

remedy this and to explore some new paths in the forest of action. To combine the creativity that inhabits free spirits with a medium-term vision.

Individual will is the cornerstone of the anarchist vision of freedom, the basis of any organizational proposal, of any project, of any coordination. But if individual will reveals the incredible strength of a handful of determined individuals, even in the face of the dizzying technical and numerical superiority of the state enemy, they are unfortunately not enough. Isn't it time to take note of the immensity of the things that would have to be done to continue to fight for freedom and anarchy, and of the necessity of *taking things seriously without our steps losing their lightness?*

To each their own, of course, but why not open a door that has remained closed for too long, locked for too long? To cross the threshold of this door means to reflect and

to project oneself over longer periods of time than overnight, to find oneself around a projectuality that seeks to understand the ongoing restructurings of power and to sketch out a trajectory to explore, a challenge to take up, an attempt to build. Why is it so difficult to *dare to choose* the grounds on which to project oneself?

Day after day, the relative calm that has made Western European states and a good part of their citizens happy is crumbling. Under our feet, the ground is slipping away and our ears discern unknown, anguishing, terrible crashes ever more clearly. These are no longer mere warning signs: *the change of an era is here*. The present urgency is not circumstantial, it is becoming a *historical* question. ■

STORM WARNINGS

*Anarchist bulletin
for the social war*

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51 – March 15 2022



| Logics of war |

Campism. During the First World War, if Kropotkin's terrible position in favor of the victory of a part of the belligerent states and even in the name of the hope of emancipation itself became famous, it is no doubt because it embodied the ever possible bankruptcy of internationalism and antimilitarism despite the responses received from other anarchists. A campist position that was not even original, since the main socialist parties and workers' unions of the time had already yielded to the sirens of national union by aligning themselves behind their own warmongering state. If it would be absurd to forget that some anarchists sometimes faltered when up against a wall, including in other types of situations such as civil wars (let's remember the dilemma "*war or revolution?*" decided in favor of the former by the leadership of the Spanish CNT), it would be a bit hasty to remember only that.

In the course of the wars that have punctuated the last century, and in which companions have been involved, it was also *against them* that a good number of subversive interventions could be put into practice, according to where they were located. This included the formation of *autonomous* combat groups (generally decentralized and coordinated), to build networks to help deserters on both

sides, to sabotage the military-industrial apparatus behind the fronts, to undermine the mobilization of loyalty and national unity, to exacerbate discontent and defeatism by attempting to transform these wars for the fatherland into insurrections for freedom. We may be told that conditions have changed since those experiments, but certainly not to the extent that we cannot draw on this arsenal if we wish to intervene in hostilities, i.e., starting first with our own ideas and projectualities, rather than *the lesser evil* of supporting the side and interests of one state against another. For if we are against the peace of the markets, against the peace of authority, against the peace of numbness and servitude, we are obviously also against war. Because peace and war are in reality two terms that cover the same continuity of capitalist exploitation and state domination.

Energy. Among the different sets of bombastic sanctions taken by the Western states to hit their Russian counterpart at its head as well as at its base, everyone will have been able to notice the little well-understood games of deception. Among the major exceptions to these sanctions (now in their fourth round) are Russian exports of energy raw materials (oil and gas) and mining. And this is fortunate, since Russia produces 40% of the world's palladium and 25% of its ti-



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10/2, Dresden (Germany). A vehicle of the construction company *Hentschke Bau*, which is involved in the construction of prisons such as the one currently under construction in Zwickau-Marienthal, is set on fire at the level of the rear tire under the tank.

12/2, Flachères (France) In Isère, the 3 and 4G relay antenna of *Free and SFR* had been burned down for the first time on January 26th, before being repaired a few days later. But it doesn't matter, because on the night of February 12th, unknown people set it on fire again by setting fire to the box housing the connections and power supply.

12/2, Charleroi (Belgium). During the night, a fire that was "*probably arson*" targeted the building housing the company *Partena*, one of the largest human resources consulting firms in the country. The fire is said to have been set in the archives stored in the underground level of the building.

14-21/2, Saint-Lô (France). In the Manche, a new 4x3m billboard is destroyed in the city: it collapsed to the ground after its legs were sawed off. "*The wind blew, and it will continue as long as Saint-Lô subsidizes overconsumption, the destruction of ecosystems, the extraction of raw materials, etc.*" says the communique. A second one will suffer exactly the same fate a week later.

tanium, while being the world's second largest producer of aluminum and gas, and third largest producer of nickel and oil. All materials whose prices are soaring since the beginning of the invasion of the Ukrainian territory by providing more money to Russia... which is also largely provided by the powerful of the same countries that constantly make humanitarian statements about the current situation. For example, since the beginning of this war, the European Union has been paying Russia more than 400 million dollars *a day* for its gas and nearly 280 million for its oil, collected directly through the two banks spared from the financial sanctions (and for good reason!), namely *Sberbank* and *Gazprombank*. And we'll skip the gigantic amounts for everything else, which is essential to the Western automobile industry (palladium), to its aeronautics and defense (titanium) or to electric batteries (nickel).

