

# BEYIND the dark HIRIZIN...

A collective work

### **CONTENTS**

	4
MAROONED	
ARRIVING AT THE CAMP.	14
STRAIGHT OUTTA CONISTON	18
INAPPROPRIATE THOUGHTS TO HAVE WHILE BEING BOMBED	24
DECURATION A CONTROL FOR IN THE RAIL, OR DIRECT ACTION AS A POPULAR PRIESSOPRY	
ווואט בעיפעראב אוויסומער, אירווואר ערווואר ערווואר אירווער ביידי אוויסידי אייסידי אוויסידי אוויסידי אוויסידי אוויסידי אוויסידי אוויסידי אייסידי אוויסידי אוויסידי אייסידי אוויסידי אייסידי אוויסידי אייסידי אוויסידי אייסידי איי	
THE LAND AND ANARCHY	
MAPUCHE DEFEND THEIR LAND IN ARGENTINA AGAINST FORESTRY INCURSIONS	
НДРРУ ЕЦС РДУ	
WOOMERA STORIES PART 1	77
THE PARK-SURRISE ON THE HORIZON	
PEFEND THE FOREST - STOP COP CITY	············· <u></u>
NIGHT OWLS N93: AUTUMN OFFENSIVE	
CAPITAL GREY	
THE OTWAYS CAMPAIGN & HOW IT WAS WON	
LESSER REPORTED SOUDDARITY ACTIONS WITH THE RESISTANCE TO COAL MINING IN LUTZERATH, GERMANY 2023	104
BIRRARUNG BLUES	117
FIRELIGHT: MYKI JAY	11.
YOU BUILD ROADS	122
STOP COP CITY! REVISITING DEGROWTH & PERMARENT ECOLOGICAL CONFLICT.	
WE ARE GATHERED HERE IN UFE.	
DINOSAURS MAY HAVE SENSED THEY HAD MORE TIME SO WASE UP AND SMELL THE COFFIN	

THE FOREST OCCUPATION MOVEMENT IN GERMANY	148
SOVEREIGN CITIZWENS.	
OUTER URBAN HORIZON	182
TRANSFORMING EXTRACTIVE WAYS OF BEING	
SOME LESSONS FROM SAINTE-SOUPE, FRANCE	
AN ANTI-SOCIAL ONTOLOGY FOR SURVIVING MASS-EXTINCTION-CULTURE.	
THE GREEN TRANSITION IS ALREADY UNDERWAY – AND IT'S NOT LOOKING PRETTY	
ANARCHIST NEWS FROM WONTHAGGI	225
(· 650.	美艺
	20
DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROPERTY OF	

Welcome to issue 3 of ' $\mathbf{B}_{\mathbf{e}\mathbf{z}0\mathbf{n}}$ d the  $\mathbf{D}_{\mathbf{a}\mathbf{r}k}$  Horizon' - a publication of radical, green, anarchist, art, poetry, images, stories and rants coming out of 'so-called Australia.'

THIS ISSUE HAS BEEN COMPILED IN 2023 ON THE LANDS OF THE KULIN NATIONS WITH CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE LANDS OF INDIGENOUS NATIONS ACROSS SO CALLED 'AUSTRALIA' AND THE WORLD. WE RECOGNISE THAT GENOCIDE = ECCIDE, LAND MUST BE GIVEN BACK, AND SOVEREIGNTY WAS YEVER CEDED. AS A RADICAL, GREEN, ANARCHIST, PUBLICATION WE ACKNOWLEDGE RESISTANCE TO COLONISATION AS A FRONT LIPE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE COLONY. TO MAKE A YEW WORLD IS TO FORGE YEW RELATIONSHIPS, ROLES, AND WAYS OF ORGANISING BEYOND 'CAPITAL' AND ITS HORIZONS.

In this issue you'll find content from participants in blockade australia, stories from the infamous 2002 Woomera breakout, reports from local anarchist scenes, eulogies to lost comrades, the questioning of linear time, and a heap of rants, poetry, and images from both here and overseas.

With these publications we are trying to give voice to comrades and ponder what a radical rethink of anarchist resistance means in a time of ecological and social breakdown. The economic, social and ecological shifts that are underway require us to gaze beyond dark horizons.

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For anarchy, joy, and destruction of the world that capital made.

ps. fuck the cops! and fuck work too!









# WARDONED

We are staring at a dark horizon. The disasters accumulate and compound and on most sleenless nights we can imagine the end of the world before the end of capitalism. The heavy metals continue to accumulate in the food chain and the land cracks and fractures as the empire

digs for more, cutting trees to posts and breathing

bodies to products.

The violence of the system is insidious. Somewhere along the way it made us forget that you should be able to enjoy the cool drink straight from the rivers flow. Now we can't often imagine another wav.

I tell myself we must become accustomed to chaos. We ride the dark seas of the changing currents and the response is so dampened we fight about theories using big words and books before we bother to sit and face the human

WE ARE STARING AT A DARK HORIZON. THE DISASTERS ACCUMULATE AND COMPOUND AND ON MOST SIEEPIESS NIGHTS WE CAN IMAGINE THE END OF THE WORLD BEFORE THE END OF СДРПДЦЅМ.

In this colony I dream of crumbling the structures that brutalise bodies worse than they brutalise our minds, the grey repetition they impose and the sharp angles we fight to bend. Each year our anchors shift and each year I feel myself politically marooned, cast adrift in the sparse politics of Australia; trying to find a compass through.

For a decade I was shipwrecked off an island we shall call the climate movement, who wanted to renovate their island with solar panels and turn their coconuts into keep cups. We looked at the skies and reduced our atmosphere to parts per million and a target to match. We got stuck trying to swim between single-issue islands, seasick on small wins and watching the tides of incremental change.

I am over choosing short term strategies that undermine longer term liberation. I want the pirates to come and help us take fate in our own hands, sharing everything we have and picking at the Empire whenever we can.

I want to crumble the system operating on the island most call Australia. To build a wave of resistance that wants to break down single-issue containers and instead recognise the interconnectedness of different forms of oppression and how they reinforce each other to create the mess we are in.

\*\*

For now, some of us see that as #Blockade Australia.

Governmental and market responses to the ecological crisis have failed us. This violent colony will never bow down on its own accord. Power does not just reside in Government. When Parliament House shut down throughout Covid the infrastructure of Australia still

churned through the land. It is through industrial flows that this system is maintained. And it is through the disruption of these flows, that the world is re-routed.

I am sick of people being told by old activists that we are hopelessly utopia. That we should hang up our dreams of a world beyond capitalism. It is not the weakness of our struggles that explains the disappearance of any revolutionary perspective; it's the absence of any credible revolutionary perspective that explains the weakness of our struggles.

There's a common narrative that you try direct action when all else fails, but we (like many of you reading this) assert that this is our preferred way of doing things. Direct Action is not just a tactic – we are individuals asserting our ability to control our own lives and to participate in social life without the need for mediation or control by bureaucrats, professional campaigners or politicians.

Direct action is how ordinary people enter the political arena. Having a voice, therefore, does not come down to expertise but to personally engaging with the problem and its solutions. Direct action means thinking and acting for ourselves. It means finding another way, instead of validating the slow, ineffective, and inaccessible mechanisms that exist within the system to ask for change.

Blockade Australia doesn't have it all sorted. I feel quite often politically marooned, shipwrecked and insecure in the way forward. Ready to burn and ready to hide. Grappling to hope when the sea's never calm. Just like every other movement, there are structural issues and challenges to decentralization. There's been an onslaught of hard repression and the

challenges of soft repression – being invisibilised, isolated and critiqued to near-death by moderates and radicals alike. There are strategic discrepancies and huge amounts of learning along the way. This is the same as any movement that tried to shake up the established order of preordained activists.

I think it's critical that a space is created that tries to challenge the way fossil-fuel activism has happened so far. I welcome people attempting to target the colony as a whole -- this system of destruction and alienation. I welcome a movement that's quickly growing skilled organisers and shouting, 'we never had a democracy, it was rigged from the get-go'. A space

where disillusioned XRers's, school strikers and forest activists can gather in peak moments to unite where power concentrates; in the flows maintained by roads, ports and rails. A place where we can all dream beyond the ballot box.

The Blockade Australia network is filled with amazing, dedicated minds, a bulk of which are women, trans and non-binary people. Many are young and have been thrust out of the confines of the climate movement, disillusioned by reformist wins and performative civil disobedience. Many are uninspired of years of using direct action as a lobbying tool to leverage

outcomes from the State, in campaigns like Stop Adani. Many are burnt by XR's politics, false solutions and broke tactics. Many who questioned XR's strategy of mass arrests and now want to build spaces with sustained action, minimum arrests and maximum disruption. We know that to seriously put a stop to extinction, we need to put a stop to the economic and political system that puts profits and property above all else. We know the climate movement needs to link up with other movements that can oppose capitalism; anti-colonial/indigenous struggles, as well as patriarchy, nationalism and white supremacy.

Contrary to internet opinion, we are embedded in many different spaces, and are trying to create mobilisations that any group that wants to challenge the system can get behind. We have made a conscious decision as a network to not get lost in empty solidarity and tokenism and commit to practical solidarity on-the-ground – so don't go looking for evidence on our socials.

\*\*\*

Our public Sydney mobilisation was a mess. We jumped too high, too soon. We walked the plank between trying to keep our human resources together and decentralising fast enough to duck dive repression. We thought people were ready to join the streets en masse and they weren't. We learnt from Hong Kong that the best way to minimise arrests is to hold a space for as long as we can, then move and dissipate, using Telegram as a way of communicating on the ground. The prior 'centralised' planning of the route was

chosen to coordinate new people, maximize disruption and limit kettling from people who knew the CBD. The road scrubbing that took place became a spontaneous tactic used to break police lines and was recognised by many as proof of the creative do-it-yourself space that can happen in swarm-style actions.

WE ARE LIVING IN A TIME OF UIPRECEDENTED STATE SURVEILANCE. POLICE CAN FIND US ANYWHERE AT ANY TIME AND ACCESS ALL

### It is a form of hope to try a tactic in an unprecedented context and see if it works.

OUR COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE PRESS OF A BUTTON. ORGANISING SAFE AND EFFECTIVE ACTIONS AT POINTS THAT WILL COST THE RICH MONEY IS HARD TO DO IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES. WE CAN ONLY HOPE TO ORGANISE THESE WITH PEOPLE WE KNOW AND TRUST AND CAN SPEND SIGNIFICANT TIME WITH EACH PERSON. YET, WE RECOGNISE THAT TO GET THE NUMBERS WE REED TO MAKE THOSE ACTIONS SIGNIFICANT ENOUGH TO MAKE THE CHANGES REQUIRED, WE WILL REED TO DO OPEN INVITES AND OPEN ORGANISING. IT'S A FIRE UPE TO AVOID THE CRUSHING HEEL OF THE EMPIRE'S REPRESSION WHILST ORGANISING ACTUAL, EFFECTIVE RESISTANCE.

IN A COMPLEX MODILISATION SPACE, THERE ARE OFTEN LAYERS THAT AREN'T READABLE FROM THE OUTSIDE. NO DECISION IS MADE WITHOUT HOURS AND MEETINGS AND THE BEST VANTAGE POINT IS WITHIN TO UNDERSTAND THE THINKING BEHIND EACH CHOICE. THE BEST CRITIQUES ALWAYS COME FROM STAYING CLOSE.

IT IS A FORM OF HOPE TO TRY A TACTIC IN AN UIPRECEDENTED CONTEXT AND SEE IF IT WORKS.

We cannot take a homogeneous approach to what is happening.

Homogeneity is a tranquilizer -- like suburbia to topography. Emergence isn't a mathematical equation and resistance doesn't take a linear path.

The past is in us and not behind us, and we are all sailing uncharted seas into the night. Solidarity means showing up for us because your horizon line is the same horizon line as ours...



"Vale Aunty Viv Malo, Gooniyandi Warrior

Woman. Fly High Aunt, Rest in Power 🕥.

Dedicated to the staunchest activist and realest

person I've ever known, I miss you so much Aunt,

Mini Miller"

### ARRIVING AT THE CAMP AT 3AM...

'I drive into camp at night, dusty yellow road, branches overhanging, the mist rising in the headlights. Around yet another bend and I can see the line of cars parked in the gutter and I pull in at the back. I walk up with a torch on my head, blinding them so they squint up from the campfire, faces out-turned, expectant.

Brendi twists to look behind him and, rising, shouts a challenge. I stand where I am, head torch in his eyes, and its quiet enough to hear a mo poke across the valley. Then I throw a pouch of chop-chop at him and laugh, "its me, ya cunt," and they recognize my voice, and they smile to know that I am here.

They're younger than the last time I saw them. Brendi is scrawny still, no drunkard's paunch. Robin's dreds are dark and he's standing up straight, vibrating, barely contained. Flynny knows who I am the first time he looks at me. Years have been erased.

Brendi squats down at the fireside, striped knee socks stretching from his beaten black runners, knees around his chin and cigarette papers between his feet. By the campfire, Goblin extends his arm and pats the dirt beside him, and I lean into his shoulder and laugh. Flynny squeezes another glass of wine from the bladder in his pocket and grins into his beard: "well, well, well."

"Bout fucking time you turned up," says Brendi, lighting his ciggie. I turn to look into Robin's

face and he shrugs and makes that weird high whine that bends into a giggle. "What's the go?" I ask, and Flynny grumbles into life. "Only time to save the fucking world, m'dear."

Brendi and Goblin have a plan. Brendi's eyebrows go up and up his pointed face as he builds to the bit where we bring down modern society, defend mother earth, and liberate the oppressed. He's nearly jigging in anticipation by the time he tells me what he wants me

to do. Goblin lays his hands on my shoulders and brings his wild glowing golden eyes close to mine, breathing intently into my face, shaking me to make his point. And then he breaks into a huge, hungry grin, when he thinks I've understood.

I walk back to the car for another jacket against the dawn chill as the black of the sky starts to thin to gray. Slowly, shapes are forming outside the circle of firelight – the edge of the tarp, the leaves of the overhanging branches. I'm thinking of how much younger they are, BRENDI AND GOBUN HAVE A PLAN. BRENDI'S EYEBROWS GO UP AND UP HIS POINTED FACE AS HE BUILDS TO THE BIT WHERE WE BRING DOWN MODERN SOCIETY, DEFEND MOTHER EARTH, AND UBERATE THE OPPRESSED. HE'S NEARLY JIGGING IN ANTICIPATION BY THE TIME HE TELLS ME WHAT HE WANTS ME TO DO.

how much lighter. I turn back towards camp and the shape of the pod, looming over the camp, sketches itself across the lightening sky. They think we're going to win this time, I'm thinking. And not just this coupe, the whole box and dice. They think we're really going to

bring it down. At last.

Brendi and Goblin are itching to bolt into the bush, to put the plan into action. Flynny feeds the fire and climbs into the back of the truck to find his vhs camera. By now I can see the shapes of the banners hanging across the gate, the ropes hanging from the sit, last night's empties strewn around the campfire defining themselves in the half light. Brendi and Goblin scamper down their respective tracks, disappearing almost immediately into the understorey.



"Really, Flynn?" I ask as he emerges from the back of the truck, filling the pockets of his vest with notebooks, pens, cameras, microphones. "The whole thing, this time? And we're going to win?" "This is it, m'dear" he nods, pointing the camera down the road. We can hear the machinery grumbling toward us, from several bends away. "This is when the bastards go down," and he shakes his jowls and his beard on the 'down.'

Colour is creeping into the world and I can read the words on the banners now as the kookaburras start to laugh. I dig my hands into my pockets and amble up to the gate, taking deep breaths of the rich green rising fog. Flynny's camera is on me from behind and the machinery is getting louder. I roll my shoulders back, and start stringing together words in my head, something that will stall them long enough for the boys to get in place, without getting me decked. The sun is risen properly now. I'm thinking, this could work.

The machines have rounded the last bend into sight. And it's our time. Again. Still. At last. Forevermore'

RIP Flynny, Brendie and Robin!





## STRAIGHT DUTTA CONISTON

By Frew

The Formation of the Network of Wollongong Anarchists (NWA).

Over the last couple of years a whole raft of smallish anarchist and left communist aligned projects have sprung up around Wollongong. Everyone has been doing their own thing, at times not even aware of each others work or politics. It was only as we were gearing up to call the first NWA meeting that some of the

participating crews met for the first time.

My activist skill-set is very much geared around organising, I have been part of the Gong Commune since its formation, but it's a group of activists very much embedded in community coalitions and they require no organisation from me. I needed an ongoing project to sink my teeth into.

Working in community coalitions can be tiresome. People with vastly different world views and ideas about solutions have limited options when working together to organise an action. Various factions all jockeying for their particular politics, the Greens and ALP trying to use the coalitions to promote their politics and candidates at various elections, and the Trots acting like the 'Borg, all mysteriously getting up at every meeting and saying the exact same thing as each other, like there's a groundswell for whatever second-rate rally they want. They aren't exactly inspiring spaces, so it's only sometimes (if I think we could pull off a large action with militant politics) that I want to participate.

I wanted to get all the people I consider 'on my side' talking to each other and working together where applicable. That's an ongoing project I could sink my teeth in to. I talked to some of my comrades and they thought it would be a good idea. Most of them had been to a few Gong Commune meetings, but thought the meetings were too long and boring and the politics a bit high-brow. They were adamant that the new group not be like that.

Anarchists often get accused of not being able to organise due to our lack of coercion. "How can you do anything if people just do what they want?" Even with rules, people can always do what they want, they just have to break the rules. Through obedience comes domination. We thought a network would be the most useful structure to adopt, we have diverse groups working on different projects and random individual

anarchists around. A Federation would miss out on all of the individual activists and an organisation could hamper the work that's already going on.

The idea is that most of the action organising happens outside of NWA meetings. Only if there's unanimous agreement can we act as an organisation. There's the community coalitions, the projects already being run by the participant groups and the capacity to form other collectives and working groups etc when there's the motivation for action. We don't need unity in action, we need to communicate and cooperate where we can.

Usually activist organisations puts together a platform that encompasses the politics of all of its participants and then tries to recruit people to the



Cause. The Gong Commune platform is two pages long for example (and it's short). Having read too much critical theory, I am wary of over-arching narratives, so what if we tried not doing that? We need a basis from which we can work together, but it doesn't have to be clearly defined. A line in the sand would do.

With a bit of work-shopping we came up with a pretty clear line in the sand:

1. We expect all members of NWA to fight to abolish the state, class society, patriarchy, white supremacy, colonialism, capitalism, property and all other systems of social domination, at a bare minimum.

Just to be clear, we re-iterated parts of point 1 in points 2 and 3:

- 2. NWA tolerates no bigotry. This includes racism, sexism, homophobia, transphobia and ableism. NWA will not tolerate the policing of others' bodies. These are systems of social domination and whilst it's covered in point 1, it needs to be clear.
- 3. We are serious about decolonisation. Australia is a settler-colonial state founded on genocide. We must dismantle colonial structures, the state and federal governments, their national borders, standing army, police forces, prison systems and the child 'welfare' system that continues the horrors of the Stolen Generations to this day. We must respect Indigenous knowledge and not subordinate such knowledges to the western scientific traditions. Equally, we must respect the

traditional owners of the land and their wishes for it's use, not only when it is convenient, but especially when it is not. Colonialism can only end when we stop the colonising process.

We added a rule defining membership and a rule stating that we would have our own publication and that was it. I am aware of the irony of putting forward a platform (albeit broad) after decrying platforms, so don't bother pointing that out.

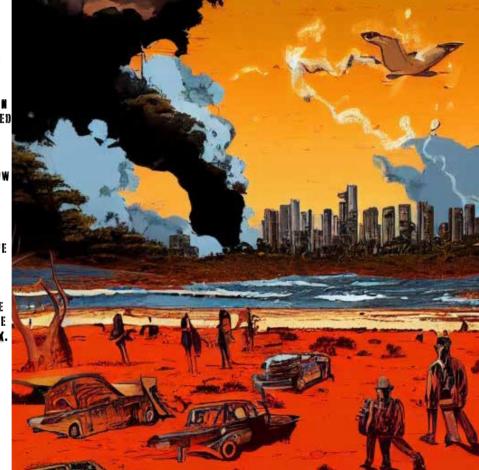
WE CALLED THE MEETING FOR A SUNNY SATURDAY AFTERNOON IN A COMRADES BACK YARD AND MORE THAN 20 PEOPLE TURNED UP, INCLUDING TWO FROM SYDNEY AND TWO DOWN FROM NEWCASTLE. WE LIMITED SPEAKING CONTRIBUTIONS TO A MAXIMUM OF THREE MINUTES AND SET A TARGET OF AN HOUR AND A HALF FOR THE MEETING, GIVING EACH TOPIC A SET AMOUNT OF TIME. I PUT FORWARD THE BASIC IDEA, THEN SAT BACK TO LET EVERYONE ELSE SPEAK, ONLY CONTRIBUTING AS NEEDED. WE WERE A GROUP OF PEOPLE, MANY MEETING FOR THE FIRST TIME, NOT FEELING SUPER COMFORTABLE ABOUT TALKING, SO IT WAS GOING TO TAKE A LITTLE TIME FOR EVERYONE TO RELAX AND SPEAK UP, THERE WAS NO BENEFIT TO ANYONE FOR ME TO FILL THE EMPTY SPACE WITH THE DRONE OF MY OWN VOICE.

To my shock, everyone was happy with the plan. I was expecting to have to form working groups to thrash out details and for people to have different ideas for how to organise, but everyone was happy.

WE DIDN'T EVEN NEED TO FORMALLY MOVE FROM TOPIC TO TOPIC, THE CONVERSATION FLOWED IN THE WAY THAT WE PLANNED IT OUT.

WE'LL MEET AGAIN ON FEBRUARY 11 AND SEE HOW IT DEVELOPS, BUT THE START GOULD NOT HAVE GONE BETTER.

I'M EXCITED FOR WHAT WE WILL DO IN THE FUTURE. IT'S AN INTERESTING EXPERIMENT IN ORGANISING THAT I HOPE PANS OUT, BUT ONLY TIME WILL TELL. WISH US LUCK.



### INAPPROPRIATE THOUGHTS TO HAVE WHILST BEING BONIBED

It took me a few seconds to realise what was going on. I didn't have a reference point for what I was hearing or seeing.

Weirdly, I didn't panic. I knew that this overly rational response was inappropriate and problematic. Like when my stepfather passed away and I couldn't cry.

I ushered the babes back inside our concrete bunker of a rental, they said they were a bit scared. And I said it would be okay, it's just like thunder. "Clouds crashing?" asked my two year old.

"Yes hon. Clouds crashing", I lied. We played lego on the floor and my eyes greedily drank up theirs.

I pondered my decision years ago to stay in Melbourne and not move to Europe or the US. My friends who'd continued down the academic path were now chasing jobs where they could get them. Stamford. Berkeley. London. Now there's a regret. Should have kept to the bucket list. Even with the babies. True I got a few good years of reasonably clean air and political peace. Except it's never really been political peace but thinly veiled white supremacy and a so-called democratic populace who largely couldn't give a fuck. Nothing to see here.

I'd done alright. But I only stayed here because Melbourne was apparently better for the cherubs. Of all the fun, crazy cities in the big, bad world. I found it hard to even talk with my mates in London and Berkeley now. To them, the mundane reality of Melbourne is so politically dull, our progressive social movements so weak and incapable of bringing about the kind of change we need. I feel ashamed of that.

Mediocrity can be quite convincing when it comes to our limited perceptions of what constitutes the best interests of children. My brief experience of London had been air pollution so thick I was sick for weeks. My experience of Berkeley was that the cost of living was so high, and inequality was so great that raising kids there would be a nightmare.

But unfortunately inequality had caught up with us here in Melbourne too. We were certainly a bit more protected here in our concrete bunker than the thousands of rough sleepers in this city. But nuclear warheads are the great equaliser, aren't they? Who cares if you've got six million dollars or six. And bad luck if you had a shit time making your money. Your money is worth nothing now.

Oh well. At least it's not Syria. At least it's not sarin. At least it will be instant. I cracked a beer, finally unaffected by the guilt of my children seeing me drink. No, they will not grow up to be alcoholics because I have beer at the dinner table. No, they won't.

I called mum. Not that I needed to make peace. But I knew she'd be equally devoid of adrenaline and tears. I could share the weirdness of that, I'd feel like a bit less of a psychopath.

Over the years our spleens had been workhorses, mum and I. We were never the kind to cry. When we watched our cat Norman Bates get run over in our street twenty years ago, we didn't cry. We just watched, amazed at the physical process as his body spasmed out of our lives until it was a still lump of bloodied fur.

But by now, I think we were both just literally spent from giving too much a of a shit about death and violence and the prospect of losing one another. I think they call it compassion fatigue. We'd thought about this day every day.

