

THE PROJECT "A"

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(per 'Vivere l'Anarchia')

I'm going to make my intervention in English, according to the problems that surged in the past days concerned with the huge presence of german comrades at Venice.

At second hand I will be very brief in order to avoid what happend on thursday, when I tried to give the theoretical basis of the project, ^{and} when I was cut shortly after having given just the introduction.

I would like to introduce to you a project which will be started in West-Germany within the next 2 to 3 years and which is so far baptized with the name of "Project A". So I am not talking about "living Anarchism" in the strict way but about "Anarchism still to be lived", because this project so far exists in the form of a very detailed plan and in the heads of a couple of comrades who do far decided to participate in it. However, this future project has a lot to ^{deal} ~~do~~ with living anarchism, because almost all of us are active anarchist with a large period of experience in different organizations, in anarchist struggle, in local groups, in base-projects and so on...

And that's why almost automatically one of the interesting aspects of this project is just the transformation of thousands of good, but mostly bad experiences which one may adquire during a period of for instance 15 years of anarchist struggle.

I think, that most anarchist comrades, if they are accessible to critic and self-critic, earlier or later get to a point, where ~~he finds himself in ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ in a deadlock.~~

they themselves

Anarchists nowadays, in worldwide scale, are unable to give any satisfactory, viable, concrete answer to the simple question, how to get out of this deadlock, how to perforate the "line of resistance" of the society, ^{the resistance} of the population towards ~~the~~ a revolutionary ^{change} ~~project~~, how to encourage concrete steps and how to make them approachable to the very normal people - in one word: how to superate the deadlock.

Instead, contemporary anatchism generally is busy and active in two main fields: on the one hand, we are a kind of administrators and multipliers of a tradition, of ideas, of a libertarian culture, trying to beware them from being forgotten and helping them to survive by propaganda in ~~xxx~~ its most different forms. On the other hand, we ~~are~~ use to be very good critics of contemporary society with all its terrible decadencys, disharmon~~ies~~, and dreadfull tendencies without being able, however, to show the way ~~is~~ out. So we always remain the brilliant critics and the eternal losers in history.

There are, as far as we know, only very few projects who pose to themselves the aim of ~~an~~ breakout from this blocked situation and we are trying to join this few exceptions with another project, which is concepted to be able to spread out into a greater scale in order to adcuire its own dynamism in society so that we can reach in a relatively short period something like an anarchist fallout on ~~in~~ our surrounding society which means a breakout from the anarchist ghetto.

A very important aspect, of cause, is to make a revolutionary concept accessible to people or, in other words, to make Anarchism popular.

Communism
Ruler
Project

In Germany, we have a general lack of libertarian culture and traditions, and this can not be recovered like for instance in Spain, France and Italy, but must be built up from the very beginning.

So one of the basic aims in our project is to find a way of making anarchism popular. This does not mean to abandon our revolutionary position or to approach ourselves in a stupid way to the level of bourgeois behaviour and trying to be beautiful, logely, clean, well-educated and stupid anarchists boys and girls to please the people. We do not want to practise mere and simple populism. What we want, is, to make a revolutionary project accessible to normal people, or, in other words, to make a revolutionary change~~ment~~ an desirable thing in the minds of people and not a thing they have to fear.

What we understand, in this frame, by revolution, was the argument of my intervention last thursday,

We consider, that this aim is particularly important specially in the modern, industrialized states of the western hemisphere and even more specially in those states with social orientated governments, no matter wether under the rule of social democrat, christian democrat, socialist or other parties, where the level of what we call "frustrated identification" with the state is rather high: Nobody really loves the state, but most people support it anyway in order to avoid an incertain future and according to their unconscious fear to any radical change~~ment~~, though many of them feel inside the need of such a change~~ment~~.

We think, that this field is the great challenge and hope at the same time for us anarchists, that ~~that~~^{this} is the field we should be busy in.

The question, you are certainly expecting me to talk about is, how to achieve this aim. Well, I find myself here in a hopeless situation, because the whole written concept of the "Project A" so far is about 100 pages, and last thursday I didn't even succeed to explain the theoretical basis of our revolutionary concept ~~xx~~ which is just one chapter of 4 pages, duing to the restricted time we possess to make statements here.

So, the only thing I can do is giving you a couple of brief, maybe provoking arguments, to explain two or three basic ideas of this project, hoping that it will awaken your curiosity and maybe provoke some spontaneous discussions and some further explanations outside the campus. ~~Anywhare~~ ^{Anyway}, I think, you will certainly hear from it in the following years in the libertarian press and be able to follow the development or maybe even the failure of our project. On the other hand, the whole paper in german language will be availiabile in November this year.

One of the crucial aspects, that of making anarchism accessible and popular to people, I've already talked about. Another important aspect is an internal one - a problem, which, as far as I can concern, is affecting more or less to any anarchist group and project anywhere in the world. It is the disharmony between three basical aspects in our practice, which we consider primarily important. Those are the fields of political activity, of personal living-style, friendship among ourselves and happyness and of the economic aspects of where do we work and earn our money. ~~Thisxxxthreexxxxthingsxx~~
This magic triangle of your personal political engagement, your personal happiness and your personal reproduction sphere is constantly out of balance in most anarchist groups.