When we say that *the war starts here*, it often sounds like a simple rehashing of an old ideological slogan from the last century, but if someone were to ask today *who* is actually financing the Russian attack, they could turn to exactly the same people who are financing the other side, namely the Ukrainian defense: the techno-industrial system of the Western states, which is not going to stop working at full speed for so little, since war, massacres and planetary devastation are already intrinsically part of its operations.

And to add insult to injury, there are various interests that the two warring states are careful not to tear apart in this murderous war, so as not to harm their common Western financiers: the two immense *Brotherhood* and *Soyuz* gas pipelines coming from Russia, *which cross the whole of the Ukrainian territory*, before being redirected to Germany and Italy. In the same way that neither of the two wishes to touch other targets that are as sensitive for their national economy as they are vital for the European defense aeronautics industry (notably Airbus and Safran), such as the *VSMPO-Avisma* group's titanium factory located in the city of Nikopol, which is still under Ukrainian control, and which is nevertheless the direct property of the main exporter of Russia's military-industrial complex, *Rosoboronexport*. What might seem like a paradox is in reality only the bitter illustration of one of the characteristics of inter-state wars: although they are shamelessly triggered by nationalistic, religious or ethnic hatred, it is rarely the powerful who pay the price - being obviously capable of coming to an agreement if necessary -, but the populations who suffer all the deadly consequences. A bit like the fact that France continued to supply Russia between 2014 and 2020 with thermal cameras to equip its armored vehicles currently used in the war in Ukraine, or navigation systems and infrared detectors for its fighter planes and helicopters, while now supplying Ukraine with anti-aircraft and anti-tank missiles. When it comes to energy as well as military equipment, the financiers and profiteers of war are also located here, and it is also here that they can be fought.

of non-military personnel) and to participate as anarchists. Stories of self-organization among people, forced to supplement the failing services of a state at war to ensure their survival, and sometimes animated by a strong disgust with the game of pawns they are being played in, motivate some to take an active part in the resistance against the Russian invasion, a kind of third force, even if it means rubbing shoulders with state forces and organizing with them; others see it as the very indigestible result of years of revived nationalism and patriotism. And in Russia itself, where the meager anti-war protests are still spreading throughout the cities and regions, anarchists are also trying to act against the Russian state, to stay upright and alive in a very uncertain and highly militarized situation.

If the moment is perhaps not for a critical reflection on these different experiences that are still in the process of development, but rather for a knowledge of these stories, of the hopes and illusions, of the analyses and the mistakes that anarchists from there try to share today beyond the borders, there is a fundamental and painful question that is posed to us here: given the rush of the world between technological offensives, climatic changes and wars, the time of unburdening *opinions* while staying well in the warmth should come to an end. Yes, there are no more excuses. This was already true yesterday, there were already no more, but maybe it was still easy to shy away from this fact and to continue as if nothing had happened. It would be a good moment to say goodbye to a certain lethargy that does not fail to reveal the terrible weakness of the anarchist tension.

It seems hard to deny that in the face of the military violence that a state can unleash from one day to the next, we are barely a small, anecdotal note of dissonance, and yet. In the escalation of the events in progress that precipitate this world into ever

greater imbalances (from wars to climate change, from the energy transition to the rampant artificialization of life), it remains likely that the anarchist tension will end up being swept away by these currents that are so powerful and so turbulent. Escape routes are vanishing into thin air: there will be fewer and fewer opportunities to 'going off-grid' that do not amount to complicity with the state. One could say that *winter is coming for everyone*. Certainly, not in the same way for everyone (we can, and as enemies of all power, we must underline the continuity of the logics between the different forms of domination, but fighting under the repressive tolerance of a western democracy is not identical to fighting under the martial law of a state at war), nor at the same time, but *winter is coming*. The question for all of us, for each and every one of us individually, but also for that set of shared tensions that used to be called a movement (even if nothing like it exists anymore, at least not in the parts of Western Europe from where we write), is whether we are going to be satisfied with remaining anecdotal and wasting our breath unburdening opinions while the world moves inexorably towards the brink. To do a little, to do what we can, rather than to reflect together on how *we can transform this doing into acting*, into thoughtful, mature, constant action, directed towards precise goals.

