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PAPER TO TURN THE ORDER
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A PERSPECTIVE OF ATTACK IN A COLLAPSING WORLD

Subject: The Guerrilla Debate

For some time now, a certain “guerrilla debate“ has been floating around the anarchist galaxy regarding the question of whether the old tried and tested anarchist answers can withstand the increasingly harsh conditions around us. On the one hand, we’re glad that comrades from different backgrounds are engaging in an open and honest debate about methods and perspectives which is not characterised by identity-based polemics or ideological orthodoxy—something that, admittedly, seldom happens. One aspect of the debate is the question of longer-term projectualities, approaches to struggles that develop an independent perspective rather than always being in reaction. Alongside this, the question of organisation is being discussed, and different contributions articulate a need to go beyond a loose form of organisation to develop an organisational praxis with more consistency, more depth, and thus also more possibilities.

The debate was triggered by the search for adequate answers and responses to the conditions we face, of militarisation and the move toward fascism. However, at the same time, elusive questions continue to haunt us regarding what characterises social conflict and intervention today, what support our struggles need and have, what insurgent perspectives could be, and what dangers accompany the

notion of the guerrilla, laden as it is with historical baggage.

The Guerrilla is Dead – Long Live the Guerrilla?!?

Admittedly, the text “Fragments from the Quarry of Revolutionary Memory“ [Fragmente aus dem Steinbruch revolutionärer Erinnerung] left us with more questions than answers, primarily concerning why and whether it makes sense to revive the notion of the “guerrilla“ while simultaneously subjecting it to harsh criticism. The main line of inquiry in “Fragments“ is whether the concept of the guerrilla is patriarchal or not. However, “Fragments“ oversimplifies matters when it claims that there are no reflections on militarism from the circles of the old urban guerrilla groups, while also postulating that the guerrilla becomes patriarchal where it talks about “urban guerrilla warfare“ and “social war.“ Whoever wants to talk about the guerrilla is logically also discussing guerrilla warfare and social war. And if, as “Fragments“ claims, there were hardly any guerrilla groups that critically reflected on their militarism, what then are the positive points of reference which entice “Fragments“ to ultimately refer to the concept of the guerrilla so favourably despite all this?

The central theme of the “Fragments” text is to *continue on page 2*

convince us that “the guerrilla” exists, somewhere out there—that we are the guerrilla, that a potential guerrilla lies dormant within us, that there is, so to speak, an invisible guerrilla that doesn’t call or identify itself as such. But which is nevertheless in the process of forming and organising itself. In a way, we find this rhetorical trick quite problematic, and not very helpful. “Fragments” subjects guerrilla history to a harsh critique, only to revive the guerrilla in a repackaged interpretation. It pretends a guerrilla exists and takes this as a starting point for discussing certain questions that such a guerrilla would have to ask itself.

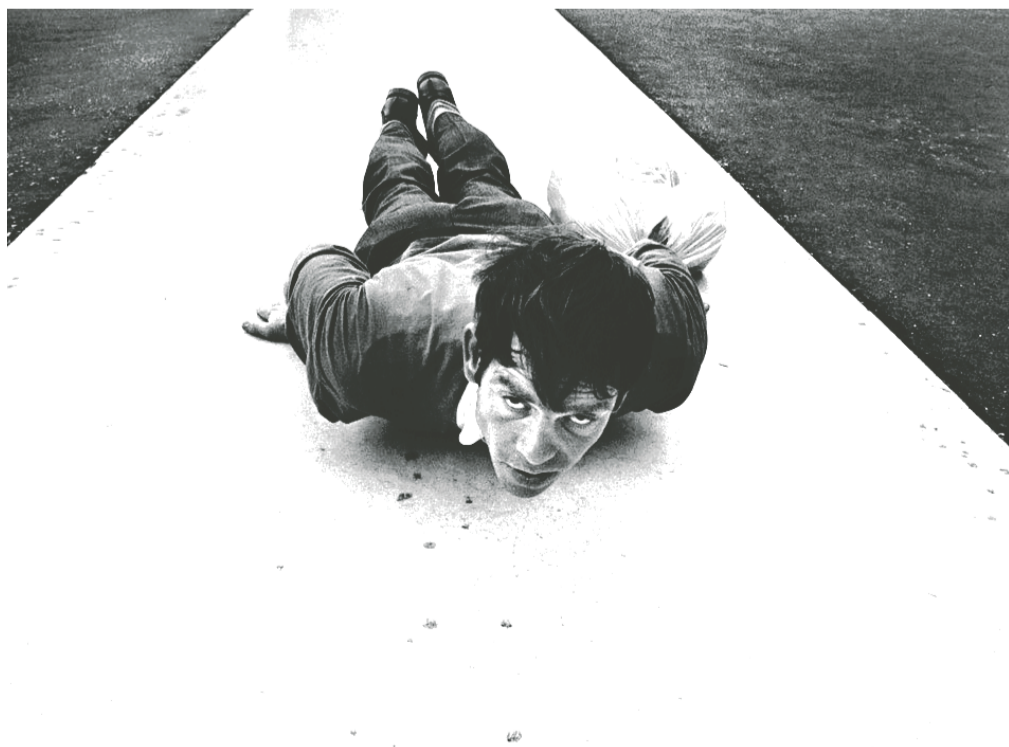
But, dear authors of “Fragments,” even if you want to convince us otherwise, there is no guerrilla. A guerrilla only exists when it’s aware of its own existence. What you are doing is a thought experiment. If everyone is a guerrilla, it follows that being a guerrilla means nothing, which in turn means that the guerrilla does not, in fact, exist. Additionally, it’s not clear what you actually mean by “being a guerrilla,” since you distance yourselves from (almost) all guerrilla experiences and groups, yet you don’t want to leave the term to the militarists and so end up using it to an extraordinary extent and giving it positive connotations... Which, in a sense, somewhat rids it of meaning and significance, because it’s never clear what “the guerrilla” is meant to convey. Some kind of qualitative leap, whose potential is slumbering within all of us... *“We have decided to re-evaluate the urban guerrilla project, reshaping and resizing it to the requirements of coming confrontations.”*

We find the questions raised by the text exciting and important—about the objectives of actions, security culture, secure communication channels, possibilities to organize freely in daily life, criticism of armament, and so on—but we are admittedly very sceptical about the idea of discussing all this in the context of the sudden existence of the “urban guerrilla”—one that doesn’t actually exist yet, but theoretically could, since we all have the poten-

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tial for it and are thus already the guerrilla, even if we don’t know it. We have the feeling that the authors of “Fragments” are overreacting a bit to the “guerrilla debate,” assuming that many people would support and identify with the non-existent “urban guerrilla project.” Our assessment is rather different.

Instead, we see in Germany an autonomous radical-leftist movement that is in complete disarray and is being overrun by world events. We see a youth stricken by pacifism and civil disobedience, cheering on reformism as if it was all that remains. We also observe a leftist movement that’s more divided than ever into neo-authoritarian groups and liberals: on one side, ideological zombies that have unfortunately awoken from their slumber; on the other, citizens servile to the state who are not a single step behind the Green Party when it comes to Covid, Ukraine, and Israel. And yes, certainly we also see an anarchist continuum, an internationalist anarchist movement, as well as





anarchist spaces, discussions, projects, and circles, just as we see a discourse on attack that manages to develop itself, sustain its own creativity and initiative, and thereby intervene in compelling ways.

Nevertheless, the context of the revolutionary movement as well as social reality today is very different from that of the '70s and '80s, in which guerrilla groups operated that could be positive points of reference for us (Revolutionary Cells, Rota Zora, the 2nd of June Movement, Azione Rivoluzionaria, the Angry Brigade, MIL, GARI, etc.). That's not intended to be a killer argument—after all, history doesn't repeat itself, and we are no preachers of waiting for better times. Still, we think that it is important to look at the history of the guerrilla concept—which was popularised in the '70s against the backdrop of a strong (political) revolutionary movement—a movement that barely exists today. If we seek to intervene in social conflicts which are simmering beneath the surface everywhere and keep exploding into open revolt, rather than in political movements, we must ask ourselves whether the guerrilla approach makes sense. That is why we consider it important to first talk about the relation of anarchists to the movement, then about the relation of anarchists to social conflicts, and finally, about the

possibilities and necessities related to acting in adverse circumstances. We do all this in order to explore what can further our capacity to act and what can limit it. Simply declaring ourselves (and above all “you,” whoever you may be) to be part of a guerrilla, however, strikes us as unhelpful.

Let's Talk About the Attack, Not About the Guerrilla

A key experience of Western European urban guerrillas in the twentieth century is alienation from one's own roots, a detachment from the movement, and one's separation from the real struggles. This dynamic is the product of a whole slew of tendencies that can always arise in different contexts: specialisation, sealing oneself off, and rigidity—and thus, ultimately, an internal militarisation. These dynamics are evidently stemming from a need to go further, to stay one step ahead, to respond to one's own security needs in order to stay below the radar while engaging in longer-term, time-intensive projects. In a report by a member of a West German guerrilla group, they recount how their activities as an urban guerrilla gradually began to feel like a regular job. It ceased to be the inspiring, passionate project that inflamed their heart, turning instead into an incredibly time-consuming, day-filling, and exhausting work charac-

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terised by following protocols and logistical and financial tasks. The youthful spontaneity and wild revolt ceded its place to the professional project of the urban guerrilla.

And I think that some comrades know this feeling and this tension: when our projects turn into a burden, as the prudence and diligence required for their organisation transform into duty. A duty we consider right and important, that we take upon ourselves, but which nevertheless weighs on us. And that is the absurdity that separates social revolt from the guerrilla: on one side, spontaneous, wild insurgency; on the other, the sphere of clandestinity, marked by silence and professionalism. What an anarchist movement must achieve within a social struggle is to combine these layers and not leave them to schizophrenia. But a movement is not an abstraction, not a metaphysical entity, but a communicating whole of individuals in the struggles and projects. And so it is up to everybody to ensure that mutual alienation does not occur. The thesis this text seeks to establish is that this alienation begins with self-identifying as “the guerrilla.”

