

# Post Covid Riot Prime Manifest

Twenty necessary points on the current conflictualities and perspectives

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**One:** All governments are bad. Right, left, far right... all of them. They do not act in our interest, the people from below, as the Zapatistas would say. Covid-19 has expressed, like through a burning glass, the fundamental antagonism between those who need to recreate the world in such a way that there can be a world at all, and those who, in different forms, hold on to the existing world, the world of doom, participate in its consistency.

**Two:** The left are not allies in the process which is necessary to organize the revolt, with some honorable exceptions. They have left us alone and abandoned in the Corona era. They have not opposed the narratives of the inevitability of the state of emergency, and many have called for even harder cuts of our collective, fundamental rights. The white, rich left of the West has spoken of “solidarity,” but in reality has performed a de facto shoulder-to-shoulder with power, calling to cease, to suspend all fundamental class struggles, all maneuvers of social warfare from below. Called to trust power and its instructions, it has continued to spread its propaganda, completely failing to make its own fundamental studies of the situation. Again, with a few honorable exceptions, such as the investigations and reflections of some Italian leftists at the beginning of the Corona pandemic in northern Italy.<sup>1</sup>

**Three:** Uprisings are possible and necessary even under pandemic conditions. The nationwide uprising in the United States following the assassination of George Floyd, in which billions of dollars of the enemy’s property were destroyed, was the most extensive uprising since the so-called “race riots” of the 1960s. These mass gatherings of angry people have not resulted in a more rapid spread of the Corona virus, as even our opponents’ media have admitted. They did, however, manage to divert the focus on the war against a virus, a war that is a war of the insane because you cannot declare war on a virus, let alone win such a war, to the real diseases of society, the pervasive racism that is a practiced shoot to kill racism especially by the security forces, which at the same time creates executions in a quasi-extra-legal space. The liquidation of the poor, which is a daily practice in the favelas of Brazil, is implanted in the governance of the metropolises of the West. The Obama presidency did not change this situation and nor will the Biden presidency. Today the cops bend a knee in front of the cameras of the media,

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<sup>1</sup> Ammalarsi di paura. L’«effetto nocebo» dello #stareincasa e della malainformazione sul coronavirus <https://www.wumingfoundation.com/giap/2020/05/effe...>

tomorrow they and their masters simply continue with their killings. The beautiful poems and show-stoppers at the inauguration of “progressive” U.S. presidents do not change that. Kennedy increased the number of “military advisors” in South Vietnam from 700 to 16,000, Obama intensified the drone war. The only effective measure to stop racist police violence is to burn down their precincts. The insurgents of the George Floyd revolt did not succeed in generalizing this practice; the decisive tactical defeat was the lost battle for the Fifth Precinct in Minneapolis, shortly after the Third Police Precinct was completely burned down, as correctly analyzed in “Memes Without End.”<sup>2</sup>

Not peace marches, but sabotage and disintegration of their war machinery, blockading the necessary infrastructure for war internally and externally, are the only effective measures to end their wars. Not as a symbolic, time-limited demonstrative act, but as a fundamental, strategic intervention.

**Four:** When we speak about our uprisings, it is necessary to specify this. Our revolts have long since ceased to have anything to do with the historically failed left. Sometimes they may still pose as cue-givers, advisors, experts and organizers, but their time is over. Or as a famous mastermind of the Left once said, “The materialist doctrine of changing circumstances and educating forgets that circumstances must be changed by people and that the educator himself must be educated.” We are no longer available as pawns for their geopolitical games; we don’t care if Assad is an anti-Zionist, Maduro an anti-imperialist. For us, there is no more friendly power in the escalation of the confrontation for hegemony between the democratic party in the USA and the communist party in the People’s Republic of China, we really don’t give a damn. We learned a lot from the tactics of the Hong Kong revolt, we look with admiration to Myanmar, we were inspired by the force of the revolt of the Gilets Jaunes, who stormed ministries and looted luxury stores on the Champs Élysées. The frontliners of the youth revolt in Chile can be found in the current revolt in Colombia, proudly presenting each Colombian city with its Primera Línea, formed by proletarian youth who have nothing left to lose but a new world to gain. They know that their future is only in their hands if they decide autonomously on their own affairs and reject all requests for representation. These insurrectionary movements, which have no fundamental demands of their own, even if at the starting point of the revolts specific circumstances and indignation often let the rage explode, refuse in their contradictions and compositions the traditional views of the limitations and perspectives of such spontaneous revolts. The barbarians set out to storm heaven.<sup>3</sup>