To let oneself be carried by the currents of a river with crystal-clear water can be very pleasant, but the muddy waters that are surging today do not necessarily lead to freedom. Yes, it is necessary to ask ourselves how we want to act and what means we are really willing to give ourselves to do so. Too many things have been postponed, too many acquisitions of knowledge and means have been left to chance, too much time, energy and interesting proposals have been wasted because, among other things, of a flagrant lack of somewhat sustained informal organizational attempts. It is time to

| Untimely notes on the change of an era |

At the time of writing, the war in Ukraine continues to rage. Like other wars launched in recent decades by the world's major powers, it was announced as a blitzkrieg that would be conducted with surgical precision. A few days after the first air strikes targeting the primary military infrastructure of the Ukrainian state, this "*special operation*" joined the long line of massacres that were all draped in names as misleading as they were absurd. The phrase hammered out by a state that did not have even a fraction of the propaganda resources available to those of today and chanted by millions of soldiers marching to the front, "*Ein frischer, frohlicher Krieg*" (a "fresh, joyful" war), ended up buried under the mud of the trenches and the mountains of machine-gunned and gassed corpses. The famous "*humanitarian operations*" carried out by NATO or its members over the past decades have invariably ended with bombs dropping on the populations in order to make the regimes in place buckle. And a few days after the first air strikes against the military infrastructure of the Ukrainian state, the "*special military operation*" of the Russian state began to follow the pattern of "ordinary" military operations, with missiles hitting cities, fighter planes dropping bombs, artillery barrages spreading death.

For its part, the Ukrainian state, whose technical means are not at all adequate to sustain a symmetrical conflict in the face of this war machine, is pushing towards *total war*. In an attempt to fill the huge gaps in its defensive forces, it has ended up taking in military instructors from NATO, arming and integrating far-right battalions into its armed forces, creating territorial defense units recruiting volunteer citizens, preventing "combat-ca-

pable" men from fleeing the country, calling on other states to provide military aid and pushing for intervention that can only lead to a widening of the conflict rather than its end. Faced with the technical and military superiority of the Russian forces, the strategy pursued by the Ukrainian state consists of forcing the adversary to fight in conditions that undermine this superiority, especially in urban areas. The spiral of *total war* is then inevitably set in motion: rather than advancing their troops on terrain that would involve heavy losses, the Russian general staff willingly opts for the razing of cities and terror against a civilian population considered (by both states) as a tactical variable. Every war ends either with the total and absolute defeat of the adversary (which is rather rare in military history), or with an agreement that bleakly reflects the establishment of a new political equilibrium. Such an equilibrium, like all political equilibriums, rests on huge piles of corpses, the only dismal currency recognized by all states of the past and future invariably and in any context.

Caught up in a war that has been imposed on them, anarchists and anti-authoritarians of the region are currently making a substantial effort to communicate and explain the choices they are making, the initiatives they are undertaking, the doubts that are running through them and the perplexity they are facing, and to which there is no easy answer. Some have managed to flee the country, categorically refusing to fight in a war between two states. Others set up networks to leave, but also self-organized networks to support the "civil resistance" (largely supervised by the Ukrainian state through territorial defense units composed

One of the advantages of the creation of small autonomous groups deciding on their own targets and timeframes - for those *here* who would look at the war in a different way or who *elsewhere* would not have the opportunity to flee or would voluntarily decide to stay - could reside, for instance, in the sabotage of capitalist and strategic interests common to the leaders of the two states and their allies, which can no longer be of use to either of them, whoever wins. This is certainly *another* possibility, but one that will not simply fall from the sky given the difficulties involved, requiring, perhaps, to have already previously developed and prepared these methods, notably with the help of organizational tools facilitating the sharing of initiatives, knowledge and appropriate means. This old question of the interests at stake already animated the networks of French resistance fighters under German occupation, whose command as well as the Anglo-American services insisted of course on the fact that their industrial sabotage of such sites and sensitive structures remained above all reversible by being limited to slowing down enemy production, or only destroying targets that are not critical for the future revival of the country.

Subjects. In this dirty war, given the lack of intense engagement in urban areas at the moment, the Russian army has been proceeding for several weeks to encircle and intensely bomb several cities, according to a tactic already tested in Aleppo. In Marioupol, for example, where 300,000 people are surviving under siege in terrible conditions, many have had to understand at their own expense that they are in fact being held hostage under the fire of the two states. In the midst of gutted buildings, many small groups of starving civilians have to face their own army as they emerge from shelters to search for food in the abandoned shops.