In recent years, mum had become so at ease with her health problems, as if her death would simply be going through the motions. I'd previously dreaded her coming end. I'd imagined balling uncontrollably as her lifeless body became some kind of embodiment of peace, like the Buddha reaching Nirvana. She wouldn't acknowledge my pain. But now I was happy I wouldn't be around to feel it. We were all going down together. And I knew there was nothing I could do about it.

"I'm just here with Grandpa, love. We're just looking at old photos and having a cuppa. We're okay." Of course you blood are, you mad woman. I could hear her steady voice, I could almost see her dry eyes.

I called James. "Lucky you got all those tins of food, babe. How'd you know?"

If only he would laugh at my terrible jokes. Just this one time.

He was sobbing. "I should have fixed the roof."

"Darl, they're nukes!" I said deadpan. "Your guilt is wasted here. Just get in someone's car and try to make it home."

I'd previously thought that emergency services would only use that little yellow symbol in movies. But here it was. "Take cover. Do not leave your building. If you are driving, get indoors immediately. This site contains information on community emergency facilities. If you are in the city, do not enter underground car parks."

I cracked another tinny, planted some tiny lego flowers with a tiny lego spade, looked my children in the eyes and told them that I love them very much.

"I love you too, mummy."



Blockading a container port in the rain, or Direct Action As A Political Philosophy

The night smells of wattle and sea salt and burning

Her whispers send shivers to my soul: not from the cold-

From the thought of my friends in our make believe palace

Where no one is young and no one is old

Where the darkness is full of advantage, not terror

In its robes we become : mouse, bug, wolf, bat, bird

No one traces the moon like an army of feral beasts,

Stalking border, fence, skyline, afraid but undeterred

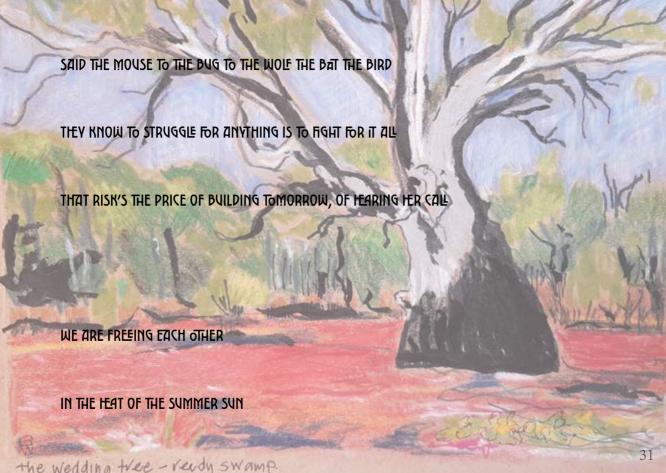
By the threats in the mail in the media in the courtroom,

The wrap of knuckle on wood, on cell floor, on bone,

Beat a rhythm against the exploited, an unmistakable tune

But we find hope in the emptiness of the empire's own tone

If you'll die for nothing it means you lived for less



In the midnights next to carriages of coal by the tonne

In underground bunkers

In streets in their bars

In riots in handcuffs in canine jaws and cop cars

Places where power is changing, exchanging, engaging in a trade

As our world means more, theirs starts to fade

And fighting, laughing, loving, becomes one act of resistance

An eternity of dreamers are stepping out this dance-

Liberation is an action, there is no losing before we get there And at the wattle flavoured beach, where my friends are scared and brave

We read, we plan, we remind (or convince) ourselves of the truth that we crave:

We can free each other

We are freeing each other

trying to tell the climate movement that an electoral solution does not exist:

i sit in the lemonade sunset all my friends on the promenade at dusk salty hair lines stripped back skin lacks its time in the shade.

the sky burns retinas and writes tragedies in apocalypse orange, i dance through the afternoon heat to the beat of the tortured iron bark.

this is ex boulevard plaza palace skyscraper street; forget sunday sleep ins and grapefruit on the breakfast island. it's dinnertime and drape yourself in murder's on the menu.

monday peak hour and you are traffic

i count the SUVs walking the plank

your tombstone reads "congested dreamer on the motorway"

you read the news and watch tv and keep your savings in a bank

i drink poison too, but only on fridays, in lazy dim club lights and underground bars,

i swallow sulphur and cool aid and cider and listen for strumming on broken guitars

i watch my friends leapfrog their way into heaven and come clamouring down when they figure it out -

there's not enough songs that condemn saints and martyrs -

the people i grew up with floss my guts out of their teeth

they plaster god and all our faces on their kitchen mantelpiece,

i wonder if they know that it's their world ending too.

we used to love this city!

now every corner is another tourist info tent selling hope as a slow trot to lukewarm salty water on a rotting pier at dusk, all my friends on the promenade sipping lemonade through silicon in the dying sun

the last afternoon on earth is full of smog and dodge ball.



### TIPS FOR STREET DEMONSTRATIONS AND LOOKING OUT FOR ONE ANOTHER

- " DON'T GO TO ACTIONS ALONE! HAVE A BUDDY TO HANG WITH DURING THE DAY.
- \* DO NOT SNITCH ON EACH OTHER! DO NOT TELL THE POLICE ANYTHING ABOUT YOURSELF, OR ANYONE ELSE, DO NOT BRAG TO ANYONE, ESPECIALLY WHEN IN CUSTODY. DO NOT POST INCRIMINATING PHOTOS AND VIDEOS, AND USE EXTREME DISGRESSION WHEN POSTING ANYTHING ABOUT DEMONSTRATIONS. (TRY TO THINK ABOUT HOW IT'D LOOK IF YOU'RE STANDING BEFORE THE COURT).
- \* TRY TO STAY CALM AND SUPPORT EACH OTHER DURING ARRESTS. REMIND ONE ANOTHER NOT TO TALK TO COPS.
- \* DO NOT TALK TO COPS! THE ONLY INFORMATION YOU ARE LEGALLY REQUIRED TO GIVE THEM IS YOUR NAME AND ADDRESS. COPS ARE ALLOWED TO LIE. IF YOU LIE TO A COP OR IT CAN BE AN OFFENCE. EVEN IF YOU MISSPOKE. BE SAFE: DO NOT TALK TO THEM.
- \* WHEN UNDER ARREST, EXPECT INTIMIDATION AND HARASSMENT BY POLICE. THEY WILL LIE TO YOU TO SCARE YOU, TO EXTRACT INFORMATION THAT THEY CAN USE LATER TO PROSECTUTE YOU AND YOUR COMRADES. NO COMMENT, I AM GOING TO REMAIN SILENT, I WANT TO TALK TO MY LAWYER.
- " 'SAY NO COMMENT TO EVERY QUESTION OR CONVERSATION' SMALL TALK IS DANGEROUS AND THEY ARE TRYING TO GET YOU TO INCRIMINATE YOURSELF. NO COMMENT FROM THE START OF ANY CONVO.
- \* COPS MAY RECORD YOU IN CUSTODY ROOMS OR IN VEHICLES.
- " IF POLICE COME KNOCKING, DON'T OPEN YOUR DOOR, THEY NEED A WARRANT

#### **BUILD A CULTURE OF RESISTANCE**

IT IS THE ROLE OF THE POLICE TO PROTECT PRIVATE PROPERTY AND GOVERNMENT ORDER. THEY WILL USE VIOLENCE AND COHERCION, AND BREAK THE LAW MHENEVER THEY FEEL IT NECESSARY TO BREAK US DOWN. THAT MEANS IT IS OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO SUPPORT EACH OTHER MATERIALLY, PSYCHOLOGICALLY, AND EMOTIONALLY, AS ME RESIST THE POLICE AND THE STATE. ME CANNOT EXPECT THAT PEOPLE WILL FEEL SAFE OR COMFORTABLE RESISTING STATE POWER IF THEY DON'T FEEL LIKE THEY WILL BE SUPPORTED IF THEY ARE ARRESTED. IT IS OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT ONE ANOTHER. ME ALSO UNDERSTAND THAT A KEY TACTIC OF STATE REPRESSION IS TO HELP CREATE AND EXPLOIT DIVISIONS AMONG US IN GRASSROOTS ORGANISING AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS. ME HEREBY PLEDGE TO STAND IN SOLIDARITY WITH ONE ANOTHER, ACROSS ALL POTENITAL DIVISIONS.

### PRINCIPLES OF SOLIDARITY

WE ENACT THE PRINCIPLE OF SOLIDARITY WITH ONE ANOTHER BY RECOGNISING OUR INDIVIDUAL COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY NOT TO INCRIMINATE OUR FELLOW ACTIVITISTS, AND HEREBY PLEDGE THAT:

- " WE WILL NOT TALK TO COPS OR STATE AGENCIES ABOUT OUR COMPADES.
- \* WE WILL NOT POST INCRIMINATING INFORMATION ABOUT OUR COMRADES ON SOCIAL MEDIA OR OTHER MEDIA.
- " WE WILL NOT POST INCRIMINATING IMAGES OF OUR COMPADES
- " ME WILL ENACT THIS PRINCIPLE OF SOLIDARITY THROUGH THE SUPPORT WE PROVIDE TO ONE ANOTHER IN THE FACE OF REPRESSION. ME HEREBY PLEDGE TO EXPRESS THIS SOLIDARITY BY SHOWING UP IN COURT TO SUPPORT, DOING JAIL SUPPORT, WRITING LETTERS, POSTING BAIL, AND GENERALLY OFFERING WHAT MUTUAL AID WE CAN.

WHATEVER YOU DO, DON'T TALK TO COPS AIN'T SEEN SHIT! AIN'T HEARD SHIT! AIN'T SAYING SHIT!

## Mass ecological sabotage. against

"... Les Soulevements des Terres describe this horizon in the final lines of their website:

We are young rebels who have grown up with the ecological disaster in the background and precariousness as our only horizon. We fought against the labor law, police violence, racism, sexism and the climate apocalypse.

We are inhabitants in struggle attached to their territory. From legal recourse to direct action, we have achieved local victories. Faced with the concrete builders, our resistance is multiplying everywhere.

We are farmers. There are almost no more in France. We strive to establish a relationship of daily care to the earth and to the living to feed our fellow creatures. We are: you, me, us. All those who feel isolated and powerless in the face of the atomization of struggles, the difficulties of acting, and the voracity of the owners. Those who were waiting to be more numerous to fight: here is an opportunity to

A shortened version of the article from Inhabit - Dec 20, 2022

## a climate destroging cement plant!

join our actions and our reflections, this is the moment!
Like the Zapatistas fighting for the right to a life lived in common and a world in which many worlds fit, like our indigenous comrades fighting

WE, TOO, ARE PART OF THESE UPRISINGS OF THE EARTH.

the construction of pipelines across their reservations and burial grounds, like our friends sitting in trees and fighting charges of "domestic terrorism" in the Atlanta forest, like the joyous masses who burned down the Third Precinct during the George Floyd Rebellion, we, too, are part of these uprisings of the earth. And so we hope you'll read these pieces as the invitations that they are, to join in the uprising and fight for a horizon of life that sacrifices no one.

In Marseille, the Lafarge Cement Plant Invaded and Sabotaged by 200 Militants

## // MILITANT ECO-TAGE IN FRANCE //

On December 10, 2022 at 6pm, 200 people invaded the Lafarge plant of La Malle in the city of Bouc-Bel-Air, taking the plant by surprise and disarming it. With a determined and joyful atmosphere, the infrastructure of the plant was attacked through any and all means: incinerator and electrical devices sabotaged, cables

severed, bags of cement eviscerated, vehicles and construction equipment damaged, office windows ruined, and walls repainted with tags.
Lafarge-Holcim is one of the largest polluters and CO2 producers in the country. T targeted by several anti-terrorist

legal proceedings, the

200 people invaded the Lafarge plant of La Malle in the city of Bouc-Bel-Air, taking the plant by surprise and disarming it.

multinational corporation systematically stifles any attacks against it. Here in Bouc-Bel-Air, the furnaces we've targeted, long fueled by tires and other industrial waste, are now a symbol of greenwashing. Though the atmospheric pollution is considerable and has been denounced time and again by the press and by local

residents, the chimneys still spew their poison.

For three years, more and more determined actions have targeted Lafarge-Holcim in France and in Switzerland. First, there were the "Fin de Chantiers" blockades in 2020, followed by the simultaneous occupation and sabotage of four sites by hundreds of people in June 2021 during the "Grand Péril Express" operation, and finally successive mobilizations against the destruction of the Saint-Colomban bocage by Lafarge in the Loire-Atlantique region of France and the Zad de la Colline against an extension of Lafarge's quarry in Switzerland.

AFTER THE BITTER FAILURE OF THE COP27, A FAILURE EASILY FORESEEABLE IN THE GURRENT COP15 IN MONTREAL, WE DIDN'T WANT TO WAIT FOR A COP 2050 AND ANOTHER THREE DEGREES, SO WE RETURNED TODAY AIMING AT GIVING OURSELVES RIGHT NOW THE MEANS TO STOP THESE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRIES THAT DESTROY THE EARTH.

Lafarge and its accomplices hear nothing of the anger of the generations they leave without a future, in a world ravaged by their misdeeds. Their machines, silos and concrete mixers are weapons that kill us. They will not stop unless we force them to. So we will continue to dismantle the infrastructure of disaster ourselves. We call on all those who stand up for the earth to occupy, blockade, and disarm concrete.

Why target Lafarge?

In its delirious race for profit, the Lafarge-Holcim group, along with its billions in revenue, refuses to back down, in disregard of all the ecological and social consequences it generates. Prosecuted in several countries, Lafarge and its leadership have demonstrated their cynicism through their involvement in financing the Islamic State in Syria. Sentenced by the United States in October 2022, and fined to the tune of 778

EXTRACTING ROCK UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE STATE, EVEN IF IT MEANS FEEDING THE WAR. SELLING CEMENT TO REBUILD WHAT THE WARS HAVE DEMOLISHED. AND IN THE PROCESS, DESTROYING OUR LIVING CONDITIONS AND OUR ENVIRONMENTS TO BUILD A WORLD OF CONCRETE AND DEATH...

million dollars for supporting Daesh, they are still under investigation in France for complicity in crimes against humanity. The succession of tactical choices made by the French state, seen in exchanges between the DGSE and Lafarge, demonstrates one time too many that the proper functioning of capitalism requires that the state and industry work together. Extracting rock under the protection of the

State, even if it means feeding the war. Selling cement to rebuild what the wars have demolished. And in the process, destroying our living conditions and our environments to build a world of concrete and death, whether through greenwashing based on carbon neutrality or low-carbon cements produced by incinerating waste.

From the extraction of sand, to the production of cement and concrete, and to the massive, useless projects it facilitates, the entire complex of the construction industry represents an ecological catastrophe. From its supply chain to its application, the construction sector is responsible for 39% of CO2 emissions worldwide. Here in Bouc-Bel-Air, Lafarge has never hesitated in lobbying for an allowance to exceed the environmental standards for dust and sulfur oxides set by the European Union. Of the fifty most polluting sites in France, twenty are cement plants, including this one, which produces more than 444,464 tons of CO2 per year, and feeds its kilns with thousands of old tires and all sorts of other toxic waste.



Within our landscapes as well as our imaginations, concrete has become the norm under the pressure of the industry's lobbying and the complicity of public authorities. It is at the heart of the most absurd projects of the last decade: the construction of the Greater Paris Express and the 2024 Olympic Games sites, the attempted airport at Notre-Dames-des-Landes, the extension of the Château-Gontier quarry in Mayenne, or a few kilometers from here, the paving over of agricultural land in Pertuis....

Since power tightens its grip on its resources and its massive projects, even inventing the term eco-terrorism to legitimize its tracking of environmental activists, since today nothing seems to stop them, we will stop them ourselves. Discovering an adequate means to put an end to the ecocidal projects of land development, and destroying the infrastructure that makes them possible, are the only options to make the world desirable once again.

We do not want colonial eco-capitalism, a war-time economy, or a cynical and manipulative ecological transition. This is why we attacked Lafarge-Holcim today.

BOUG-BEL-AIR, DECEMBER 10 2022, ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED IN LUNDI MATIN HTTPS://LESSOULEVENIENTSDELATERRE.ORG





Our relationship with the land will always reflect our social relationships. If the predominant human relationship with the land is one of ownership, extraction, and exploitation, our predominant social relationship will be based around ownership, extraction, and exploitation as well.

If you want any sort of egalitarian, autonomous society based in mutual aid, that must be reflected in that society's relationship with the land they inhabit. You can't have a free society that is based in ecocide and extraction to fuel industrial civilization or on land stolen through genocide.

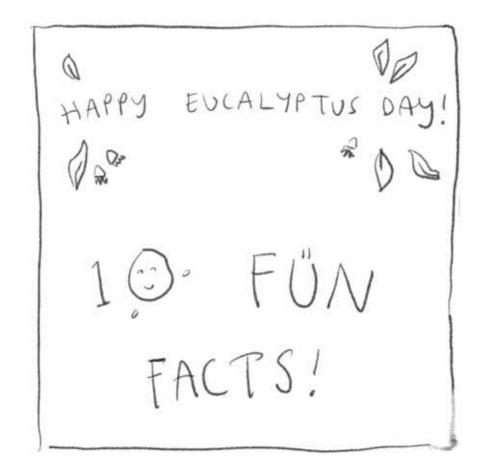
While the land and its ecosystems are subjugated, so are the people that inhabit it. Working to only abolish human on human hierarchies is not enough, if we are striving towards anarchy we must also work to abolish our hierarchy over the land, its ecosystems, and its other inhabitants.

# MAPSCAE DEFERD TARGETARD IN VERENTIAL AGAINST FORESTRY

2022, they attacked and burned forestry machines and demolished a watchtower 700 km (CAM) are a well-known radical Coordinadora Arauco Malleco Mapuche group operating in southern Chile. In December from Santiago.

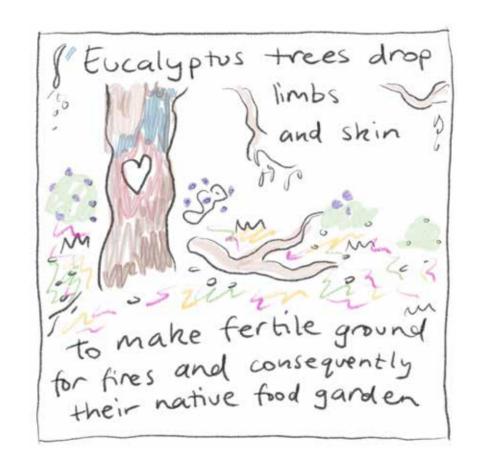
All of this takes place under the imposition of constant states of emergency.

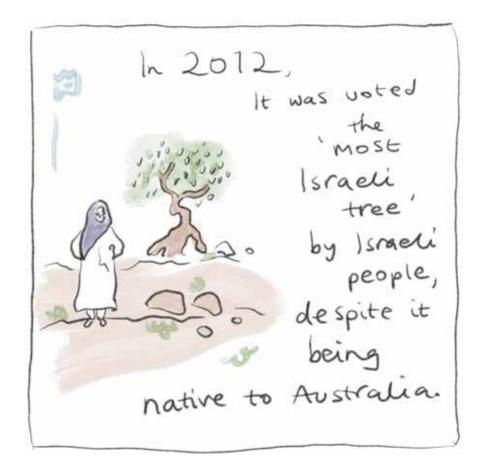
properties are frequent, and the conflict has cost the lives Arson attacks on machinery and of a large number of police officers.



Throughout the day Eucalyptus leaves ROTATE to avoid direct sunlight, carving the sun like the dark side of the moon.







It's said that were planted as a border, to block out Palestinians





Because they have a history of being managed in specific ways, in specific ecosystems, specific people.

## WOOMERA STORIES

Part 1

"WE HAVE AN OLD SAYING IN PERSIA, THAT SAYS THERE IS NO DARKER COLOUR THAN BLACK!

SO WHEN WE WERE IN THE CAMP WE HAD TWO OPTIONS, ARE THEY DEPORTING US?

BACK TO EXECUTION.. TO PRISON.. TO DEATH?.. OR.. GOING TO CAMP?

BUT LUCKY YOU GUYS GIVE US A THIRD OPTION, OUT OF THE BLACK,

WHICH IS ANOTHER TRY, AND I THINK WE ARE VERY GRATEFUL FOR WHAT YOU GAVE US."

They bent like half cooked spaghetti, we didn't expect it to happen like that, to the soundtrack of Amelie (a popular French movie at the time) blowing across the desert from dusty speakers, the fences began to fall. Under the weight of people wanting justice, under the weight of people that had enough, it's hard to remember the exact sequence of events as it all seemed to happen very quickly. I was familiar with the desert and the area around Woomera after spending the best part of 3 years out there at lake Eyre camp campaigning against Roxby's Olympic Dam mine and roaming about with camels protesting the proposed nuclear waste dump. That journey had taken us on foot through the Woomera prohibited zone and to the Woomera township with its missile park and feeling of ghost town abandonment. Refugees had escaped from Woomera previously and crew from our camp at the lake had gone down to support only to witness the refugees being matched back to the detention centre at gunpoint.

I think I had been looking for a phone box when I saw the initial movement from the camp of people strolling towards the detention centre, I casually joined the movement, curious but completely unaware of what was about to unfold. Ahead I could see people climbing on the fence and to our surprise under the weight it bent, and we clambered over getting closer and closer to the main fence where the refugees had already breached their compound and got passed the rolls of razor wire. With another piece of fence, they levered the bars and within seconds were jumping into the crowd below. It was as if they were stage diving at a rock concert and all we could do was to catch them and then they ran, another one, another one. young men, old men, women and children, two brothers who were only 11 or

12 at the time and who i was destined to meet again, jumping through the fence into the crowd of open arms and running, people escorted them back towards the camp as more people came, in a mosh pit of police protesters and refugees. it all happened so quickly even the police were totally overwhelmed and confused, and it took them minutes to actually comprehend what was happening. This was a mass escape of refugees from the most notorious desert detention centre. The fences were down, there was no turning back on this momentous moment of history.

IZ: I WAS JUST WONDERING IF YOU REMEMBERED, WHEN EVERYONE CAME THAT TIME..

E: YEN I DO REMEMBER! PEOPLE GAME, THE ACTIVISTS GAME.. AND THEY WERE FLYING THE KITES.. THE KITES CAME OVER THE GAMP, WE COULD SEE IT, AND THEN THEY WOULD RING US ON THE PHONE.

AND THEY SAID "WE ARE WITH YOU, DON'T WORRY, WE KNOW HOW BAD IS THE GOVERNMENT, HOW RACIST THE GOVERNMENT IS, BUT WE ARE HERE, DON'T FEEL ALONE."

IZ: WERE YOU EXPECTING PEOPLE TO BREAK OUT AND JUMP OUT OF THE FENGE THAT DAY?

E: NDO, NO NO! WE WERE JUST AMAZED AT HOW MANY PEOPLE GAME AND HOW MUGH, YOU KNOW, THERE IS GARE FOR US!

THERE WERE LOTS OF PEOPLE! IT WAS AMAZING TO SEE THIS, DIFFERENT CHARACTERS CAME AND THEY WERE PUSHING THE FENCE!

AND WE WERE JUST LIKE, WATCHING, BUT SOME PEOPLE THEY WERE BREAKING THE FENGE AS WELL...

BUT I WAS JUST TALKING TO THE GIRLS!"

The police cleared the crowd and rounded up any stragglers, as we made our way back to the camp. The organic nature of the event left people reeling as none of this had been planned for or at least not expected on the first day of the event. Some friends moved fast, they got people in cars and got them out of there, back roads to NSW and Vic and beyond,

luckily the establishment is not as spontaneous, giving many a brief window to escape b4 roadblocks and helicopters were deployed. I gathered with a group that were surrounding maybe 1 or more refugees as human shields to a group of encroaching police. Miraculously the stand-off lasted long enough for the refugee to swap clothes with people in the crowd and to dissolve them into the throng of protesters so that when we were dispersed there was no one to be found. I'm sure there are many wild tales from that day, especially of

I'M SURE THERE ARE MANY WILD TALES FROM THAT DAY, ESPECIALLY OF THOSE THAT ESCAPED, AND THE CONNECTIONS MADE IN THE MIDST OF THE INTENSITY AND MAYHEM.

those that escaped, and the connections made in the midst of the intensity and mayhem. I do recall there being much debate, some advocates insisting the refugees should return to Woomera so as not to jeopardize their chances of immigration. Others hiding people in their camps and vehicles. I am still of the opinion that it is not our call to make, and we should do our best to facilitate the individual wishes of the refugees. In the end many returned

to Woomera in the fear and confusion that followed. I was not privy to any of the meeting between organisers so I cannot comment on that but there was certainly mixed opinions as to how to handle the situation.