Self-identifying as the guerrilla, in contrast to the “normal” movement, is something detached and separating, a burden of the twentieth century. Even though many of guerrilla groups of the twentieth century explicitly sought to avoid taking on a vanguardist character, identifying as the “guerrilla” always served to separate them from the movement—his separation starts with the name and the impetus that comes along with it. Well, one can undertake the thought experiment of a nameless guerrilla as proposed in the text “Waiting for the Anarchist Guerrilla”. But nevertheless the debate is abstract, and few can relate to it. Instead of a discussion of strategy between experts of attack, what is needed is a broader discussion about the possibility and the spread of attacks. *So let’s talk about the attack, not about the guerrilla.* Guerrilla methods are present in our struggles and experiences, in our attacks and sabotage, in our history and in our books. We don’t need a clique that claims it for themselves.

If there are comrades who want to go a step further, to hit where it hurts, then informality is the framework that makes this possible. No (fixed)

name, no formal structure. The actions can belong to anyone, if no one claims ownership. If comrades feel the need to organise themselves in a more long-term and committed way, if they develop projectualities over years, if they acquire joint logistics, preparations, and means that many others deem “too hot,” all this doesn’t mean the beginning of a formal guerrilla movement. The creation of permanent structures, which can have value in themselves and are not bound to a singular project, does not necessitate formality. A deeper organisation between affinity groups, the expansion of our networks of trust, and our preparation for militarised conditions are challenges that all comrades must face, not just a select circle of sworn guerrillas.

The guerrilla debate threatens to excise the devil with Beelzebub, letting the identity-based fallacies of the old autonomist debate on militancy back in through the window. What does it mean to self-identify as the guerrilla? Being the most radical fighter, the most determined activist? By identifying with a certain role, the guerrilla separates itself from social conflict and becomes nothing more than militant (or armed) activism.

“When the idea of attack is conceptualised and makes sense only within a fixed political role, it becomes a fetish and a spectacle of one’s own identity or movement, which it is used to promote. On the other hand, when revolutionary violence is not claimed, conceptualised, and promoted by a specific political group, but rather serves primarily to articulate the will to overcome these conditions, it has the potential to spread socially, since anyone and everyone can be inspired by it. Consequently, the anti-authoritarian motivation for violence no longer comes from the label of the particular political group, but from the context in which the will and creativity to attack is manifested. Freedom is created by libertarian means, not by the promotion of supposedly libertarian identities. This drive for freedom is the reference point from which we come together.”

- (Beyond Militancy:
Revolutionary Violence)

The guerrilla claims the realm of clandestinity for themselves—separate from the rest of the movement. The role of the guerrilla becomes a political concept, and the guerrilla



movement an ideology. But the realm of clandestinity is not just in relation to action. Clandestinity is also a dimension of the projects of comrades who devote themselves to other activities, like publishing and spreading texts and communiqués, carrying out propaganda activities, helping out with papers, money, places to sleep, etc. The exclusivity present in the guerrilla debate carries the risk of small circles becoming experts of clandestinity. Instead of a debate between specialists, we need a discussion on how to better shape and broaden the various levels of clandestinity in the face of war and militarisation. Even a great and professional clandestine infrastructure is lost if it's isolated. Especially when searching for longer-term perspectives, we need to understand ourselves as an active part of the movement. An isolated group, not being socially embedded or a part of discussions, cannot survive for long nor grow in numbers. While quantitative growth is not the goal, spreading our ideas goes hand in hand with engaging in discussion, getting to know new people, finding affinities, sharing experiences, and organising ourselves.

A Revolutionary Project of Attack

As the text “On Visibility and the Guerrilla Proposition” [Tinderbox] notes, being socially embedded poses a security risk. Being involved in open or public anarchist discussions on one hand, and on the other, in self-organising an offensive, clandestine project seems like a contradiction. A contradiction that countless groups that commit themselves to projects of attack have faced and continue to face. There is no general solution or answer to this problem, because it reflects the tension between social intervention and effective organisation, which is always present, at least subtly.

But instead of responding to

the security risk associated with social interventions by keeping ourselves away from any social sphere, we, like the comrades of Tinderbox, believe it makes more sense to intensify and disseminate knowledge about how to counter physical surveillance, as well as to discuss the idea of “the swamp”: that our social environments see the spread of tactics for making oneself difficult to monitor to such an extent that they become an impenetrable swamp - difficult to categorise, difficult to assess, difficult to eavesdrop on, difficult to understand from the outside... And therefore, to hold broad discussions about security culture, rather than having only a few people who do “serious” things devote themselves to it. This swamp can be our starting point and place of retreat.

However, the idea of the swamp requires a certain quantity - a certain number of comrades are needed to create confusion. The swamp is a luxury that not everyone has. However, in places where there are (very) few comrades, the need to clarify and articulate our ideas, critiques, and proposals through propaganda can be even more urgent. And here we find ourselves back in the visibility dilemma, for which there is no one-size-fits-all solution. On the one hand, there is the extreme of comrades who exclusively organise in a clandestine way, and would never dream of presenting their ideas about revolt and attack in a public discussion; on the other, there is the transparency of contexts in which it is obvious who is behind the things that happen...

The only way out of this dilemma is through projects and struggles that intervene in social conflicts. In which different initiatives, levels of risk tolerance, and security needs do not arrogantly separate themselves from one another or only understand each other at face value, but rather converse with each other. Only when broader



sections of a movement are prepared to take on clandestine tasks can a project of attack, including its clandestine dimension, be realised over the long-term. When we operate in the dark, it is not to isolate ourselves, but because this is our form of self-organisation. Our revolt is not separate from other forms of revolt; they come together in our relationships and discussions. Our attacks are not separate from our lives—not politics, but part of social conflict. For us, it is not only those who participate who count, but all those who are involved in discussions, whose hearts beat with the social struggle. We do not write strategy papers or program declarations—it is up to the chaotic dynamics of the struggle to bring the different means together. *Because the question remains how to combine them.*

In the past, various guerrilla groups have attempted to counteract this tendency toward disconnection from life, specialisation, and becoming hardened. The Revolutionary Cells always had the idea of being simultaneously active in legal groups, while the 2nd of June Movement went into factories to agitate workers. Both were attempts to stay in touch with the reality of the movement and social conflict—the former with a radical leftist slant, the latter with a Marxist slant from the Italian Autonomia. Both attempts

failed. We must continue a related, albeit very different, debate—not with the aim of finding the new revolutionary subject, but in order to build a bridge to social conflicts and develop a longer-term project based on our analysis of today's conditions of oppression.

Domination and Revolt Today

Where and how do we actually encounter social conflicts, what is domination today, how does it function, reproduce itself, and can it be attacked? Anarchist tactics are not panaceas that have existed for centuries—they arise from analysis, from a rebellious hypothesis, and make a wager. How this wager plays out and what its outcome will be is another chapter altogether, one that also needs to be discussed and evaluated. The crux of the matter, however, is that we can only build a long-term insurrectionary project on the basis of a solid analysis of society and power—otherwise, our ideas will change colour like the leaves on the trees, chasing after the cycle of activism and the big media stories.

It is obvious that militarisation and ecocide are the symptoms that catastrophically reveal the domination of the state, capital, and patriarchy today. But how are these manifested in

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everyday life? What are the local conflicts in which they crystallise? What do our analyses of racism, patriarchy, and colonialism mean for the composition and expression of contemporary social conflicts and revolts? What are our revolutionary responses to war mobilisations and genocides?

A key factor in analysing the current situation is fascism: fascism on the streets, in parliaments, and in people's minds. Far removed from the various definitions of fascism and the never-ending debate about what fascism actually is and where it begins and ends, we believe that it is fundamental to our understanding of fascism to discuss the relationship between the liberal centre and fascist tendencies, and who or what we therefore identify as the drivers of fascism. Only if we understand the fluid transition and intertwining of liberal-democratic capitalism and authoritarian-dictatorial fascism can we avoid becoming radical defenders of Western democracy.

If by fascism we mean the entrenchment of existing power relations—where the classical separation of powers as well as rights to expression and organisation are abolished—while state power is used arbitrarily and opponents of the government are censored, fired, “disappeared,” tortured, or executed, then it cannot be reduced to the rise of right-wing and extreme right-wing groups. Fascism, then, is another way of governing, which is not opposed to democracy, since capitalism repeatedly uses fascist forms of government to secure its rule. While many anti-fascists in Germany today project their fear of fascism solely onto the looming rise of the AfD or other Nazi groups and the possibility they seize power, we must instead recognise that the opposition between a liberal constitutional state and a fascist state of emergency is an illusion. Instead, liberal normality and fascist exception complement one another. Fascism does not threaten the bourgeois state, but rather supplements it: when the state shifts to governing in a state of emergency, to rule by decree, while mobilising society in such a way that—in the name of *raison d'état*, democracy, or the defence of the people—fundamental rights are suspended against ‘internal’ and ‘external’ enemies, the media are brought into line, and a consensus is manufactured, then we are talking about becoming fascist. The classical separation of powers no longer exists in fascist states of emergency—yet in liberal-democratic states of emergency, there is a return to it (at least in theory). The police, secret services, and judiciary merge, engage in politics, and develop their own agenda in order to take revenge on revolutionary aspirations.¹

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On the surface, the intensification and encouragement of violence against migrants, fear of the “dangerous class” of the poor and racialised, moral outrage over trans and homosexuality, and hatred of the “useless” (the unemployed and homeless) are a driving force behind fascism—but the reactionary roots of these lie in the liberal centre of Western, technocratic patriarchy. All these fascist tendencies are tools that the ruling elite use to promote social cannibalism and to strengthen and arm the state. At the same time, however, a militarising state that conditions its subjects to stand behind the war mobilisation efforts of its elite is also a driving force behind fascism. These war mobilisations are already in full swing globally, and the statist arms race will inevitably lead to an escalation of war. This escalation is by design, as it is meant to overcome the economic recession and, at the same time, will usher in fascist forms of government and states of emergency, which may even be deployed in the name of democracy. Fascist states of emergency and democratic rule are not contradictions, but complement each other perfectly. That is why it is essential to emphasise that the reason for the war in Ukraine and the intensifying tensions between NATO/G7 and BRICS countries lies in conflicting imperialisms—i.e., states fighting for power and influence—and not in a struggle between liberal democracy and fascist dictatorship.