In order to maintain its monopoly on the ruins and to continue to allocate all resources primarily to men in arms, the Ukrainian State has thus entrusted the volunteers of the *Territorial Defense* brigades (*Teroborona*) not only with the task of protecting its critical infrastructures on the second line, but also with that of preserving public order, which concerns, for example, the attempts of desperate people to loot. For a state that has declared martial law, essentially tolerating in the bombed-out cities forms of contained self-organization that supplement its own deficiencies, the patriotic duty would of course be to wait for your crumbs on an empty stomach while drinking water from the radiators, since it is well known that looting the sacrosanct deserted property can only be carried out by enemy soldiers or traitors, as the orders of the day hammer home. And beyond the tragic situation in Marioupol, it is the same logic that is being implemented in the capital Kiev as it is surrounded by Russian troops, this time with curfews, the latest of which was no longer nocturnal but 36 hours straight in order to prioritize the army and the po-

14/02, Athens and Thessalonica (Greece). The *Direct Action Cells / Santiago Maldonado Cell* claim "in the name of anarchy and the effort of the *Direct Action Cells* to preserve it as a historical and active force of attack and rebellion", the following coordinated incendiary attacks that took place on December 6:

- against the entrance of the home of law professor Lambros Margaritis in Thessaloniki, directly responsible for the drafting of the new criminal code that came into effect last November.
- against the houses of the Thessaloniki cops Giorgos Deligiorgis (33 Homerou), Nikolaos Amanatidis (12 Argenti) and Anastasios Chalkidis (16A Marasli)
- against the house of Dimitris Kabourakis, journalist of the television channel *SKAI*, in Athens
- against the house of Vassilis Doumas, president of the association of special guards, a union of the forces of order. The long communiqué elaborates, among other things, an analysis of the evolution of anti-terrorism and the state of the Greek anarchist movement.

15/2, Cavaillon (France) In Vaucluse, *anarchists* claim the disabling of the twelve construction machines of the future devastating ZAC of the Hauts Banquets, led by Faubourg Promotion (IDEC group): "Sabotage opens a breach. Wherever it strikes, the course of devastation is interrupted, at least temporarily. Wherever capitalist machines and

infrastructures sow death we can oppose them with an offensive response."

19/2, Sedan (France). In the Ardennes, one of the buses bearing the *Marine Le Pen* logo, which criss-crosses the country during the presidential campaign with its militants on board, is attacked at about 2 pm by an individual during the lunch break. Several windows on the driver's side and on the passenger seats were broken.

19/2, Montreuil (Seine-Saint-Denis)
A car of the journalists of the regional daily newspaper *l'Est Républicain* goes up in smoke overnight. *The East (Parisian) anarchist* states: "*The State wants to launch a massive project to renew its nuclear reactor fleet, with the devastation and repression that would accompany it. Let's show them that they will have to face our resistance and that it won't be just words! Fire to the state, to capital and to their spokesmen!*"

20/2, Thessaloniki (Greece). *Anarchists* claim hammer attacks against 5 ATMs, the facade of a bank and a supermarket in different parts of the city, in solidarity with the anarchists Thanos Xatziagkelou and Georgia Voulgari, arrested following an incendiary attack against the *Foundation for National and Religious Reflection* and now in pre-trial detention on charges of belonging to the *Anarchist Action Organization*, which has claimed numerous attacks in recent years. "*Freedom for all the prisoners of the social war!*" concludes the communiqué.

lice, considering "*all those in the street during this period as members of enemy sabotage groups*", with the consequences that follow.

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

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

Urgency. For many years, waves of threats have been brandished and instrumentalized at every turn to distill fear, within an ever more militarized management of social "peace": terrorism, ecological catastrophe, Covid-19... or now a possible nuclear flare-up in the extension of the conflict that burns at the borders of Europe. And of course, the music of yet more sacrifices to be made in rank and file be-

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

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alism leads to dividing people into cannon fodder and enemies to be eliminated. It leads us to no longer see individuals, but only armies, uniforms, nations, ethnicities, believers – allies or enemies.

When people desert the state's logic of war with or without weapons, when individuals resist any state occupation with or without weapons, when people help and support refugees and deserters, when they fraternize across borders and war lines, something can be done to counter the bloodbath of the state. If the state, its generals and politicians only know the language of oppression, the oppressed know the language of empathy and solidarity. At the end of the war, it is always the rich and powerful who wanted it, as they are the only ones who benefit from power and money. Those who are massacred are always the poor, and no matter what regime, the role of the enslaved, exploited and excluded is always intended for them. The Ukrainian big shots were the first to flee the country in their private jets.

While the West is supplying weapons to the Ukrainian army, the propaganda and rearmament machinery is also in full swing here on the home front: the Bundeswehr must be rearmed, the population must be mobilized against Russia. While bombs explode a few hundred kilometers away, militaristic "peace" prevails here: new weapons, new equipment, new soldiers are to be bought, produced and trained. The population is once again terrified after the Covid state of emergency and it is clear who to follow and who to protect: Father State, armed to the teeth.