**Five:** All movements write their own history. We started doing it a long time ago, but the discourse is dominated by the voices of the old, white world, the voices of those who make their money from our uprisings, who base their careers on them, as journalists, sociologists, authors, activists, party founders, political scientists... We say that we need a narrative of the periphery, and our periphery stretches from the suburbs of Brussels to the suburbs of Khartoum, from the traffic circles of forgotten France to the heart of Cali. We write down our history again and again, almost no one listens to us or our stories are stolen and marketed. Yet we are the ones from whom there are lessons to be learned. About victories, defeats, about sacrifice and grief, but above all about the way to fight. We know that the young people who rioted in downtown Stuttgart, Germany last summer did understand more about the images of racist police violence

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<sup>2</sup> Memes Without End. <https://illwill.com/memes-without-end>.

<sup>3</sup> Onward Barbarians [https://endnotes.org.uk/other\\_texts/en/endnotes-on...](https://endnotes.org.uk/other_texts/en/endnotes-on...)

against George Floyd, but also about the revolt that followed, than the German left. Because it has quite a lot to do with the reality of their lives. They were just shamefully abandoned by those same people when the wave of repression against them started. We think they have noticed the limits of the talk of 'solidarity'. Maybe they still lack a bit of experience in writing down their own history, but at least they don't seem to have forgotten how to riot, as we could see in the German media these days. We will still have a lot of history to write down, because it will be us who will write the history of this so-called world and the world that follows it.

**Six:** We have to grasp the horizon of the present conflictuality. It cannot be less, since not only our patience is finite, but also, for the first time, the time we have left to organize the final onslaught. Everyone knows that the world in which we live is doomed. The only question is what will come of it. We have seen how the permanent nature of the state of emergency in the governance of the pandemic initially only met with resistance in the marginal sectors of society; the spontaneous revolts in response to the proclamation of the state of emergency (which have been largely concealed in the Western media) broke out in the jails, the proletarian suburbs and slums (especially in Africa, but in Europe as well, for example in the French banlieues) and, for example, on the Indian subcontinent among itinerant workers who were desperately trying to get back to their villages because this was the only prospect of survival they saw for themselves.

The social level of the state of emergency, the inherent existential attack, was at first negated by broad sections of the class, or rather it was possible to manipulate this class contradiction by means of fear manipulated by the media. The actions organized from below in many countries showed (also) that it was possible to realistically assess the health threat posed by the coronavirus and to develop protective measures that would meet the real needs of the people. This was not only the case in the poorer countries, but also in many hospitals in Italy, France, Spain and the USA, especially the nurses in many areas were thrown back on themselves in the early phase of the pandemic, had to try to protect themselves under improvised conditions and still provide care for their patients. These processes of self-organization, which included (rudimentarily and too little) mutual aid, do not appear in the prevailing narratives about the pandemic without reason. The fact that the left (again, with few exceptions) also refers exclusively to the state's pandemic policy, even in their later restrained critiques of individual aspects of the measures policies, makes them part of the power bloc that is hostile to us in this point as well.

Everything that still awaits us on the horizon, all the horrors and catastrophes, are just crying out for us to collect and evaluate the experiences of self-organization that we have made during this pandemic. They are our munition for what is yet to come. If this is not done, we are at the mercy of the state and its omnipotence. We know this from all revolts, uprisings and overthrows. It's not just about the "front line," any success achieved there is worth nothing if we don't build an insurgent infrastructure, and of course that includes the medical field. This is also what we mean when we talk about the horizon of conflictuality: The revolt is not a playground, but the space that creates bases to be able to risk an insurrectionary process. Either we create an analysis of the real situation or we will perish.