No Models, No Certainties

A revolutionary response to the increasingly harsh dominant conditions must therefore always target the domi-

¹ See Operation Gladio, the strategy of tension, the Hoffmann military sports group, the Oktoberfest bombing... and what interest did the German secret service have in covering up and financing the National Socialist Underground?



nant consensus —the state itself— rather than defending it together with liberals against Nazis. Whether or not we describe the current entrenchment of existing power relations as fascist may depend on our context and its respective history; however, there is a great danger of being brought under the banner of anti-fascism to defend the good old democratic society.

Instead, we believe that we must intervene in the social conflicts that call these conditions into question. The social struggles against war and ecocide are the terrain on which colonial and militaristic rule by the state and patriarchy can be put into question and attacked. The enemy is industry and the military, the ruling elite (in the West and East), and their massacring states and polluting economies. The challenge lies in how struggles can not only develop social breadth and thus revolutionary potential, but also how they can develop

(and maintain) their impact in the face of harsh repression and violence.

After the cycle of revolts in 2019 and 2020, we experienced a global state of emergency with the lockdown. We now find ourselves in a new cycle of revolt. The revolts of the last cycle did not transcend themselves partly because they lacked a vision of how to destroy the economy and the state. They often won the street battles—but the locus of capital’s power and the state’s rule in technological data flows and military superiority did not translate into a comprehensive disruption of data and energy flows. When parliaments and police stations are burning, but the majority nonetheless continue to go about their work the next day in offices, factories, and home offices, the break with the structures of power must be deepened. What are insurrectionary actions, projects, and attempts today that create breaks in the fabric of power? We must take the first steps in this direction, realising and presenting our insurrectionary proposals. So instead of developing secret organisations that, completely detached from real developments, lead an isolated existence of their own, we need to build bridges into the struggles, engage in the conflicts, enter into dialogue, and make our proposals clear: Fighting without transitional solutions, without reforms, without compromise—so that states, along with their industries and military apparatus, are not improved or defended, but destroyed.

“Instead of a discussion of strategy between experts of attack, what is needed is a broader discussion about the possibility and the spread of attacks.”

However, there is no doubt that the ongoing militarisation and the accompanying entrenchment of power relations mean a reduction in our room to manoeuvre as well as comprehensive repression against any social uprising. Considering the extent of repression and police violence against the Palestine solidarity movement, as well as the various repressive measures against anarchist publications, we must prepare ourselves for a general intensification of repression at all levels—that is,

against comrades as well as in the streets. And this repression will intensify many times over; we must prepare ourselves for this as well as for more restricted possibilities for intervene in social conflicts. During the curfews imposed under the Covid state of emergency, we saw that we must be able to rely on existing constellations of affinity—as well as our own preparations, analyses, and knowledge—in order to remain capable of action in moments of comprehensive repression. Therefore, testing out possibilities for social intervention in the here and now should not prevent us from making preparations for the future: those preparations for the next state of emergency are already in full swing. And it is precisely during these fascist-like exceptions that the regime reveals its true face, that nerves are on edge and we must all abandon our models and urgently avoid predictability and linearity... In these existential moments and crises, the lines of conflict emerge clearly, the important questions are obvious, and it becomes apparent that “the tygers of wrath are wiser than the horses of instruction.”

Two Further Contributions to the „Guerilla Debate“

Since 2020, several text in conversation with each other ¹ have reignited a debate centred around the notion of the guerrilla. In the past month, two further contributions have appeared with „A Perspective of Attack in a Collapsing World“ in the periodical Antisistema #5 (Autumn 2025) and „On Guerilla Reductionism“ in Kalinov Most #12 (October 2025).

¹
„On Visibility and the Guerrilla Proposition,“
Tinderbox #5

„Waiting for the Anarchist Guerilla,“ published
online at Indymedia, etc.

„On the Anarchist Capacity to Act,“ Antisistema #3

„Fragments from the Quarry of Revolutionary Memory,“ published online at Tumulte, Emrawi, etc.

And perhaps less directly:
„The Secret is to Keep Beginning,“ Tinderbox #4

„To Spread Attack,“ Tinderbox #8

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AI AND IDIOCRACY



The Technological Culture and the Abolition of Creativity and Thinking

Technology pervades this society and every social activity. No aspect of social life can be imagined without it anymore. Technology pervades our lives – and this pervasiveness means an advance of the colonisation of our thoughts and lives, an advance of our bondage. A screen has stepped between us and the world. The screen is supposed to connect us and keep us connected with everything – at the same time it is separating us from the world.

Technology is mediating everything and thus distancing us from everything – we are being alienated from ourselves, from each other, and from the world, and almost all the aspects of life are being managed on the screen. Every activity and relationship that we regulate via screens is alienated, estranged, indirect – because it is mediated, we remain separated from each other and technology mediates and comes between us. In the past few years, the extent to which social activities have shifted to the digital sphere has massively intensified: today, it is no longer a given to put emphasis on meeting in person instead of seeing each other via a screen. Talking to each other instead of chatting. Reading a newspaper instead of scrolling through a news app. Making firm plans instead of a loose arrangement while assuming that you are always free to adjust the details at the last minute. Writing a letter instead of sending a voice message. Writing or translating a text

instead of having it written or translated by AI. It makes a difference whether you give someone a few flyers or speak to them about an upcoming event, or whether you send an invitation to your acquaintance's smartphone.

Technology separates us from one another; it steals something from us – direct, unmediated encounters, sensory impressions, experiences and feelings.

Technology is becoming increasingly ingrained in our lives. The way we communicate and shape our relationships has changed over the last decade. But only when we notice this change can we reflect on it. Mostly, however, it goes unnoticed – or rather, it is not perceived as something negative, as technology is seen as something positive or natural. Technology has become invisible and taken for

“Without imagination, there is no creativity, no explosive thinking, no courage to question everything.”

“The culture of this society is a technological culture and it is formed around the screen.”

granted. It is embedded in all our relationships and is no longer noticed as a means of communication and alienation. In a society in which all areas and activities, from work to leisure, from war to politics, from sexuality to thinking, integrate technology and are technologically mediated, technology is no longer perceived as such. *The screen is everywhere and nowhere.* The screen is not anti-social, because everything social is conveyed, communicated, managed, organised and consumed via the screen. This society is a screen society and we are part of it.

The primary characteristic of the screen is disembodiment. We delegate to the device. The device is what comes into contact with the world, not us. We do not perceive the world; instead, the screen shows us a false reality. Everything seems to be available on the screen. The screen pretends that connecting with *each other*, organising ourselves, and communicating with *each other* is easy. But in fact, we are alone with the screen – we revolve around ourselves and not around *each other*. In total isolation, the world seems to lie at our feet (at our fingers) in total self-absorption. The screen objectifies everything and everyone. Reality is robbed of its contrasts; there are only objects. We no longer interact with each other, but retreat into a bubble. Between our bubble and the world

lies the screen. Digital communication means communication without bodies and gaze. The other is no longer a complex, multi-layered, changing other, a contrast, a body – but a surface, an object, an availability.

Digital reality is a world of self-centredness and bubbles. The social dynamics of technology are anti-social; they isolate, distance and disembody us. We chat in our own bubbles, we shut ourselves away in our bubbles. Face-to-face communication is permeated, overlaid, overshadowed, and taken over by screen-to-screen communication. We perceive the world through technology, and so we lose touch with the world. When we look for a way, we don't look in the world, we look on the screen. When we want to research, check and question something, we don't go out into the world to do our research, but consult the technological oracle. When we are lonely, we hope that the almighty screen will free us from our loneliness. When we are looking for a solution, we ask the omniscient AI.

The culture of this society is a technological culture and it is formed around the screen. The screen does not receive or shape culture, it defines it; the screen and technology as such become central to society. When customs, forms of communication, and rituals



across national borders take technology as the starting point for encounter and understanding, then one can speak of a global technological culture. Culture, in the sense of ‘the totality of a community’s intellectual, artistic, and creative achievements,’ in this society is technology. The culture of this society revolves around technology and is oriented towards it. Everything human in this civilisation is shaped, created, and mediated by technology. In a technological society, technology is also a creator of culture. Culture is no longer exclusively a human creation. Technology paints, writes poetry, argues, thinks, solves problems, and creates everything we ask of it. The all-too-human trait of being creative is also no longer purely human territory. Instead, in technological society, humans develop culture-creating technologies, which in turn shape and reshape the culture of the technological society.