Already in the first days of the war, we are confronted with a "cultural" mobilization. We are reminded that Ukraine is close to us not only in terms of kilometers but also in terms of culture. Immediately, the left-liberal to radical cultural faction knows how it too can support the war against the expansion of the Russian enemy at home. That subcultural leeway for questions of lifestyle, which democracy so generously offers and which has been so massively restricted or relegated to the digital sphere in the last two years, is now invoked to activate and

cement a sense of togetherness with the ally and separation from the enemy in the hearts of the population. For without the cultural support of the left-liberal educated class, the further material militarization of the West, which was already announced at the beginning of the war, cannot be implemented so easily.

This militaristic and cultural war propaganda can and must be disrupted and sabotaged. In the coming weeks and months, we are likely to be confronted with war rhetoric and propaganda aimed at getting the population to stand firmly behind the Western war effort, by all means: "*We as democrats support Ukraine by all means, because it is defending itself against the evil Russian dictatorship.*" This will be the tenor, but NATO is not concerned with more or less freedoms for the Ukrainian population, but with geopolitical lines of defense, markets and spheres of influence, and for these it will be willing to invest billions of euros and munitions.

We want to oppose the war between two states with our anti-militarism: an anti-war movement that does not refer to solidarity with a nation or a state, but to the rejection of any state war. No matter which state territory we live in, we can disrupt, desert and sabotage the propaganda, logistics and logic of war: by throwing a wrench into the machinery of national and continental mobilization, by scorning any cadre and recruiting mentality, by attacking internal rearmament and militarization, by sabotaging military supply lines and blockading the arms industry.

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

hind the State becomes more strident every day. But perhaps it is true that there is something to be sacrificed without having to travel thousands of kilometers. For isn't this whole vast system of large-scale death fueled by energy, industry, transportation, communications, and technology that march by daily right before our eyes? To send the war back to *the world that produces it* by interrupting its supply, would then be another way of breaking the ranks of the enemy, by dispersing the conflict against it everywhere.

20/2, Ajaccio (France). In Corsica, the personal car of the new chief of detention of the prison is voluntarily set fire in front of his residence.

21/2, San Vito di Spilamberto (Italy). In the province of Modena, a cell phone antenna goes up in smoke around 4:30 am. The damage to the structure is significant, and the signal is cut in the area.

22/2, Pradons (France). In Ardèche, the multi-operator cell phone antenna goes up in smoke during the night. The flames climbed on the high cables, putting it out of service for a few weeks.

25/2, Marigny (France). In Saône-et-Loire, the Lidar of the company *SAB EnR*, which leads the future project of industrial wind turbines in the town, is demolished by sledgehammer during the night: the solar panels which feed it as well as the internal measuring devices of the box are reduced to small pieces.

25/2, Belfort (France). In Franche-Comté, a car of the car-sharing service *Optymo* burns at around 2 am, after having one of its tires set on fire. This is the seventh car to suffer the same fate in recent months.

25/2, Athens (Greece). *Anarchists* claimed responsibility for setting fire to a vehicle belonging to *Unison*, a service provider often hired by the city's authorities. Currently, the company is working on the redevelopment of Strefi Hill in the Exarcheia neighborhood, installing cameras, fences, building concrete paths and cutting down trees.

26/2, Lacroix-Falgarde (France). In Haute-Garonne near Toulouse, a 4 and 5G relay antenna of the four operators and of TDF went up in smoke around 2am. The flames went up to the top of the antenna, depriving several thousands of people of mobile telephony and television.

27/2, Aube (France). Four fiber optic connection nodes were sabotaged during the night in Brienne-le-Château, Lesmont, Chavanges and Ramerupt by cutting several cables. Thousands of people are left without a network.

28/2, Hamburg (Germany). The car of Astrid Oppermann, a police infiltrator in the autonomous movement between 2006 and 2013, is arsoned near her home. *"Like her colleague snitches Maria Böhlichen, Iris Plate, Kristian Krumbeck and others, she was able to continue her police work without any consequences, after being exposed. We believe that in the future the informants, once discovered, should be attacked both physically and by targeting their apartments, cars, etc."* says the communique of *With Scorn*, in solidarity with various incarcerated comrades.

28/2, Nantes (France). In Loire-Atlantique, in the district Canclaux-Mellinet, *precarious people at war* burn a car of the company *Securitas*: *"This company has been chosen because it is a collaborator of the eviction machine and more widely, participates actively in the security of the bourgeois order. For anarchy!"*

28/2, Orleans (France). In the Loiret, the Argonne police office smells bad after unknown

| Between questions and perplexity | (snippets of correspondence between anarchists in Ukraine and in Russia)

"The prospect of a Russian invasion poses thorny questions for anarchists. How do we oppose Russian military aggression without simply playing into the agenda of the United States and other governments? How do we continue to oppose Ukrainian capitalists and fascists without helping the Russian government to craft a narrative to justify direct or indirect intervention? How do we prioritize both the lives and the freedom of ordinary people in Ukraine and the neighboring countries? And what if war is not the only danger here? How do we avoid reducing our movements to subsidiaries of statist forces without winding up irrelevant in a time of escalating conflict? How do we continue to organize against all forms of oppression even in the midst of war, without adopting the same logic as state militaries?"