I can't remember if it was the same day or the following that we went back to the fence, this time the police were ready and picked us off like flies. Most people were driven back to camp or dumped out on the highway. Unfortunately for me I was known to the local police after previous protests at Roxby. I was arrested and told that I had a warrant for a traffic offense. I was taken to the Woomera watch house in the Divvy van via a dirt track through the desert, this journey became integral to a future break out. I was placed in a cell with maybe 30+ refugees, we were there for many hours, we chanted and rapped and sang, we beat on the floors walls and doors, our fate was uncertain but the vibe was electric, sad but also strong. After dark we were handcuffed with cable ties and put on a coach to port Augusta. My mind is rarely inhibited by logic or danger so as I sat on that bus with maybe 40 refugees 2 cops and a bus driver I imagined a wild plan, if I could hijack the bus, chuck the cops out in the desert with no phone range and take the bus back roads to Qld we might be in with a chance.

It was after a night bus ride under police guard, I remember waking up alone in the holding cell at the port Augusta police station where I would spend the next 3 days and nights studying the movements of a group of ants. There was no court over the Easter weekend so I would have to wait to find out what my warrant deserving traffic offenses were and what

happened to the people I spent such a short but intense time with only the day b4. The ants were my blessing, the only organic moving thing in that sterile box. I had time to reflect, to be angry, sad and amazed. And haunted, always haunted by the ones that didn't get away. I'm sorry...

Message

E: "To the people still in detention, I tell the people don't give up, and, you know, good things come ...good things don't come easy, you have to wait.

But, to the government, I think, I've gotta tell them, this is inhuman, it's not justice to people.

TO THE GOVERNMENT, I THINK, I'VE GOTTA TELL THEM, THIS IS INHUMAN, IT'S NOT JUSTICE TO PEOPLE.

People leave the country, they don't really want to but they have to...they don't want to leave the country, they leave family... they leave house...they leave memories, they leave photos, they leave pets, they leave the smell of their town...

They leave their food, they leave literally everything!

So, if they leave, they're not really... they (um, how I should say?).. it's not what they want!

That's what they have to do.

So, in Australia, it is a bloody big country! Let them come!

I know lots of people! I know lots of other refugees. I run the community program in Melbourne, and 99% of my players, are asylum seekers, refugees- they all work!

They work!

They pay tax, they don't do anything dodgy!

And, again, they're fine people!

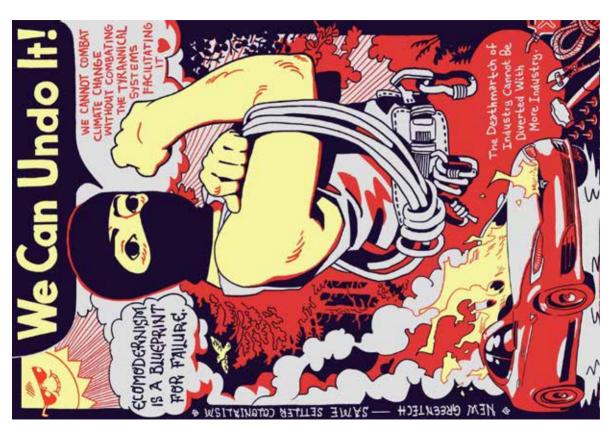
They're welders, they're skillful people. They're painters!

They're not doing anything wrong!

And Australia's a big big country-let them come!

I think that is, that's what I would say. If I am talking to the government

And, just be fair, how would you like people to treat you?"



### The Dark-Sunrise on the Horizon

1

Where, to my eye, ground and sky meet lies the horizon. Moving with my perceptual field, the horizon is a place that is nowhere and everywhere, whilst never being here. The horizon is always there, over there, there at the limits of my visual field. There's something maddening about never being-there, at the horizon, because as I move the horizon moves. When I move my limits change.

I cannot know what is happening at the horizon. Life there is uncertain to me. It is a thoroughly unintimate encounter, devoid of touch, smell or taste.

IN DARKNESS I ENCOUNTER UNCERTAINTY AND IN THE ENDARKENING OF THE WORLD I EXPERIENCE UNKNOWING. TO THOSE ANIMALS WHO HAVE SOUGHT TO SURVIVE AMIDST THE TOTALITARIAN PRESENCE OF MASS EXTINCTION CULTURE BY EMBRACING THE DARK OF NIGHT, ENDARKENING, THROUGH BECOMING UNKNOWABLE, OR NON-LOCALISABLE, THE DARKNESS HAS BECOME A MEANS OF ESCAPING THE GAZE OF TOTALITARIANISM.

I DO NOT FIND DARKNESS TO BE LIGHTLESSNESS. ENDARKENMENT STRIKES ME AS A SPACE OF DARKLIGHT - NOT A BLINDING BRIGHTNESS THAT RENDERS THE WORLD UNSEEABLE, BUT A COOL AND GENTLE LIGHT THAT IS BLENDED WITH INTENSITIES OF DARKNESS. DARKLIGHT IS FUZZY AND SHIMMERS, WITH BEAUTIFUL INDEFINITENESS, AFFECTING THE SPACE SO THAT ALL IS UNDEFINABLE. I AM IMAGINING NOW A DARK-SUN RISE.

There is a blinding brightness to the promises of transhumanism. Salvation through the development of cyborgist technologies and extraterrestrial colonisation. Vita-More, MacAskill and other longtermist extropians historicise blindingly bright optimistic prophecies of amelioration. These prophecies require the techno-industrial ritual sacrifice of the living world, which is the everyday normal of totalitarian-agriculture's practice of annihilation.

I see no horizon in this future. Not just because there's no horizon in cyberspace or outer space. I see this as horizonless as I see all of civilisation's attempts to technologically transcend the living wildness as failure. With no horizon, there is no sunrise and no dawning of this day promised by transhumanism.



I see a dark-sunrise just beyond the horizon. It's uncertain, indefinite and undefinable, but I see it, like a beech tree lit by moonlight on a clear night. Quite different than the blinding bright artificial lights of transhumanist prophets; the dark-sunrise is a pessimistic beautifully somber light. An apocalypse, uncovering that hidden by the blinding light, the dark-sunrise is the destruction of the future-world prophesied, with the sacrifice of the flesh that is the living-world.

There's mourning with the morning of the dark-sunrise and there's a dawn chorus that is a sound unlike any I have heard before. There's beautiful music to dance to this day. Here, as I dance, I am the horizon of another, existing at the limits of their visual field.

5

If you catch a glimpse of me amidst the darkness of your horizon you are seeing an animal not enslaved by technology, who freely chooses what they do and do not to survive amidst the machinery of Moloch. Longtermists, transhumanists, green-technology fetishisers and Kazynskian-type luddites might preach that life and freedom is bound to technology, but I do not experience life this way. I see many living individuals choosing to act as if they are not free to reject the Reality technology constructs, while actually being wild living beings free to embrace the living world. I wonder which is worse - for individuals to be enslaved to technology or for individuals to be pretending they are.

If you catch a glimpse of me dancing amidst the darklight of your horizon, before the dark-sunrise of a terrible and untameable dawn, whose chorus sounds like pan-erotic amour fou - the madness of pessimistic life-affirmation; you are seeing an animal who you may well never know, but might meet you, or just catch a glimpse of you on the horizon, while we wander the bewilderness, perhaps not with aim or reason, but with purpose and desire.



# DEFEND THE FOREST - STOP COP CITY

### MANHATTAN: ATLAS VP'S APARTMENT BUILDING ATTACKED IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE ATL 6

Posted on December 21, 2022

Atlas VP's Manhattan apartment building (330 3rd Ave) attacked in solidarity with arrested Weelaunee forest defenders.

WE STAND IN SOUDARTY WITH THEIR BRAVE AND KIND DEFENSE OF THE TREES OF THE WEELAURE FOREST.

6 comrades were arrested without bail on bullshit inflated charges. They were initially denied running water and essential medications.

We stand in solidarity with their brave and kind defense of the trees of the Weelaunee forest. The state does not love and doesn't understand nor allow it- not for the earth, not for each other, not at all. But we as people do. And we speak our love for our suffering friends and the suffering land through this attack, in the language of our shared struggle, and hope its echoes join the reverberations of all the love and courage born of this movement.

Rami boundouki is the VP of AtlaVista a part of Atlas Technical Consultants, one of the contractors trying to build cop city- what would be the largest cop training facility run by the private Atlanta pig foundation, where pigs across the globe seeking to repress and imprison people would come to train.

We reject this world order of prisons and pigs and dead forests, we reject their false peace, we reject the state in its entirety!

As Rami's redecorated apartment building now agrees, DROP COP CITY!

COP CITY WILL NEVER BE BUILT!

FRFF THF ATI 61

## San Francisco Wells Fargo Attacked In Solidarity With Atlanta Forest Defenders

Posted on December 16, 2022

Five windows and an ATM were smashed at the Wells Fargo at 24th Ave and Irving St in retribution for the arrest of five Atlanta forest defenders on bullshit "domestic terrorism" charges.

Mitch Graul, a Lead Business Execution Consultant at Wells Fargo, sits on the Board of Trustees of the Atlanta Police Foundation. Atlanta Police Foundation supports the construction of a massive police training facility in Atlanta's Weelaunee Forest on the land of the Muscogee Creek peoples. The site was a plantation and then a prison farm. The bones in the land demand a reckoning. Anyone who supports Cop City is a target everywhere. Solidarity means attack!

For more info: https://defendtheatlantaforest.org/

Bail fund: https://actionnetwork.org/fundraising/contribute-to-the-atlanta-solidarity-fund

Atlanta Police Foundation board members: https://atlantapolicefoundation.org/about-the-atlanta-police-foundation/#board-members

Via https://www.indybay.org/newsitems/2022/12/15/18853422.php

https://scenes.noblogs.org

## FLOCK CAMERA DESTROYED IN WELAUNEE IN SOLIDARITY WITH CAMP GREYLING RESISTANCE

Posted on November 30, 2022 -

A few nights back, the last remaining Flock camera near south Atlanta welaunee forest perimeter was destroyed in solidarity with Camp Greyling! While we fight the proposed construction of cop city, they fight the proposed expansion of a military training facility, & one of our common enemies, who are either investors, supporters, or both if cop city & camp greyling is Flock Security cameras. We oppose surveillance as a form of violence upon us, & though we have destroyed many, this is one of first written accounts; Flock has also helped incarcerate many of our dear movement friends & otherwise, so they must be stopped!

Do not concern yourself with merely painting these dam things, destroy them completely!

Death to all Flock Security Cameras, & death to the proposed Cop City & proposed Camp Greyling Expansion!

#SolidarityForever

#DTF

#Unsalted

#FuckBeingNoticedGetShitDone

#NoCopCity

#NoCampGreyling

Love & Rage-

Some forest creatures

## RAIL BLOCKADE IN LENAPEHOKING IN SOLIDARITY WITH WET'SUWET'EN!

Posted on November 18, 2022

On the night of November 5th, a small group of Anti-colonial Anarchist settlers in Lenapehoking blockaded a chokepoint of a high frequency railway in Solidarity with the Wet'suwet'en resisting drilling in the Wedzin Kwa and all those resisting colonial capitalist

development and infrastructure all across Turtle Island and the World!

It was a very simple and easily replicable action using commonly found blockade materials that were near the tracks already.

We hope to inspire many more and frequent railway blockades as an effective action to disrupt colonial and ecocidal infrastructure all across Turtle Island and Globally.

## SHUT DOWN CANADA, COLONIALISM, AND CAPITALISM EVERYWHERE!



## Night Owls #3: Automn Offensive

Diversity of tactics is a concept that has been used to break the hegemony of non-violence in social movements. The term can be understood as a shared principle that advocates respect and solidarity across different approaches SINGE MIGHT DWLS FOGUSES ON SABOTAGE, WHICH IS A TACTIC, AND DIRECT ACTION, WHICH IS A METHOD, WE WANT TO DIVE INTO THESE IDEAS AND HOW THEY MIGHT RELATE TO ANARCHIST STRUGGLE MORE BROADLY.

with the aim of breaking down moralistic and ideological divisions. Tactics, however, are often confused with methods, leading to a dangerous misuse of the idea of diversity of tactics to advocate for tolerance of or collaboration with authoritarian, populist, or democratic initiatives.

Since Night Owls focuses on sabotage, which is a tactic, and direct action, which is a method, we want to dive into these ideas and how they might relate to anarchist struggle more broadly. Tactics can be understood as what you do and methods as how you do it. Tactics change according to the moment and the needs of the struggle, whereas methods are stable and well-defined, remaining consistent across contexts, though how methods are understood and developed will vary.

Smashing something or lighting something on fire does not necessarily contribute to the struggle against domination if it is carried out using authoritarian or reformist methods. Pushing forward confrontational tactics while failing to be critical of the methods employed can lead anarchists to enact a sort of "leftism with teeth:" when conflictual efforts are subsumed by dominant political forces and used to grease the wheels of the democratic process. Among other reasons, many anarchists focus on developing autonomous methods of struggle to avoid becoming foot soldiers of the left—diverting a liberatory project

into voting with bricks.

On the other hand, reducing the anarchist project to militant tactics can create hierarchies where some tactics are valued above others, instead of understanding how different tactics work together in an ecosystem of actions and ideas. This can lead to the uncritical valorization of militancy for militancy's sake, fertile ground for the creep of militarism into radical struggles, risking the transformation of a dynamic social conflict into a conflict between isolated militant actors and the state.

Central to anarchism is the method of direct action, which is self-organized by definition. Direct action +sabotage are

often used interchangeably, but this is a mistake—many tactics, including sabotage but also those considered "peaceful" such as wheat pasting posters around your neighborhood, can be approached through the method of direct action. The word 'direct' here means without mediation; without any intermediary, representative, central committee, union, or other leaders—formal or informal—between you and action. It is a refusal of the logic of democracy; of engaging in dialogue with power, of waiting, of compromise. Tactics such as collaborating with political parties or mass media are incompatible with an anarchist understanding of diversity of tactics: they violate the principle of self-organization, instead reproducing alienation and centralization. By using reformist methods, these tactics forment divisions between actors and spectators, representatives and represented, snuffing out self-organization and the potential for social contagion. Reformist mentalities can often even find their way into action claims, as Let's Talk About Attack aptly proposes to do away with:

It's not about bringing a mean company to better intentions, of forcing it to change its bad habits via punitive measures, nor of pressuring an institution to change its mind. [...] when we're talking about, for example, companies that build prisons, high speed train lines, airports, let's refuse all forms of communication (even the radical ones) with the enemy; let's refuse all forms of reformism. Better still: we don't want to spread the logic of reformism, we want to destroy it. The goal is, then, not to convince (by way of damage, material or monetary); the goal is to sabotage and attack the entirety of the project on all terrains. Attack – not to convince, but because we are convinced we don't want this project. Attacking, not to punish, but to make life harder for the enemy. From the construction

companies to the security coordinators and engineers; from the civilian participants to the banks who finance the project.

This column is especially interested in actions that inspire new conceptions of anarchists' role and potential impact, in which tactics are innovated through creativity and experimentation. In a recent action against a police shooting range in Atlanta's Weelaunee forest, some "chainsaw-wielding militants'" knocked out the power line feeding the range before going on to destroy the cameras. This action showed creativity both in its choice of target and the tactics used, in an intelligent and effective blow to the facility's ability to operate. It demonstrates a shift in focus from the mere symbolic facades of power and reminds us that we are not just against Cop City, but the entire institution of policing.

Privileging tactical preferences over shared ethics, goals, and methods can be flimsy ground for collaboration. For example, people who use high-risk tactics but are motivated by a desire to impact public opinion can make unreliable and even dangerous co-conspirators. Many of those who snitched in the Green Scare "revered public opinion about an environmental movement rather than aiming to destroy anti-environmental forces." More recently, two individuals confessed to having attacked pipelines in a statement to the media, demonstrating a similar desire to impact public opinion—one later became a cooperating witness, while the other, who stayed solid, regretted publishing her identity. People driven by such motivations are liable to change their minds as the tides of "public opinion" inevitably change.



Understanding one's goals and motivations for acting is indispensable, not only for deciding who to take risks with, but also for deciding what to target and how.

This does not mean that you have to be an anarchist to use direct action or to be trustworthy. We are less invested in more people calling themselves anarchists than in the spreading of practices of self-organization and conflict with authority, which were around long before anarchism was named. Our understanding of anarchist methods can grow and deepen by learning from other self-organized struggles and individuals who sabotage domination.

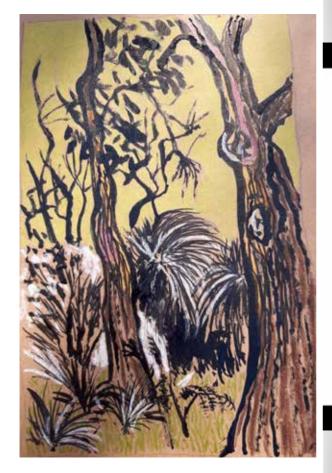
In compiling this column's list of actions across the so-called United States, we include actions that were claimed with a communique as well as those that were not, with the assumption that there are lessons to be learned from both. The advantages and disadvantages of writing communiques have often been the subject of heated debate among anarchists. Many actions speak for themselves

and do not have to be claimed to be understood or to significantly disrupt systems of domination. On the other hand, actions that are not claimed may be harder to find on the internet and so feature less prominently in counter-information projects (including this one), though such websites are rarely engaged with by anyone whose not themselves an anarchist. In putting together this column, we try to consider the challenge of communicating outside of the anarchist space—which depends on our newspapers, posters, zines, social centers, and physical places of encounter within the struggle.

The torching of three police cars in Pittsburgh this fall was not accompanied by a communique, but the burnt-out shells of the cruisers spoke for themselves and the message could not have been clearer:

Fuck the police. We feel it's important not to speculate about whether this or other actions were carried out by anarchists or not, since that has the potential to aid the police in their investigations. Whatever the motivations of the anonymous one(s) who burned the cars, this action can resonate with anyone who has their own reason to hate and take action against the police.

On the other hand, communiques can also have their own very important place, and all the better when that place is not just the Internet! Although we chose this medium for our column in the interest of reaching a wider audience.







It is your mission to stop cop city by all of the meens at your disposal. Without hesitation, defend the torest from destruction, the city from commercialization, the future from ruin, the imagination from conquest, and the heart from resignation. Do not wait for further Instruction.

> Reality is the battlefield. SIC ITUR AD ASTRA.

#### CAPITAL GREY

the fucking navy dont own profound blue

and the royals dont get blue either

if they must have a colour

let it be that dark red that leaks from their necks

as the people remove their rank heads from their useless bodies

if the police must have a colour

let it be that dry-paddock-beige (with a toasted-pistachio hint)

of the horse shit

that good people throw back during theatre time

and if capital has a colour

it could only be a putrid, nebulous grey

a scratch n sniff that reeks of burnt fossils and wasted lives,

depression in all its possible senses

this colour should pertain to their flagships

and to the drama of their demise

and one bright day the children will laugh and ask why is it called capital grey?

capital grey [kap-i-tl grey] noun 1. opaque grey. historically associated with sickness (physical or emotional) of the late capitalism era 2. [colloquial] reference to attacks on capitalist infrastucture e.g "lets paint this fuckin town capital grey tonight" 3. [archaic] the depression of a capitalist (economic or emotional) anticipating his own downfall

#### THE DTWAYS CAMPAIGN & HOW IT WAS WON.

I would like to acknowledge the custodians of this land, their ancestors and elders past, present, emerging and future.

The Otways campaign was by no means an easy win. The battle to save the native old growth state forest water catchments, land of The Gadubanud indigenous peoples was fraught with confrontation. In this article i will be quoting from some of the campaigners that helped make the big win possible.

Undisturbed forest ecosystems have exceptional global value as refuges for declining biodiversity, they are sinks

for atmospheric carbon, and safeguard water sources, indigenous heritage, and human wellbeing. Temperate forests are considered a source of irrecoverable carbon, sequestering enormous amounts of this element in soil and biomass reserves that once drastically reduced cannot be regenerated in a time frame relevant to avoiding the effects of catastrophic climate change. For-instance, the tall wet forests of the Victorian Central Highlands are the most carbon-dense forests on Earth, with undisturbed old growth stands containing

UNDISTURBED FOREST ECOSYSTEMS HAVE EXCEPTIONAL GLOBAL VALUE AS REFUGES FOR DECLINING BIODIVERSITY, THEY ARE SINKS FOR ATMOSPHERIC CARBON, AND SAFEGUARD WATER SOURCES, INDIGENOUS HERITAGE, AND HUMAN WELLBEING.

up to 1800 tons of carbon per hectare in aboveground living and dead bio mass. Victorian Government sources suggest that the actual amount stored may be two to five times higher than conservative models,



indicating a need for more extensive and refined research into

sequestered carbon. Victoria's tall wet forests are biodiversity hotspots, supporting several hundred species of plant including the vulnerable tree geebung (Persoonia arborea), along with threatened and

vulnerable fauna such as the sooty owl (Tyto tenebricosa) and Leadbeater's possum (Gymnobelideus leadbeateri), the latter being endemic to this region. In addition, the city of Melbourne is entirely dependent upon the region for its water, with the Central Highlands encompassing the majority of the city's catchment area. Models have predicted that the ecosystem is relatively resistant to climate change up to a threshold of approximately 1.4°C increase to

mean annual temperatures and a decline in annual rainfall of 5%. At this point research has suggested that a significant reduction to species niches and ranges may occur [6]. Other threats such as plant disease are also expected to increase, with changes to climate favoring the spread of damping-off fungus which is lethal to many Eucalyptus Seedlings. The key driver of forest decline is not one single threat, but the interaction between logging and fire disturbance, particularly in the face of increasing fire severity and extent as predicted through climate change. - Swifty. BSc (Hons)

One of the first advocates for The Otways Forest was Rod Deering or as he is fondly remembered, 'Forest Rod', the quotes below are from a taped interview conducted by Fiona Nelson, around the time the campaign began to win.

Rod noticed strange behavior in the Otways forest, in the Apollo Bay water catchment, west Barham area, having already been an avid environmentalist and deeply concerned with the management of natural conservation. He realized the Otways forest needed to be protected, when the children from the local school were getting sick from the water in town. Rod checked the busy roads bustling with trucks and began scouting in the logged coupes to find out what was going on, with media at times and with other people. In one of the coupes, it was obvious where the silt made by the logged forest creating run off directly into the towns water supply pipe line. It was then more of the concerned community emerged to create a campaign in the early 1990s. Rod mentions how important it is to educate oneself when being involved in blockading and to be present...to enjoy what the forest brings in a group environment with people who are like minded and who you can trust. Rod related to clear fell logging as, "devastation on a massive scale: and the fact it's for woodchips and money and a few people's jobs, it not a concrete worthwhile thing" ... "Logging is just destroying our environment, it's what we have to live in!".

Logically Speaking – Interview with V. Melzak, Otways/ORCA/BLOCK2000 Campaigner, 1994 – 2000.

Q: How important was it for The Otways campaign, to prove its concern?

The Otway's campaign was as important as any other campaign. As a 'local' living and working in the area the Save the Otways campaign was important to me. Having witnessed the clear-felling since the 1960's I felt it was time to try and protect the remnant Otway rainforests and the integrity of the rivers and waterways. To have a win and a new Greater Otway National Park declared in 2002 made it a worthwhile 'investment for stakeholders'.

In the tourism economy twenty years on many people in the area are oblivious to the history of the campaign, so the 'win' hasn't given much impetus to local environmental issues like the climate emergency. Most people are still of the opinion that you can't create radical change. Most importantly the back roads are free of log trucks, the forest is quiet, the water is clean, and the quolls and wedgetailed eagles are back.

#### Q: What stood in the way of the campaign?

Public Opinion was a major factor in keeping the campaign on course. The woodchip Industry was driving factor behind the logging operations. Chipping began as a byproduct of the timber industry in the early 1980's. Harvesters were licensed to send 'residual logs' to the chipper for export to Asia. Australian consumers would subsequently buy them back as 'value-added' tissue or copy paper. The motto for the public awareness campaign to expose the 'timber' industry myth was 'Don't Wipe your Bum on the Otways'. The available smaller low-grade residual logs from trees not suitable for value-adding as timber were harvested from younger forests. The Dept. of Natural Resources and Environment (DNRE) Wood Utilization Plans (WUPs) showed that logging coupes in the Otway Ranges were yielding up to 80% of D grade woodchip logs, with the remaining 20% percent of low-grade hard wood timber harvested for disposable items like palettes. In many cases mature forests were clear-felled to create new areas in which to cultivate woodchip grade logs on a 25-year rotation. Using the DNRE allocations found in the WUPs the Otway Ranges Environment Network (OREN) revealed the woodchip driven harvest

schedule of the 'timber' industry. Under mounting pressure Kimberley Clarke, makers of 'Kleenex' tissues, stopped sourcing woodchips form the Otway Ranges. It

was a breakthrough in public relations for OREN. Many logging coupes were situated in Otway water catchment areas which provide drinking water for large cities like Geelong and Warrnambool. During the millennial drought an independent study commissioned by OREN proved regenerating eucalypts take up much more ground water than mature forests, putting an extra strain on domestic water supply. This was another public relations win for activists. Another study showed how clear-felling was exacerbating dieback in native forests, in particular the myrtle beech tree found in rainforest areas. These agendas showed an industry and a habitat in decline and the motto became 'Water Not Woodchips!' Of course, many lobby groups for the timber industry were active in providing a counter point to the non-violent direct action (NVDA) taken to stop clear fell logging, and timber industry workers physically counter blockaded activists at SSP coupe in January 1999. The actual bodies controlling the operations were the state government and the DNRE.