Today, humans no longer know what has been conjured up by technology and what has been created by humans – humans and technology have become one. Ultimately, it is irrelevant whether humans or technology create culture if the difference is meaningless to humans anyway. It is also irrelevant that technology cannot really think if humans think it can. What lies behind this is the overcoming and abolition of creativity and thinking as human activities. If, in this culture, there is no longer any difference between something being created, conceived, written, or argued by humans or technology, then the way is paved for delegating all creation and thinking to technology and leaving it to that. Technology is perfect, whereas humans are always fallible in comparison. But if creativity and thinking are indeed purely human abilities, since technology cannot feel, think, sense, or live, then the totality of technological culture actually means the abolition of creativity and thinking. Of course, humans can still think and create creatively, but culturally, human thinking and creation are degraded in technological culture, as technological culture considers human creation to be imperfect per se. Thus, technological creation counts as the measure of all things and the norm, and therefore more than human creation. What is already the case with craftsmanship will also be the case with thinking: handcrafted products are a relic of the past, antiquated, something that only enthusiasts and the wealthy can afford. Perhaps they have more character because they are individual, but socially they have been completely supplanted by industry, i.e. technology. In the future, we will consume almost exclusively articles, texts, research, scripts, and images created by technology. And since it will no longer be possible to distinguish and determine what was created and conceived by technology and what was created and conceived by humans, technology will become the norm, the hegemony, the ideal.

This social change, which goes hand in hand with the development of AI, means that in this society, technology reigns supreme over humans – it is held in higher regard because it is considered more intelligent. We cannot yet comprehend what this change actually means. In the past, technology only appeared perfect in certain areas of everyday life. These applications were often still obviously mathematical in nature, i.e. it was recognisable in a certain way that technologies are always numerical, that all technologies are calculating machines (e.g. applications for orientation, searching, storing). The fact that AI is now flowing into all areas of thought and creation and will gradually take over and replace them means that humans will no longer think and create themselves, but will operate technological thinking and creative machines. However, if we were to say that technology thinks and creates instead of humans, that would not be true. Technology cannot create or think, it can only calculate. It can calculate perfectly. Technology deceives us into believing that it can think and create by “learning” from all human creations and copying and reproducing them perfectly. Technological thinking and creation is a deception that is perfect. However, what is unique to human thinking and creation is that it can be questioned and discussed. On the one hand, it is deeply connected to one’s own feelings and experiences, to social conditioning, one’s own ideas and inspirations, one’s environment and the moment at hand, and on another level, it is closely linked to the philosophical concepts of logic, truth, and beauty. But technology is not only incapable of feeling and experiencing, it has no socialisation, no ideas and no life, and therefore it cannot understand, question, or discuss anything. A banality that describes the ultimately deeply counter-revolutionary nature of technology is that it only reproduces and therefore cannot create or conceive of anything new – if we understand new as something that is actually new, i.e. beyond the common narrative, against the tide, *outside the box*. AI always follows the same hegemonic ways of thinking. The absurd thing about this, however, is that humans, who believe AI is capable of thinking and creating, are now confronted with millions upon millions of technological thought-products and creations, all of which reproduce the ways of thinking that underlie this technological culture. Ultimately, this means that AI is a *self-fulfilling prophecy* – if everyone thinks like it, then of course it can think – because only if you think, question, discuss, feel, and live individually can you think that the thinking and creation of AI is a reproduction of common products.

AI is therefore a giant step within technological culture and society towards technological totalitarianism: there is only one way of thinking, which may have millions of variations, but it is technological. AI ultimately reveals its deeply authoritarian nature in this respect: since technological culture is a deeply rational one, for the irrational as well as feelings, inspirations, ideas, and ways of life that are individual and clash with the hegemonic narratives of technological society, it will deprive them of their *raison d'être*. In a technological society that only recognises technological culture, only this culture is valid. Technology will never question technology. Discussing the ethics of AI with a technocrat is absurd, because he will continue to develop technology anyway. According to his role, he cannot question technology, just as it is impossible to question technology within the prevailing thought patterns of technological society. Technological society will always produce and develop technologies, whatever the cost, because they always mean a gain in power. The price to be paid for this gain in power is ignored or numbed with medical and entertainment technology – and so the fate of technological society will inevitably lead to disaster.

What the technological oracles do not know and acknowledge, because it is irrational, illogical, and untrue, does not exist and must not exist. However, technology itself cannot understand anything; it cannot determine anything to be logical or true, because it cannot feel or comprehend anything itself. However, if the whole of society grants technology the ability to be logical and true, then *only* technology is logical and true, because it also determines what is logical and true, what is wrong and right. This is technological totalitarianism. And this totalitarianism will

shape everything: because within technological society, free will is an illusion. Technology perfects the techniques of propaganda and ensures that the majority of people use the same apps, talk about the same things, and behave accordingly. Within a few months, billions of people are using ChatGPT and applying its answers to all areas of life. Is this a product of free will or the inherent logic of technology? Anyone who has a smartphone also wants AI, because it increases their supposed freedom and power. And that's why everyone has smartphones and uses and consults AI, and everyone does and thinks the same things – that's the absolute non-freedom called freedom in this technological society.

Ultimately, all of this is subject to a philosophical question: what is it that distinguishes humans from technology? The standardisation of thought and creativity brought about by AI is a giant step towards a totality of technological culture. In technological totalitarianism, the difference between humans and technology is eliminated. Technology becomes the ideal in all areas. First, human and technological thinking and creativity become one. Then human bodies and technology become one. Everything is technological, therefore everything is human, everything is one. If humans perceive themselves as technological – which would be logical, since their world, their creativity and their thinking are technological – the next step is to merge physically with technology. Synthetic biology, which is based on artificial intelligence, is making huge strides and will soon be widely applied. This will then mean technological intervention



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in human biology, in DNA, reproduction, and the body. Historically speaking, we are only a millisecond away from human bodies being technologically “enhanced” on a massive scale, turning them into cyborgs whose bodies and nerves are interwoven with sensors. Technology is already “giving birth” to synthetic meat, synthetic viruses, synthetic organs, and soon, synthetic animals and humans.

All this is not just about profit, surplus, or money. Shaping society according to the standards of technology stems from the ideology that technological society itself produces: a militaristic-patriarchal ideology that seeks to colonise, dominate, manipulate, and control everything and everyone through the most potent and destructive technological means possible. Only through technological superiority was the West able to colonise the entire earth and all peoples. Technological militarism gives the state the ability to go beyond all boundaries, to achieve everything, to make everything possible. The role of the citizens of these states is ultimately to merge with technology and become one with it. The idiotic debates about what ethical behaviour by AI might look like and how to prevent a possible dictatorship by evil AI reveal the real problem: an all-powerful AI can only be militaristic, as this is its very nature. The fear of an all-powerful AI that wants to conquer and subjugate the world like a super soldier is not absurd, but logical – after all, militarism is the source code of the AI that created it. AI drones have been bombing people independently for years, and everyone is aware that war is the mother of AI. And yet many long for the dictatorship of a good and ethical AI, considering humans to be, at their core, fallible, stupid, and selfish. AI, on the other hand, is perfect, something we strive for every day. There is a little technocrat in all of us who adores

the superiority of technology because it works so well and makes everything easier. This thinking paves the way for technological totalitarianism: a world in which humans, due to their fallibility, are nothing more than bored, mentally absent and consuming *couch potatoes* whose lives are controlled by technology. Albania already has its first AI minister – a “minister” against corruption. The choice of a computing machine over a human being suggests that no human being could refuse a bribe, as humans are all fallible – which is why we need perfect and ethical AI. Nowadays, ridiculous clowns still cavort at the helm of nations, but their power is based solely on technology, and the real work of ruling and controlling is done by AI – determining the discourse on social media, creating news feeds, selecting targets in war, buying and selling stocks and ETFs, profiling dangerous individuals, overseeing industrial production, creating source code for programs, analysing police statistics, answering and solving our questions and problems.

What Google is to our ability to research, ChatGPT is to our ability to think. While politicians smile for the cameras, AI writes their speeches. We search for our symptoms on the internet and AI calculates how to manipulate our children’s DNA so they don’t get sick. Everyone talks about loneliness and isolation, but the care and household robots are already here. Anarchists talk about self-organisation and revolt, and our neighbours confide their problems to an AI psychologist...

Technology and society have become one. Technological totalitarianism is already a reality. It knows no outside. Technological culture pervades everything, even its opponents. In technological totalitarianism, even the antithesis becomes a reproduction of the reproduction of the reproduction, which reproduces all the same technological ways of thinking. Civilisation replaces humanity with technology; it degrades humans in order to replace them with technology. Humans become technological beings; everything becomes technological. The future of technological society is the all-encompassing symbiosis of technology and humans, which is already taking place at the level of thought. Now we are discussing the differences between human and technological creation, soon we will be discussing the difference between humans and robots. Which rights does a robot have? Which feelings does a robot have? And what is the difference between a cyborg and a human being? If some people have the privilege of being technologically enhanced, shouldn’t everyone have the right to the same technological opportunities?

AI already has the right answers. A rational, logical truth that grants humans and robots alike their feelings and right to exist.

What remains is absolute negation. Within technological totalitarianism, there is no discussion, no questioning of technology, of technological truth and logic. You cannot discuss with AIs and robots. In our thinking, in our doing, we must break with the technological culture of domination. We must understand, question, reject, and attack technological culture. Our analyses and proposals for how this society is developing are lagging behind the times. We talk about surveillance and data theft while AIs write anarchist texts. If we want to overcome our bondage, we must destroy technological culture. The screen as a symbol of this technological society, as a symbol of the technology that separates us from each other, that robs us and permeates everything. AI as a symbol of war. Technological culture cripples our thinking and feeling, disembodies our senses and relationships, exploits us and keeps us small. If we want to destroy technological culture, we must question our belief in technology, in its power, perfection and militaristic-patriarchal obsession with optimisation, and how these invade our thinking and actions.

digital bubbles. Within technological culture, everything that is sacred and wonderful is degraded: the earth, our bodies, life, interpersonal relationships. Technological culture turns us into people without a world, who have no community, no roots, no meaning, and no imagination. Technological culture turns us into incapable servants by trying to destroy our trust in our own hands, our own thinking, feeling and seeing – in our senses and experiences – so that we do everything as it dictates. Technological culture robs and destroys what is most human about human beings: our imagination. Without imagination, we can only think with a herd mentality, only along the lines of the prevailing discourse – in other words, not at all. Without imagination, there is no creativity, no explosive thinking, no courage to question everything. Those who destroy imagination ensure that everything always stays the same.