**Seven:** We will have to get rid of a lot of old baggage. Especially ideological ones. The way the totality of fascism is understood and described comes from historical processes, some of which are already a century old and do not even begin to do justice to the form of totality we find today. Those who fail to understand, deny, or relativize this totality, which targets subjectivities themselves, stand against the necessary steps in the insurrectionary process. As Agamben rightly noted: „*The regimes established in the self-proclaimed communist countries were a particular form*

*of capitalism, especially suited to economically backward countries and therefore have to be labeled as state capitalism, was well known to those who know how to read history; what was completely unexpected, however, was that this form of capitalism, which seemed to have accomplished its task and therefore seemed obsolete, was instead now destined to become, in a technologically updated configuration, the dominant principle in the present phase of globalized capitalism.” And further, “What is certain, however, is that the new regime will combine the most inhuman aspect of capitalism with the most cruel aspect of state communism, combining the extreme alienation of relations between people with unprecedented social control.”<sup>4</sup>*

The historical future is unwritten. Always. However, in the aggravation of the various catastrophes, a permanent (inter)state state of emergency regime will have to be established in order to be able to control the most diverse processes that are necessary for the survival of the system. In what way this emergency regime will be “narrated” is the only question that is still open. For some time now, the narrative of the “new green deal” has been haunting the world, but this will be controlled and realized exclusively from the perspective and interests of the privileged. No one needs to be under any illusions as to who will be sacrificed first in a world of melting polar ice caps in order to “save the planet in the name of humanity.” To develop a perception of these barbaric acts, to anticipate them analytically, is indispensable. Nothing would be more neglectful than to underestimate this process.

**Eight:** We have to build everything anew in the insurgent process. This was something that the Invisible Committee asserted in 2007. We think an incredible number of things have already been done in this regard. What’s missing is a changed perspective on the countless insurgencies and their experiences. The uprising in the Middle East and Africa, always inaccurately referred to in the West as the “Arab Spring” (“Arab” omits the participation of diverse ethnic groups as well as the fact that the uprisings spread to the heart of Africa), showed how fragile an entire chain of states can become within a few months. The insurgency never aimed to take over the state; where it did, such as in Egypt by the Muslim Brotherhood, it was only temporary, or resulted in long-lasting civil wars like in Syria or Yemen. The real insurgent transformation, however, took place within societies, as it is also understood by the protagonists<sup>5</sup>, only the Western leftist review of the uprisings there is not able to realize the qualitative leap that this uprising has meant for the region. Trapped in the thought worlds of the storming of the Winter Palace, the Western left cannot become part of the uprising because it cannot understand at all what the essence of the current uprisings is. Or because it is only interested in colonizing them ideologically and thus neutralizing them.

**Nine:** If we assume, then, that the time of the uprisings has already begun, that the process of overthrow has already progressed much further than prevailing narratives want us to believe, all questions arise in a different form. Or, more sharply, the narratives that things are different are narratives that oppose the insurgent dynamic because they deny its existence.

**Ten:** What is urgently needed at this stage of the insurgent process is the intensification of exchanges among insurgent factions. The question of information, the possibilities of transmitting it or suppressing it, manipulating it, is perhaps the most important strategic question at the moment. It will determine whether the insurgent process will stagnate or not. What the control

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<sup>4</sup> „Capitalismo comunista“ by Giorgio Agamben. Published in December 2020 on <https://www.quodlibet.it/giorgio-agamben-capitalis...>

<sup>5</sup> “Rethinking the concept of revolution through the Syrian experience” by Charlotte Al-Khalili <https://www.aljazeera.net/en/content/rethinking-concept-revolution-through-syrian-experience>.

of information, the power to let it circulate, or indeed to prevent its circulation, means was made exceedingly clear during the pandemic state of emergency. For the ruling system this pandemic state of emergency was also a maneuver in the cybernetic civil war, now it is also necessary to acquire the means to gain power over the circulation of information. Everything is decided at this front section. If the insurgent factions do not get beyond copy and paste of tactics and memes, the insurgent process will fall into stagnation. Despair and despondency will spread, there will be unnecessary defeats or insurgencies experienced as defeats that will discourage people from joining the insurgents. This must be prevented. There is no lack of revolts and uprisings these days; a glance at the bourgeois daily newspapers is enough to convince oneself of this. What is missing is a common idea of how to “storm heaven”, which already appears so tangibly close in our wildest nights. “Le Monde ou rien” was the name of the game in France a few years ago. We believe it goes even beyond.