## Q: WHAT WERE THE BIGGEST DIFFIGULTIES FOR THE BLOCKADERS OR ACTIONS THEY WERE IN INVOLVED IN?

The biggest difficulties for the blockaders were maintaining a positive public profile, organisation and logistics, funding, communications, and keeping the pressure on at times of low numbers and energy. Making sure activists had

somewhere to stay and coupes to protect meant a lot of reconnaissance and mapping, and prioritising 'high value' coupes required many hours analysing WUP data and maps. The resources required for living in the forest and organising direct actions had to be paid for, collected and transported. All the other aspects of a functional sustainable 'long-burner' campaign needed attention; media releases, recruiting and membership, managing the membership database and fundraising, administration, and liaising with local councils and the state government. As the campaign progressed blockades became sustainable over long periods but more complex in nature and extra equipment and resources were required. We had a good network and supplies where never a problem. Financial and physical help came from stakeholder groups in and outside the Otway Ranges. Communications by CB radio were established between the Apollo Bay township and the main blockade/base camp at Riley's Ridge in the 2000/01 season. Burn-out was a big problem for long term blockaders and campaigners. NVDA principles were the standard procedure, however keeping everyone safe was a huge task and violence against activists is always a concern. The Otway Ranges Environment Network made sure there was food and shelter at Base Camp, but activists were responsible for their own transport and fines/court costs if they were charged with and convicted of obstructing a lawful logging operation. The biggest difficulty was finding people ready to commit to getting arrested and fined. A total of 11 people were arrested at both the first (Wild Dog Ridge 1997) and last (Ciancio 2001) major OREN actions. A small number with a huge impact! None of those 22 activists were found guilty, meaning it was proven in court on two separate occasions that the logging coupes were not legal logging operations, and that logging contractors had breached the guidelines of the Otway Forest Management Plan (FMP). The outcomes were a huge win for OREN, leaving the DNRE liable for extensive court costs.

Q: What needs to be put in place to begin a forest campaign like The Otways... to make environmental change in our world?

To create a winning environmental campaign and make lasting change we need: As a global community; a paradigm shift, a real 'enviro-revolution' and an ecologically sustainable commercial system. On a community level, the will to make change and the grass roots support. Individually, the willingness to support others to support the campaign, and to do what needs to be done. And for a small percentage; the willingness to be arrested and go through the court process.

"Many are called, but few are chosen."

Q: Do you believe that forest activism is the most important need for our planet to survive?

I STILL THINK FORESTRY AND MVDA ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES TODAY. SINGE 2002 ISSUES MAVE FRAGMENTED: GLOBAL WARMING, ENERGY, EMISSIONS, CARBON OFFSETS, WATER AND THE OCEAN, PLASTIC, ETC. BUT IT'S OBVIOUS THE FORESTS MAINTAIN GLOBAL CLIMATE, CLEAN WATER AND OXYGEN STABILITY ON THE PLANET. IT'S A NO BRAINER. THERE'S NO PLAN(ET) B!

Climate change?

Climate CHANGED!



#### ECOLOGICAL DIRECT ACTION MEANS ACAB.

### Lesser reported solidarity actions with the resistance to coal mining in Lutzerath, Germany 2023.

Between 70 - 120 cops were injured at the anti-coal mine actions to protect the occupied village of Lutzerath, Germany in early 2023. The village is threatened by the expansion of a mega-mine of dirty, poor quality coal. Hundreds have squatted the village for several years and recently a massive police operation has cleared the village over recent weeks.

burning barricades, firework, rock and molotov attacks, fighting, sitdown blockades, tripods, tree sits, tunnels, building occupations and the important work of supporting this infrastructure.

The actions consisted of a coalition of radical groups who squatted the village, took mass direct action including

Additionally, mine site occupations and other acts of sabotage have taken place in the surrounding and other coal mining areas. Even Greta Thunberg got knicked a couple of times.

Support actions all across Germany have taken place as well as messages of support from the zapatistas, the rebels of Rojava and elsewhere. Here are brief reports of the lesser reported militant support actions. The resistance in Germany lights the way for militant, anarchic, ecological direct action.

[Berlin] You are the crisis - fleet of vehicles of climate killer and crisis profiteer AMAZON set on fire - Solidarity with Lützerath and the prisoners on hunger strike.

In the early morning hours of January 16, 2023, we gained access to a well-secured site on Germaniastrasse in Berlin-Tempelhof and used incendiary devices to remove 25 Amazon Prime vehicles from circulation. A fire of solidarity with the squatters in Lützerath and the prisoners on hunger strike.

#### SABOTAGE ARSON ATTACK AGAINST RWE COAL TRAIN IN COLOGNE, GERMANY

[via Abolition Media]

"In the night of 12.01.2023 we set out in deep solidarity with our friends in the ZAD Lützerath to sabotage the coal railroad in the Cologne city forest.

With two strategically placed incendiary devices we hope to have stopped the delivery of the coal at least for a small moment.

RWE deserves nothing but our deepest hatred!

Even if the cops occupy the whole Rhineland they can't watch us everywhere.

The night belongs to us!

Our action is part of a militant campaign for the preservation of the autonomous zone and against the global climate destruction.

Fossil energy production and its exploitation of the planet must be stopped at all costs.

We greet all those who oppose climate destruction and oppression throughout Germany and the world.

Freedom for all!

## FOR A MILITANT CLIMATE MOVEMENT!"

source: https://de.indymedia.org/node/252012

[translated by Nae Midion]

## Hundreds riot in Berlin over eviction of anti-coal protest camp

Radical leftist protesters smash shop windows, attack police station and local offices of the co-ruling Green party\*

(\* The green party approved this mine)

Up to 200 masked protesters rioted in Berlin 'smashing dozens of shop windows and setting fire to garbage cans' in support of comrades defending Lutzerath village from demolition by a coal mine on 13/1/23. Spray painting took place and 2 police stations were attacked in the night with fireworks.

### ANARCHISTS BURN STRABAG TRUCKS IN SOLIDARITY WITH LÜTZERATH PROTECTOS AND WITH ALFREDO COSPITO.

**VIA: Abolition Media** 

January 13th-ish, Hamburg Germany.

"With thoughts of the hunger-striking anarchist Alfredo Cospito, we set fire to Strabag trucks in the Schanze (a central quarter of Hamburg) on the night of January.

Strabag does not only build prisons. At least since the struggle for the Dannenröder forest, they have often been the target of attacks because they actively destroy nature. Our fire should also give strength to those fighting in and around Lützerath. Day X has already been proclaimed.

We stand in solidarity with Alfredo Cospito, who has been on hunger strike since 20 October 2022 against his imprisonment in the 41-bis isolation regime and against life imprisonment without the option of release.

Alfredo's detention conditions are slightly better at the moment than previous weeks. He has lost a lot of weight and his health is relatively stable, but could become critical at any time. Two other prisoners in Italy, Anna and Juan have been on prolonged solidarity hunger strikes and Ivan Alocco, a prisoner in France is also supporting Alfredo through hunger strike. Toby Shone, who is in prison in England, is also supporting Alfredo by refusing food several days a week.



**Anarchist Centenary March in NAARM** 



"The firelight flickers across wooden floors. fairy lights dotting the room like starlight. The power is still out. but this room made it feel intentional. romantic. like it was meant to be pouring rain outside. Like there wasn't a house upside down, in the dark of the backyard. And another two doors down."

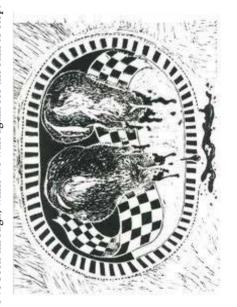
birrarung blues they controlled the burn that day and we bashed in behind for soup, coffee bags dickheads left old woodstock cans which littered the rocky road to gisborne goaded by glowing embers wombat trundled past us and went crashing through the bush immaculately cavalier like he never knew a predator yeah they controlled the burn and we pinned on the map the source of the so-called campaspe river thirsty but already quenched by compromise this time we dont drink to the coloniser drain the pond / lay the slab name the lake / dont look back and from the wombat forest, down past the moonee drains I got the birrarung blues they dont burn prisons like they used to before the fenians moved those stones, encased in chains all along the banks of the merri creek moonee moonee and tullamarina and jin jin mutated melbournes first cages to coals drain the pond / lay the slab name the lake / dont look back and all the way from blackhill, down past the pentridge green I got the birrarung blues again

# Firelight: Myki Jay

arms of my friends, we share stories from a month ago. About how they sat absurdity of it all. We drink because there's no agony like the wait. Because watch as our first nation leaders, a pillar of a post apocalyptic Lismore, are our stomachs hurt and we ate soup and listened to the rain. How, after two hours of sleep, we received distressed calls from our closest friends for resexperience, before we knew how it would end. How we drank to numb the fear then too. About how I stayed up all night with my partner sharing stowhat the question was we were trying to answer, some deep mystery we're list perhaps tonight, if our hearts slow down. But it's likely not to fall for a all, as though the weather has gaslit us one too many times. So we prepare ries just to pass the time, until the early hours of the morning. About how week or so. Right now, we sit together, fiddling with medial tasks; serving drive through the street, full of urgency. The way we each move from one blankly as we address each other. We laugh into despair as we remark the knowledge that we carried as a town of what a flood looks like and how it moves. We have all seen floods, we see them almost every single year. But was a tension that had settled exactly a month ago. It was a tension we all be where is needed, deep breaths, crying isn't on the list today. It's on the soup, stoking the fire, drinking a beer, cuddling, washing up. We all stare friends. I shiver from an afternoon in the rain where adrenalin keeps you for the worst. We move the whipper snipper up high, and then up higher again, and one more time until we scratch our heads as though we forgot tional, romantic, like it was meant to be pouring rain outside. Like there two doors down. Despite the warmth there was a tension to the room. It snew well, that we all ignored and held in equal parts. It was the tension trying to unpuzzle, but we've lost a few of the pieces on the way. There's denied access to higher, unused space, on their own land. I nestle in the everything we knew has already been destroyed, our sense of safety, the now we stare like children into the dark rain, unable to make sense of it The firelight flickers across wooden floors, fairy lights dotting the room moved to a hopeful safety. It keeps your heart from breaking while you location to the next, going over our mental list of what is next; shower, a cold in my bones that sits me by the fire, or in the arms of my closest warm. It keeps your heart from breaking as hundreds of donations are wasn't a house upside down, in the dark of the backyard. And another food, cleaning supplies, call a friend, check the reports, go downtown, I saw on the streets earlier that day. Something about the way the cars like starlight. The power is still out, but this room made it feel intenaround the fire, a small novelty about the

reading words on the wall. We talk about how we feed each other. How we the car. Our friends hug and cry and look off into the distance like they're cue. "From where? What's going on? Who's dogs? Slow down, what boat? The police? Where are you??". Phone dies. It's still pouring. We jump in cried in secret those first few days because

twice, perhaps three times in five years. It's the laughter in your head when nobody could hold it. We talk about the side missions, finding hoseheads, resigned panic. Resigned in knowing the river will take whatever it wants. endings and mortality and distance. It's the laugh of waiting. It's an angry becomes the highway as roads close, and sirens flash across it in the early morning, and cars unbogg themselves on the council strips, and rush too talk about how tired we are. How we can't even talk to anyone else about fast around corners in the rain. It's an angry laughter, and a sad laughter, this strange laugh that i've started to hear all over. A laugh that speaks of the helicopters start up again and the dogs all bark, and your little street the rain, and we speak of little things like our siblings and work, and we rain outside. The rain, once so soft and comforting, now bringing a rise and generators, gloves and masks, moving cars and feeding horses. We And so we pack cars with what is left, and we drive them up the hill in sit back in the fire, and we try not to cry, or get too angry. So we laugh and something about it holds an understanding between each other of it all because we're too tired, especially in the warm firelight, with the of panic below the surface. But it's a strange panic, like a dull panic, a laugh at watching everything we've known and love swallowed once, what we've been through, while we wait again for the rain to stop.



## Peter Gelderloos' The Solutions are Already Here:

SOME GONSIDERATIONS OF RADIGAL EGOLOGICAL MOVEMENTS.

#### TERRITORIALITY

A relationship with the specific local territory constitutes a main source of power for these struggles and projects. We develop our practices and histories in dialogue with the territory such that "the environment" is neither inert surroundings nor a neutral field on which to impose an ideology that is the same from place to place.

Rooting struggles in a specific territory walks a line between two forms of isolation. In nearly every struggle, there will be people who limit themselves to their territory, who do not look for common ground with other struggles or seek inspiration from

## Tactics for Ecological Revolution from Below (Extract)

their own experiences that could have a wider, perhaps global, significance. And on the other hand, there are those who are alienated from any territory even as they participate in "local activism." They draw ideological lines for solidarity; either they restrict solidarity to their own small sect, or they read the values of their sect into all of those with whom they would like to solidarize. Such people are a part of the mix, and this is a complication in territorial struggles, but also a form of openness, presenting the possibility to weave in a wider body of people.

#### ECOCENTRISM

While many of those who constitute this revolutionary wave prioritize human needs, we tend to reject the pretension that human needs can sustainably contradict, outrank, or detach themselves from ecological needs, and at one level or another, we challenge or reject definitions of humanity stemming from the European Enlightenment and human/nature dichotomies.

#### SURVIVAL

We articulate our activity in relation to situations that directly affect us and we center this struggle as a question of survival, our own and that of other people and forms of life we

care about. Having a voice, therefore, does not come down to expertise or institutional legitimacy, but to being affected and personally engaging with the problem and its solutions.

#### LAWLESSNESS

To a greater or lesser degree, these projects enter into conflict with established legal regimes. They may actively seek the subversion and destruction of existing governments, they may claim traditional and Indigenous systems of law (that paradigmatically have nothing in common with punitive or property-based law originating in states), or they may seek as much as possible to pass unnoticed or mold themselves to existing legal regimes, but they will always value the needs of their community and the needs of the earth more than the authority of the government or the ostensible sanctity of its law.

#### COMMUNAL BEING

Individualized or atomized views of human beings are eroded in favor of practices that emphasize and revitalize relationships between people (sometimes including relationships that break down the division between humans and other forms of life). There is always an element of struggle against the alienations imposed by states and capitalism, and a tendency to practice mutual aid and solidarity. This means that this web of resistance is fundamentally creative: of different social relations, different subjectivities, and emancipatory infrastructures, practices, and cultures.

#### HETEROGENEITY

As mentioned, this "movement of movements," to use the Zapatista's terms, is extremely heterogeneous. This does not mean simply diverse, but that it is constantly producing differences and that it will not submit to ideological or cultural unity. This salient feature makes any technocratic proposal for solving the crisis extremely ignorant, which is probably why the technocrats tend to ignore or selectively silence movements that already exist when designing solutions. It should be noted that this heterogeneity is not just a cultural preference of the network, it is an inalienable feature of the network's territorialized nature. This is why ideologies or named traditions of struggle that are structurally capable of assuming diversity rather than unity of practice—such as Zapatismo or anarchism—would never be able to absorb all the iterations of this revolutionary wave. The only reason these traditions of struggle are tolerated and encouraged throughout much of the network is precisely because they have no ideological need to convert others to their way of thinking or to achieve theoretical unity.

#### INTERSECTIONALITY

The movements that participate in this wave tend to break down single- issue containers and instead recognize the interconnectedness of different forms of oppression and, therefore, solidarity. This intersectionality allows us to recognize one another even though

we come from very different places and lack uniform identifiers. The process of recognition, it should be noted, is conflictual rather than pacifying—people often fight to get recognized on their own terms, a struggle that is not made easier by the ways in which we have been differently socialized within oppressive systems—meaning the self-definition of struggles is crucial to the possibility of solidarity across the network: people are implicitly trusted to define their own oppressions and lead their own struggles. This is another death blow to any pretensions of imposing uniform solutions.

#### ANTICOLONIALIŚM

All of these initiatives and movements exist in contradiction to the project of development, which is the most active manifestation of colonialism in the age of the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization, the United Nations, and all the attendant NGOs. Beyond this common negation, there is a great deal of distance between fully anticolonial movements, movements that identify capitalism as the enemy without exploring colonization as a historical and ongoing process integral to the globalization of capitalism, and even movements that use the language of development in a bid to access resources or legitimacy. Even among the former currents, there are very different experiences of colonialism across the world, but the heterogeneity of the resistance means those differences do not have to present a problem. I would argue that, despite the broad differences in language and scope, these movements' practices open up possibilities for complementarity, and that an expansive anticolonial consciousness is a

priority for increasing their potency.

In a use of these terms that is far from universal, I think it is useful to make a distinction between "decolonial" and "anticolonial." The latest buzzword, "decolonial" is now frequently used in academic and activist texts that make no mention of the restoration of Indigenous lands and don't even have the decency to so much as hint at the possibility of abolishing settler states that owe their existence to colonialism, like the United States or Canada. What exactly is decolonization supposed to mean, if the fruits and vehicles of colonialism are grandfathered in and accepted as eternal? The distinction I would make is between movements that seek reconciliation and disarmament, and those that seek to destroy forces that have been accepted as universal. These latter movements hold out hope for a victory that will undo some of the defeats of the past 500 years (or 2,000 years, or longer, depending on the territory we are looking at).



#### AUTONOMY

People who constitute this international network may be actively trying to subvert and destroy the state, or they may be looking for some breathing room from state repression in which to carry out their activities; some may even support an alternative government that might reduce the degree of repression. We may believe that the contest with the state is central to our struggle, or that the state will disappear if people gain some form of economic self-sufficiency. We may reject any contact with the state, or we may try to win access to government resources. Whatever the case, a general practice of autonomy is what allows us to work together and to form cohesive networks of resistance. Autonomy means we write our own rules, we make our own decisions independently of oversight by any party or government, whatever the provenance of our resources we make the final decisions about how those resources are used, and we practice self- organization and avoid the centralization of the movement.

If one element of these movements maintains a relationship with a political party or a government, they take care not to let that relationship condition their activity in the movement or convert them into a lever by which the government and party can exert influence over the movement; if they fail to uphold either of these minimums, it is widely seen as a breach of solidarity by the rest of the movement. Without autonomy, it is impossible to create a movement of movements, a world in which a thousand worlds can flourish.



#### You Build Roads

#### **April 17, 2008**

You build ROADS loud, toxic, and invasive like double-edged daggers...into sacred Wilderness the Amazon...the Rockies...the Tundra...the Ocean...Outer Space! pillaging the homes and lives of jaguars and monkeys, bears and wolves, whales and salmon shoving your self-serving agenda with log trucks, pipelines, sports-cars, nuke subs, armoured divisions turning the irrecoverable into ecocide but you do not see that

You ram ROADS
wide, dark, and unforgiving
like razored crucifixes...into the hearts, minds, and cultures of Indigenous Peoples
plundering their lands, lives, and spirits
taking Respect, Tradition, Symbiosis
giving violence, addiction, dissolution, and despair
wrapped in dead religion and false promises

turning the inimitable into genocide but you do not see that

#### You force ROADS

like barbed penises...into the bodies, souls, and circles of wimmin the whole bleeding world over mocking the tears while subverting the wills of those who would create, nurture, and love so that you may control and exploit those who hold the Key to Life itself while labelling it as benevolent demeaning your own very existence in the process but you do not see that

#### You plot ROADS

like oozing gangrene...christened with exhaust and chemical spills teeming with kops and malls, trash and mangled animals mapped out for new capitalist schemes that serve none but the living dead-lost and ghostly pale stumbling closer, drooling

to devour you and yours as well in their fruitless quest for fulfillment but you do not see this

Wild-lands, farmlands, villages-all turned into prisons and ghettoes "Careful, kids: stay out of the ROAD-shiny metallic monsters with gleaming grins will take you away..."

You worship ROADS paved manifest destiny like false idols...death-dealing, concrete-asphalt suicide assists leading us to places all are loathe to go harbingers of your pathetic morality as you systematically quash any who would dare to RESIST... ultimately your ROADS will be littered with the battered, convulsed, diseased corpses of your children but you likely will not see that either.

So do not ask for forgiveness-even after you've paid the tolls.

## The Radika Meatherman

## Stop Cop City! Revisiting Degrowth & Permanent Ecological Conflict

By: Alexander Dunlap, Hannah Kass

06.01.2023

#### ATLANTA FOREST SOLIDARITY BANNER IN WASHINGTON DC SOURCE: SHUT DOWN DC

Armored transport tanks, police vans and Bobcat tractors amass around the Atlanta Forest on December

13th, 2022, in Atlanta Georgia, USA. Riot police and paramilitary Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) teams raid the Atlanta Forest to attack land defenders, their toilets and kitchen. Shooting tear gas, plastic bullets and armed with assault rifles, they begin tearing down tree houses and other amenities. The police invasion was targeting people inhabiting the forest to prevent its destruction. "The great thing also," explains forest defender 'Fruit Bat', "is that you don't have to destroy the tree to live in it." Since the George Floyd uprising, forest defenders have been organizing and fighting to defend the Atlanta Forest against the Atlanta Police Foundation's construction of a 300 acre (121.4 hectares) urban warfare tactical police training facility—known as "Cop City"—and another 170 acre (68.8 hectares) Blackhall Studios film lot. This development strains existing ecosystems, and invades the predominately black and remaining traditional neighborhoods of Atlanta.

Since the George Floyd uprising, forest defenders have been organizing and fighting to defend the Atlanta Forest against the Atlanta Police Foundation's construction of a 300 acre (121.4 hectares) urban warfare tactical police training facility—known as "Cop City"

The December 13th raid detained 12 people, while on Tuesday, December 27th, six people were charged with domestic terrorism and granted bail totaling \$51,000 USD. This included probation and preventing contact between co-defendants. People continue to protest construction by obstructing excavators, while numerous other local and national solidarity actions spread across the US. This includes arson against Blackhall (aka Shadowbox) studios. The Defend the Atlanta Forest (DTAF) struggle remains impressive on numerous fronts, as will be briefly outlined below, but how does this fight relate to the ideas and concepts of degrowth?

On one hand, this struggle has NOTHING to do with degrowth. Degrowth ideas, in the official sense, have remained marginal within the United States and, more importantly, the DTAF struggle is fueled by anarchist and autonomous politics infused with the Black Radical Tradition and Environmental Justice. While degrowth has made recent efforts to develop political strategy and embrace "rupture as a mode of transformation," the DTAF struggle departs from the reformism dominant within degrowth, which has expressed itself by focusing on public policy, neglecting anarchist struggles and the militant aspects of environmental conflicts. On the other hand, DTAF struggle has EVERYTHING to do with degrowth values, such as autonomy, care, conviviality, democracy, and equity. Ideas of socio-ecological reciprocity, conviviality and self-defense are rooted strongly within this struggle, which is a living practice that is attempting to save a forest, but also—and relevant to degrowth—reduce material production and energy consumption emanating from arms, police and entertainment industries. DTAF struggle remains an opportunity—like the LobauBleibt movement, Hambach Forest struggle, Zone-to-Defend (ZAD), No High-Tension Power line (NoMAT) and No High-Speed Train (NoTAV) movements before it—to see what degrowth values look like in practice. In order to better understand "rupture" as a method of social transformation, degrowth can learn from the fight to defend the Atlanta forest.

#### THE BEAUTY OF LAND DEFENSE

The Atlanta Forest contains a sordid past. Originally stolen from Muscogee Creek people to create a slave plantation, the land would eventually host a prison farm. Currently, a juvenile detention facility and police shooting range occupy a part of the land, which the Atlanta Police want to expand into a police urban warfare training complex. Likely a reaction to the

Forest defense embodies the aspirations of degrowth values, engaging in a process of self-organization to assert autonomy, organize networks of mutual aid and self-care as well as employing convivial infrastructures that cohabitate with the ecosystem.

George Floyd protests, this proposed plan will consume some of the last forested green space in Atlanta. This conspiracy to kill the forest, however, has been halted, not by "the big green state" but by land defenders living in the forest, engaging in direct action and organizing with nearby residents. Forest defense embodies the aspirations of degrowth values, engaging in a process of self-organization to assert autonomy, organize networks of mutual aid and self-care as well as employing convivial infrastructures that co-habitate with the ecosystem. According to one anonymous defender, the forest has "become the frequent site of dinners, bonfires, gatherings, movie screenings, performances, art installations, and skillshares." The DTAF struggle has been organized horizontally, drawing on ideas of direct democracy but not limited by these formalities. "This movement has grown into a broad, decentralized, mass struggle," explains another Defender, "[i]ts openness allows for an independence of action which can be taken up by anyone who chooses to pursue the overarching goal of the movement: to stop the demolition of the forest."

