cause”.

“Because, as a comrade once said: I act because I can’t do otherwise.”

Solidarity as a maxim and on its own cannot represent an anti-systemic perspective, however radical and comprehensive or inclusive it may be. It undoubtedly remains a tense link between action and repression. Without ideas and actions, there would be no repression and we would not be in the embarrassment of having to or wanting to show solidarity with someone. “Reactionary” solidarity is therefore conditioned by repression. Just like the common antifa needs the common fascist. The tougher one front, the tougher the other and vice versa. It’s a cycle that feeds on itself. Endlessly. Being in solidarity cannot always be right in principle, just as it cannot a priori be wrong. Like so many things in life, solidarity and the struggle can be seen as a sine wave, sometimes more intense, sometimes less intense. Sometimes it requires more attention and effort in the face of external factors, sometimes less. The way the system in which we live works, we could show solidarity like fools and actually do nothing else. Too many conflicts in the world literally cry out for intervention, solidarity and complicity. Empathy inevitably overcomes us in the face of the flood of images of

ANARCHISM AND CREATIVITY

Creativity can serve as a means against ritualised patterns of action and thought within the anarchist milieu, as long as it is not elevated to an end in itself. For creativity for creativity’s sake harbours the possibility of transforming its initially critical potential into its opposite: Creative passivity towards capitalist society. Nevertheless, it cannot be understood as a mere instrument that has to serve a superordinate political ideal, otherwise it would hardly differ from a Stalinist conception of creativity. If, on the other hand, creativity is understood as part of a process of self-empowerment of the individual that rejects any limitation of anarchist

question of contradictions in society, but sees these as being linked to the contradictions in the acting individual itself and openly displays these in various forms, partly through a concrete reference to the structures of society, partly by merely playing with its own role. In my opinion, this step accentuates the determination of a radical perspective all the more, because even anti-authoritarian discourses and practices that have forgotten how to play in childlike naivety or laugh at themselves, and reproduce fixed patterns of action and thought in an endless loop, are slowly moving towards an identity-forming doctrine.



practice and understands life as a field of experimentation in which different possibilities lurk everywhere to make the given, or even oneself, appear in a new light, it opens up a perspective that is critical of ideology: Creativity opens the door to play, to childlike naivety, which is considered a weakness nowadays because it distances itself from the rigid perspective of many companions - almost orientated towards the ideal of the professional revolutionary - by no longer taking itself tensely seriously; it is not afraid to show emotions, contradictions and weaknesses or to laugh at its own role, because it has no static identity to lose. It sees itself as a present, self-determined action and a process to be discovered at the same time. It is not content with the

This is not to say that anarchist practice should become a spectacular, existential project, but rather that this conception of creativity serves as an impetus to understand practice itself under the premise: „To each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs“, so as not to idealise a particular form of practice. Moreover, the premise, linked to the act of playing, also recognises that the individual still has to exploit his or her abilities; the individual can and should experiment, even aggressively, with intervening in reality and not see himself or herself as determined by social structures or the demands of an ideology and fall prey to learned helplessness and pessimism. However, such a perspective would under-

“The consciously acting subject must join forces with other subjects and try to break through the social division”

mine its own potential if it saw itself as completely detached from class society, or even negated classes and did not organise itself in various forms for the destruction of the same, because the anarchist creativity of non-specialists does not function as a possibility for the self-realisation of an isolated “I”, but as a negation of apathy, as a rejection of the alienated life within capitalist relations, in the knowledge that an emancipatory practice must be collective on the one hand and must not reproduce the alienated forms of the given on the other. The consciously acting subject must join forces with other subjects and try to break through the social division, for this creativity opens up many possibilities for action, it expands our practical vocabulary on the social terrain; the broader the forms of expression of the anarchists, the more we will be able to open up or expand discourses and practices. Individuals together can become the event that overturns struc-

tures, I have no doubt about that, and although revolutionary upheaval is lacking in many areas and many are reluctantly flirting with the ideology of capitalist society as the final state of humanity, we must not freeze in a defensive, pessimistic position. Unleashing and expanding one’s own practice means understanding the attack in its creative totality: From sabotage to theatre, from bombs to newspapers, from idleness to theory.