**Eleven:** So, if we assume that the struggle we are facing is fundamental in the sense that it is about survival, or more precisely, the struggle for (human) life on this planet altogether, it is indispensable to look more closely at the front positions in this struggle. That means to work out a concept of how the necessary antagonism is shaped and which representation it adopts. First of all, it means saying goodbye to all the half measures and false friends. To say goodbye to all the campaigns, events, climate targets, all the follow the science nonsense, all that is supposed to prevent us from setting in motion the only process that can put an end to this dystopian madness. All these characters, organizers and little groups who pretend to be allies but who only have their agenda of participation in mind. Insurrection or barbarism. That’s the word now. We can’t go for less. Anything below that is a self-destructive trip cloaked in the cowardly words of realism and feasibility. The core of power must be destroyed. That is our only survival strategy.

**Twelve:** *“Against this dispositif of subjectification, however, it will be possible and necessary to continue to build antagonistic subjectivities capable of inhabiting and managing the vast planetary crisis that is emerging. In recent decades, radical ecological movements have decried the incoherence of the politics of good, everyday action, and have demanded the large-scale action through which capital appropriates life and extracts value from living matter. Today, as the continuous and inevitable violence of the green transition phases to capitalist logic becomes evident, the post-political ideal of environmental politics as a field potentially beyond conflict, pacifying, neutral, has fallen definitively”* writes Alice Dal Gobbo in “La transizione ecologica tra comando del capitale, erosione del soggetto e nuovi antagonismi”.<sup>6</sup> As she so beautifully puts it: to inhabit and overcome. One could also say that therefore there is only an insurrectionary life as the last and only possibility, that all these master’s and doctoral theses, all this sociological bullshit, all the “leftist media”, the event and project managers, all the “leftist and emancipatory groups” must be called what they objectively are: Opponents. In 2007, the companions of the Invisible Committee already wrote this unequivocally, but there are still pacts with this opponent, even if in the social escalation, which the policy of measures as a result of Corona was, it has unmistakably taken the side of the state power. One really cannot indulge in any kind of reverie. The Corona measures were the blueprint for the agenda of green fascism knocking at the door. In Germany, the support for the most restrictive state of emergency policy was greatest among the supporters of the Green Party, the Green leader and former Maoist Kretschmann outstripped all right-wing populists

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<sup>6</sup> “La transizione ecologica tra comando del capitale, erosione del soggetto e nuovi antagonismi” published on *Effimira*.

with his demand to intervene massively in fundamental rights “next time”, without false regards to constitutional concerns. The federal leader of the Greens brought the governance of the state of emergency as “the model” for “the configuration of climate change” on the table, point-blank autocratic forms of government are described as desirable, if this “serves higher goals”. Not for nothing the enthusiasm of the #ZeroCovid bubble for the Chinese “management of the pandemic” was unlimited, it is really only necessary to look closer, everyone and everything exposes itself, one must only have the courage to recognize the harshness of the future conflictuality that results from these confessions.

**Thirteen:** Our situation is hopeless. From this, all possibilities arise.

**Fourteen:** We are already much further along than we have been led to believe. The fact that no live firearms were used against the George Floyd uprising by state power, even though police stations were stormed and burned down, even though the uprising generated material losses of \$2 billion on the opposing side, reveals much about our adversary’s fear of entering the terrain of social civil war spontaneously and reactively. Looking at the wave of insurrections that have swept the world in recent years, we can observe several things. The insurgencies are becoming more persistent; despite high casualty rates among the insurgents, the revolts are not collapsing. The insurrections are becoming more and more similar in ways of appearance and tactical means being used. A now almost universal feature is that no demands are made except of a general nature, such as dignity or justice. For example, the enemy first had to establish a reformist counter movement within the George Floyd revolt. It took time to do so; at its core, the revolt was spontaneously revolutionary. No one wanted to disarm or defund the police. They simply wanted to blow them to hell. And without cops, there is no state.