The struggle, moreover, is a direct obstruction to the expansion of material and energy intensive

infrastructures—in production and operation—but also the institutions of domestic warfare. Forest defenders and local communities are fighting to preserve trees and local ecosystems, resisting the expansion of lethal capabilities of police forces in Georgia. The Atlanta police department



killings are 36% above US averages, while between 2016-2018 there were "480 civilian complaints of police misconduct" and 50% of arrests between 2013-2021 were for "non-violent offenses." Forest defenders are trying to regrow convivial relationships and degrow extractive and coercive institutions. And yet, they are branded as terrorists—this is absurd.

The DTAF movements' strength comes from its implementation of solidarity and diversity of tactics. This entails creating multiple fronts of community organization and permanent conflict by living and defending the forest as well as public outreach. Once the land deal was announced for Cop City in Spring 2021, direct action was immediately taken to stop it — seven tractors and excavators were destroyed, initiating the movement and its militant factics.

"[T] MERE'S PROBABLY BEEN 30 ARSONS

(I'VE LOST TRACK) AND GOUNTLESS OTHER ACTS OF SABOTAGE," REFLECTS A LAND DEFENDER, "WHAT'S STRIKING IS THAT NONE OF THIS HAS BEEN CONDEMNED BY THE WIDER MOVEMENT, AND I DON'T THINK THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN THE CASE BEFORE THE GEORGE FLOYD UPRISING."

Tactics have included constructing and burning barricades, tree spiking, tree sitting, and routine confrontation with police and construction workers. Quickly rebuilding treehouses and convivial structures after police raids and demolition was also instrumental. The movement's focus on autonomous and decentralized organization, according to a forest defender, "results in a highly complex ecology of struggle, where property destruction, arson, and clashes with police happen alongside music festivals, raves, barbecues, film screenings, all of which are free." This also extends to social infrastructures, such as free stores, food sharing points, and supply drives that have sustained the struggle. In other words, a culture of resistance has developed to save the Atlanta Forest.

Protest marches and rallies, which comprised of preschoolers and the wider community, also reinforced the DTAF struggle. Another activity was community participation and confrontation in city council meetings to make clear the rejection of the project by residents. To date, no political parties have taken up the fight against Cop City and Blackhall Studios. Rejecting this industry investment presumably conflicts with party interests. The DTAF struggle offers grassroots strategies for degrowth that complements, but also challenges the public policy, electoral and other reformist approaches which predominate within the

degrowth movement. The DTAF struggle—like other struggles similar to it—can further inspire degrowth's need to develop a practice of political rupture.

## Can Degrowth Struggle?

The Defend the Atlanta Forest (DTAF) struggle can serve as an inspirational example of how to create a degrowth practice. This struggle illuminates the importance of including antimilitarism and policing amongst core degrowth values. The DTAF self-organized struggle and assertion of autonomy—provides an example of degrowth's potential "strategic orientation" and engagement with the state. While degrowth remains diverse, with strong reformist tendencies and economically situated analysis, we cannot forget that state power relies on squashing genuine and unmediated degrowth. Capitalist growth is always protected by state power. Such entanglements are on full display in Atlanta where corporate, police, and state interests have become indistinguishable. Their collective effort is bent towards expanding an urban warfare center in the wake of widespread rebellion against racial and political injustice. Cop City, and the present socio-ecological trajectory, remains nothing short of an act of ecocide enforced by dominant institutions and their repressive forces. Supporting forest defense, promoting policies decriminalizing protest and direct action, and supporting militant land struggles against mines, infrastructure, entertainment industries and urban warfare training centers should remain front and center within the degrowth agenda.

Images to enrich the text can be found here , we could not embed in the body of the text due to a technical issue on our website currently.

## Ways to support the struggle:

1. Atlanta Solidarity Fund

https://actionnetwork.org/fundraising/contribute-to-the-atlanta-solidarity-fund

2. GoFunMe (StopTheSwap)

https://www.gofundme.com/f/stoptheswap2020

3. ForsestJusticeDefenseFund

https://opencollective.com/forest-justice-defense-fund

Alexander Dunlap

## About the authors

Alexander Dunlap is a postdoctoral research fellow at the Centre for

Development and the Environment, University of Oslo. His work has critically examined

police-military transformations, market-based conservation, wind energy development and extractive projects more generally in both Latin America and Europe. He has published the books, Renewing Destruction: Wind Energy Development, Conflict and Resistance in a Latin American Context (Rowman & Littlefield, 2019), the co-authored The Violent Technologies of Extraction: Political Ecology, Critical Agrarian Studies and the Capitalist Worldeater (Palgrave, 2020) and Enforcing Ecocide: Power, Policing and Planetary Militarization (Palgrave, 2022)

#### mire frim this authir

Hannah Kass

Hannah Kass is an ex-farmworker and joint Ph.D. student in the Department of Geography and The Nelson Institute for Environmental Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Her research focuses on food sovereignty movements, political agroecology, plantation geographies, anarchism, abolition, carcerality, agrarian political economy, and autonomous agri-food systems. Follow her on Twitter @hkasserole



We are gathered here in life to participate in the resonant ritual relational renewal of playful pulsing pulchritude. Humans have always connected with ourselves, each other and the world through augury, blessing, ceremony, myth, prayer, ritual, superstition, song, dance and tradition throughout the hundreds of thousands of years of our species' history.

Within sinuous slinking structures, we are the best version of ourselves in synchronous vital rapturous harmonic patterned becomings of arrant abundance. Ours is a radically incoherent soft fascination, beyond representation and linear dissected clock-time, embedded in emplaced entrainment. Only through direct unmediated experience can we feel the sacred divine power of ceremony, that which transcends and subscends ritual so as to reveal the inner, outer and liminal sublime ineffable quality of kinaesthetic, carnal, incarnate, intimate, haptic, tactile, tangible, perceptual palpable rustling reality.

Rather than only literal, logical, causal, rational and factual; existence-scapes are also mysterious, mystical, mythical, magical, metaphorical, musical and miraculous. Beyond facticity, causality and thingification, all is a melded duration and blended continuum in which there is no fundamental difference between each of us and the rest of actuality, at any place-time.

While nothing is complete, perfect or enduring; all is alive, aware, animate, agential, sentient, communicative, profoundly relational and deeply sacred. We are not separate framed isolated insulated distinct entities; but porous, distributed, diffuse, diffracted unfurling nodes of membranic field-event condensation points floating in bounded infinite flows creating forms within a flux that is constitutively incomplete, incluctably contingent, fleeting, provisional; and suffused with unpredictability, untraceability, unindexibility, insequentiality, irreversibility and irreducibility.

Ceremony invites us to grasp that the mythic divinity of nature is not a literal thing, but a non-literal dreamlive visioning experience that can: harmonise the human social order with the celestial order in which titanic FORCES AND BEINGS MOVE ACROSS THE EONS; RE-CONSECRATE THE UNTAMED UNDULATING COSMOS; AND SUFFUSE A RE-SACRAUSED CTHULHU-SCENE WITH INSTINCTUAL, INTUITIVE, IMPUCIT, IMPONDERABLE MEANING.

WE ARE HERE TO TODAY TO RE-MEMBER THESE TIMELESS CAUSELESS CONTEXTUAL TREMBLING TRUTHS AND TO RIGOROUSLY, REPETITIVELY AND RESOUNDINGLY:

ACKNOWLEDGE THAT WE ARE ONLY EXTENSIONS OF THE INTRICATE AND INTERWOVEN PLURIVERSE IN WHICH WE ACCEPT AND ACT THE MEANS AS THE ENDS WITHIN AN INFINITE NOMADIC NOW

VIELD TO THE DEEP TRUTHS OF SPACE, TIME, MATTER, MEANING, EMBODIMENT AND EXPERIENCE AND SLURP THE SUPERLATIVE SUNDERING OF SUPER LUMINOUS SANTY

RELINQUISH POLITE DIMINISHMENTS, CONSTRAINED ALLEMATIONS, ATTENUATING ADJUSTMENTS AND HAMPERED GESTATIONS TO ENFOLD OURSELVES IN MATURED MANTLE OF GENERATIVE PAIN AND DISCOMFORT

SURRENDER, SHAPE-SHIFT, METAMORPHOSISE, VIBRATE, RESONATE, RUPTURE AND REVERBERATE AT THE SPEED OF TRUST TO MELODIOUSLY MELT INTO THE MURKY MURMURING MIDNIGHT

REMOUNCE OTHERING AND SELFING TO EMBRACE COMMUNING, CO-LIBERATION AND CRYSTALLINE CONSCIOUSNESS

CEDE ABSTRACTION, FORCE AND ORTHOGRAPHIC OBJECTIVITY TO SEED SYNCHRONICITY, CO-LIBERATION AND SPECIFIC BEAUTY

DISAVOW NORMALISATION AND THE INVISIBILISATION OF SUFFERING, OPPRESSION AND IMMISERATION

FORSAKE THE TECHNO-BUREAUCRATISM THAT DOMINATES IN THE NAME OF CARE AND HARKEN TO ENTICING ELDRITCH

#### ENGULEMENTS OF TEEMING TUMULTUOUS TOPOLOGIES

Abjure entitled cartesian cartographics of consumption, competition, complicity, certainty and commodification to attend the humming holy, shimmering sacred and dancing divine

Abolish money, private property, institutions, nation-states and industrial technology to create emergent dynamic holistic egalitarian networks of free feral primal anarchist wild-life

Become squeezed, shredded, devoured, digested, alchemised, metabolised and transmuted by the world

Enter vastness, expansiveness, yearning, and (be)-longing

## DINOSAURS MAY HAVE SENSED THEY HAD MORE TIME SO WAKE UP AND SMELL THE COFFIN

This is a nod to the life-affirmative supporters and fellow-travellers of X-R who showed signs of their deepening critique of the modern commodity economy and the world's banking and finance systems during their demonstration in Oxford Street on Saturday 12<sup>th</sup> October. Clearly the system still remains to be superseded. Mainstream installation art and radical theatre *was* superseded however by X-R's more poignant version of street 'theatre'.

Despite evidence to the contrary, onlookers levelled criticism at demonstrators for being white and middle-class. They were also criticised for disrupting ordinary people's lives, not the lives of 'top pigs'. X-R anticipated this by distributing an unusual leaflet: "Sorry For Any Inconvenience".

On a rainy weekend in a congested city criticisms were inevitable, yet the suggestion that X-R build a political party instead of demonstrating was the limit. The engineered demise of any radical edge to the CND Party and the Green Party should act as a warning while the experience of the Black Panther Party should warn of extreme attacks from those who resolve to

defend their privilege from movements for change. Older and larger political parties will do anything to survive no matter how glaring is their internal inconsistency. (Think of the Conservative/LibDem coalition's sabotage of proportional representation – a pet policy of the LibDems.)

The demo was an occasion to discuss things with total strangers and it encouraged me to post the following article even though it is incomplete. It may seem unlikely but a local, urban park can provide evidence of the widespread, anthropogenic damage to biodiversity.

A penguin - pissed off about the 6<sup>th</sup>extinction in the earth's history, that we are all living through, offered this parting message to onlookers: "So long, and thanks for all the fish."

#### BIRD LIFE on LITTLE WORMWOOD SCRUBS 2001-2019

The report "State of Nature 2019 (UK)" written by over 50 conservation organisations in the U.K. and published last week (4th October 2019) revealed a significant decline in bio-diversity due to such impacts as the loss of natural habitats, air, soil and water pollution, urban development of more

land, modern agricultural management and methods plus the increase by nearly 1°C of average temperatures in the U.K. since the 1980s.

Not all these impacts are directly relevant in this neck of the woods – not for birds at least - although this bird list indicates a reduction in the park's bird diversity. One impact that *is* directly relevant locally is global climate change, which initiates pressures elsewhere that affect our summer visitors such as the Hirundinidae and winter visitors such as the Redwing. Resident species seem to be less affected in diversity yet more in numbers.

Air pollution is another impact that is directly relevant locally. For example, the Swift is a bio-indicator of air quality and its decline may be related to air pollution as well as climate change affecting areas on its migration path from the R.S.A. The common native wayside and woodland plant - Rubus fruticosus - is now more invasive due to the recorded increase in concentrations of NO, gases in London's air.

Most likely there is a further factor at play locally - the disturbance of ground nesters such as the Wren bird by mankind's best friend. Commercial dog-

walkers accompanying large numbers of animals is a general issue that is difficult to keep a check on.

#### Nicolas Holliman

#### October 2019

BIRD	2001-June 2005					
LIST	2005-2010	Α.	B.	C.	D.	2007-2019
SPÉCIES	Remarks	Nos	Nos	Nos	Nos	Remarks
Blackbird	Recorded	11	3	_	_	Recorded
Blackcap	Recorded	-	-	_	_	X
Brambling Dove, Collared	Recorded	-	-	_	-	X
Dove, Collared	X	-	-	-	-	Recorded 2017-
Chaffinch	Recorded	-	-	-	-	19 Recorded
Cormorant	Recorded In flight	-	_	-	-	Х
Carrion Crow	Recorded in	3	-	-	-	Recorded as numerous
	congresses					
Goldfinch	Recorded in	-	1	15	-	Recorded
	charms					
Greenfinch	Recorded	5	-	-	-	Recorded
Gull, black-headed	Recorded	-	3	-	_	Recorded
Gull, herring	Recorded	-	2	_	_	Recorded

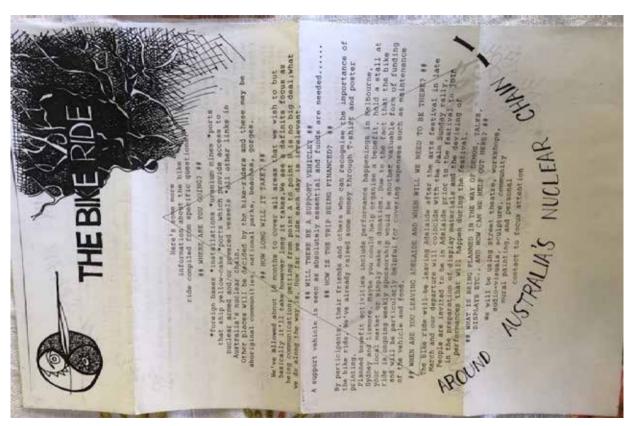
Gull, lesser black-	Recorded		5	T		Recorded
1	Recorded	-	3	-	-	rvecorded
backed	Decembed and					
Heron	Recorded and	-	-	-	-	X
	being mobbed by					
	Corvidae					
Jackdaw	Corvidae Recorded on the	-	-	T -	-	Recorded
	around					
Jay Kestrel	Recorded Recorded as very	-	-	_	-	Recorded Recorded
Kestrel	Recorded as very	1	-	-	-	Recorded
	regular, hunting,					as less
	hovering, flying					frequent
Kite, Red	X	-	-	-	-	1 recorded
						in flight
						15/3/2019
Magpie	Tidings of ≥10	-	4	-	-	15/3/2019 Recorded
	and in pest					in pest
	proportions					proportions
Mallard duck Martin, house	proportions Recorded grazing Recorded	-	-	-	-	X
Martin, house	Recorded ~ ~ ~	-	-	-	-	X
						2017-19

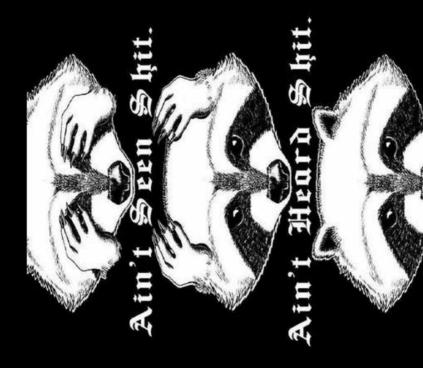
Owl, Tawny	Call recorded	-	-	-	-	Recorded in
						flight Winter
						2019
Pigeon, Wood	Recorded	7	5	-	-	Recorded
Rĕdwina	Recorded	-	-	-	-	X
Redwing Robin	Recorded as very	-	1	-	-	Recorded
	common					
Sparrow, Hedge Sparrow, House	Recorded Recorded and as	-	-	-	-	Recorded
Sparrow, House	Recorded and as	-	-	-	-	Recorded
	nestina					
Starling	nesting Murmurations	20	-	-	-	Recorded
	recorded					in smaller
						numbers
Swan, Mute	Recorded in flight	-	-	-	-	Recorded
Swallow	Recorded	-	-	-	-	Recorded
	in flight. Not					but none in
	common in					2017-19
	Summer					

Swift	Recorded in screams May to September	-	-	-	-	Only 1 recorded in 2019. Arrived 21/05/2015. Very few in 2016-18 and arrived late.
Tern, Common Thrush, Song	Recorded In flight Recorded and	-	-	-	-	X
Thrush, Song		1	-	-	-	Recorded
Tit Dlug	nesting. Recorded,	25	10	5	-	Recorded
Tit, Blue	· ·	25	10	3	-	Recorded
	common, small					
Tit, Great	groups Recorded,	-	_	3	+-	Recorded
, 0.000	common, small					
	groups					

Tit, Long-tailed	Recorded in	-	-	4	-	Recorded
_	groups of about					
	10					
Wagtail, Grey	Recorded as	-	-	-	-	Recorded
	solitary Recorded 1 recorded in					
Wagtail, Pied Warbler, Dartford	Recorded	-	-	_	-	Recorded
Warbler, Dartford	1 recorded in	-	-	-	-	X
	N.E. area yet not					
	since 2010					
Woodpecker,	since 2010. Heard more often	-	-	-	-	Recorded
Green	than seen					
Woodpecker, Great	than seen Recorded in flight	-	-	-	-	Recorded
Spotted	_					
Spotted Wren	Recorded as	-	1	-	-	Recorded
	quite common in					
	the N.W. area					
Species TOTAL	40	8	11	4	5	32
Bird NUMBERS		73	38	27	?	n/a
SPECIES	Remarks	Nos	Nos	Nos	Nos	Remarks

Goose, Canada	Recorded grazing	n/a	Х	n/a	1	Recorded			
						as			
						numerous			
						In fliaht			
Parakeet	X	n/a	Х	n/a	1	Pandemoniums recorded In flight and reach pest proportions			
Pigeon, feral	Recorded	n/a	Х	n/a	Х	Recorded			
						in pest			
						proportions			
Species TOTAL	2	n/a	-	⊥ <u>n</u> /a	$\frac{12}{3}$	2 '			
A. Big Garden Bird Watch for 1 hour 26	│ <b>=</b> <sup>th</sup> January 2007	⊥n/a	-	⊥ n/a	12	_ l n/a			
		Bird diversity reduced.							
B. Corner Nine Arts Project workshop for 1 hour 4th March 2007		Species and numbers of visiting Hirundinidae greatly reduced.							
C. Big Garden Bird Watch 08.30 to 09.30 29th January 2017		Numbers, not species, of Corvidae increased: e.g. Carrion Crow, Jay, Magpie							
D. Instituto Cañada Blanch field trip, lunchtime 9th May 2018 (seen & heard)		New endemic species to the park: Red Kite, Collared Dove							
RSPB Swift Awareness Week beginning 22 <sup>nd</sup> June 2019		Exotic escapees: Monk Parakeet							
			Nicolas Holliman October 2019						





Shit. Ain't

# TAGTIGS, STRATEGY, AND CULTURE OF RESISTANCE 2021-03-10 (Extracts and commentary)

The following contains excerpt and a summary of how I understand the german forest movement, reworked from a longer article reflecting on the tactics, strategy and culture of the German forest movement edited from the original as published on the crimethinc.com on 3/10/21. For more details you should refer to the original article with the link at the end of the piece. The ideas herein should not be seen as a blueprint that can be copied across to local situation but it may be useful to raise debates and adapted or disregard. Locally, our campaigns are inward looking, seem to shun our own movement history and have little connection to international ecological struggles.

The german forest movement is relatively young but echos of the anti-nuclear movement and other struggles such as autonomen/autonomist and anarchist city based movements seem to come through as well as links with ecology movements in surrounding countries. The movement is defending forests against motorways and mining of all types. The struggles use the language of the squatters movement 'occupying forests' which given the colonial process here do not adapt well.

### "Spreading Seeds, Taking Root

...At Hambach Forest, which is being destroyed to make way for corporate lignite mining, at the zenith of the occupations before the eviction in 2018, forest defenders constructed more than 70 tree houses. Families came to the forest to build barricades together. At Dannenröder Forest, where developers cut an aisle for a highway, protesters built more than 500 barricades, tree houses, and other constructions between 2019 and 2020. The eviction at Danni took more than two months with up to 2000 cops involved each day and more than 2000 charges pressed against activists."

### "Why Forest Defense? Why Now?

### Why ARE there so many people getting involved in forest defense in Germany?

This section considers causes for the huge growth in their movement, and when looking from here I wonder if the imaginary of the forest campaigner will ever return to the position it held in the media and popular imagination in the late 90's, besides Bentleigh CSG protests mass numbers at camps seems to be a thing of th past in 'Australia.'

It's not scientific knowledge about climate change.

The club of Rome published "Limits to Growth" in 1972. Since then, scientists have renewed urgent calls for change constantly.

It's not the failure of politics.

Some of those who are engaged today report that they joined the struggles because of the failure of politics. Certainly, the fact that political efforts to achieve reform have failed is a good reason to search for more efficient and fulfilling strategies. But politicians have always failed to come through on their promises—this is not new. Is the failure of politics more obvious today than it was in the past?

Rather, the discourse has changed, and this has made its failure clear.

Who changed the discourse?

Without question, this change of discourse is a positive development—in contrast to many others, such as spreading right-wing beliefs and anti-Semitic tendencies. It is not only a matter of increasing awareness of climate or environmental issues, but also of the spread of emancipatory ideas, such as the idea that it is effective and legitimate to employ direct action to change society.

Who changed this discourse? Activists appearing on talk shows on TV? The arson attacks on cables leading to the coal mines? "Fridays for Future"? The mass protests of Ende Gelände in the coalmines? Sabotage on the railway tracks to the coal power stations? The NGOs? Local initiatives? The early activists who believed in direct action against seemingly insurmountable odds? All of these together?

Let's have a closer look..."

#### "Local Initiatives

Local initiatives from those who are directly impacted by the things they are protesting are a crucial element in the success of large movements. Local expertise and continuous work over years and decades can neither be provided by activist groups nor by NGOs focused on nationwide work. Bls ("Bürgerinitiativen"—citizens' initiatives) are indispensable for rooting resistance in regions. In phases of little interest, they are often the only ones working on issues for years. When questions arise, large NGOs often rely on their knowledge—often, unfortunately, without adequately valuing their work—and yet these initiatives are often forgotten, because during phases when a lot is happening, they are not necessarily in the spotlight.

For example, the Buirers for Buir regularly organize "red line" actions in which they form symbolic red lines between the Hambach open-pit mine and the threatened forest

with red banners, flags, and T-shirts. They show films and hold educational events, they participate in rallies and marches and in alliances against the demolition of more villages for coal. It may seem insignificant, but it is important—especially in these fast-moving times—that some people are continuously mobilizing around the issue.

### **Fridays for Future**

In December 2018, three and a half months after Greta Thunberg started striking in Stockholm, the first actions referring to her happened in Germany. Only two months later, regional groups in more than 150 cities all over Germany organized school strikes on Fridays. On March 15, 2019, some 300,000 people took part in actions in more than 200 cities nationwide; this number had grown even bigger by summer 2019, with actions in more than 500 cities.

It is remarkable that so many students are organizing with such commitment and perseverance. It is to their great credit that they have put the debate about climate policy clearly on the social agenda. Angela Merkel has responded with a transparently mendacious strategy of pretending to embrace the protests. "A very good initiative," she said, claiming that she "very much supports students taking to the streets and fighting for climate protection" and that the protests have "certainly driven the federal government to accelerate."

### Fridays for Future.

"... The relationship between Fridays for Future and the political class is ambiguous. FFF has presented demands, justifying this with the claim that politics needs a clear line of action. Although participants often name politicians as part of the problem, many demands are directed specifically at them. Participants accuse the politicians of failure, but at the same time, they assume—sometimes explicitly, sometimes implicitly—that this failure is due to a lack of information. I consider the latter to be naïve wishful thinking. If destructive behavior were due simply to lack of information, we would find an unusual number of pitifully uninformed people in high political offices. In that case, education alone would be enough to remedy the problems.

But the decision-makers are not uninformed. Rather—as inconceivable as this may be to some—they are consciously and knowingly opting for short-term profits, doing so in full knowledge of the consequences. They are doing this simply because it is beneficial to their careers—in short, out of pure egoism.