Let us reclaim our imagination, create a rebellious culture that stands in opposition to the technological culture of this militaristic and authoritarian society, think and act as human beings who have a connection to the world and who act and live in the world – and destroy the screens.

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We want to act and live directly, to feel our bodies and the ground beneath our feet. We want to overcome the separation between ourselves and the world, smash the symbolic screen and leave behind our belief in technological magic machines – in order to live our own flawed, unmediated lives. We attack the the industrial system, its structures of destruction and exploitation, because we want to live. Technological culture is destroying the world and separating us from it by trapping us in dull

THE BEAUTY OF THE IDEA

The fact that only a fraction of the “people” around us sympathize with anarchist ideas is exasperating. The endless challenge of communicating our deepest dreams and utopias seems futile, given the epic scale of emotional brutalization that our world leaves in its wake. All our rhetorical efforts are not enough to spread our ambivalent and dubious messages throughout society and incite it to the ultimate confrontation with the structures of powers. Some may have concluded that only the continuous and general watering down of our ideas will allow for a soft and, if possible, cozy reception. Only in this deceptive and mendacious theater play is it supposedly possible to reach the stray hearts, souls, and brains. I can neither “believe” in such an approach nor subscribe to it. The inherent negation of the world and society is the starting point for many anarchist comrades who run the risk of consciously or unconsciously mutilating their ideas the moment we feel we are not making progress. When all our efforts seem to be in vain. We sweat like tightrope walkers with stage fright at the thought of stepping onto our familiar dance rope. That’s why we constantly find logical excuses not to expose ourselves, to reduce the risk of falling down or embarrassing ourselves. But we are jugglers, fire-eaters, ventriloquists, and soap box orators. All of these traits are combined in one individual, and in the long run, it becomes difficult to constantly restrain ourselves. Nevertheless, we curb our words and actions, we

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mutilate and filter our potential in favor of a possible greater understanding in society. We use strategic filter systems, so to speak, to make ourselves look better, but to whom? Nevertheless, we must be aware that basic filter systems usually help peaceful coexistence and socio-economic security. Even when we feel resentment and frustration, how often do we catch ourselves taking a deep breath instead of shouting our opinion clearly and concisely, or even acting on it? To put it bluntly, doesn’t constant restraint, permanent individual restraint, help to preserve the social peace that we reject? “If everyone were to live out all their emotional states unfiltered, murder and manslaughter would most likely reign supreme,” ergo anarchy. Such or similar predictions usually apply to the fearful and joyless, who have their own distorted view of the absence of rule. At least those who consider themselves anarchists should know better and constantly refine their language and dreams. They should know the subtle difference between the development of an independent, self-confident personality with all its inconsistencies and imperfections and any horror scenarios that are used to dismiss the anarchist vision of freedom as a narrow-minded crazy idea.

There have been many situations in my life where I have sworn direct retaliation or eternal revenge on my tormentors, either deliberately or in the heat of the moment, but in the end I have rarely managed to carry it out. If I had actually acted, not much more would have happened in retrospect. I would still have had the usual problems or felt the pent-up frustration of not having acted (who hasn’t been there?), so the “senseless” outburst of violence would probably have been more *worthwhile* than not. By this I mean that my innermost self actually craved an option to act, to take the “justice” into my own hands or at least to defend myself, even though I often found myself in a disadvantaged situation. However, I have to admit to myself that my mind too often suppressed and restrained my innermost desires. Damn mind! It is the starting point for endless deliberations and the search for the perfect strategy, where all fears are appeased and I feel *safe* after all possible scenarios have been played out. I *also* call this politics,



when no *down-to-earth* decision can be made because of all the deliberations. My life, my self, sometimes seem completely messed up, infiltrated, and compromised by politics. Suppressing my own feelings has a repressive effect on my anarchistic tension and frustrates me, both temporarily and permanently. Ultimately, it feeds on fears (of loss) that arise when I dwell too long on what might happen at some point in the future. Once I have developed an understanding and an idea of free living and free decision-making, these certainly contrast with the prevailing conditions of coercion. But we are all, some more, some less, integrated into political systems against our will. In principle, “the rule of politics” is equivalent to the “annulment of the self” in favor of a supposed pacification of a collectivity.

Now, direct confrontation with the pigs in uniform or a bloodthirsty act of revenge is not the only moment for expressing the all-encompassing potential of unleashing one’s innermost desires and creativity. The creativity and general beauty of a broad idea, which anarchy certainly is, must be conditional on the general recognition that all guardians of order are enemies of freedom and that “all” who share this recognition should, as a consequence, fight not only the symptoms of capitalism, but every kind of prevailing order and its defenders, and in particular the

abstract guardians of order that are anchored in our minds. From an anarchist perspective, it is only *honest* to create an image of and against authority, that is and remains changeable, vulnerable, and open to attack; a perspective of hostility. Our enthusiasm for anarchy is based on images that are closely interwoven with our ideals and imagination of how this or that should or could be. When we remember intense moments, it is first and foremost images that our brain produces, followed by corresponding empathetic reactions. From abstraction, through imagination, to realization. These are patterns we learn from an early age, but as we grow up, their complexity increases. A newborn literally absorbs the impressions of this world, makes them its own, and learns from action and reaction. When the newborn looks at its mother and the mother reacts in whatever way, the newborn has, in a sense, learned to communicate with its environment. Our behavior determines the reaction. If, as anarchists, we regard rebellion as an indispensable tool against exploitation, we can weigh up the reaction of those in power, yet despite all the setbacks, we still tend towards rebellion. Strictly speaking, it is illogical, contrary to what we have learned. Therefore, many of our statements and conclusions are illogical, almost irrational, for the majority of society. The complexity of our vision is definitely entangled and therefore cannot simply be presented

on a silver platter, precisely because it is contrary to the prevailing logic and value system. But isn't it perhaps this unfathomable amalgamation of ideas, suggestions, dreams, cause and effect that gives our idea a lively, wild beauty? A confined, aseptic, "simple" anarchism is doomed to extinction.

Anarchists are ambitious idealists. *We dream of unbridled freedom as we dance on the ruins of this world...* someone surely wrote something like that once. Since I am in love with this idea, these few words produce a flash of inspiration in me that makes me sigh longingly for "more" and "now." Basically, I desire something I have never experienced and probably never will, and yet I burn for it. I feel it. I feel the goosebumps, the heartbeat, the hairs on the back of my neck standing up as I rave about the beauty and significance and potential impact of our ideas. I am torn between reflective consciousness, nascent arrogance, and youthful exuberance. Despite the ever-present rational fear that constantly tries to control me, the will to implement my thoughts prevails, thoughts that would be futile if they were to gather dust in my head. The theoretical debate, the action, the conspiracy with other companions, is also part of the incomprehensible beauty that enriches my life. How can we let a *blind* person dream of what the world looks like? For example, by vividly describing the abundance of different colors in this world. However, no matter how hard we try to describe the beauty of the world using all the adjectives we know, it makes a qualitative difference whether we just talk about it bluntly, like in a documentary we watch to lull ourselves to sleep. Or whether we gesticulate wildly during our narrative, with a trembling voice and wide eyes, but with a captivating gaze, raving about our plan to turn the world completely upside down. The *blind* person will not be able to see us directly, but they can certainly feel our inner excitement. The possible mental horizon is not limited to mere words; it also pays attention to how people behave, their "aura," their character, with all its rough edges. I am often fascinated by how some anarchists can produce extremely astute analyses, but lack the touch of pathos that would make the whole thing more "human" and also more authentic and perhaps even more accessible. The bland aftertaste of dry, fact-based analyses certainly does not make us anarchists more accessible, in my opinion, let alone more interesting to the exploited and renegades of this society. If there's one thing we're relatively good at, it's formulating analyses, but life is full of drama; it is and remains an unwritten epic, an unpredictable adventure. Sometimes we feel this emptiness in our own appearance, and as an antidote, we often tend to force ourselves to appear ultra-human, with supposed openness to everything, absolute tolerance, and compulsive niceness, once again in the

hope of appearing more *accessible*. This creates a messed-up, faceless being that is not viable outside its own sterile test tube. Beauty lies in our individual uniqueness, but to make this concept more palatable to the general public, the dry phrases we have picked up in some clever books describing a more or less watered-down idea are truly not enough. These phrases create a distorted, meaningless image of some random form of anarchism that is neither "really" dangerous nor interesting to anyone. Strictly speaking, we have nothing to offer that distinguishes us from other political actors, except for the anti-political understanding of beauty and joy in our daring ideas and the impulse to live out our euphoria and desire according to this view. Immoral, undogmatic, untouchable by the ruling class.

***“Anarchism in
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world.”***

Anarchism has a number of principles, and the individual ethics that result from them are the general guide by which many anarchists base their words and actions. Anyone can claim to be an anarchist, and I don't care in the slightest to deny it to someone. However, there are many anarchists with whom I share nothing or very little; the differences simply outweigh the similarities, but I don't really care about that. The burning curiosity I feel toward some other anarchists or strangers, on the other hand, makes my heart race. I can literally feel the potential that could arise from the union of our tensions... my considerations for action, my alliances, are primarily emotional and intuitive, followed by reason. At some point, after repeated sniffing, verbal sparring, and practice, I would argue that something like the legendary affinity emerges. But that is not the point of this text. For my anarchist life, I need a general inner tension, and I actively try to maintain it because it gives my existence a permanent quality. An intuitive approach based on a similar tension among my comrades is a basic prerequisite for the birth of any future union. This selection process



may lead to temporary or permanent solitude, but as the saying goes: “Better alone than in bad company.”