**Fifteen:** Generalized social civil war is coming. It is inevitable. For our opponent. (For us anyway.) Our opponent just wants to start it prepared and on his terms. To force it on us. And not in response to anything. This time the stakes in this game are too high for that. A doomed capitalism, entrenched in a hubris of feasibility, mobilizing all its reserves, which will stop at nothing. Here, too, the Corona measures policy have been and continue to be revealing for all those who have the courage to have a closer look. A virus with a lethality rate that, depending on which calculation, is between a factor of 1.5 – 4 times that of any of the flu viruses known to date. Italian companions asked at the very beginning what would happen if a pathogen with the lethality of Ebola (which was initially 80% in the most recent outbreak in Africa) had appeared here in Europe. Would nuclear bombs have been dropped on cities to stop the spread? One must have the courage to answer yes to this question. The climate catastrophe will make whole areas uninhabitable, millions and millions of people will lose their livelihoods, they will desperately try to bring themselves to safety – and the sealing-off policies of the wealthy states and regions will be relentless. A system that has not even found it necessary to evacuate at least all the children from the shithole of Moria will mobilize everything to secure the prosperity of the metropolitan elites in the escalation that will inevitably come. At whatever cost. The warpages, the disruptions of the global production and supply chains, the numerous revolts of the surplus proletariat in the metropolis itself, which will inevitably occur as a result of futurity, create the tendency towards generalized social civil war. The only question is who will define the terrain of this civil war. They or we. *“Deep knowledge means being aware of the disturbance before the disturbance.”* (Sun Tzu).

**Sixteen:** One must not indulge in any illusions. The vanguard in the Endgame<sup>7</sup> of declining civilization, state-capitalist China, has made an app mandatory in the wake of the pandemic state of emergency, without which life, at least in the cities, becomes virtually impossible. Shopping, using public transport, visiting restaurants,... Interestingly, the app was launched just three weeks after the Wuhan lockdown, which means we can assume that it practically just had to be pulled out of the drawer. The app includes name, photo, passport number, it regulates the status of the person based on an algorithm: green, yellow, red. Green means full freedom of movement, yellow means quarantine, red means corona. These classifications are by no means linked to clear evidence such as PCR tests, but are generated by the system itself in a way that is not comprehensible for the user. Numerous cases have been reported in which people were classified as “sick” without this being comprehensible to them, let alone controvertible. In Beijing, 300,000 public cameras monitor the city, in industrialized Shanghai there are three million, which are now additionally equipped with sensors to measure the temperature of those being monitored; major parts of the systems already have a facial recognition system anyway. Incidentally, these systems for facial recognition have already been optimized to such an extent that they can also identify people who wear a medical mouth-nose protection mask. The Beijing camera surveillance system has been euphemistically named the “heavenly network”. In the Xinjiang region, the security architecture is a bit more advanced. The totality of the world’s future governance is being exercised on the oppressed minority of the Uyghurs. Drones are in the sky, mandatory spyware on smartphones, facial recognition systems at gas stations regulating access to purchase fuel. The cops are allowed to stop anyone and everyone at any time and check their smartphones; anyone who has installed encrypted communication systems like Whatsapp may end up in a “re-education camp.”

One should not be under any illusions, the various “health passports”<sup>8</sup> that are currently being implemented in many Western countries such as France and Italy, the mandatory apps and vaccination certificates without which participation in social life in New York is no longer possible, the discourses on ostracism and repression against people, who, for a variety of reasons, have not been vaccinated against Corona, show that the gap between the conditions in China and those in the so-called Western democracies is only temporary, ergo due to the concrete circumstances in which the formation of totality currently finds itself. The process of abolishing cash, which is currently being pushed forward, creates further comprehensive control possibilities. This will make it possible to control and regulate access to the acquisition of virtually everything necessary for life. The acquisition of certain goods or services can be linked to good behavior or to “misconduct”; there will certainly be pilot projects for this in the West. Just as, for example, the matching of DNA material was initially only possible for socially outlawed crimes such as rape or murder, within a few years this procedure was used for minor crimes such as damage to property, of course preferably in the context of “combating political crime”, e.g. broken windows of banks. Perhaps the first thing to be done in the future will be to block the purchase of pornographic material for “sex offenders” in order to generate social approval, before gradually arming the whole system.

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<sup>7</sup> “Endgames” is a column by Sebastian Lotzer that appeared in four parts on “non copyriot”. Here is the English translation of the fourth part on “Enough 14”, which also contains the links to the four parts in German: <https://enoughisenough14.org/2021/04/05/endgames-part-4/>

<sup>8</sup> „Pass sanitaire: le problème, c’est le flicage!“ by Cerveaux Non Disponibles.