In addition to the risk of appropriation by external actors, another great danger of the FFF is pacification from within. While at the beginning, there were more radical demands, in mid-2019 I read on fridaysforfuture.de that a German coal phase-out should be implemented by 2030. It is sad how quickly the demands softened due to the supposed necessities of realpolitik. Of course, this should not be surprising when one of the spokeswomen is also active in the Green Party. Fortunately, however, this is internally controversial, and she is accused of personality cult and career politics."

The politics here reminds me of some of the tensions I imagine are occuring within Blockade Australia, there are voices who see the political class as the enemy yet liberal tensions in some of the statements made that seem to appear to want to apply pressure on state-actors to act on their behalf. If we are to have a successful movement then relying on the people who cause our problem gives us no way out.

## "Mass Protests: Ende Gelände

What started out as more of a unifying slogan and an alliance of different groups quickly became the brand name for an association of initiatives and individuals capable of putting on a very specific kind of mass action: Ende Gelände ("Here—and no further"). The image is undoubtedly impressive: thousands of people, dressed in dust masks and white painting suits, entering the huge open pit mines and blocking the diggers. Their presence paralyzes operations, making it impossible to continue excavating. At the same time, elsewhere, just as many people block the rails on which coal is transported from the mine to the power plant. Because the power plant does not have enough supplies, it has to reduce its output."

Similar mass actions in white suits have occured here in years past, that thing in Newcastle...

"Ende Gelände has been organizing mass actions since 2015, mostly in the Rhenish lignite

mining area. Already that first year, around a thousand activists were participating; in the summer of 2019, according to their own figures, as many as six thousand people took part in the blockades and blockade attempts.

Ende Gelände is a participatory action—
explicitly intended to enable people with little
or no experience of action to take part. Days
in advance, people organize themselves into
affinity groups so that they can look out for each
other during the action. They simulate breaking
through police lines and practice rinsing pepper
spray from their eyes. They pack straw sacks as
seating pads for hard rails. When they set out on the day
of the action, the atmosphere is thick with expectations,
with determination, with fear—or at least respect—and
deafening chanting. Many people and groups from other
countries attend. People exchange experiences; debates take place.

In preparing the actions, Ende Gelände develops an "Aktionskonsens" (action consensus) describing the intended framework of the actions. This typically includes a commitment to

ENDE GELÄNDE IS GRATIFYINGLY GLEAR IN ITS GRITIGISM OF THE EXISTING ECONOMIC SYSTEM, STATING ONLINE, "WITHOUT A TURN AWAY FROM FOSSIL GAPITALISM, NEITHER A SERIOUS FIGHT AGAINST THE GLIMATE GRISIS NOR GLOBAL SOCIAL JUSTIGE IS POSSIBLE. A PROFOUND, SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION IS NEEDED TO AGHIEVE A GOOD LIFE FOR ALL."

openly announced mass actions and a description of the prescribed behavior.

In 2019, this framework included the following:

"We will behave calmly and courteously, we will not endanger any people. We will block and occupy with our bodies. The goal is not to destroy or damage infrastructure. We will not be held back by structural obstacles. We will flow through or around police or plant security. Our action will convey a picture of diversity, creativity, and openness. Our action is not directed against RWE workers, companies commissioned by RWE, or the police. The safety of the participating activists, the workers, and all those involved is our top priority. We are preparing well for a safe journey to our places of action."

Ende Gelände is gratifyingly clear in its criticism of the existing economic system, stating online, "Without a turn away from fossil capitalism, neither a serious fight against the climate crisis nor global social justice is possible. A profound, socio-ecological transformation is needed to achieve a good life for all."

Ende Gelände works on shifting the discourse of society as a whole, that is, what is sayable and thinkable. This is precisely where the great merit lies.

And yet, after the action weekends, I am not only overwhelmed by the many people who are willing to take personal risks, but I ask myself questions. I ask myself whether the assembly line-style action format leads to the fact that people simply blindly consume this model without understanding themselves as a formative part of the action. I wonder to what extent people understand the action framework as a negotiated consensus of the participants, or if many only perceive it as something immutable, external to themselves.

In my opinion, a movement is not particularly powerful when it does the same thing over and over again in an almost traditional way. It is better to be unpredictable, incalculable, uncontrollable. This is what is missing from Ende Gelände. Although it is important to offer a certain security to new activists, ritualized and predictable events will eventually become politically dead, both internally and externally, and therefore meaningless.

In an evaluation paper, the Hamburg anti-nuclear office writes about Ende Gelände:

"It is necessary for the survival of a movement to take itself and its own goals seriously. The goal of addressing the operation of coal-fired power plants through direct intervention is not limited to conveying images of this project in the media, but must also include the

practical attempt to implement it.

"WE ARE SERIOUS ABOUT SHUTTING DOWN COAL POWER STATIONS; THIS BECAME VERY CONCRETE IN THE MOMENTS WHEN IT WAS NOT SIMPLY "HERE AND NO FURTHER" ("ENDE GELÄNDE") AT A PREDETERMINED LOCATION, BUT WHEN PEOPLE IN THE ACTION TOOK IT INTO THEIR OWN HANDS, BROKE AWAY FROM THE STRUCTURES OF THE CAMPAIGN, AND WENT 'OFF THE RAILS' ON THEIR OWN. At this point, the power of the movement becomes directly visible. By taking themselves seriously in their goal to shut down the power plant, people were able to go exactly where it really hurt the operators and for which there could be no plans from the campaign. The howls of rage from police, operators, and politicians triggered by this determination clearly show that after two days of embracing [i.e., of surrounding the plant without actually impacting its functioning], we had finally found the pressure point where it hurt our political counterparts.

"The blessing and curse of movement campaigns is to be able to grow, but also to have to. Each campaign event has to surpass the previous one in order to continue to convey the hope of being the most important intervention point of the movement at the moment. This is very unfortunate, but apparently cannot be changed ad hoc. In the long run, the only thing that helps is to continuously build social sites of resistance, and to deny oneself [sic] campaign hopping. Only in this way can it be possible to reorganize resistance after a movement cycle has been broken off and have a lasting effect, as was achieved in the

# Wendland." TOO tage

"What if a significant portion of the population still finds the storming of a lignite-fired power plant more scandalous than its sheer existence?" Arranca magazine asks in Issue #53. They summarize that the Ende-Gelände actions are "for some, an expression of mass militancy, and for others, a peaceful disobedient mass action. The form of action fits diverse subjective states of consciousness—and expands them without making the question of militancy the central question."

### Sabotage

Militant activists often communicate their analysis and techniques through letters claiming responsibility. Since they try to remain anonymous due to the high risk of repression, they seek to express themselves in the media via the actions themselves and the written statements. The numerous very emotional debates that follow militant attacks show that the actions, in addition to the undeniable intervention in the normal operation of opencast coal mines, can do at least one more thing: incite controversy.

On April 13, 2016, the Aachener Zeitung reported on an act of sabotage on a power pole that carries lines that supply power to the Inden open pit mine. An angle grinder had been used to saw into the pole directly above the foundation.

A statement claiming responsibility appeared on linksunten.indymedia, reading, in part:

"Tonight, from 11.04.16 to 12.04.16, I tried to turn off the lights of the Inden open pit mine. To express my anger about the ongoing lignite mining and the repression against the people who oppose it, I started to fell a power pole between Fronhoven and the power plant Weisweiler. This mast carries the lines that supply the open pit mine with electricity and thus render work possible. Even though the mast is still standing at the moment, it is damaged to such an extent that RWE will probably have to relocate it itself. I was aware of the risks for me, but I think it is necessary to take drastic measures in the fight for a better world...

"To achieve this, we should stop thinking in categories of good and bad resistance and be in solidarity with each other. The castor resistance could only be so successful because militant and peaceful actions complemented each other. Change the electricity provider! Occupy houses, offices, and excavators! Block access roads and work processes! Cut down power poles instead of trees! What I dared to try, you've been able to do for a long time!" ((emphasis added))

A vehicle belonging to RWE, burned in Rhineland.

Just a few days later, on April 25, 2016, another act of sabotage hit the Hambach open pit mine. The Aachener Zeitung wrote on that day that it was an unprecedented act of sabotage. A fire under a cable bridge led to a short circuit and thus temporarily paralyzed the entire open pit mine, including the main coal excavator. Once again, there was a statement claiming responsibility:

"We are speaking out as those who brought about the failure of the Hambach lignite mine last Sunday morning, April 24, 2016. As the target of our attack, "We are speaking out as those who brought about the failure of the Hambach lignite mine last Sunday morning, April 24, 2016. As the target of our attack, we chose the exposed underground cables between the coal bunker and the conveyor collection point.

we chose the exposed underground cables between the coal bunker and the conveyor collection point. All excavators, spreaders, and conveyors are connected to these cables. ... Radical resistance is necessary in a world in which capital interests are in the foreground and the power apparatus ruthlessly enforces its shortsighted interests against all reason as well as against man and nature. We want to oppose this system with a clear 'NO,' as a first step towards overturning these power relations at some point.(...) ((emphasis added))

"The attempt to mediate between RWE and the lignite resistance exposes the power relations at play. Mediation means to ask the resistance to be less radical, less 'mean' to RWE, or in other words: 'the resistance must not disrupt which accepts the existence of RWE and its work of destruction as a given. That is, the authoritarian violence legitimized by domination, which lies in the mining and conversion of coal to electricity, is accepted; the rebellious violence that resists it appears illegitimate. The result can only be a guarantee of continued existence for RWE, however it may be, which now also has the blessing of a part of the resistance. The part that allowed itself to be included in the

arbitration process. The resistance is split into the eliminated and involved part and the remaining and isolated illegitimate part. When people claim that such an action would harm the resistance, it speaks of consideration for the power of the rulers to divide the resistance into good and evil. Evil is that which hurts, really disrupts, and is effective."

"The Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger writes: 'Arson, violence against people, occupations of excavators and senseless destruction of technical facilities with the aim of paralyzing open-cast mines and power plants—the ferocity of criminal acts is increasing.' At the same time, occupations, arsons and blockades are not senseless, but stop the destructive frenzy of RWE very precisely. What harms the resistance is the obedience to the ruling power and its media, which seek to tell us what is good and evil. We should listen to our consciences and our reason, not to the media. With our action, we have delivered the proof that clever and careful militancy, with moderate and justifiable danger to oneself, can put an end to RWE's normal operations. Our action could have been done by any small group. No special skills, knowledge, or access were needed. All the necessary information is publicly available.

"For a radical, decisive, and direct resistance! For a world that is not destroyed for capital interests!"

The latter act found imitation a year later, according to indymedia reports:

"On 24.12.2017, we set fire to the cables that supply the Hambach open pit mine with

electricity. So at least part of the huge machines there were shut down. In this case, the cables were located at the vantage point on the open pit (the one after Terra Nova).

"Stop Coal now! To RWE: Merry Crisis and a happy new fear!"

Debate broke out on the Hambach forestry occupation's homepage:

"Legitimate? I believe that the means should be chosen as appropriately as possible. Why hit someone in a conflict when a conversation would have done? Why kill an aggressor when he/she could be put out of action with one blow? I cannot determine in advance what effect the acts of sabotage will have on the resistance. The saboteurs certainly couldn't either. But they had the courage to try it, and for that I am grateful. Because in order to stop the opencast mines, talks were tried a long time ago. Without success. Legal action was taken. Without success. Education, demonstrations, chains of lights, human chains. Without being able to stop the destruction by themselves. Civil disobedience, occupations, blockades. Maybe a little bit is moving. But climate change and its devastating consequences continue. There is not even a decrease in emissions."

"Moreover, the price for people who engage in civil disobedience is being driven up. Civil suits and damage claims are designed to make activists keep quiet by threatening financial ruin or imprisonment. Those who evade this by remaining anonymous, refusing to give their personal details and fingerprints to the police, are mistreated at the police station, or arbitrarily picked up near the occupations and imprisoned for hours. The logical

consequence is actions that disrupt or paralyze operations and where the actors do not fall into the hands of the police and the securities."

Militant actions were also discussed at Climate Camp 2016, with a climate camp newspaper posted in the restrooms stating:

"Actions that dispensed with a militancy aesthetic of fire and destroyed police cars could be 'just as effective in their blocking effect,' according to the Action Consensus.

In this formulation, it seems as if 'effectiveness' per se is the most meaningful criterion for judging actions. We do not see it that way, but would argue for weighing (risk, effectiveness, communicability, connectivity, etc.). However, if effectiveness is already used, we consider the above claim to be simply wrong in view of the operational failures and damage caused in recent months, for example, by arson attacks (including an at least partial shutdown of an opencast mine for several days). Of course, it does not follow that open blockades are not highly useful. However, measured by their blocking efficiency alone, they are less effective, but much stronger on other levels such as connectivity, public sympathy, etc."

Another thing to consider is that due to the size of the country here, blockades are often very remote and the setting up of 'movement houses'

in local villages makes people who may be in for the longhaul vulnerable to the backlash of the actions of blow in 'militancy' and have a impact on the wider impact of a campaign...?

"Against Volk and Wagen." A Block Volkswagen protest.

## Resilience and Continuitz

...

Asking in the Hambach Forest about Ende Gelände, we might get the answer that Ende Gelände only shows up once a year bringing massive media attention to the topic of lignite mining while leaving the activists alone on the trees in winter. We might also hear that people who take part in actions of Ende Gelände do not learn how to do actions in small groups because they just experience following a few leaders to block the infrastructure.

This definitely is one side of the coin. But still, some of the participants in the mass protests do not feel comfortable simply consuming plans a few functionaries made up behind locked doors. Thanks to groups like "Zucker im Tank" ("sugar in the tank") that have offered skillshares at Ende Gelände camps, ties have developed between Ende Gelände and self-organized affinity groups. The "Anti-Kohle-Kids" (anti-coal-kids)—who

use the slogan "Let's establish a positive connotation for AKK" (referring to the former head of the German conservative party CDU, Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer, often just called AKK)—are establishing ties between Fridays for Future and Ende Gelände. And last but not least, the guided tours through the Hambi by forest guide Michael Zobel introduced thousands of visitors to forest occupations, explaining the uniqueness of the forest in one sentence and the function of the tree houses in the next.

But of course, in all these groups, we can find people who believe in state solutions as well. Some of the spokespersons of Fridays for Future Germany are involved in the youth wing of the Green Party; a former spokesperson of Ende Gelände is now running for Bundestag [the lower house of the German parliament]. Some of these people might be seeking to advance their personal careers for egoistic reasons; others are probably naïve."

It is interesting to note here that the recent razing of the Lutzerath village for the coal seam underneath it was supported by the Green Party and hopefully this will lead to a break with politicians for more participants. Perhaps the violence of the police at this eviction will also change the minds of some of those who previous beg of politicians.

### "What It's Really About

But the forest occupation movement is about more than trying to influence the decisions that politicians make in the halls of power. Experiencing the need to optimize every facet of ourselves within capitalist reality increases the attractiveness of spaces where we can

try a totally different way of being, places where it does not matter whether we have an academic degree nor where we were born. Places where we can develop new ways of making decisions. Places where we share rather than ceaselessly competing. Where we dare to live as kinky queers, where we try out being straight edge, where we meet beautiful people and participate in challenging debates. Places where we can at least start to dream about a better future. Places where people can stand an inconvenient and honest answer to the question "How are you?"

And even though the experiences of participating in the occupation movement are mostly associated with experiences of intense police brutality, it is impossible to erase the memories of the beautiful moments. These memories are seeds that spread. Some might never germinate, but others will soon bear fruit, and still others will eventually grow as well.

In 1980, when anti-nuclear activists established an occupation called "the free republic of Wendland," they hung up a banner proclaiming "Turm und Dorf könnt ihr zerstören, aber nicht die Kraft, die es schuf"—"You can destroy our tower and our village, but not the strength that created it."

"Innovations: Tactics and Strategy

Let's conclude by identifying some of the strategic decisions that have strengthened the movement.

Forcing the police to evict: If there are very few of you in the occupation and you can't keep the occupation going for much longer, you might consider provoking an eviction, because leaving might feel like a bigger defeat than being evicted. In the past, expanding from tree occupations to occupy the construction site itself has served this purpose effectively enough.

Refusing to identify as nonviolent: While concentrating on offering low-threshold blockades of coal infrastructure, Ende Gelände consciously never used the term "nonviolence." Instead, they described their plans as an invitation to those who might feel comfortable with a certain approach. This compromise between the different groups involved in the network enabled very different players to cooperate." (emphasis added)

While NVDA can be sensible in many situations, particularly when you are massively outgunned, its imposition and the silly arguments of what it is, or is not are well past their due date...

Refusing to be reduced to a few demands: On the webpage of the Hambi occupation, most articles are explicitly marked as the opinion of some participants; sometimes discussions take place between different writers online. Additionally, many of the barrios (the different neighborhoods within the occupation) and sometimes even individual treehouses maintained their own social media accounts. There is no such thing as a

headquarters in the movement.

ANNOUNCING THE REOCCUPATION IN ADVANCE: BEFORE THE OCCUPATION AT THE HAMBACH FOREST WAS EVICTED IN AUTUMN 2014, ACTIVISTS HAD ALREADY ANNOUNCED THAT THEY WOULD REOCCUPY THE FOREST; ONE MIONTH AFTER THE EVICTION, THE FOREST WAS SQUATTED AGAIN. EVEN IF YOU PERSONALLY AREN'T SURE YOU WILL BE ABLE TO ENGAGE IN A RE-SQUATTING ON ACCOUNT OF BEING EXHAUSTED, ANNOUNCING A REOCCUPATION AS THE ONLY POSSIBLE ANSWER TO AN EVICTION MAKES A VERY STRONG STATEMENT. IT INVITES PEOPLE WHO HAVE NOT BEEN INVOLVED YET TO PARTICIPATE, GIVING THE MOVEMENT AN OPPORTUNITY TO RENEW ITSELF.

Here it seems we never know when a blockade will be busted and they are usually put up day to day...

"Internet access: During the pandemic, when people can't go to school or university or their job is changed to an online "home office," this home could be a tree house. At Dannenröder forest, many students were thankful for reliable high-speed internet connections near the occupation or even in the tree houses.

# Common reference points: Having been to the same squatted forest is a reference that connects people.

Skillshare: At Hambi, yearly events for sharing skills take place to circulate knowledge between those who already have experience and the future inhabitants defenders of the forests. Sharing knowledge while the movement is still small makes it possible to handle the challenges that ensue when a movement grows rapidly and everyone is busy dealing with other problems.

Common reference points: Having been to the same squatted forest is a reference that connects people. Even if the first occupation at Hambi in 2012 doesn't have a lot in common with the occupations there in 2014, 2018, or today, we immediately feel connected to people when we share our experiences of being in Hambi. It is similar to people going to the ZAD or to Christiania in Copenhagen; Hambi, too, has become a sort of legend. This was only possible because the forest used to be so big that as soon as the occupied parts were evicted, people could occupy other parts of the same forest.

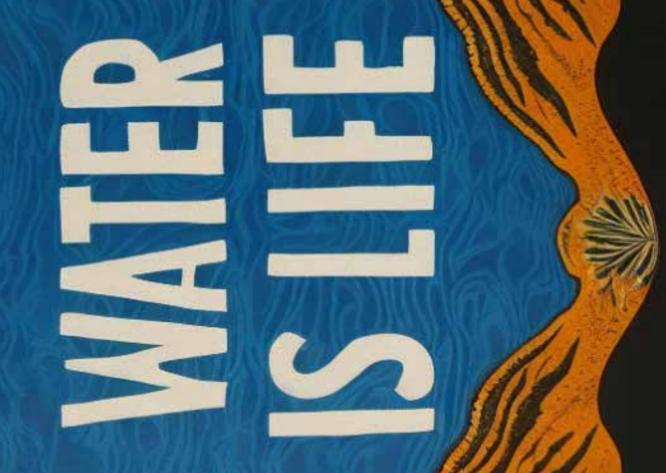
Infrastructure: Maintaining open (and generally "legal") "project houses" near the occupations offer participants the option of sleeping in a warm, dry room when they need to, along with an address at which to receive letters and a place to fill up drinking water and take a shower. These spaces can serve as an office with an internet connection and

perhaps a printer or copier. Self-organized open projects can offer space to paint banners, build lockboxes, or just relax without the fear of being beaten up or evicted—without being dependent on the solidarity of more bourgeois supporters who might not like to support all the different types of actions that might require indoor preparation. Activists bought a house close to Hambi at the same time that the first occupations at Hambi started. They opened up WAA (the Workshop for Actions and Alternatives) explicitly to support the fight against lignite mining.

### ... THE ORIGINAL, MUCH LONGER PIECE CAN BE FOUND AT:

https://crimethinc.com/2021/03/10/the-forest-occupation-movement-ingermany-tactics-strategy-and-culture-of-resistance

There own voices English/German zine from Hambach forest https://shitbarricade.wordpress.com/



# Sovereign Citizens: some musings

By Watts D. Mater Written November 2020.

There is a large emphasis on sovereignty and authenticity in white new-age spiritual movements. This is perhaps why many in these 'communities' have found their online home amongst the QAnon and Sovereign Citizen crowd. Many who find themselves on this path claim to be seeking the truth, having a sense that we are being lied to, which is not entirely false, but conclusions are drawn that underneath there is an 'original truth' that the theory reveals, like the deep-state or 'real law', often reverting back to Common Law in the Australian instance.

Sovereign citizen movement emerged out of anti-federal, white supremacist movement, the Posse Comitatus, that was an attempt to solidify white ownership and control of (stolen) land in the US and avoid adhering to government regulation. Posse Comitatus, from Latin "power of the county", is a common law institution of local self-governance through the summoning of armed civilian militias. The Posse Comitatus was considered necessary on the American colonial frontier, as both the army and civilians were enlisted to assist in the enforcement of laws,

Sovereign citizen movement emerged out of anti-federal. white supremacist movement. the Posse **Comitatus. that was** an attempt to solidify white ownership and control of (stolen) land in the US and avoid adhering to government regulation.

to the Commonwealth. The invasion, theft, murder and military occupation of so-called Australia and First Nations people and subsequent claim as a sovereign state, and internationally recognised as such by the western, colonial legal framework remains an illegal occupation of First Nations country.

This means that sovereignty has always been held, and remains held, by the peoples of over 500 nations First Nations peoples in so-called Australia have never ceded sovereignty

### on and in this country that were here before the British arrived in their boats.

particularly in the Confederate States. The Posse Comitatus Act (1878) legislated the disbanding of the militias, following their mobilisation in the election two years prior. Fast forward a century, and the political and legal foundation of Posse Comitatus evokes its white supremacist legacy.

"The use of the term "Posse Comitatus"... had been supplanted by the term "Sovereign Citizen," mirroring a change in the language used by adherents to reflect a renewed focus on personal liberty secured through absolute ownership of personal property — including land."\*

In so-called Australia, there is a dangerous attempt to cross-pollinate the ideas behind the sovereign citizen movement with that of First Nations sovereignty. It is imperative to highlight the distinction between the two as THEY ARE NOT

**THE SAME.** First Nations peoples in so-called Australia have never ceded sovereignty to the Commonwealth. The invasion, theft, murder and military occupation of so-called Australia and First Nations people and subsequent claim as a sovereign state, and internationally recognised as such by the western, colonial legal framework remains an illegal occupation of First Nations country. This means that sovereignty has always been held, and remains held, by the peoples of over 500 nations on and in this country that were here before the British arrived in their boats.

How is this idea of sovereignty different to that of the sovereign citizen movement, a movement

whose ideas permeate throughout various factions of white Australia? Well, given the legacy of the sovereign citizen movement from its foundations of the US, the sovereign citizen movement here claims to be anti-government. The sovereign citizen movement works off the idea that an individual has sovereignty, that the state has no capacity to dictate to an individual about what that individual does to themselves and "their" land, which is stolen. This libertarian and individualistic movement is so deeply entrenched in western legal and political concepts that the whole basis upon which sovereign citizens stake their claim of sovereignty against that of the state is entirely based upon the very frameworks that the structures that they are trying to undermine are situated. Namely, private property.

Since the 1990s apocryphal theories about the US government being controlled by a group of Jewish conspirators emerged in the sovereign citizen movement, and stuck. What were initially fringe theories in the movement, the anti-Semitic conspiratorial ideas espoused amongst sovereign citizens today proliferated online and now make up a major part of the sovereign citizen discourse.

Sovereign Citizens highlight that people are born naturally free and with unalienable rights. It hardly seems radical when you frame this within the tradition of liberalism centred around notions of private property. These ideas crystalise in the work of John Locke, the father of liberalism, who argues that "men" are by nature born free and equal with inalienable individual rights to life, liberty and property (later echoed in the American Declaration of

political movement, which bases itself off the idea of free, natural and unconstrained being is appealing to people in the wellness and spiritual communities.

The wellness/spiritual community is premised on search for purity, 'naturalness' and authenticity. It is also not surprising that by and large, these communities have a total incapacity to recognise that everything that they are presented with is not just available for their use or appropriation, or that they are "free" to impose their will, in the form of ownership or appropriation, onto things that are also considered "free", or detached from any meaning or use that is not directly related to them.