Zurich, May 2017

UNDREAMABLE ABYSSSES

Xenobots: Living robots that reproduce themselves

*„The cells of the **xenobot** consist of skin and heart muscle cells and were obtained from embryonic stem cells of the African clawed frog *X. laevis*. A xenobot is smaller than one millimetre. It moves by contracting muscle cells. The shape of the xenobot and the distribution of cell types inside are automatically designed by software using an „evolutionary algorithm“ to fulfil a specific task. This software has been used to develop xenobots that can walk, swim, carry loads and work together in groups, for example to sort or collect material scattered on a surface. Xenobots can survive in a laboratory dish for weeks without external food and can even heal themselves if they suffer a minor injury. At the end of November 2021, the observation of a type of reproduction developed autonomously by xenobots that has never been observed in nature was announced. The basic principle of this replication is called „kinetic replication“, a phenomenon that is already known, but only at the molecular level, as it has never been observed at the level of a single cell, let alone at the level of an entire organism. Xenobots are able to move and combine stem cells scattered in their environment to create entities that look and move like themselves. This happens in a „gestation process“ that lasts a few days and during which the combined cells „mature“ and produce functional copies of themselves.“*

The idea was actually to write a non-fiction text about the creation of xenobots. But the dry-as-dust juggling of facts is probably not only difficult to digest for the readership, but sometimes also boring to formulate for the biased author. After all, the aim is not to compete with a scientific journal or even to refute prevailing theories. The factual and logical debate characterises

science as we have learned it. It takes place in the specialised literature. Its aim is to formulate and establish truths with reservations. Nothing is further from the anti-sistema’s mind than captivating readers with scientific facts.

The fact that an artificial intelligence has recently used stem cells from the African clawed frog to

should remain as “peaceful” as possible, or at least as long as the cops don’t attack the demonstration for no reason. Another question that is rarely asked, much less debated, is who makes decisions, when, according to what analysis and with what objective.

Well, as we now know, the demonstration at Brenner was anything but peaceful and defensive, but we also know that the principle of causality has once again been proven true. But what does this mean for future anarchist interventions? Isn’t it also part of the principle of causality that when repression happens, our response to it is „anti-repression“? It seems to be an endless vicious circle, almost a ritual. Maybe the brochure “Smash the borders at the Brenner and everywhere” and the events at the Brenner trial should be seen as an attempt to break out of this vicious circle, which is constantly fuelling itself, and not as part of simple “anti-repression work”. So as NOT to fuel the timeless but uninteresting narrative of how bad the cops were on this or that day and how much the justice system is now looking for scapegoats. Yes, this narrative may (very) often be true... but that’s not the point. If many of us are already coming together, why don’t we use this moment to look even more closely for the weak points of power and its symbols in the city/surroundings, to attack them, to burn them down and to seek even more escalation of the conflict with their protectors? Is it enough to “celebrate” a few more or less big scuffles with the pigs to pacify us? Or do we want more?