"As we get deeper into the 21st century, there will likely be more and more armed struggles seeking to recruit anarchists and other anti-fascists and anti-imperialists. We should neither make ourselves irrelevant by standing aside from all confrontations nor let a sense of urgency propel us into costly bad decisions. Likewise, if we excuse ourselves from taking any position on the grounds that the situation is messy and there are not-so-fine people on both sides, we will share responsibility for the massacres that ensue."

"We are in a time of interlinked worldwide repression and we have yet to solve the fundamental problems it poses. The bloody civil war that drew out in Syria—partly as a consequence of Putin's support for Assad—offers an example of what many parts of the world may look like if revolutions continue to fail and civil wars emerge in their place. We may not be able to forestall the wars ahead, but it is still up to us to figure out how to continue to pursue revolutionary change amidst them."

Excerpts from interviews with anarchists in the Ukrainian region about the threat of imminent war

(February 2022)

| Against war and military mobilization | (Preliminary notes on the invasion of Ukraine)

The Russian state is trying to conquer Ukraine. The same Russian state that supported the suppression of the Belarusian freedom movement and only a few weeks ago used tanks to put down the revolt in Kazakhstan. Putin is trying to extend his autocratic rule, crushing any movement of resistance or rebellion both inside and outside of their borders. But now, when all Western democrats sing the defense of freedom and peace in chorus, this is an orchestrated hypocrisy: these are the same democrats whose "peace operations", aka. wars of aggression, drones, bombs and occupations enforce colonial relations of power and exploitation, supply dictators and torturers with weapons and are directly or indirectly responsible for massacres of refugees and insurgents.

The sacred peace in Europe, which in any case has not existed as advertised for 70 years, has always meant war in the global South – through proxy wars, arms supplies, borders and colonialism. If the West is fully behind Ukraine, it is because it is an ally. Both sides of this war disgust us: instead of positioning ourselves on one side of this war, we oppose all state armies and their wars – we abhor not only their massacres, but also their blind obedience, nationalism, the stench of barracks, discipline and hierarchies. Opposing any form of militarism and state, however, does not mean that we oppose the taking up of arms. If Ukrainian anarchists now choose to defend themselves

with guns in hand – themselves and those close to them, not the Ukrainian state – then we stand in solidarity with them. But an anarchist position against war, even against an imperialist war of aggression, must not degenerate into defending a state and its democracy or becoming a pawn of it. We do not choose the side of the lesser evil or that of the more democratic rulers, because these same democracies are also only interested in the expansion of their own power and are also built on repression and imperialism.

The essence of any state is war: it occupies territory and declares itself the only legitimate wielder of force – it defends its borders and controls the population that has to serve it. In this sense, our thoughts and solidarity are also with all those who are now fleeing from forced recruitment, with all those who desert, who refuse to shoot at the enemy because he wears the wrong uniform or speaks the wrong language. This solidarity, which overcomes the constructed borders of nationalism and ultimately leads to fraternization, can be revolutionary. For when people in the territory of the Russian state take to the streets against the war and residents of Ukraine flee from forced recruitment, this is a dynamic that gets rid of all the nationalist muck that the state tries to plant in our hearts and brains, the result of which is only herd mentality, cults of leaders and masculinity, martyrdom, massacres, mass graves and genocides. This nation-

foot of a relay-antenna in Lunteren fizzles out.

11/3, Meuse (France).
Near Ligny-en-Barrois, the railroad is sabotaged with jacks by *The three Brigands*, to counter the work of its reallocation for the future nuclear waste burial project CIGÉO. The communiqué also calls for decentralized actions “*that would target the equipment of the SNCF and its branches as well as the companies participating in the work, thus designating them for what they are: actors of the atomic industry.*”

11/3, Job (France).
In the Puy-de-Dôme, a 3 and 4G relay antenna collapses to the ground in the night after its four legs were sawed off, allowing the inhabitants of this mountainous area to return to quiet...

12/3, Chenôve (France).
In Côte-d’Or, a vehicle abandoned in front of the municipal police station located downtown is deliberately set on fire at around 4 am. The flames ravaged its facade and destroyed the reception.

15/3, Rennes/Paris (France).
In Ille-et-Vilaine, the vehicle of the federation of the *Communist Party* in the colors of their presidential candidate has its windows smashed and three tires punctured overnight, while a tag on their office reads “*Roussel, traitor of the proletariat.*” In Paris the next day, the window of the Party’s offices was smashed in the 12th arrondissement.

comes in the next months and years, we will be able to be honest with ourselves and be able to look each other in the eyes with pride, love, and smile.