The term 'alternative' used to describe these communities couldn't be further from the truth, as this is pure neoliberal capitalist logic. Just as the sovereign citizens consider themselves to be free of restrictions in the form of taxes, rates and fines, the new-age community considers itself free to remove certain practices from their cultural and ritualistic contexts and appropriate them for their own use. Both presuppose a freedom that emerges directly out of emptying out the world of prior meaning in order to impose your 'free will' upon it and therefore, the erasure of the knowledges of First Nations peoples and country and the replacement with your "freedom". Freedom in this sense is only achieved against the backdrop of colonial violence and the reconstruction of the world according to private property.

The proliferation of conspiracy theories highlight the lengths that people go to when they are disconnected from understanding the systems that govern our lives. That disconnection

creates a highly manipulatable audience. The flirtation with conspiracy theories is a symptom of people attempting to seek agency and to understand that which governs them. The red-pilling occurs when the individual believes that the conspiracy is the truth, and they are the superior holder of the truth. The alienation from the

POWER IS THE CAPACITY TO DECIDE THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRUTH AND POWER. CONSPIRACY THEORIES ARE NOT ATTRACTIVE BECAUSE OF THEIR CONTENT BUT BECAUSE OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRUTH AND POWER THAT IS CONTAINED WITHIN THEM.

institutions that govern us appears to them as the belief that truth is removed from visibility or experience. The conspiracy theory, beyond merely claiming to reveal the truth, "offers" something much more: power.

Power is the capacity to decide the relationship between truth and power. Conspiracy theories are not attractive because of their content but because of the relationship between truth and power that is contained within them. By virtue of knowledge of the 'hidden truth', the conspiracy theorists solidify their power as the knowledge holders, drawing them into an 'elite' community of those who know. The conspiracy theorist does not seek the truth, as they claim, but seeks the power to determine the relationship between truth and power.

The conspiracy theorist is not so much interested in the content of the conspiracy but in

changing the definition of, and being the one in the position of deciding, what is true or not, hence they gain power. The conspiracy theorist has a belief that the truth is hidden from the masses, and the truth must remain hidden in order to maintain their power. This facade remains steadfast even when presented with torrents of evidence to the contrary, for it is not about truth at all. Thus, the distinction between true and false becomes obsolete and power becomes paramount. The "Sovereign", or sovereign citizen, is that which determines the relationship between truth and power. It is therefore not surprising to see an upsurge in conspiracy theories in the age of Trumpism, and exacerbated by the global pandemic, that streamlined so much of our communication to solely online platforms. In the words of Hannah Arendt:

"Just as terror, even in its pre-total, merely tyrannical form ruins all relationships between men, so the self-compulsion of ideological thinking ruins all relationships with reality. The preparation has succeeded when people have lost contact with their fellow men, as well as the reality around them; for together with these contacts, men lose the capacity of both experience and thought. The ideal subject of totalitarian rule is not the convinced Nazi or the convinced Communist, but people for whom the distinction between fact and fiction (i.e., the reality of experience) and the distinction between true and false (i.e., the standards of thought) no longer exist."

The conspiracy theorist questions reality, rather than questioning the organisation of reality. In the age of automation, this mechanism is that of algorithm and code; you type

into your search engine and the algorithm dictates the search results. Through the algorithm, hashtags, bots and clickbait, the conspiracy theory appears, a red herring claiming to reveal what is behind the scenes of observable reality, claiming to reveal the truth, exploiting the longing for understanding in an unassuming reader, confirming the "feeling" that there is something behind what we are observing. The conspiracy theorist mistakes the "hidden truth" with the apparatus that produces those "truths". That apparatus is capitalism at work.

The Sovereign Citizen movement, though different, crosses over with QAnon, and shares the capacity for the feeling of agency through individual engagement. Just as QAnon encourages people to "do the research" and figure out "what is really going on", the sovereign citizen encourages people that they have a relationship with the law that can be individually manipulated. Like many of these theories, there is an element of truth. However, the concern here is not for truth, but the search and maintenance of power.





# Outer Urban Harizon

They Stand tip toed at the edge of the abyss Leaning into it

Outer reaches of whom grasslands Open into the expanding horizon

the sky is larger here 360 degrees of it

filled with stars

Its have to find where one ends and the next one begins

# Transforming extractive ways of being By Claire Burgess

Last year, both my survivalist and eco-relational disposition were activated during an attempt at a coproduced PhD project. I felt myself oscillate between intense connection and awe from engaging with kinship world views and listening to Country; to frustration toward ecomodernists; fawning with supervisors; hyper states of documenting green extractivism; fleeing from what felt like an exploitative partnership with an NGO; and freezing in response to strange men creeping into my inboxes, draining my already overloaded pre-frontal cortex.

A deep wound was breaking open. I was done. I turned off all notifications on my phone. I fell hard into the murky depths of the underground, into the cracks with the other traumatised fugitives - seeking comfort only in the knowledge that failing as a human in the Anthropocene was at the least an authentic embodiment of collapse. This led me to ponder - what does it mean to be a thriving human in the midst of planetary collapse? Who gets to adorn that position, and why? and where/what/who is sacrificed for that privilege? While I absolutely own the responsibility for facing my unprocessed trauma head-on, I have a hunch that there's something additional

going on - wriggling and writhing within and around me. Perhaps it is an extractive way of being.

An extractive way of being can be characterised by a relational imbalance, that encompasses a lack of care, connection and reciprocity with the complexity and diversity of life forms and cultural possibilities on this earth. A Native American group have explained this as a virus, called 'Wetiko'. It fuels an insatiable desire for the accumulation of power - infiltrating the mind. It thrives and reproduces in extractive relations of domination and exploitation.

In so-called Australia, where I live, Mary Graham refers to a 'survivalist' disposition that First Nations learned about through the 10s of thousands of years of political societal experiments. When a survival disposition is out of balance with collective care and cooperation, what manifests is hierarchical power over dynamics, colonial conquest, and the valuing of individualism and competition. When a survivalist disposition is nourished, a narcissistic self-centredness quality in humans can emerge - with the potential to bring out the worst, emoldened through cultural narratives of supremacy. Tyson Yunkaporta points to how this tendency was and is curtailed in his community - through ritual, art, story telling, earth-based governance and custodianship.

Rooted in historical waves of empire building - there is quite a history of violent conquest - seemingly driven by the goal to accumulate wealth for elites from extractive relations to land, sea and the labour of other human and non human entities. Some examples of this from Europe include the Balkan egalitarian goddess civilisation being overrun by Aryan animal herding invaders - in search for land; the extractive-based Bronze age civilisations, the Seafarers who burnt down the Bronze age civilizations to capitalise on their advantageous position in the copper trade and sea snail dye extraction; the rise of the Roman empire built on new technologies to extract iron, copper, tin, lead or gold; the nomad warriors of Central Asia who hastened the downfall of the Roman empire for their leaders insatiable desire for gold.

This pattern of relating has intensified under modern and globalised techno-industrial settings - where corporate profit-making is sacrosanct. The current western model of extractive relations - is a hyper, globalised version - arguably, at the forefront of impending planetary collapse. All Nation States are pulled into this vortex where militarised borders are asserted only when natural resources and populations are in service of capital investment, economic growth, and consumption.

Ecofeminists remind us that through the dominant myth of progress, the current

extractive way of being places a particularly type of rational human (Male, Western, European) as relationally superior to nature and other cultures. This leadership has been deemed integral to the advancement of Western civilisation through technological industrial economic growth. According to this muth, to fail to dominate over the State of nature, is to divert from the progressive timeline of human development. This has meant that women. BIP (Communities and ecologies have been disproportionately targeted for extractive domination and exploitation - toward the accumulation of wealth and greed.

At the core, this way of being rejects and denies the interconnectedness of life - in favour of technology and industrial extractive expansion which is rapidly terraforming the earth. The Capitalist World Eater extracts 100 billion tonnes of minerals, fossil fuels, crops and trees on average every year.

Green" economies are emerging as the latest iteration of this in the remarkable increase in mineral and ore mining, with the potential to expand into Indigenous lands, biodiverse regions, and the deep sea. The production and establishment of

"Clean" technologies are dependent on deeply destructive and exploitative supply chains.

Currently, these clean energy regimes are being constructed upon lands and sea

beds by corporations tied with fossil fuel profits - disrupting existences, ecologies and lifeways which indicates that there a deep relational imbalance remains. In Far North Queensland koala habitat is threatened by Wind factories set to power mining and industrial growth. On Robbins Island in Tasmania, for export - giant turbines are being placed smack in the middle of bird migratory pathways, with no care. Acting on climate change is the opposite of investing in green capitalism. To demand action from the same greedy men is to ignore their incapacities to respond. Look down at the land. look sideways at your neighbours. Tap into the instincts of human nature, of cooperation and survival at equal measures. We learn to heal and care for the planet by witnessing how ecosystems regenerate themselves. Contrary to what the status quo will have us believe, extractive solutions to climate change are contributing to a planet not fit for life. More land grabbing and billiondollar "green" mega projects and "green" deals with mining companies will not save life on earth.

To transition in this way is to move from one extractive dependency to another. This process risks maintaining the trajectory of business as usual - it is maladaptive when compared to the potential custodian role of humans of caring for and integrating in balance with the complexity of life on earth.

Transformation is a concept that helps to point to holistic visions for change

integrating all levels of the social, political, cultural, economic, spiritual, and personal. Starting with the most privileged people - they (I) need to transform the extractive way of being within to reflect on what it is to collectively come into a balanced relationship with the earth.

I've come to believe that climate action without transformative change merely maintains a small minorities comfortable lives in a safe biosphere - while ignoring the suffering that's been and is yet to come.

To challenge the root cause of climate change - the extractive way of being - is therefore likely to require holistic and transformative change. Whether we embrace it or not - this change is coming. To go beyond the mechanistic compartmentalizing of problems with techno-solutions calls for a collective reclamation of what it is to be human in relation to earth. The pivot toward connection with earth ways vs extractive ways will be an integral part of humans adapting to collapse. The collapse of climate, biodiversity, and civilisation itself under the weight of this - is life responding to being pushed and pulled in ways that don't fit with a balanced relationship. From this perspective, climate change could be viewed as the collective and collaborative response from earth (us and everything else) to an extractive-based virus of imbalance - forcing, urging us to transform.

The inversion of extractive relations is moving with the land in radical relationality.

This is happening in the multiplicity of creative and transformative approaches found in the notion of the **Pluriverse. Alternative ways** of being are oozing through the cracks led by Indigenous thinkers. postsystems humanists. animists. spiritual ecologists, critical eco-feminists. areen anarchists. co-liberational visionaries and explored on the frontlines of resistance

The human organising capacity has the potential for creativity, diversity and life-affirming action. We can and have lived in different ways.

movements against extractivism - to mention a few. All are pushing the boundaries beyond the conventional methods of seeking incremental change from reforming the system. The human organising capacity has the potential for creativity, diversity and life-affirming action. We can and have lived in different ways. The cultures and ecologies that hold the intelligence for maintaining balance with the forces of earth systems,

have been repressed - but the knowledge is here, in the land. And in the case of Australia, it is held by First Nations. To mindfully listen and be guided by those communities that have ancestral connection to ways of being that reflect and balance with earth systems, is important while working together for the co-liberation of humanity through abolition and mutual aid.

Through failing, I'm drawn to living and being in different ways. I'm still unsure of how this will unfold. But, I've committed to breaking open and cultivating a transformative journey that includes three aspecs - embodied healing, co-liberational radical writing / story telling and eco-relational care. This is looking like showing up more consistently at local Aboriginal educational programs and events, practicing embodied relational healing combined with radical writing sessions, deep listening to Country, and joining local mutual aid and resistance to extractivism campaigns.

What emerged in a recent embodied dance practice with the ocean was three interconnected states/threads of eco-relationality that were important for me in establishing right relations with myself, others and the more than human kin. These include the witnessing and aknowledgement (of the wholeness and history of life affirming existences), the anticipation / connecting (checking for permission and willingness to relate), and the coming together (recognition of interdependence and need for reciprocity). How we move forward is going to look different depending on so many factors.

where I hope to contribute to, in the unravelling, is toward a pluriversal transformation of extractive ways of being in favour of regenerative ecological relationality, grounded in co-liberation.



# Some Lessons From Sainte-Soline, France

There has been a great deal of discussion in France about this demo against the mega-basins (underground naturally occuring water supplies) in Saint-Soline from October 29 and 30, and for good reason. The diverse and energetic crowd routed over 1700 police officers and six helicopters, much to the ire of the Minister of the Interior, among others. We feel this moment has as much to teach us as it did our friends in France, and we are therefore happy to bring you these lessons those involved published two weeks after the action. It offers lessons of great importance to those struggling against the end of the world everywhere.

"I was thinking again last night that I was missing something to take out the garbage."

- Anemone, actress and temporary resident of St. Soline

Two weeks have already passed since the demonstration on the red lands of Sainte-Soline against the construction of the second mega-basin in Deux Sèvres. Marked by such enthusiasm that we have yet to wrap our minds around it, the demo continues to command both media and political attention. But after this period of forced work stoppage, the government has opted to resume construction and promised to build thirty new basins in the neighboring department.

The next national date of action will be announced this Thursday. These actions will aim to have a more lasting impact on these projects, putting them to a definitive end.

While waiting to organize ourselves accordingly, we want to share some considerations on the lessons to be learned from the October 29 demonstration, based on the path we have taken over the past year with the movement. We want to believe there is something to be learned from this experience that is more tangible than the projections emitted by the crowd of parachuting experts who lined up to speak to the media afterwards.

What we seek to explore here revolves around the following two hypotheses:

Starting from a given region and a relatively new form of infrastructure, which its promoters plan to spread everywhere, it is possible to unravel the knot tying together water monopolization, the maintenance of the agro-industrial complex, and the current unwavering support offered to it by the State. Therefore, there are two opposing horizons for the concerned territories, with a barricade between them, the two sides of which

continue to be clarified, and some possible turning points in the face of the climate crisis.

More than an action of ecological resistance that suddenly increases the balance of power in a specific struggle, the action in Sainte-Soline engages in the necessary reconfiguration of the political field. Its offensive texture—comprised of teenagers grown up in a shipwrecked

world and of lovers of the little bustard, of debaucherous rioters and retired people whose age has rendered them all the more diehard, of trade-

comprised of teenagers grown up in a shipwrecked world and of lovers of the little bustard, of debaucherous rioters and retired people whose age has rendered them all the more dichard, of tradeunionists rediscovering their taste for sabotage and elected representatives, for once acting courageously.

unionists rediscovering their taste for sabotage and elected representatives, for once acting courageously. This breadth of the struggle gives a glimpse of what moments of climatic revolt could be, of the way they should take shape everywhere from now on in response to the absolute emergencies of the time.

### Reflecting on the movement's rising force over the last year

The strength experienced collectively in Sainte-Soline is an event in itself, while also being the result of the actions which preceded it. Before questioning its scope more precisely, we need to put it into perspective by summarizing the sequence of events that led us to the

storm of the Red Soil.

More than a year ago, a site equivalent to that of Sainte-Soline was already invaded and damaged. It was the lunar crater of the mega-basin of Mauzé-sur-le-Mignon, on the edge of the Poitevin marsh. This was the first in a series of sixteen structures that the prefecture and the groups of irrigators wish to build in the department. With the start of construction and after years of all kinds of mobilizations, information nights, and legal appeals—all necessary, but obviously insufficient in the eyes of the government—construction began and the local coalition Bassines Non Merci saw that it was necessary for the struggle to pass into another stage. A convoy of farmers from Loire-Atlantique shifted the narrative framing produced by the opposing camp, showing that this was not simply a fight between environmentalists on one side and farmers on the other, but rather a split between two possible agricultural horizons. The thirty tractors, joined in Niort by a few hundred people, took the police by surprise when they suddenly rushed towards the basin, some fifteen kilometers away. Once the gates fell, the crowd (accompanied by a band of sheep) joyfully put one of the excavators out of action after it was abandoned by its driver. Meanwhile the local spokesperson of the struggle announced in front of the cameras that "for every one basin constructed, there will be three destroyed." This intrusion on the construction site was a powerful assertion of the vulnerability and the barren materiality of this infrastructure, as well as of the new phase of the movement. This meeting in action between three distinct groups—Soulèvements de la Terre, Bassines non Merci and Confédération Paysanne—called for a rapid follow-up.

One month later, 3,000 of us gathered in the town of Mauzé, this time finding a massive deployment of police determined to prevent us from reaching the construction site, which was itself occupied by the troops of the FNSEA who had come to defend their hole. This first big showdown gave birth to Episode One of "The Taking of the Basin," by way of a concerted detour from the site we had initially targeted, leading us instead to the neighboring and already existing basin of Cran-chabam, which was opposite the mass of police and opposing troops. Accessing it was a matter of passing through lines of gendarmes, crossing a stream with several thousand people, running through fields, piercing gates while being shot at with grenades, all before reaching the big crater, dismantling its pump and removing its plastic tarp while dancing around a pirate ship. Ten days later, faced with the cries and threats of repression from the government and the FNSEA, a number of public figures and national representatives associated with various political and trade union organizations, most of whom had not yet set foot in the Deux-Sèvres, came to affirm the need for "disobedience" and to support the uncovering of the mega-basins. This confirmed that a front had been created around the defense of water, one that was both widely supported and determined to give itself the necessary means to stop the construction sites. It was also a second slap in the face for the prefect of the Deux-Sèvres, who left a few months later and was replaced by Emmanuelle Dubée, who was tasked with putting an end to this struggle.

In spite of these two first mobilizations, the construction of the SEV 17 (the shorter technical name of the Mauzé basin) was in the end completed, though at a considerably higher cost owing to the need to ensure the continuous surveillance of the process. But in the meantime, the brazen punch thrown at the gendarmes on the Mauzé site had obviously been taken quite seriously. Between September 2021 and September 2022, nearly ten existing basins were indeed dismantled at night by various groups with evocative names—the "Rolling Cutter Gang," the "Fremen of the Poitevin Marshes," or the "Angry Rivers"—groups who had all decided to reinforce the impact of the public mobilizations in their own way. With ten basins destroyed for the one built, the tension was palpable in the Poitou.

The movement's next public incarnation was another rally in March of this year in the small village of La Rochénard, still with the SEV 17 basin in the line of fire. On this occasion, 2,500 gendarmes were mobilized and the demonstration was forbidden to enter within a perimeter of several square kilometers. This did not prevent 7,000 people from braving the checkpoints to converge on the camp. This record mobilization was a crushing rebuttal to the few voices who claimed that more determined actions would risk isolating the movement and "discouraging the masses," said masses being obviously rather satisfied to be able to take part in directly impactful demonstrations. Once again, everything possible was done to prevent the approach of the site. Gendarmes were deployed on foot, motorized teams in the fields, helicopters overhead, and above all, increased pressure from the local prefecture services and agricultural authorities on the Confédération Paysanne, which had publicly announced the event. The dilemma faced by participants that weekend was whether it

was necessary to enter the forbidden zone or to change the target. The second option was chosen, in part due to trepidation regarding the possibility of arriving together at the original site, but also because the alternative action—taking pickaxes to pipes intended to feed a future project—allowed the movement to extend its domain of tactical competence. This new gesture pointed beyond the site of the basin itself and towards the tentacular and thus indefensible character of this type of infrastructure. Cutting a tarpaulin, a pump, or pipes with an electric saw became so many small, simple, shared gestures that prefigured the disarmament of all the existing basins and drenched their promoters in a cold sweat.

Cur slogans no longer appeared as empty threats: if they started a new construction site, we would come and stop it four weeks later. The clarity of this objective did not prevent more than 150 organizations from joining the call. And by the beginning of October, as soon as the first grids were laid around Saint-Solin, the preparation meetings were in full swing and a map of the companies involved in the project was published. For months now, the territorial network of Bassines Non Merci has continually amazed us with its connections to people in different trades and social strata, which have relayed material solidarity and sources of information.

In the immediate perimeter of Sainte-Soline, the ground is at first sight much less conducive

to conflict than around the Poitevin marsh, the cradle of the struggle. The local irrigators and prefecture put significant social pressure on the movement's supporters, at first hindering the search for sites of convergence. However, a few well-attended public meetings allowed the movement, step by step, to find openings. A huge field less than 3 km from the construction site was discreetly proposed by its owner, himself a former irrigator who had broken with the basins and decided to make this courageous gift to the movement. While two unions called for the demo, the logistics team stayed one step ahead of its quite predictable ban, preparing the surprise installation of a camp which would arise within a convoy of trucks and tractors in the heart of the forbidden zone the day after its location was declared by the local government..

The standoff began on Tuesday when the first tents were pitched, while the landowner explained to the media why he had decided to switch sides and invite his former opponents to camp on his land. This moment initiates a chain reaction: the prefecture raises its tone, but can hardly find a legal ground on which to expel us directly; it extends prohibition orders all around, emptying the site of its machines and redoubling its threats in the hope of dissuading the demonstrators. But the first images of the camp go viral, attracting more opponents of the basins and haunting the authorities, who are obsessed by the specter



of the construction of a zad,5 a mirage that undoubtedly aided in the media surge. When the ban on movement in the red zone went into effect on the eve of the demonstration, a critical mass of more than 1,000 demonstrators was already occupying the area.

At 7am Saturday morning, the cat and mouse game begins. But the fields and dirt roads of the countryside around Melle are full of passages impossible to close off entirely, especially for those who are willing to walk a little with a small map in hand. A communication apparatus combining an info line with reception points in the surrounding villages allows more than 6,000 additional demonstrators to join the camp.

First victory of the day. The tarpaulin trucks and the police vans are already positioned on departmental road 55, which separates us from the construction site, supported by six helicopters. Faced with them, we will respond with a game. Between 10am and 2pm, several teams go through the crowd

Inside it, one reads a proposal to divide into three processions and to try to melt, taking different routes and assuming different attitudes, towards the target and to bring down the fence enclosing it.

Almost instantly, all the participants agreed to play this game, forming three groups of several thousand people. The lines of gendarmes, visibly disoriented by the ardor of these processions, are re-routed in all directions as their narrow set of tactics singular deployments are overtaken by successive waves of farandoles, chains, races, or volleys of projectiles. One team, the reds, supported by the mobilization and advance of the other two teams, manages to enter the site en masse for a few minutes before planting its flag. They take down a good portion of the fences, which effectively stops the construction from resuming for some time. Shortly after, the three processions meet in front of the basin's construction site for a snack interrupted by shots of flash-ball grenades. We have just witnessed Episode Two of the "Taking of the Basin." The next day, a pipe intended for use in filling the basin is dug up and disconnected by hundreds of people around a pickup truck marked "freewheeling irrigators," broadcasting maloya music. We then celebrate the dismemberment of one of the arms of the octopus and the exposure of its underground tentacles.

The government unilaterally announced that the movement's intention was to create a zad, in order to claim, in spite of everything, that it had succeeded in preventing something from happening. But instead of a zad, a simple altar was left on the field. We know we can come back or redeploy elsewhere. Ten days later, when construction is restarted and a protocol for the building of thirty new basins is signed in the neighboring department of Vienne in the middle of the COP 27 climate conference, nobody doubts anymore that the government is locking itself into this course of action and that the Sainte-Soline demonstration will have consequences. Elaborating those consequences in the aftermath of this turning point requires us to question the scope of the fight.

### What Sainte-Soline offers to us

While this struggle has been going on for many years, over the last year it has seen a considerable acceleration as it appears central to the question of water and its distribution. About fifteen years ago, roughly

twenty basins built in the Vendée department experienced no resistance. What is the difference today? Along with the ratcheting up of tensions after years of successive droughts, there is also the blossoming of years of struggle by the inhabitants and neighbors of the Poitevin

Along with the ratcheting up of tensions after years of successive droughts, there is also the blossoming of years of struggle by the inhabitants and neighbors of the Poitevin marshes against the agro-industrial desert that threatens to dry it up definitively.

marshes against the agro-industrial desert that threatens to dry it up definitively. First and foremost, what gives substance to the struggle in the Deux-Sèvres is the real, concrete, and irremediable link that they forge with the waterways, with the non-human populations that inhabit them and fly over them, and with the land that

surrounds them.

If this united front is possible, it is because even where the seemingly unlimited fields of productive agriculture no longer extend, there are still people, places, and recesses that form a community connected through the anger caused by their devastation. For those who come to support them from farther away, it can sometimes be a matter of giving back to those from the marsh who, a few years earlier, regularly traveled hundreds of kilometers to save other wetlands. For all of us, it is now a question of finding a common grip, of converging around a target embodying the ways the profound upheavals our planet is undergoing are being imposed upon us, and of pulling that thread all the way to its end. At

the heart of the "disaster," as it is called, are the readjustment measures by which power attempts to regulate (and prolong) the catastrophic situation it has itself perpetrated. Beyond their evident specificity, the mega-basin projects are emblematic of this broader logic: perpetuate for a few more years an agricultural model that has run its course, until there is not a drop of water left. Then we'll see. Opposing the basin projects allows us to recapture the need for a front of active resistance by taking hold of the climate change angle and carrying it forward from this point. It is a way to re-interrogate the practices of all those who for decades have been trying to act in the name of political ecology.