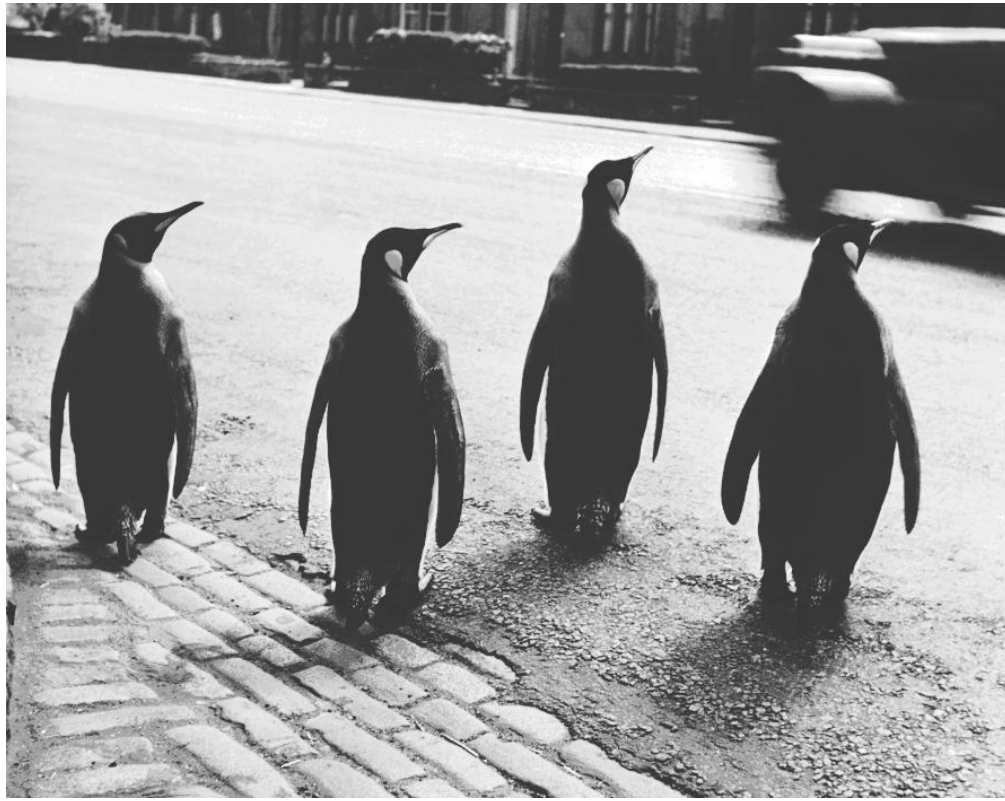
It is invaluable that the content and methods are disseminated and discussed internationally, not in order to adopt them blindly, but to examine them in context and see how the basic

idea of living without hierarchy can be implemented. In the Italian context, the translations and contributions of the Italian-language newspaper “Bezmotivny” (the entire editorial staff is being investigated as part of “Operation Scelera”), which was distributed in German-speaking countries, or the publication of “Welche Internationale?” by Alfredo Cospito (the rest of the first edition of the book was confiscated as part of “Operation Sibilla”), or anarchist magazines such as “Avalanche” or “A corps perdu” should be mentioned here. But pamphlets such as “Smash the borders at the Brenner and everywhere” are also part of anarchist internationalism, which can make it possible to discuss theory and practice and perhaps escape or give less importance to causality.

Whereas in the past anarchists in German-speaking countries were virtually non-existent in the face of the overwhelming number of radical left structures and projects, neither visible on the streets nor accessible or readable in terms of content, this has changed in recent years, partly due to the importance of growing internationalism. This positive change is unlikely to be without consequences and has led to numerous trials of anarchist activists in Germany and abroad. In the German-speaking countries there is a glaring example, namely the absurd Munich investigation against an anarchist newspaper. But does this mean that we should talk, write and act differently or not at all? That we should think more tactically/strategically?

Or do obstinate ideas and offensive actions remain valid options even in the face of omnipresent repression?