My Days in Russia, March 5, 2022

[All texts were taken from the zine *Entre deux feux*, itself collecting texts published on the site of *Crimethinc* (www.crimethinc.com)]



“The biggest challenge, and the biggest question, is: in what way should we intervene in them? Because if, as it happened in 2014-15, we just individually go and join some Ukrainian troops to confront the aggression, that is not actually a political activity. It is just an act of self-assimilation into state politics, into the politics of the nation-state. Fortunately, this is not only my opinion. Many people are thinking here about making some organized structure... which may be in some collaboration with the state structures of self-defense, but will still be autonomous and under our influence, and will be composed of comrades. So this will be organized participation with our own agenda and our own political message, for our own organizational benefit. Not just taking sides with some state player in this conflict.”

“ If we stay away from the state conflicts, then we stay away from actual politics, as I said before. This is now one of the most significant social conflicts that is going on in our region. If we isolate ourselves from it, we isolate ourselves from the actual social process. So we need somehow to participate.

Of course, it is beyond question that we need to confront Putinist imperialism. If we need any kind of collaboration in this way, then we need it. Of course, we have to evaluate very carefully, very cautiously, how not to become dependent on some very reactionary and negative powers. This is really a question and a challenge, but this is the difficult path that we can go on. Running from those challenges just equals surrender in terms of promoting anarchy and promoting social liberation and revolution in our region. And this is not an acceptable position for me and for many other comrades.”

Excerpt from an interview with an anarchist involved in different struggles in Ukraine (February 2022)



We consider the slogans “Say No to War” or “The War of Empires” to be ineffectual and populist. The anarchist movement has no influence on the process, so such statements do not change anything at all.

Our position is based on the fact that we do not want to run away, we do not want to be hostages, and we do not want to be killed without a fight. You can look at Afghanistan and understand what “No to War” means: when the Taliban advances, people flee en masse, die in the chaos at the airports, and those who remain are purged. This describes what is happening in Crimea and you can imagine

people placed incendiary garbage cans in front of its two entrances around 9pm. The damage to its doors and façade is significant.

03/28, London (UK).
The facade of a new fully automated *Aldi* supermarket was destroyed with stones, hammers and paint. *Some nocturnal rebels* claim responsibility for the attack: “*It is hoped that this presents an opening through which the next phase of government by technology can be revealed as something to be grasped with both hands, with easily reproducible methods, in an anarchist framework of attack.*”

MARCH 2022

Early March, Fontaine (France).
In Isère near Grenoble, the windows of a pick-up truck belonging to the POMA company, in charge of the construction of the funicular that could transport radioactive waste to Bure, loses a window while a tag “*nik le nuk*” is scrawled on it.

2/3, Brussels (Belgium)
At about 5:30 am, the office of the canine brigade of Woluwé-Saint-Lambert as well as three police cars parked in front of it are wilfully destroyed by a fire. The day before, the police station of Molenbeek had already been hit by molotovs under the noses of the cops present.

2/3, Melilla (Morocco/Spain).
Around 9 am, about 2500 migrants start to attack the huge barbed wire fences of this external border of Europe, using ladders, hooks and sticks to repel the Moroccan security forces. 490 of them managed to enter Spain, while 16 members of the Spanish

security forces were injured in the process.

2/3, Madrid (Spain).

The windows of a branch of *Caixabank* (formerly *Bankia*) are broken in solidarity with the comrades accused of setting fire to an ATM of this bank in 2018, and who will go on trial on April 7.

5/3, Paris (France).

A BMW with diplomatic plate and an Aston Martin SUV are deliberately set on fire on rue Edmond About (16th Arr.). *"Our enemies are not the other exploited people but the bosses and the states. We reject all nationalist and Common Front appeals, even if we recognize the horror of the Russian invasion of Ukraine,"* the claim said, proposing to try to stand with Ukrainian, Russian and Belarusian anarchists *"in fighting against the state and the bosses here."*

5/3, Perigord (France).

Authorities are alarmed by a series of sabotages in recent months against fiber optic connections, cabinets and connections around Excideuil and Thiviers. The twenty or so deliberate cuts to these cables have caused more than 100,000 euros worth of damage.

7/3, Vitry-sur-Seine (France).

In the Val-de-Marne, the window of the *Communist Party's* premises housing the poster of its presidential candidate is smashed with a pétanque ball.

7/3, Paris (France).

The *Russian House of Science and Culture* (16th district), a cultural entity with diplomatic status, receives a molotov in the night around 2:45 am.

what will happen after the invasion of Russia in other regions of Ukraine.

As for the attitude towards NATO, the authors of this text are divided between two standpoints. Some of us have a positive approach towards this situation. It is obvious that Ukraine cannot counter Russia on its own. Even taking into consideration the large volunteer movement, modern technologies and weapons are needed. Apart from NATO, Ukraine has no other allies who can help with this. [...] A possible Russian invasion forces the Ukrainian people to look for allies in the fight against Moscow. Not on social media, but in the real world. Anarchists do not have sufficient resources in Ukraine or elsewhere to respond effectively to the invasion of Putin's regime. Therefore, one has to think about accepting support from NATO.