Only a very few of our anarchist generation, or the one before it, have witnessed a generalized, mass uprising, let alone a revolution. We can only rave about what happened at some point in history and, if at all, could “somehow” happen again. I am interested in this “somehow,” because the quality of all our lives depends on it. Anarchist theory is not a flash in the pan and has a melancholic history, yet all our knowledge cannot give us an answer as to how we can “somehow” shake up the power structures of today. “Somehow” there was revolutionary potential in the past that emanated from anarchists, but what is the difference between today and then? It cannot all be attributed to socio-economic and technological reasons and reduced to that. Despite the atrocities of this world, which we are all accustomed to witnessing, I am still fascinated and at the same time confused by the beauty of the anarchist idea, by its numerous facets, because its beauty is certainly not comparable to the “objective” beauty of a statue by Michelangelo, or to the understanding of a general zeitgeist that fluctuates in space and time. “Objectification” art, or in other words, the visual arts, certainly cannot be ignored in the development and establishment of power. There are too many works of art and images that represent the spawn of power or carry within them the desire for absolute

beauty. The expression of authoritarian “beauty” is intended to beguile and overwhelm viewers (architecture, sculpture, precious objects). Therefore, I do not want my conception of “beauty” to be completely defined by the filter of domination; rather, I try to develop my own understanding. This is a difficult undertaking, especially in view of the perpetual oppression and exploitation of humans by humans and of nature, which spring from an authoritarian imagination, a totalitarian nightmare. I disagree with this.

The state of (self-)“hatred” is the end product, the sum total of all negative influences on the self that tries to keep its head above water in this society. It often seems more tempting, rebellious, and instinctively easier to give in to “hatred” than to pay attention to “goodness.” But I would argue that our beauty should transcend “hatred” and “goodness,” because this polarization cannot be the final answer, let alone the solution to all the injustices of this absurd world. When asked why I want conflict with the authorities and constantly seek it out, I cannot answer with a black-and-white scheme. It would not do justice to my range of actions and emotions, even though both extreme emotional states (love|hate) are stringently linked to my actions. Nevertheless, these are no longer my main motivation. Now I long to explore beauty from a first-person perspective that transcends reductive dualism. This insight leads to a kind of

self-regulation of my extreme emotional states, which is a key moment in being able to consciously (or more consciously) live them out, dose them, regulate them, bring them to sudden eruption, or even invert them. Self-regulation comes from pedagogy, but it is certainly also valuable for “adult” people in order to find a way of dealing with the impressions that the world creates in us, so that we can ultimately remain capable of acting in the long term. It would be a misunderstanding to equate self-regulation with control. Control is based on rules, an almanac of behavior patterns and norms, as opposed to regulation, which allows situations to arise naturally and then accepts, tolerates, or addresses them depending on one’s state of mind.

It would probably be arrogant and presumptuous, albeit accurate, to claim that most people spend their lives chasing *some* ideal of beauty based on the worldview they were born into. In this text, therefore, I am not talking about a universal and arbitrary beauty, but rather *an* “anarchist beauty.” Even if *we* are not always and rigorously immune to the images and ideas of the prevailing value system, *our* conclusions sound different from those of the deadly capitalist leitmotif: produce, consume, die. Skepticism, doubt, disillusionment, and negation are the origins of our existence, and perhaps therein lies the power of our beauty to draw many more people into the maelstrom of our cynical “delusion” of a different life. Arguing dryly and objectively, has only been partially effective thus far. Only missionaries seek to persuade others with theories; anarchists seek to explore the possibility of a different world through their actions. Anarchism in practice, the individualistic kind, reflects our own unique beauty, in contrast to the uniformed world. So far, we have only managed, if at all, to encourage each other among anarchists to glimpse our beauty, hence this passionate call for the approval of individual beauty and its capillary diffusion. The arduous journey toward beauty is only one of the many moments of unfolding anarchist individuality. The comrades we encounter after our departure, who will accompany us for a time, are bound to the eternal torch relay that unites the madmen in their plans to “somehow” set the world in fire against domination.

THE..



Heraklion (GR), 14.1.25: A bus belonging to GEK Terna, the company responsible for environmental destruction and deforestation, is set alight.

Hambach opencast mine, 15.1: “Several pumping stations at the Hambach opencast mine, which drain the Sünder and the Hambach Forest and deplete the groundwater, have been sabotaged. (...) No compromises with the powers that be! Industrial expansion ... Not one step further!!!”

Fosses (FR), 22.1: Sabotage of an NGE railway construction site. “Fires were set in the cab of a mobile crane and a forklift truck that happened to be nearby.”

Athens (GR), 25.1: Attack with hammers on TV station Action 24: “No peace with the bosses and snitches!”

Munich, 25.1: Entire fleet of the police dog unit set alight – 23 police cars gone.

Düsseldorf, 26.1: “We used tried-and-tested methods to put Düsseldorf’s most important freight rail line out of action. For at least 24 hours, it could only be used with severe restrictions.”

Toulouse (FR), 31.1: Window smashed at a pharmacy housing a new telemedicine booth. “Fuck telemedicine! (...) Digitalisation is burrowing into our flesh, right where we are most vulnerable. Who wants this world, where you can only speak after you’ve clicked, where the spectacle of high tech masks the ugliest of precarious situations. The inability to take care of oneself.”

Berlin, 12.1: “Early this morning, we disrupted the railway line used every day by thousands of Tesla workers travelling from the capital to Grünheide, as well as by freight trains carrying oil and gas from east to west, and set fire to a radio mast situated right next to the

railway’s cable shaft. This act of sabotage is directed against Deutsche Bahn and Tesla, the two main parties responsible for the clearance and deforestation of the forest, as well as against the infrastructure that forms the lifeline of digital domination and control.”

Bure (FR), 14.2: A bullet is sent to ANDRA director Patrice Torres, who is planning the Cigeo nuclear waste repository in Bure.

Athens (GR), 19.2: A fire involving a van belonging to the telecommunications company Cosmote: “Technology plays a key role in shaping modern dystopia.”

Berlin, 24.2: “Due to the expansion of the Tesla Gigafactory, a further 50 hectares of forest in Grünheide near Berlin are to be cleared. This forest is to make way for a Deutsche Bahn freight depot to transport millions of Teslas. Who is building the Tesla-DB freight depot? Among others, Strabag. That is why we attacked Strabag during the night of 24 February 2025 to 25 February 2025. Two of their construction cranes in Berlin-Marzahn are now out of action. We were able to open their control cabinets and set them alight. At the same time, we placed two further incendiary devices in the cable ducts of a freight railway line. The aim was to cause signal disruptions and delays in freight traffic, particularly to the nearby cement works of CEMEX and Heidelberg Materials.”

Athens (GR), 26.2: The “Direct Action Cells” place an incendiary device outside the private home of a senior politician.

Leipzig, 1.3: “During the night of 1 March, we set fire to construction equipment belonging to the right-wing firm Hentschke Bau GmbH as a way of standing up to Saxon-style fascism.

...DOG...



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Düsseldorf, 26.1: "We used tried-and-tested methods to put Düsseldorf's most important freight rail line out of action. For at least 24 hours, it could only be used with severe restrictions."

Toulouse (FR), 31.1: Window smashed at a pharmacy housing a new telemedicine booth. "Fuck telemedicine! (...) Digitalisation is burrowing into our flesh, right where we are most vulnerable. Who wants this world, where you can only speak after you've clicked, where the spectacle of high tech masks the ugliest of precarious situations. The inability to take care of oneself."

Berlin, 12.1: "Early this morning, we disrupted the railway line used every day by thousands of Tesla workers travelling from the capital to Grünheide, as well as by freight trains carrying oil and gas from east to west, and set fire to a radio mast situated right next to the railway's cable shaft. This act of sabotage is directed against Deutsche Bahn and Tesla, the two main parties responsible for the clearance and deforestation of the forest, as well as against the infrastructure that forms the lifeline of digital domination and control."

Bure (FR), 14.2: A bullet is sent to ANDRA director Patrice Torres, who is planning the Cigeo nuclear waste repository in Bure.

Athens (GR), 19.2: A fire involving a van belonging to the telecommunications company Cosmote: "Technology plays a key role in shaping modern dystopia."

Berlin, 24.2: "Due to the expansion of the Tesla Gigafactory, a further 50 hectares of forest in Grünheide near Berlin are to be cleared. This forest is to make way for a Deutsche Bahn freight depot to transport millions of Teslas. Who is building the Tesla-DB freight depot? Among others, Strabag. That is why we attacked Strabag during the night of 24 February 2025 to 25 February 2025. Two of their construction cranes in Berlin-Marzahn are now out of action. We were able to open their control cabinets and set them alight. At the same time, we placed two further incendiary devices in the cable

...GOES...

ducts of a freight railway line. The aim was to cause signal disruptions and delays in freight traffic, particularly to the nearby cement works of CEMEX and Heidelberg Materials.”

Athens (GR), 26.2: The “Direct Action Cells” place an incendiary device outside the private home of a senior politician.

Leipzig, 1.3: “During the night of 1 March, we set fire to construction equipment belonging to the right-wing firm Hentschke Bau GmbH as a way of standing up to Saxon-style fascism. We have not forgotten that Hentschke donated a large sum to the AfD, thereby making it socially acceptable.”