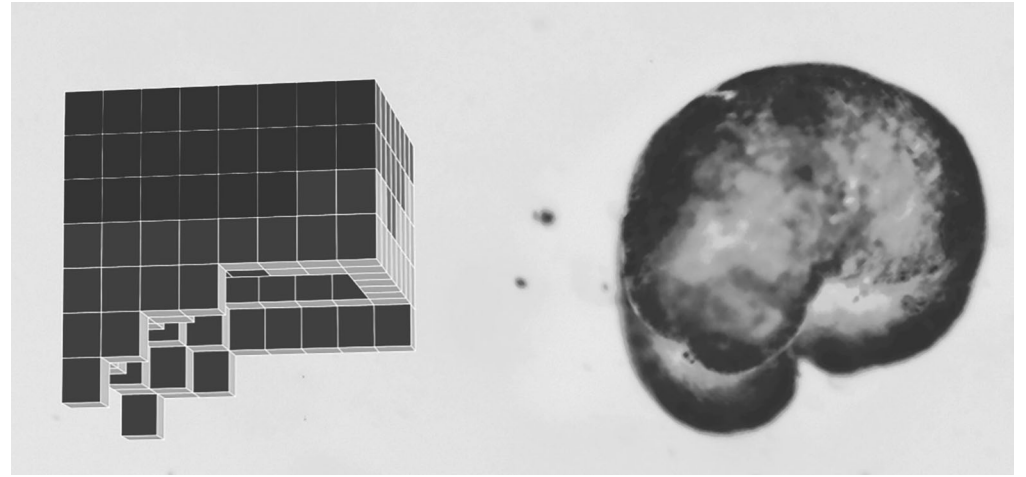
ity, the increasing interest of the security authorities in anarchist content and its practical manifestations may be an indication of its growing importance and potential threat. However, curiosity and repression against targeted actors in this country does not necessarily mean that all anarchists are now targeted by the authorities and that there are no more options for action.

However, repression and persecution can hardly be a parameter for assessing the interest or understanding of the exploited for our content and perspectives, which is another very interesting discussion that I do not want to open here. If we take offensive anarchism, be it social, anti-social, communist, libertarian, anti-authoritarian, insurrectionary or whatever, then it is tempting to invoke the principle of cause and effect. The consideration of a certain causality that exists or arises between action and repression affects us when we act with fixed ideas. At the moment of action, we often have the intention of provoking a general uprising of the oppressed, or even a revolution, but most of the time, unfortunately, we only provoke one thing: the repression of domination in its most diverse forms of expression. This principle seems to be a fact, a principle that almost allows us to predict the future. Practically every one of our actions is followed by an investigation, we have to assume, but if there are no leads or investigative approaches, these can also come to nothing. In other countries, the police simply pick out the right scapegoats to blame. Here, such indiscriminate behaviour is still rare, but what if that changed? Nevertheless, we often include the certainty or possibility that we will experience direct or indirect revenge from our enemies, which is often the case. But what does this assumption do to us? Does it weaken us in our ideas and intentions, or does it strengthen us? If we are “seers”, it would be foolish to walk into an open knife, wouldn’t it? Causality can thus become a logic that stands in the way of wild, impul-

sive turmoil. In extreme cases this can mean that instead of creating a tension in which we decide to take certain risks in certain circumstances, we rely mainly on ‘reason’ and can reduce or even avoid the risk of repression by logically containing our feelings and actions.

“If this logic were applied to the demonstration at the Brenner Pass, it would show that they were at a tactical disadvantage.”

If this logic were applied to the demonstration at the Brenner Pass, it would show that they were at a tactical disadvantage. Geographically, they were in a kind of dead end on the border with Austria, surrounded by a valley. They were practically in a cauldron. Numerically, because it was “foreseeable” that countless cops would be called in to crack down and that there could possibly be many arrests. Nevertheless, there was a call for militant action and many people from different countries answered the call. Metaphorically speaking, they were walking into an open knife. It is interesting to note that in this case the causality did not lead to a containment of the willingness to fight, and the question arises as to what discussions took place in the run-up to the demonstration to enable what ultimately happened. In Italy, demonstrations, including anarchist ones, are often preceded by the more or less veiled announcement that “this time” it will be a “communicative” demonstration. The question is what exactly “communicative” means, but in the end it just means that everything



create a completely new life form that is neither animal nor machine once again demonstrates the irrepressible urge for infinite progress. In the meantime, human genius alone is no longer enough to create the unimaginable. A supercomputer has now been programmed with an “evolutionary” algorithm to develop the aforementioned xenobots. What has been hailed as a pioneering sensation since the first study was published in the USA on 21 November 2021 is still in its infancy. The full extent of this supposedly ground-breaking invention will only become apparent in a few decades’ time. But today’s xenobots, or *bioelectric* organisms, can move independently, reproduce, heal, communicate with each other and, of course, can be programmed at will.