The other standpoint, which others in this writing group subscribe to, is that both NATO and the EU, in strengthening their influence in Ukraine, will cement the current system of "wild capitalism" in the country and make the potential for a social revolution even less feasible. In the system of global capitalism, the flagship of which is the USA as the leader of NATO, Ukraine is assigned the spot of a humble frontier: a supplier of cheap labor and resources. Therefore, it is important for Ukrainian society to realize the need for independence from all the imperialists. In the context of the country's defense capability, the emphasis should not be on the importance of NATO technology and support for the regular army, but on the potential of society for grass-roots guerrilla resistance.

War and Anarchists: Anti-Authoritarian Perspectives in Ukraine (end of February 2022)



"The Committee of Resistance" is a coordination center connecting anarchists who are participating in resisting the invasion in a variety of ways. Some are currently on the front; some are engaged in media work about the conditions arising during this resistance, in hopes of clarifying the situation in Ukraine to those who have never been there and explaining to anarchists elsewhere why they believe that resisting Putin is connected with liberation. The project will also be engaging in some support projects in whatever remains of Ukrainian civil society as the invasion proceeds—for example, in Mariupol, some participants brought material support to the center hosting children orphaned by the war—and will assist some comrades in escaping from the conflict zone, though "dozens and dozens" of

anarchists and anti-fascists are participating in the resistance. The majority of the participants in this project were expecting the invasion to begin soon, generally speaking, but they were not expecting it today, and were not entirely mentally prepared for it. In fact, they planned and prepared for months, but now they are discovering everything that remained unfinished in their preparations. Still, in the course of hasty meetings, they have pulled together this coordination project.

Interview with "The Committee of Resistance",

Kyiv, March 1, 2022



"And this is a large flaw in our movement in Russia, when we consider it in a long-term perspective, because in fact, we don't have anywhere to fall back to, no one can guarantee us anything. We cannot even guarantee each other that we will stand together holding hands, looking each other in the eye and knowing that whatever will happen, we will be comrades and we will continue the struggle. There is a lack of comradeship, a lack of resources, of infrastructure, a lack of an ideological perspective regarding how to struggle today and how to carry on that struggle through the decades to come. We lack the belief that the best thing you can do for your freedom, for your happiness, for your life itself is to struggle. We lack the belief that if you struggle, even if you die or go to prison, it is worth it and you made the right decision. It is this idea—that struggle is life and life is struggle—this philosophical vision, this feeling, that can enable you to bring yourself back to your senses and maintain morale in the most difficult situations.

Comrades, we are the only ones who can mutually provide that for each other. [...]

We can see now how we have to work hard to prepare and organize during the quiet times, not only the moments of urgency. Because now, there is no structure, no experience to pass on, there are few people willing to take responsibility and put themselves on the line because it is worth it. There is no organization to make proposals, just confusion, fear, anger, and a feeling of helplessness. [...]

In the midst of such uncertainty and instability, now is the time to start thinking about the long term, to imagine where we want to be in ten, fifteen, or twenty years. [...]

The people around us are all we have, and we must understand the current fault lines in our society well. It is time for bravery and persistence like never before—and it is now, when it is hard to imagine what's going to happen next week, that we have to act in such a way that whatever

8/3, Buir (Germany).

In the gravel washing plant belonging to the *Rheinische Baustoffwerke* consortium, 6 or 7 construction machines (excavators and others) have their windows smashed, while their cables and pipes are cut. A communique states: *"It is more than likely that there is a connection to the RWE coal mine next to the forest. Furthermore, the extraction in this quarry has destroyed the living space of all kinds of species. So many reasons to attack! Let's finish with civilization, for anarchism."*

8/3, Toulouse (France).

In Haute-Garonne, the command post of an excavator is set on fire with a molotov in the Matabiau station district, where gentrification is in full swing.

9/3, Lukhovitsy (Russia).

In the Moscow area, the windows of an army registration and enlistment office are smashed, before molotovs are thrown in, while a tag on its gate reads "I won't go kill my brothers!". *"The aim was to destroy the archive of the personal files of the conscripts, which is located in this room. This should prevent mobilization in this district. I hope I won't see my classmates in jail or on the death lists. I think this should be done more often. Ukrainians will know that people in Russia are fighting for them, that not everyone is afraid and that there are people who care about them,"* the communique said.

10/3, Elst (Netherlands).

In the province of Gelderland, a relay-antenna next to the A325 freeway is set on fire and destroyed during the night. The next day, in the same province, an incendiary device placed at the