So the really crucial point is not that all these measures exist, or will exist, but the path to social acceptance of this totality. At this point, too, the Corona pandemic is a welcome maneuvering ground for the Empire. Supposed security, in this case from a disease, is exchanged for consent to all-encompassing surveillance measures; indeed, beyond that, the consenting subject himself becomes part of the all-encompassing surveillance system, which not only monitors his fellow human beings, but also, in anticipation, himself. The terminology and the selectivity of the “war against the virus” are borrowed from the “war against terror” that was unleashed after Nine Eleven; it is not for nothing that a linguistic derailment such as “endangerer” for people suffering from Covid-19 finds its way into social discourse unchallenged. At this point almost everything is decided: Will it be possible to detach relevant parts of society from this deadly discourse or to stand on their side in this conflict or not. A large part of the left has long since decided where they stand and will stand, and as already stated above, these are now our opponents and not our allies. This is not a moral judgment, but a necessary materialist analysis. In the social civil war, ambiguities about strategic alliances take bloody revenge.

**Seventeen:** To be. Now, as all autonomy, all power of control over one’s own body and the subject it houses, gradually disappears, as man trades himself for a promise of naked survival, in the present and in all future pandemics and in the face of climate change, to be remains as the last place of antagonism. When everything is directed at preventing or generating processes, only the act to be remains. Where this is more than a final moral stance of the individual not submitting, a social antagonism emerges that does not want to and cannot become part of the present future. It really needs the radical break with practically all existing ideas about revolutionary processes to be able to engage with the real new conditions. Anything else is a waste of energy and time, and, moreover, contributes to the stabilization and perfection of the empire in the death drive mode. Life arises in the unfolding totality in non-places; where this life becomes collectivized, it appears as an antagonism of non-movements whose concrete demands, if they are made at all, are as secondary as they are almost arbitrary, and have a function primarily only as a rallying cry. In these new dynamics, which elude classical revolutionary understandings, different social laws of space and time apply: just a gathering of a few precarious commuters at a barren traffic circle in some suburb, already an angry crowd in the heart of Paris, desecrating national shrines and looting posh boutiques in the luxury quarters. Just as these non-movements appear out of nowhere, they disappear almost as suddenly, refusing any representation (The few who tried to capitalize on the Gilets Jaunes revolt and initiate political careers or parties were forcibly expelled and threatened in their private life), only to rise again overnight like a ghost. (In France as a mobilization against the new cop protection law and the Pass Sanitaire.) It’s going around again, the ghost, and this time not only in Europe. Each nightly riot of young people in a park has more explosive revolutionary power than dozens and dozens of leftist demos and events, because it defies political usability. Life defends itself in this phase that will decide everything – or in other words: Either we defend life itself by to be, or we will no longer be part of it, but just a cybernetic hypothesis.

**Eighteen:** Of course, we are all afraid. Always of death, now also of life itself. Only submission promises security, that is the power, the last promise that the death drive empire still has. But: We should learn to admit that we are afraid, or better said, that we are also scared. Death frightens us, illness frightens us. It is not bad to be afraid, death belongs to life, just as the fear of



its end belongs to love. But we learn to live with it, because love is stronger.<sup>9</sup> Or in other words, only by risking everything, by creating a life that first makes life one, we can defeat this fear. If we continue to pretend that fear does not determine our actions, if we hide behind supposed facts, necessities and ideological lies and constructs, we have already lost before we have even started to fight. Fear is both our adversary and our ally, we have to listen to it, let it take shape, in order to be able to deal with it, because it leads us to our hidden truths that lie slumbering deep in our hearts. It is the path to our unacknowledged desires, the certainty that one must have lived at all in order to be able to die. If we do not take this path, we will reap a life of sadness without knowing whose content this sadness actually is, which we carry with us day after day like a terrible burden. We will not be ourselves for all time. What a choice.

**Nineteen:** The apocalypse is coming. Either way. The Anthropocene will end, a comet will hit the Earth, or we are not alone in space (for which there are some indications) and another life form will wipe us out, subjugate us or colonize us (we would deserve anything)... Ultimately, the question of the apocalypse is a philosophical question. But are not all really important questions, love, death, freedom,... philosophical questions anyway? Is it not always a question of what attitude we have towards something and what actions we take as a result? And how do we determine all this fundamental stuff in relation to the very concrete questions that arise in the current insurrectionary process?