“The realisation of further nightmares ultimately accelerates the fall into the capitalist abyss. The impact will be all the harder.”

Together with the economic sectors that are already potentially interested today, this developmental biology has a current market value of almost 30 billion dollars. According to forecasts by some market research institutes, the market value in 2028 is estimated at around 150 billion dollars. Microsoft co-founder Paul Allen has so far only invested a meagre 10 million dollars in basic research in this branch of science. Amazon boss Jeff Bezos has shown significantly more interest, investing several hundred million dollars in similar laboratories and projects in the USA. In 2019, Goldman Sachs financed bio-genetics start-ups such as Ginko Bioworks and Zymergen with 600 million dollars.

What does research hope to gain from this achievement? It’s not just about the practical application. Scientists predict that these mini robots could help clean the world’s oceans of microplastics, unclog arteries in humans or even remove cancer cells. A multi-tool, the famous panacea, as

so often promised, to fix the muck we produce ourselves. But on closer inspection, doubts arise: It seems as if the inventors didn’t think about purpose and function at all, or only to a limited extent. For them, the focus was on achieving something ground-breaking, a glorious deed, so to speak. A marketing strategy seems to have been of secondary importance, but this also reflects the spirit of the age of research: The main thing is to invent something, then see if it can be commercialised somehow. In this specific example, however, this in no way means that there were no expectations on the part of the sponsors and investors, as these include none other than DARPA (Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency), an agency of the United States Department of Defense that carries out dubious research projects for the US Army. A state gang of pigs that has been launching programmes since the 1960s, e.g. with the harmless title “Continuous Assisted Performance”, where “biotechnological means (implants, metabolic manipulation, etc.)” are used to ensure that soldiers can stay awake for up to seven days without losing their minds. These human guinea pigs were pumped full of amphetamines for years.

The answer to the question of meaning and purpose is therefore more than questionable. In any case, everyone involved sees enormous potential in xenobots. Although some researchers are asking themselves the ethical and moral question of how justifiable it is to grow a completely new form of life in a petri dish, they are quick to fall in love with the potential applications of this technology.

But what else can we expect from science? We should ask ourselves this question and find out what we think about it...

A taboo for some, a dream for others to finally slip into the role of Prometheus is gradually coming true... Moral, in this case above all religious, objections to the creation of a new way of life no longer seem to play a role. If it were a critical and conscious disregard for the respective religious morality, then it would be welcome, but on the other hand only if it were detached from megalomania in favour

of power, however exercised. On the other hand, there can be no question of critical awareness! From the point of view and understanding of the believers in progress, i.e. the majority of humanity, it is necessary to finally overcome morals and ethics that have been outdated for centuries through technology, but only in order to refine technologised society to infinity. For believers, there are and always have been too few promises that could delay, if not eliminate, the troublesome problem of death. No religion has yet been able to prove the opposite with facts; science, for its part, has at least tried again and again. So what better time than the current age of the 4th industrial “revolution”? The age of computing machines, artificial intelligence, nuclear energy, transhumanism (the belief in the further development of humans through merging with technology), nanotechnology, etc. Yet this optimism about progress is much older and deeply rooted in historical memory. In the sequel to Goethe’s Faust (1825-31), for example, the creation of the homunculus, an artificial human being, is recounted as an achievement of the natural sciences. Centuries earlier, the idea of the homunculus was attributed to alchemy and black magic. The dream of Paracelsus (co-developer of naturopathy) to create a human being from human semen and horse manure still seemed a long way off in Goethe’s day...

However, times are changing, and these new life forms are now a reality, even if they are called xenobots. In comparison to the benefits that have been touted, the potential dangers of such inventions are relatively minor, a principle that is well known in medicine: the risk-benefit ratio. In an acute situation, this is pure blackmail, reflecting a duality that can be derived all too well from capitalism: illness or

health, work or unemployment, food or hunger, obedience or oppression. The wage labour system inherently creates unemployment and the fear of it, as it is only through wages that basic needs can be secured. Those who do not accept these conditions experience the structural violence of domination. This analysis, while brief, is an accurate description of a state of unfreedom that has been permanent for some time. Furthermore, the question of who or what is sick or healthy and to what extent arises, as does the question of how, can and wants to be *healed*? If the existing capitalist system is the cause of illness, it is illogical to attempt to *cure* it with the same medicine, let alone to remain “functional and healthy” in order to maintain this system.