Toulouse (FR), 3.3: “We are currently witnessing an acceleration of the fascist, patriarchal, ecocidal and colonialist project. Whilst the elites are multiplying their Nazi salutes, we decided to welcome a Tesla dealership in our own way during the night of 2 to 3 March 2025 in Plaisance-du-Touch.” During the incident, 12 Teslas were set alight.

Athens (GR), 4.3: Attack on the Hungarian ambassador’s car in solidarity with Maja.

Berlin, 7.3: “In the early hours of 7 March, seven Bundeswehr vehicles were set alight in the car park of a MAN workshop – because we only like military equipment when it’s on fire.”

Dresden, 9.3: On both 8 and 9 March, a Tesla went up in flames in Dresden’s Neustadt district.

Bremen, 10.3: “Switchoff security state! Four civilian police vehicles set alight at the Doventorwache!”

Athens, 12.3: Arson attack on an insurance office in memory of Kyriakos Ximitris.

Berlin, 14.3: Four Teslas set alight in two different neighbourhoods.

Berlin, 17.3: Attack with hammers on the defence contractor Ferchau. “FERCHAU is an IT engineering services company offering technical solutions to the German Armed Forces and other military defence industries in Europe”

Athens (GR), 28.3: Six vehicles set alight at a construction site for a state-owned water utility.

Ottersberg, 29.3: Seven Teslas set alight at a car dealership.

Saint-Chamond (FR), 30.3: Several Tesla Superchargers set alight. A graffiti message reads: “Anti-Tesla campaign, born to burn”

Athens (GR), 29.3: In solidarity with Marianna and Dimitra, a diplomatic vehicle, an ATM, luxury flats, a right-wing party office and two supermarkets are attacked.

Rome (IT), 31.3: Arson attack on a Tesla dealership – 17 Teslas destroyed.

Basel (CH), 9.4: “During the night of 9 April, we set fire to signal and supply cables belonging to the railway at various locations near Basel using several incendiary devices. Situated on two national borders, with shipping links to the North Sea, a well-developed rail and road network and an airport, Basel is a central logistical hub for the flow of goods that keeps the capitalist status quo running.”

Munich, 9.4: Following an arson attack on railway cables, a number of ICE trains are cancelled.

Thessaloniki (GR), 15.4: In memory of Kyriakos Ximitris, a riot police officer’s private home is set on fire.

Athens (GR), 13.4: Explosive attack on the offices of the Greek National Railways, which is responsible for the Tempi massacre of 2023.

Leipzig, 15.4: Windows smashed at a gentrification project and butyric acid sprayed.

Athens (GR), 18.4: In memory of Kyriakos Ximitris, the private homes of a media executive, two judges and a politician are set on fire.

Albig, 20.4: A high-voltage pylon in Rheinhessen is sawed through by unknown persons and collapses into a vineyard near Albig.

Langenfeld, Erkrath, Hilden, 31.5: The Angry Birds group has struck again, setting fire to three radio masts. “We say: Leave people as they have always been, but free them from the machinery over which they have long since lost control!”

Leipzig, 26.4: In Leipzig-Gohlis, unknown perpetrators attempted to set fire to two Tesla cars. According to the police, at around 10.45 pm on Saturday, the perpetrators threw a spray can containing pyrotechnics at a shelter under which the cars were parked. This resulted in an explosion.

Leipzig, 29.4: Attack on a police station in Connewitz – revenge for the police murder of Lorenz!

Berlin, 29.4: “We can no longer afford these rich people. Paralyse the posh neighbourhoods. Let a thousand volcanoes rain down rubble and ash!” The “Vulkangruppe Friede den Hütten...” has “set fire to a transformer station

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supplying power to the neighbourhood on Clayallee – Pücklerstraße. And we have set alight a mobile phone mast belonging to various mobile phone providers (including Vodafone) and the police radio network on Clayallee.”

Holzgerlingen, 29.4: Twelve Teslas set alight at a Tesla delivery centre.

Saint-Chamond (FR), 7.5: A substation receives a night-time visitor. The facility, which uses its cables and a large transformer to convert high-voltage to low-voltage electricity, was partially set alight at around 3 am, plunging part of the town and its businesses into darkness. A massive attack targeting defence contractors, as explained in a claim of responsibility published three days later. KNDS “was formed from the merger of two major arms manufacturers. It sells its products to more than 50 armies worldwide. Its favourite weapon is the CAESAR self-propelled artillery gun. Its favourite vehicle is the Leopard 2 main battle tank. (..) “Tonight we wanted to attack one of these traders’ hideouts – quite modestly, without regard for the commercial and industrial disruption in the surrounding area. Paradoxically, we wanted to shed light on the situation by cutting the power to part of the town.”

Luzenac (FR) 12.5: Sabotage at the world’s largest talk stone quarry – several conveyor belts and electrical systems destroyed by fire.

Bordeaux (FR), 12.5: “Workers at the AFSB construction site (LGV) set fire to electrical connections with a cigarette! They had been warned that it was unwise to smoke near such a highly flammable area as the Bordeaux-Toulouse high-speed rail construction site. But they wouldn’t listen.”

Athens (GR), 14.5: Arson attack on the private home of a right-wing party leader and a senior police officer.

Munich, 22.5: Six police vans belonging to the mounted police unit in Trudering set alight.

Southern France, 24.5: During the night to 24.5 2025, a substation and a high-voltage pylon were targeted in Tanneron and Villeneuve-Loubet, just a few hours before the closing of the Cannes Film Festival. The first caught fire at around 2.45 am, plunging the eastern Var region and the western Alpes-Maritimes region into darkness. The second one collapsed in the morning after its legs had been sawn off, leaving the city of Cannes and the surrounding area without power for a second time, this time in broad daylight. “There are two anarchist groups here. We take responsibility for the attack on electrical installations on the French Riviera.” On the eve of the Cannes Film Festival’s awards ceremony and gala evening, we sabotaged the main substation supplying the greater Cannes area and cut the 225-kV power line from Nice. “The aim of this action was not only to disrupt the festival, but also to cut off the power supply to the research centres and factories of Thales Alenia Space, its dozens of subcontractors, the French tech start-ups that believe themselves to be safe, the airport, and all other industrial, military and technological facilities in the region.”

Volos (GR), 28.5: Attack on Alpha Bank using gas canisters.

Soltau, 6.6: “We are right in the thick of it; we are part of the heart of the beast. And we must all decide anew, time and again, what role we wish to



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play in this bloody cycle. We have decided to contribute to the collapse. In the coming years, the Bundeswehr will intervene in our lives in an all-pervasive manner and once again become a relevant player in the authoritarian, patriarchal structuring of society. Let's attack them on all fronts! During the night of 5-6.6, we set fire to five heavy Bundeswehr vehicles on the premises of a garage on Carl-Benz-Straße in Soltau."

Athens (GR), 5.6: Arson attack on the Ministry of Transport.

Leipzig, 6.6: Savings bank attacked in solidarity with Maja.

Oosterblokker (NL), 10 June: In the early hours of the morning, the Animal Liberation Front carried out an attack on the Plukon slaughterhouse in Oosterblokker, Netherlands. Nine chicken transport vehicles and a delivery van were completely destroyed by fire.

Teulat, Algans (FR), 9.6: "Will work on the A69 motorway resume? The fire is already burning! On Monday 9.6, a fire broke out along the route of the A69 at the construction site for the motorway linking Castres and Toulouse. Two fires affected structures with timber formwork."

Leipzig, 11.6: "In the early hours of 11.6, we attacked the Sparkasse branch at Connewitzer Kreuz with a hammer and paint. 'FREE MAJA' is now spray-painted there."

Berlin, 11 June: "Last night, on the grounds of the Wuhlheide Innovation Park, we set fire to fuse boxes, supply cables and a ventilation system belonging to the company Micro Resist Technology." "Whilst in Germany there is once again unrestrained mobilisation for military strength and combat readiness through initiatives such as 'Zeitenwende', special funds and conscription, our sabotage targets the very heart of the technological mega-machine and, by striking at microchip production, also hits one of the most vulnerable points of civil-military cooperation."

Athens (GR), 13.6: Several Airbnb flats and estate agents' offices attacked.

Wuppertal, 13.6: War profiteer European Logistic Partners (ELP) attacked with stones and paint.

Berlin, 13.6: Car belonging to Stölting set alight; the company makes its money from catering, managing and running prisons.

Hamburg, 14.6: "Switch off the system of destruction! No new billion-euro project for the rich in Hamburg: two of Karl Gernandt's cars set alight! (...) No opera house at Baakenhöft! Down with the world of the rich! Hamburg (impe-

rialist, misogynistic, racist, neo-colonial) must die so that we may live!"

Hamburg, 15.6: "'We power your mission' is the advertising slogan of the arms manufacturer Vincorion. Our response: switch off the arms industry! Yesterday, we rendered a private car belonging to Vincorion's managing director, Kajetan von Menzingen, of 16 Newmans Park in Hamburg-Nienstedten, unfit for service by setting it alight."

Leipzig, 15.6: "Free Maja! We have attacked branches of Sparkasse and Deutsche Volksbank in the west of Leipzig."

Leipzig, 16.6: "We have attacked the jobcentre in Möckern, in the north of Leipzig, thereby joining the campaign in support of Maja's hunger strike."

Leipzig, 16.6: Two of the city's electric cars set alight in solidarity with Maja.

Berlin, 17.6: 36 vans belonging to Amazon and Telekom set alight. "Last night, fires broke out in several vans belonging to Amazon and Telekom in the south (Britz) and east (Lichtenberg) of Berlin. Fences and cameras couldn't stop the anti-militarists from attacking these two military collaborators. Both companies profit immensely from global militarisation and the spread of war. That is why it is right to sabotage them."