We say: It is possible, to bring this three crucial aspects into balance and we therefore developed ~~in~~^{during} 8 years a rather sophisticated system of how going to achieve it - a system with very detailed ideas in all this three levels which we consider all of the same importance. So our project consists in well definated economic structures, linked ~~to~~^{with} equally well definated political structures and ideas aswell ~~as~~ as ~~w~~qually well definated structures of living, gathering, environment, internal discussing and the way of how to take collective decisions.

It would be certainly interesting to step into details now, but ~~xxx~~ I am afraid, this will bust the frame of this statement.

Anyway I would like to make an allusion to what is the smallest cell of our project, only in economical aspect:

The ~~whole~~ whole further project is ~~xxx~~ raised up on a solid base of small, autonomous groups of 5 to 20 persons, which form at the same time a cell of economic income and production, of political focus and of new forms of living together. Each of this cell is normally constituted by what we call a "double-project", this means, one concrete project with more political inclination that needs money and another concrete project with more economical inclination, that ~~xxxxxxx~~^{earns} money. Both projects normally are located in one building and form an economic unity, ^{and} at the same time, in the same building, the group that runs this two projects, is practising new styles of living together, forming an collective. To give you a very simple example I could mention a bookstore, linked with a bar o a cafe.

This is certainly not a new Idea. What makes it new and gives it an originality are mostly three aspects:

First, we are not going to raise up only one "double-project", but a lot of them, maybe hundereds ~~of them, firstxxxxinxxxxihxxxxfirst~~ ~~period~~ simultaneously and in the first period in only one carefully selected small town.

Secondly we are not going to follow the classical economic production fields of ^{the} so called "alternative market" as maybe potteries, ~~bookstores~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~, cafes, candles, clothing, and all kinds of counter-cultural accessoires, but quite banal and normal workshops that produce items of daily need or offers services of daily need, that everybody, not only anarchists or leftists consume, but are interesting to the whole population. By that we hope to build up a large economic network, that makes it pretty hard to any concrete person living in that town to escape from our well spread-over federation of collectives. In order to that we are quite optimistic to reach to a new definition of what is a "political" work. According to our Ideas, and forming part of the dinamic we want to give to our activities, a project as for instance selling bread may become a political act aswell as organizing a picket-line.

Our rather ambitious aim is to come to a point, where any activity you are doing within the whole project can no longer be qualified as an political act or as an act of personal satisfaction or as an act of earning money. In this way, we hope to get that magic triangle, I talked about before, into balance by abolishing the artificially created border-lines between these three things, which affect aswell our political practice aswell as ~~our~~ personal lives as also the lives of the so calles "common people".

Of course, this economical structure, I just tried to explain, doesn't make the whole project. It is, as I said before, just the base on which the whole further bunch of activities is erected upon. It is something like a fundament of a large series of other anarchist projects, ideas, fantasies and plans, that find on this economical base a reliable background in order to make any further activities possible, to strengthen it and to get it into a dynamism of libertarian discussion, critics and support.

So, based on this solid ~~xxxx~~ background, we will be able for the first time in ~~xxxx~~ German post-war-history to develop any kind of libertarian activities - maybe of cultural, anarcho-syndicalist, militant, ecologic, educational or any other type, ~~on a in a~~ in great scale and with solid bases.

And, what is important too, these projects, all linked up together with these economical "double-projects" in a kind of network or federation, gives us - also for the first time - the chance to do all this outside our well-known anarchist ghetto or, at least, with the possibility to make participate a great number of "common people" in ~~this xxxxxxxx~~ ^{convert} process and to ~~make~~ a whole lot of the rest in what we call "positive tolerators" of our project.

Naturally, our perspectives go much further: We developed detailed ideas and even plans of how making ~~this xxxxxxxx~~ a movement out of this project, that is, of how making it spread first into other towns and cities, into other regions, all over Germany and finally make it an international current, but also here, I wish to stop my desire of talking much more.

I come to an end.

After these rather impressionistic than coherent allusions I was able to make here today, I think there might exist the danger that things are now even less clear than before. The worst danger I am fearing is, that, based on this fragmentary inform, you could ^{be} tentated to classify our project.

I can assure you, that it is not classifiable. You can not call it an cooperative ~~movement~~ ^{project} aswell as you cannot call it an anarcho-syndicalist ~~movement~~ ^{project}, you can not call it a merely ~~peaceful~~ ^{project} pacifistic ~~movement~~ aswell as you cannot call it a merely militant one. It is not a child of the alternative scene aswell as it is not a dogmatic son of any anarchist doctrine. In fact, we do not claim any special anarchist thinker or theory to be our inspirator. Maybe, the "project A" contents some element of all of these tendencies, but it is far away from being a simple mixture. We didn't want to make a milk-shake, but a pure drink, and I can assure you, that it is a rather heavy stuff. And the only thing I can assure ^{positiv} is, that this project ist revolutionary, in the etymologic sense of the world.

The project A is not a bastard, because it has a great deal of ~~very~~ new Ideas and I think, the secret behind it is just the sophisticated ^{combination} ~~mixture~~ of experiences made by ourselves, of ideas already parctised elsewhere and those new Ideas.

~~It is not a bastard, and~~ The only way to find out, what it really is, is to ~~mix~~ get informed ~~with it~~, to modify ~~it~~ it according to your own ideas and experiences and to do it. You are all cordially invited to do so.