For the enemies of the system in this world, the challenge is to recognise and question the moral duality. The acute situation mentioned above refers to the existing social conflict that the power structures impose on their beneficiaries. The realisation of further nightmares ultimately accelerates the fall into the capitalist abyss. The impact will be all the harder for it.

***“A taboo for some,
a dream for others
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SOME THOUGHTS ON THE BRENNER TRIAL IN ITALY

“Several hundred rioters fought a battle with the police on the Italian side of the Brenner Pass during an unauthorised demonstration on Saturday afternoon (7 May 2016). The reason for this was the closure of the pass announced by Austria due to the influx of refugees. The rioters demanded the abolition of the borders and threw stones and smoke bombs at the police. They temporarily occupied the railway station at the Brenner Pass. The officers used tear gas. Several rioters and four officers are said to have been injured.”- www.dvz.de

The brochure “*Smash the borders at Brenner and everywhere*” has recently been published (<https://abbaterefrontiere.blogspot.com/>). It is a compilation of texts and process statements written before and after the Brenner demonstration on 7 May 2016. Some of these texts have been translated and/or published in other languages in recent years, but never in chronological order. For this brochure, an introduction has been specially written by some comrades from Northern Italy.

In particular, the anarchist struggles and the repression of the anarchist movement in Italy continue to arouse great interest in Germany. This is partly due to the fact that there are many Italian-speaking comrades who live in Germany for short or long periods and carry on discourses, struggles and perspectives from Italy. Recently there was the hunger strike of Alfredo Cospito, which was accompanied by an international mobilisation and which some people probably still remember. Meanwhile, it has become known that the public prosecutor’s office in Turin is investigating 75 anarchists for the solidarity demonstration in Turin on 4 March. These proceedings are now called “Operation City”. Internationally, there have been events, rallies, demonstrations and attacks of varying intensity linked to Alfredo’s struggle against solitary confinement. This international solidarity with Alfredo and the many other prisoners affected by repression, with their struggles and perspectives, is an expression of an attitude that has developed over time, and this understanding of anarchist internationalism is probably one of the few ways to attack the global capitalist system everywhere and from the ground up.

Furthermore, the call for the Brenner demonstration at that time is certainly another practical moment of linking the struggles against borders and their logic on a broader and transnational level with the determination to seek open confrontation with the authorities.

The offensive struggles in Italy, but also elsewhere, can inspire us to take a similar direction. The repression that prisoners have experienced in Italy in recent years plays a significant role in this. Because their struggles, their actions, their publications, their ideas and their determination always come at a price... and it often seems that this ‘harsh repression’ in Italy appears somehow “exotic” to us “outsiders”. Even when draconian prison sentences are imposed in Italy or elsewhere, the prisoners and their struggles and content often remain distant. However, international investigations such as “Operation Bialystok” and, not least, the ‘Budapest Trial’ show that repression is not and will not remain localised. The security authorities’ interest in prosecution seems to be increasing noticeably

and their findings, however superficial and questionable they may appear, show that repression is always hot on the heels of the action. At the beginning of the year, the 19th meeting of the Committee for the Protection of the Constitution took place in Berlin, at which more or less detailed reports were given on autonomous-anarchist structures and their potential dangers. The new Federal Report on the Protection of the Constitution has also recently been

published, in which the section on left-wing extremism has been substantially revised. Although it is nothing new for “us” and our activities to be observed with fanatical curios-

***“Well, as we
now know, the
demonstration at
Brenner was anything
but peaceful and
defensive, but we
also know that the
principle of causality
has once again been
proven true.”***