Colombelles (FR), 23.6: Fibre-optic cabinets set alight on a technology campus: "This weekend, which has been dominated by the spread of conflict in the Middle East and the Paris Air Show, we have decided to disrupt operations at the Effiscience technology innovation centre in Colombelles. This 'campus' is home to numerous companies from the military-industrial complex: Safran Data Systems, Sotraban, NXP Semiconductors, Telit Wireless Solutions, Nucleopolis, CLARA, Probent Technology, Atos & Bull Technologies, Eff'Innov Technologies... During the night of 22 to 23 June, we set fire to two fibre-optic cabinets located on the site on Rue du Bocage."

Aubres (FR), 21.6: Two antennas set alight.

Schwelm, 22.6: Windows smashed at Deutsche Bank in solidarity with Maja.

Bouchemaine (FR), 23.6: Smashed windows at construction firm Vinci: "Last week, the French state once again deployed a disproportionate police presence to carry out raids against undocumented migrants. Following the raids, these individuals are taken to administrative detention centres (CRA). Without these detention centres, it would be more difficult to implement their shameful policies towards refu-

...PAN* ..



gees. A subsidiary of Vinci Construction will be involved in the construction of the CRA in Dijon.”

Labège (FR), 26.6: “In Labège, south of Toulouse, a mobile phone mast was set on fire. A modest contribution to the global resistance against the war-mongering of states and industry, both here and elsewhere.”

Zurich (CH), 26.6: Bomb scare at the Cyber Defence Campus! “In light of the NATO summit currently taking place in The Hague, we deposited a parcel containing explosives at the Cyber Defence Campus on Zollstrasse in Zurich this morning. We recommend an evacuation. The Campus is a military interface between Switzerland and NATO and an example of the joint efforts of the state, industry and universities in support of the war economy.”

Athens (GR), 27.6: Molotov cocktail attack on the home and the police officers guarding the president of the Supreme Court.

Zurich (CH), 29.6: Windows smashed at a Tesla branch.

Bretonnières (CH), 3.7: Attack on a quarry belonging to the concrete firm Holcim – conveyor belts cut and machinery set alight.

Leipzig, 8.7: Attack on the district court using tar and butyric acid in solidarity with Maja.

Athens (GR), 11.7: AEG car set alight in solidarity with Maja.

Toulouse (FR), 14.7: Vehicles and an antenna set alight on Vinci premises. “Nothing new in the West or the East; multinational corporations are sharing

the profits of war.”

Leipzig, 21.7: “Early on Monday morning, 21.7, we attacked a branch of Sachsenforst in Leipzig’s Connewitz district. The state-owned enterprise Sachsenforst played a key role in the clearance of the Heibo forest (near Dresden). In doing so, we are expanding the scope of our militant campaign in support of Maja to include climate killers.”

Athens (GR), 25.7: Private motorbike by a cop set alight.

Düsseldorf, 31.7: Two arson attacks on the railway line between Düsseldorf and Duisburg. “The time for working towards reconciliation between the sides is over. What hope can there be for agreement between the energy of the oppressed and the anger of the oppressor?”

Delémont (CH), 1.8: Several cars belonging to BKW, a company involved in a local geothermal/fracking project, were set alight.

Hohenmölsen, 2.8: Arson attack on signal cables of a freight line used for coal transport.

Leipzig, 5.8: Four car-sharing vehicles, hired by the public order office, were set alight.

Potsdam, 7.8: Following a fire in a cable duct next to the tracks, the Vodafone network in Potsdam has gone down. No TV, no phone, no internet. 6,422 of the company’s cable customers can no longer access the internet at home, and are unable to make phone calls or watch television.

Athens (GR), 13.8: Various hotels, shops (Re/max) and supermarkets (Carrefour) linked to Israeli interests

were targeted in solidarity with the Palestinian struggle for liberation.

Berlin, 8.8: Four Vonovia vans set alight in Spandau.

London (UK), 18.8: In the City of London, activists from the group 'Shut The System' cut cables and sealed shut control cabinets at JP Morgan Chase and Allianz using superglue. They called on companies such as JP Morgan to stop financing the climate crisis and the genocide in Gaza. Activists also targeted Barclaycard's headquarters in Northampton and cut down the 5G mast supplying the building.

Kassel, 19.8: Four Bundeswehr vehicles set alight. "That's why: Do what really matters!

Never ready for war – not today, not in 2029, never again!"

Berlin, 25.8: Break-in at the office of a company owned by the owner of Rigaer 94.

Kalundborg (DK), 1.9: "A month ago, the machines began attacking the forests. The largest of these machines was attacked and eventually destroyed after being filled with concrete and doused with bleach. It stood for two weeks beneath a circle of old oak trees, blocking a road and thus preventing those trees from being felled. A smaller machine, which was felling smaller trees, was also targeted. Their air filters were removed and their exhaust pipes filled with concrete."

Roussas (FR), 4.9: Three wind turbines at the wind farm in Roussas, in the south of the Drôme, were deliberately set on fire during the night of Wednesday to Thursday. No one has claimed responsibility for the attack, but this is not the first time a wind farm in this department has been targeted.

Leipzig, 6.9: Attack on the Technical Town Hall in solidarity with Maja.

Berlin, 7.9: Attack on the restaurant owned by the proprietor of Rigaer 94.

Ulm, 8.9: On Monday, a handful of activists broke into the Elbit premises in Ulm using paint bombs and smoke bombs, smashing doors and windows and destroying property. The occupiers displayed Palestinian flags and wore sashes bearing the words "Palestine Action"

Lattes, 9.9: Major disruption in the Montpellier area following arson attacks on SNCF power cables.

Zurich, 9.9: "On the night of 8 September 2025, we set fire to the UBS building on Badenerstrasse in Zurich. Our flames are a salute to the millions of people who take to the streets day after day all over the world for the liberation of Palestine."

Berlin, 9.9: "Attack on the military-in-

dustrial complex – blackout in Europe's largest technology park. No, today is no ordinary day. Hundreds of CEOs from various companies and research institutes in the fields of IT, robotics, bio- and nanotechnology, space travel, AI, and the security and defence industries have received the bitter news that their technology park in Adlershof has ceased to function. At least for a short while, but that is enough to severely disrupt their sensitive supercomputers and operational processes. Two 110 kV pylons in Königshöhe, Johannisthal, had their power cut off by arson, causing a blackout in the technology park. (...) Every conceivable business model from the aforementioned sectors of the high-tech industry, based at the Adlershof Technology Park, serves, in one way or another, to stabilise the system and is, amongst other things, a product of military interests. Their machinations are the guarantee of the continued existence of the capitalist death machine. They are all the real target of our action."

Toulouse, 10.9: On a day of nationwide protests and demonstrations under the slogan 'Block everything!', sabotage is carried out on the signal cables along the railway line.

Lehrte, 12.9: Arson at a signal box causes numerous delays to local and long-distance services.

Thessaloniki (GR), 15.9: An explosive attack on the home of the president of the prison guards' association by the armed organisation "Black Blood"

Basel (CH), 16.9: "On Friday, we smashed the windows of the branch office of the software division of the SWISS Group. In doing so, we are sending an internationalist message against the genocide in Palestine and its Western profiteers. The role of this major corporation is indicative of Swiss complicity: providing technology for the armaments and logistics of imperialism and its wars."

Meudon-la-Forêt (FR), 22.9: "As the genocide in Gaza enters its final phase, the collaborating arms dealers are more present than ever. Thales, which has been equipping Israeli combat drones with control systems for years and supplies armies worldwide with drones, missiles, armoured vehicles and electronic systems, is currently funding the construction of a huge campus in Meudon-la-Forêt. (...) Last week, we used the cover of night to break into the power transformer supplying electricity to the Hélios 2 construction site in Meudon and set fire to the high-voltage cables inside."

Vienna, 23.9: "Because we consider arms dealing and the war industry to be immoral, we felt it was our duty to oppose the drone symposium. On the night before the drone symposium, we smashed windows at the event venue

and sprayed unbearably foul-smelling butyric acid throughout the rooms. We also daubed the outdoor area with the slogans 'Drones kill!' and 'Murderers', thus confronting the participants with the bitter reality. Drones are not toys, drones are lethal weapons of war!"

Calvados (FR) 9.10: "On the night of 8–9 October, we set fire to the control box of a railway signal between Mézidon-Canon and Caen stations, on the Paris–Caen line. The aim of our action was to disrupt rail traffic between Paris and Caen in order to prevent the smooth running of the National Conference on Artificial Intelligence, which took place on Thursday 9 October at the University of Caen. We wanted to cause train delays and cancellations to hinder participants' travel to this day of pro-technology propaganda and to disrupt the daily routine of the ruling order."

Leipzig, 15.10: In response to the eviction of squatted houses, a police station is attacked.

Athens (GR), 16.10: Arson attack on a cop's private home in memory of Kyriakos Ximitris.

Frankfurt am Main, 17.10: Sehring construction site huts set alight! "Anarchism on the offensive! That's what we thought, and during an evening stroll after a bit of sightseeing, we took the initiative: first, we fiddled open the

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In one Till Eulenspiegel story, Till, an apprentice brewer, mistakenly throws the dog, Hopf, into a boiling pan instead of hops. The story is based on Till's misunderstanding of the instructions and is intended to explain the modern meaning of the phrase, which is amazement or outrage at an unexpected, surprising, or unforeseen situation.

really flimsy gate to the Sehring quarry site and, without further ado, turned the site hut standing there into a huge beacon of light – much prettier, I'd say... or would we? So that the gravel on the ground and the forest may remain!"

Leipzig, 17.10: Whilst the cops were clearing a squatted house, a estate agency was attacked at the same time.

Leipzig, 23.10: Several banks and insurance companies smashed up following evictions.

Berlin, 24.10: Two civil defence vehicles set alight outside a police station. "Fire and flames to the cops!"



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