*“What revolts or processes of adaptation will emerge in the metropolises in the future, and where the fault lines will lie, is still largely unidentified. The struggles and forms of appropriation in the proletarian spectrum, in the subclasses of migrant youth, of socially disenfranchised women, of the victims of deregulation in East Germany, seem so far inscrutable to us, because we are confronted with images in which we do not recognize the essence of the emancipation of the class, and because our analytical tools are not sufficient to decode the meaning of the struggles behind the forms of appearance. Therefore, there is nothing left but to face the historical process without resorting to the hierarchical-patriarchal, anticommunist political patterns and organizational models, and without hastily producing new ideologies that would already adjust a straitjacket to the completely open situation and smooth out existing contradictions in favor of a monocausal worldview,”* wrote a Revolutionary Cell (RZ) in 1992 at the end of its organizational form, and one may not believe that these words are already almost 30 years old<sup>10</sup>.

Without a doubt, the world has moved on and the insurrectionary process is not waiting for the scattered remnants of an antagonistic leftist narrative. But as always, when something leaves, something remains that is worth preserving and passing on. Just as all the ideological and theoretical set pieces should be found too easy and thrown overboard in the face of the world we face, so rich is the treasure of concrete practical experience that needs to be salvaged. Our adversary learns from every battle, from every defeat, from every victory. But above all, from each of his defeats, from our successes. The magnificent avenues of Paris are in reality only the result of an urban planning that sought to anticipate all the coming uprisings. Thousands of military, political, sociological and economic think tanks are working feverishly every second to perfect the

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<sup>9</sup> „Greenpass, nuovi confini e le frontiere della paura. Contributo per un ragionamento collettivo. Published on Carmelia <https://www.carmillaonline.com/2021/07/29/greenpass-nuovi-confini-e-le-frontiere-della-paura-contributo-per-un-ragionamento-che-auspico-collettivo/>

<sup>10</sup> Revolutionary Cells, an urban guerrilla in the FRG not operating in full clandestinity, whose structures dissolved in the early, mid-1990s. Here is the text: „Das Ende unserer Politik“ (The end of our politics): <http://www.freilassung.de/div/texte/rz/zorn/Zorn05.htm>

maintenance of the deadly order, we have a few vintage books and essays, a few written down memories of the Golden Horde that once set out to make the conditions dance fundamentally.

The question now is how we can succeed in bringing this treasure of our practical experience into the current insurrectionary processes, whether it is at all possible to create places of exchange between the generations of insurgents that are accessible to all but cannot be infiltrated and manipulated by the enemy. Which brings us back to the beginning of this considerations.

**Twenty:** Capitalism in its final stage, which carries in itself the end of the world inhabited by humans as a possibility, is the present, which for the first time carries no visionary future in itself. This is the first thing to accept. It is about only one question, everything beyond it must be denounced as a warlike ruse to stabilize the system. Everything that is claimed beyond this is based on a lie, no matter how left-wing, emancipatory and solidary it comes across. So: How do we manage to topple the colossus? How can the ever more rapidly spreading riots, revolts and uprisings become something that fundamentally sets the world on fire, so that in view of the ashes, with a little luck, we may dare to dream of creating a new world again?

Without a doubt, to the astonishment of many on the left, the pandemic state of emergency has accelerated the cycles of worldwide revolts, while they are still waiting to simply carry on as usual with their pointless demonstrations, events, signature collections and participatory attitudinizing. The measures taken by governments, which in many respects are not only repressive but also senseless and incompetent, have multiplied social misery. Globally, fewer and fewer people are willing to exchange their lives for an existence by whose grace ever. What is also changing are the poles of conflict. There are no longer better and worse governments (or ideas about them), there are no solutions, no catalogs of demands. In the escalation, there is only above and below, them or us. Either on the side of the insurrection or on the side of “the government”. Any pre-revolutionary situation has a peculiar lack of clarity; this is no different in the current phase, which is dominated by the Corona state measures. This is not a time for doubters and restrainers of the pure doctrine. Finding fascism in the streets will increasingly be something we will find in the revolts, therefore staying away from the revolts can only mean our final end. There is a lot of contradictions to endure and the confrontations will certainly not be something we will enjoy. But it remains an absolute necessity.

Because this struggle, like all struggles before it, will be decided in the streets. “When we revolt it’s not for a particular culture. We revolt simply because, for many reasons, we can no longer breathe,” this sentence by Frantz Fanon was written on a poster hanging outside a Minneapolis cop precinct. Yes, we simply can no longer breathe. Either we burn down one police station after another until things start to tip in our favor, or we sit back, when we live in a privileged position, and enjoy the end of the world with a few cold drinks. There is nothing in between. Sorry.

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