THE PROBLEM WITH WHAT WE GENERALLY AGREE TO CALL THE "ECOLOGY MOVEMENT" IS THAT IT IS PARADOXICALLY BOTH CONSTITUTIVE OF OUR OWN POLITICAL HISTORY, BUT TOO OFTEN CAPTURED BY THE OPPOSING APPARATUSES, AND HAS TENDED TOWARDS DEFEAT FOR SEVERAL DECADES. ANY VICTORIES IT HAS ACHIEVED, HOWEVER NOTABLE, REMAIN SCATTERED. IT MUST NOW ENTER A PERIOD OF SUBSTANTIAL SUCCESS OR SINK WITH THE WORLD THAT IT HAS FAILED TO SAVE.

It is difficult to define the possible horizons of this movement. There are those who expect the State to act genuinely in the direction of the "ecological transition," those who want to take the reins of power, those who seek to give the movement a nonviolent identity, to make it carry a revolutionary hope, or to refuse this pretension absolutely. There are those who fight above all against a local development project, those who seek to defend another agricultural model, and those who essentialize the question of "nature" and through that concept, reactualize the most nauseating and fascist ideas in history. There is no unified

"ecological movement" today.

While there is no need to try to put everyone in agreement on the theoretical plane, it is still necessary to take note of the strategic and sometimes even political and philosophical differences that separate us, all while anticipating what the real movement will transform.

The more tense the climatic and social situation becomes, the more it seems to take away our capacity to act. It is a phenomenon that is perplexing, to say the least, until we find its point of reversal. There is a kind of resignation in the air that the complex heritage of ecological struggles has not yet mitigated in the realm of theory. We seek to overcome this resignation with a certain pragmatism, among other things, beginning from the tangible grounding of the Poitevin marsh and the complicities we have found there. Our wager today is that the construction of this game of complicity will allow alliances of circumstance to transcend the contours of strict ideology and militant conventions.

The most recent person to have paid the price is the prefect of Deux-Sèvres, who we are surprised to see still in office after the slap in the face she suffered. The whole arsenal of Republican law and order was assembled with the aim of making it impossible to lift a finger ten kilometers around the site. But everything that was not supposed to happen did happen. The arrival of Darmanin to the rescue—using big words to channel the attention of journalists and promising, for once, the utmost firmness—did not change anything. At his side is the expertise of a high-ranking general (Richard Lizurey, who coordinated the eviction operations on the zad at Notre-Dame-Des-Landes in 2018) who reduces the

conflict to a simple question of militarization of the so-called radicals, as if desperately seeking to justify their rout by putting 1,700 overarmed gendarmes aided by unprecedented air support on equal footing with a few thousand demonstrators equipped with stones gleaned from the fields and some fireworks. More than ten years of repression and police mutilations against the zads, along with the Yellow Vests, allow us to understand this umpteenth lie, behind which the authorities of this country hide. They decide to bruise flesh in revenge as the gates of Sainte-Soline fall, even at the risk of replaying the nightmare of Sivens, all under the pretext of defending an empty building site. But the damage has been done, and no matter how important the caricatures of debates on violence become, the issue of water-hoarding is now front and center, and the coming droughts will not help to ward it off.

TO PISH THE GOVERNMENT BAGK MORE DEFINITIVELY, THE ANTI-BASIN MOVEMENT WILL HAVE TO GONTINUE TO AGGREGATE. History has shown us that growing a capacity for force almost systematically implies adding a fairly extensive diversity of practices of struggle and actors to its repertoire. But the diversity in question must not become the heart of what brings us together, nor even the collective objective. We must first elaborate and share a certain tactical sense of emergence, a way of taking advantage of the different tools that our predecessors have passed on to us, and reinventing them as often as necessary.

So far, the political forces at the heart of this struggle are not seeking to contain or

overwhelm each other. Rather, their attention is entirely focused on what will impact the opposing apparatus and bring about unexpected arrangements—with the now emblematic collusion of masked groups, peasants and elected officials in scarves, teens and old-timers, all of whom strike at the same target. Together they push back the limits of what is tolerable and acceptable in established protest patterns. Those limits are what maintains the status quo. And just as the scope of the Yellow Vests movement quickly exceeded the question of the price of fuel, one inevitably begins to hope that Sainte-Soline marks the expansion of the struggle's imaginary beyond the sole question of the basins.

What is this 'beyond'? That of a more generalized revolt? Does the contagious emotion that allowed us to cross several lines of gendarmes in the three processions of Sainte-Soline tell us something about what we can expect from a major breakthrough, one that might be able to turn the tide?

A revolt is always a point of overflowing beyond all the forces which first composed it, but a revolt which gives itself the means to last, and therefore to become something else, is generally also the result of a long and meticulous work of elaboration, which includes the construction of a language, a repertoire, a grammar. It is the circulation of a common culture between all those who have the desire to seek a path that absolves them of the identity that has shaped them. On this path, questions appear regarding territories, social determinisms, gender, power relationships, and so forth. So many questions, impossible to sweep away

with a wave of the hand, which draw the contours of what could be the camp of those who revolt.

If the revolutionary question arises after a weekend like the one of Saint-Soline, it is not because a lovely tactical move was accomplished. The question arose, unconsciously or not, in the unexpected experience of an asymmetrical balance of power that was nevertheless reversed, in the diffuse feeling of thousands of souls who experienced a power that continually thwarted both the army of gendarmes facing us and the ideologies that almost systematically neutralize any possibility of victory (even an ephemeral one).

What prevailed in Sainte-Soline was determination in action, by farandole or by rain of rocks, and the celebration of the feeling of having accomplished something important. It was both DETERMINED AND FESTIVE. It was also the energy of all the initiatives that allowed us to take care of each other, to look after the bruised bodies, and afterwards to accompany those that the gendarmes took away and to stand up against the flood of lies that our enemies poured out to save their own skins. What history has shown us is that a revolution requires a little bit of all of this, on a much larger scale.

The emotion that ran through the weekend of October 29 and 30 teaches us something precious about our ability to stand together in the face of capitalist adversity and our ability to strike back. In the coming months, it is this collective emotion that we want to

Summon again to put an end to these projects. But we have the right to expect that this particular energy will not be concentrated only in the battle waged in the Deux-Sèvres, that we will not throw all our forces into one and the same struggle only to find ourselves helpless when it comes to an end, whatever the outcome.

Disaster today is everywhere, to the point of not knowing where to turn, and the task of trying to repair the innumerable errors that human beings have accumulated often seems out of reach. Yet front lines are appearing and, however modest they may be in the face of the extent of the catastrophe, they call out to be joined. The fight against the mega-basins is one of them. It has even become, along the way, a serious rallying point. We will certainly need others to extend the threat and spread our forces to new horizons.

# No basarran!

Originally published in lundi matin





## An Anti-Social Intology for Surviving

# mass-Extinction-Culture

]

Tribe

Not as ethnicity or any other collective identity binding individuals in servitude to the productive machinery called society

But being-with, as direct relationship

Face to face living with

Community as friendship

Friendship as mutual affection and mutual affecting Affecting not as Cause, but as care.

i

GARDENS

LIKE EPIGBRUS BEING-AWAY FROM ATHENS

GARDENS AS SPACE AWAY FROM THE POLITY

WITHOUT THE ESCAPISMS OF DESERTION OR RETREAT

AN ANTI-SOCIAL SPACE FOR BEING-WITH FRIENDS

GARDENS AS NON-ANTHROPOGENTRIC SPACE

FOR NON-ANTHROPOGENTRIC FRIENDSHIP

WHERE SPECIES-BEING AND SPECIESISM END
BIOSPHERIC EGALITARIANISM AS EGO-EGOIST COMMUNISM

Becoming-animal

Dehumanism as self-overcoming

Self-actualising as becoming-me

Animal as individual, singular, unique

Becoming-animal in gardens and with tribe

Affirming the wild freedom that I embody

My life as anarchy

4

**CLOISTERS** 

WALKWAYS FOR ISOLATING IN THE OPEN

BREAKING THE LAW OF NON-CONTRADICTION AS ONTOLOGICAL ANARCHIST PRAXIS

CLOISTERS AS SPACES FOR SOLITUDE WITH-OTHERS

WHERE ENCOUNTERS OCCUR

REALMS FOR DE-MEMBERING AND RE-MEMBERING

5

SURVIVING

WITHIN THE PLANETARY DEATH GAMP OF MASS-EXTINGTION MAGHINERY

SURVIVAL AS REBELLION AND REFUSAL

WILL-TO-LIFE AS REVOLT

THE PRESERVATION OF ME AS THE PRESERVATION OF EARTH

THE PRESERVATION OF EARTH AS THE PRESERVATION OF ME

THE PRESERVATION OF OTHERS AS DESIRING LIFE

PRESERVATIONISM AS RESISTANCE

LIFE-AFFIRMING CARE, NON-CONFORMITY TO TOO FUCKING LATE KRAPITALISM'S PRODUCTIVITY

ENDING MOLOCH AS CELEBRATING BEING-IN-THE-WORLD







## THE GREEN TRANSITION IS ALREADY UNDERWAY - AND IT'S NOT LOOKING PRETTY

## Say hello to a green new deal for business.

In the final few days before COP26 starts, there's been a rush of policies and pronouncements from governments setting out how they aim to 'close the gap' between current carbon emissions and reaching net zero emissions by 2050.

For the most part, campaigners and journalists alike have focused on pointing out how big this gap is. Even if new commitments and pledges are fulfilled, only around 40% of the necessary cuts will likely take place by the 2050 deadline. This gap is the target of protests such as Insulate Britain's recent roadblocks, alongside endless reports and online campaigns.

Throughout the COP we'll no doubt see more of the same. Calls for better pledges or tighter deadlines. Calls for more money. Calls for clearer plans, and for 'taking action'.

But this battle has been won. Governments and business are acting. What's more, the continued focus on pressuring governments to act is misplaced. While campaigners will be focused on trying to close the gap at this COP, business has already stepped in to fill it.

To be sure, governments aren't acting as quickly or decisively as they should – but we

shouldn't mistake the remaining emissions gap as evidence the transition to a different, 'green' global economy isn't underway. What we're seeing take shape is a green new deal for business, where government investment in sustainable innovation and infrastructure props up stagnant economies. And unless we succeed in refocusing what the transition looks like, we'll have no say in the shape of the world for years to come.

Over the past several years, 'net zero' has come to dominate the political landscape. And while it is decried as a farce, as a way for polluting industries and recalcitrant governments to avoid taking action, what has actually happened is that net zero has become a business plan.

There are two key elements to this plan. The first is to aggressively campaign for state financial backing for green industries, looking to take up state funding in order to secure low carbon forms of steel, nuclear power, aviation and other high-value forms of production. Governments want to avoid the kinds of dramatic disruption foreshadowed by the pandemic; they want a transition that changes as little of the existing economy as possible. Innovation offers to make the economy we have sustainable and, at the same time, drive economic activity in a period of global economic stagnation.

What this means in practice is a greening of neoliberalism's habit of public funding for private companies. The UK government has set aside 2500m to bribe car companies in an

effort to ensure they continue to produce cars in the UK, 30m of which is going to Ford to make sure they don't close their Merseyside plant. In a much publicised 'win' for the UK government, Nissan agreed to invest 21bn in Sunderland to expand their existing car operation to build electric batteries. It only cost the UK 1100m - and the local council another 180m - to upgrade the grid for them, while (maybe) creating upwards of 1,200 direct jobs, with possibly thousands more in the supply chain. It's unclear how many of these new jobs are jobs not lost, just 'saved', or already exist and are being double counted. Cr how many of the 1,500 people Nissan made redundant from 2015 onwards will be eligible for them. Perhaps some of the people being made redundant by Honda -3,000 directly, with another 6,000 in the supply chain - will be able to apply.

This story is repeated across the economy. The electric vehicle industry will be funded to the tune of £1.6bn; 'sustainable' aviation fuel gets £180m; heat pumps and retrofitting gets £3.9bn; carbon capture and storage gets at least £140m (but there's also a £1bn innovation fund projects can access); £120m for nuclear power, the heart of the UK government's green energy transition and a notorious white elephant; and the list goes on, totalling, according to the government, £26bn for the 'green industrial revolution'. The aim is to make the UK an

'attractive' investment opportunity, doubly difficult post-Brexit.

There is no way to reach zero carbon emissions without investment, certainly. But we should be asking whether public money should be used for generating profits and future revenue for big business when other public and community options exist. As it stands, what we're looking at is a massive transfer of wealth from the public to private capital, standing to make huge profits off a crisis caused by their factories, oil wells, planes and trucks.

But as we know, even if green steel, aviation's 'jet zero', and sustainable fast fashion all come to pass – and that's a big if – there will still be an emissions gap in the order of at least 20% of the necessary emission cuts. There is only so much that can be done with existing industries to reduce their emissions. Rather than propose to reduce these activities, to 'degrow' polluting sectors, the plan is to financialise the gap.

There are two main ways the gap will be financialised. The first is to generate state-support for innovations that claim they can close the gap. From carbon capture and storage (CCS) to reforestation (the latter receiving £625m), there will be huge profits to be made, even if the technologies never quite make it to full implementation. The government just announced two CCS schemes that will receive funding, drawn from the £1bn innovation fund, to be built in the north, with more proposed. And we're already seeing carbon offsets playing a key role in the continuation of fossil fuel production, with Shell selling 'carbon neutral gas', and Sinopec shipping 'carbon neutral oil'.

The second way is through the creation of new financial instruments, focused on trading and offsets, while seeking to offload insurance costs for at-risk households. We can see this in the creation of carbon neutral fossil fuels, but also in every current business' net-zero plan, as well as in the emphasis on the creation of carbon markets.

While this is not likely to close the gap, it will make the gap profitable. And there are other industries that are likely to thrive in it too, from border protection and security industries, to those that offer private solutions to climatic disasters.

All of this is looking very much like a neoliberal revamp of state capitalism – the 1960s on Wolf of Wall Street steroids. Yet, as throughout the 90s and 00s, what we are seeing is state expenditure not as an effort of state-led development, but as a kind of desperate competition for corporate attention. We're entering the era of a neoliberalised state-capitalism, where states just provide investment opportunities for corporate monopolies to cash in on, while we wait for late trains in flooded houses to go to our shitty jobs where things are going slow because the supply chain has broken down. Again.

The UK's green business plan won't be all smooth sailing, though. Wealthy countries are mobilising huge sums to attract green business investment. While the UK government aims to spend £500m funding car manufacturers, the EU has assembled a €2.9bn war chest to bid for investment. In fact, most wealthy countries have investment funds that dwarf the UK's, and given the world is already awash with excess industrial capacity, competition will be fierce. Protectionism may boost some national investment, as it will become cheaper to

produce locally than pay import tariffs, but it's more likely the overall effect will be to depress economic activity, not increase it.

While we can expect some union complicity in the government's plan, recent and upcoming industrial action – from car workers to university lecturers, from bin and refuse workers to offshore oil platform workers – signals that disruption is always a possibility. Far from

an investor's paradise, post-Brexit Britain could end up engulfed in political and economic struggle. Some of which, like the current situation with HGV drivers and farm workers, will drive up wages and improve conditions, reducing profit margins further.

Finally, while the gap is being financialised, it's not being closed. Climate change itself will undermine the future profitability of big business in the UK. Whether it's through climatic disasters and flooding, new pandemics, or disruptions to supply chains and access to crucial resources, a 2-3°C degree world will be one racked by crises and shortages.

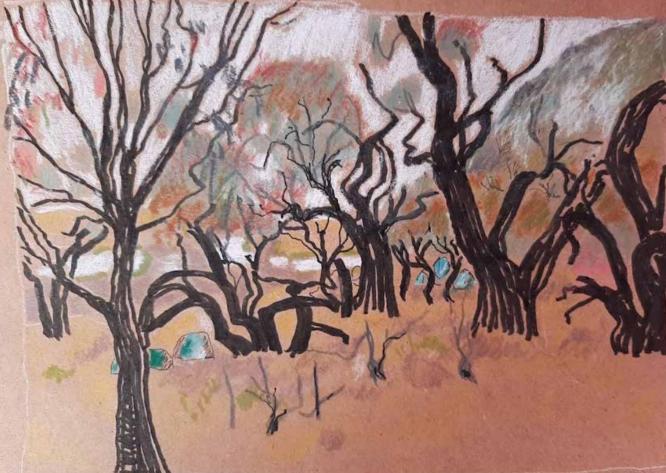
There are better futures, ones that turn out differently for all of us.

To continue focusing on the emissions gap will mean we miss the bigger picture. The transition is underway, and at the moment it is shaping up to be a nightmare: a nuclear-powered kind of monopoly capitalism, where global platform giants control the core of the global economy, while the rest of us scrap for work and the best jobs are to be found patrolling the razor wire around the border.

THERE ARE BETTER FUTURES, ONES THAT TURN OUT DIFFERENTLY FOR ALL OF US. WE NEED TO SHIFT OUR ATTENTION TO THE KINDS OF JOBS AND INDUSTRIES WE WANT TO SEE TAKE US THROUGH TO A LOW CARBON FUTURE, HOWEVER, AND NOT BE CONTENT WITH CHASING BIG BUSINESS. THE FUTURE DOESN'T HAVE TO BE PRIVATISED. WE ARE ON THE VERGE OF THE BIGGEST TRANSFORMATION OF THE GLOBAL ECONOMY IN GENERATIONS — WE SHOULD TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY TO RADICALLY REBUILD IT.

NIGHOLAS BEURET IS A LEGTURER AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX. HIS RESEARCH FOGUSES ON GLIMATE CHANGE, WORK AND THE TRANSITION TO A LOW CARBON ECONOMY.

BY MICHOLAS BEURET, 22 OCTOBER 2021



## ANARCHIST NEWS FROM WONTHAGGI

Wonthaggi is a town of around 19,000 people, known for its crucial role as the main producer of coal in Victoria, beginning in 1910 and finishing in 1968 when the mine closed. Now Wonthaggi is mainly a suburb, with not many jobs apart from at the hospital, supermarkets, council and a few light industries, including a medical marijuana factory.

Extensive undermining from the old days means there are lovely parks from reclaimed mines near the town, which have walking tracks and also serve as occasional camping spots for homeless people.

The Bunurong and Boonwurrung people of the Kulin nation lived here before white invasion. Their middens and fishing spots spread along the coast. First Nations people gather for NAIDOC week and Invasion day. When Kumanji Walker was murdered, Uncle Anthony, a friend and I held an aboriginal flag in his memory and in solidarity with the angry protests which broke out around the country.

Wonthaggi was known in the mining days as "red Wonthaggi" due to the militancy of the coal miners, who struck against unsafe conditions and in solidarity with other mining communities. Many opposed conscription in the First World War. In August 1917, in response to a new American system of "scientific" management involving intense supervision and speeding up of the work rate, Victorian workers in the railways, mines and wharves walked out. For 6 weeks, crucial industries ground to a halt. In response to the jailing of three strike leaders, the Broken Hill mines and the Wonthaggi coal miners walked out.

This explosion of strike activity took place after the appeal of patriotism, which had been so effective in preventing strike activity in 1914 and 1915, faded. By late 1917, a majority of the Australian working class had turned against the war. Many Irish Australians lost any enthusiasm they may have had for fighting for the British Empire after the brutal suppression of the Easter Uprising in 1916.

Vida Goldstein, of the Australian Womens' Peace Army spoke in a Wonthaggi

park as part of their campaign against conscription. She called on the people to "throw off the crushing yoke of militarism and conscription".

This is the same park is where I organized a public speaking when Occupy protests were spreading over some parts of the world. Funnily enough, a local councillor spoke out against us at the time, assuming we would be occupying his council offices! This never happened. Some of the people who came to the local Occupy gatherings ended up joined the campaign against the mining of coal seam gas in Gippsland, which was successful, after much hard campaigning and door knocking at isolated farms where only the barking of dogs greeted us.

Of course, as an active anarchist I often rush into Melbourne when action is happening – like G20, Black Lives Matters rallies, Invasion Day, Camp Anarchy or to Ballarat for the Eureka commemorations. These events keep me in the radical loop somewhat, and also warm my heart against isolation in the cold Wonthaggi winters.

In 2008, the building of the biggest desalination plant in the southern hemisphere

was announced by the Brumby Labour govt. Local surfers, environmentalists, teachers, and even the local Liberal MP opposed it (haha, what an opportunist)

A broad campaign was built with direct action as the main tool for disruption. Arrests, road blockages, creative action took all our energy at that time, as we kept a 24-hour presence at the desal site, in a caravan I bought for \$50. We still maintain that desalination is energy intensive, polluting and the worst way to produce potable water in the case of severe drought. The desalination plant was eventually built, after many delays, by a secretive Public Private Partnership employing an ex-secret serviceman as its PR man. The anti-desal campaign

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deserves a full account on its own. Ironically, the militant union leaders who shunned our request for solidarity, in favour of desal jobs, were later spied on by union-busting company spies. The community members who opposed the plant

had their personal details passed on to the desal consortium. The state of Victoria is still paying off the loans they took out to fund this stupid idea. We maintain the rage...

The well-meaning optimism of those believe that real change can come from voting and referenda drives me mad sometimes. They call anarchists optimistic – but expecting real change to come from the ballot box is genuine romanticism...

but electoral politics still exerts a powerful pull on the population.

"Direct Action" is seen as a poor substitute for a place at the table with the corrupt and self-serving politicians.

I confess that I ran for local council as an

independent, twice – I was motivated by
the threat of a council takeover by local
ex-Liberal MP Alan Brown – notorious
for his union busting and attacks on
the tram conductors when the Liberals
were in government in the 2000's. Liberal
numbers controlling the council would

have meant open slather for developers. We managed to head off that threat, but I was unsuccessful in both council candidacy attempts. This could be lucky, as both the endless meetings, bureaucratic torpor and confidentiality conditions on councillors would have driven me to insanity.

In an attempt to bring some important issues home to roost, I worked with the Reconciliation Group to start annual commemorations of the 1842 struggle against white invasion by Tunnerminnerwait, Maulboyheener, Trugganini, Planobeener and Pyetruner who raided farms on this coast as they rebelled against the theft of their country. They were brought here from Tasmania in an attempt to "civilize" the local First Nations rebels. Tunnerminnerwait and Maulboyheener were hung in Melbourne in 1842. The Anarchist Media Institute and an organizing committee run annual commemorations at the site of their murder in Melbourne. For better or worse, the local council now runs the annual commemorations in Wonthaggi.

When I came here, May Day was celebrated by Gippsland Trades and Labor Council by a dinner at the Wonthaggi Workingman's Club. After a few year's gap, a local socialist and I started the rallies again, meeting in the park, with music

and an open platform. Many topics are covered in the forum, such as low pay for café workers, local environmental issues and refugees. We have held the rallies for 5 years now, to positive local feedback.

South Gippsland Rural Australian Refugees group holds monthly rallies and events. Karen refugees from Burma, Sudanese families and now a Syrian family have been supported when they move here, Local anger shows the down-side of life in a small town – the usual "get a job" abuse is tinged with sadness "Why do you care about them? I'm hurting, help me!!" If there is time, we talk to the angry and bewildered about what really matters, community and empathy...and everyone has the right to a safe home. Often the abuse is yelled from a car or a passing snide remark, but we also have money given to us which goes to support the organisations running accommodation and food banks for refugees.

When we support the student strikes against climate inaction, we are supposed to have "brainwashed" the kids who march around town...I was also personally abused because of my "climate action" sticker by an angry older man. There is

also an active Climate Action network. One of our projects in 2022 was "Cosy Homes" where we were funded to go to homes of 30 low-income locals to seal draughts, cover exhaust fans and make free energy efficiency improvements, free of charge.

A few examples of classic mutual aid have flourished around the town – we have a monthly "unwrapped" bulk food co-op, which operates in the central community garden, which I helped start when I first came here, almost twenty years ago. A Repair Café and "Pop Up Free shop" runs at the community garden, where clothes, books, DVDs, plants are given away and a good time is had by all.

During the first COVID lockdown, a friend and I set up a free food stall in the local park, where harvested apples and other edibles were free to take. The Neighbourhood House agreed to host the stall which has been running from the front porch of the house since then. Vegetables and fruit are donated by local growers, as well as groceries from the House and other extras. As the food can be collected at any time of day or night, it suits individuals who want to remain anonymous, such as people camping in the bush or various other places around town.

**OUR LOCAL BRANCH OF THE AUSTRALIAN UNEMPLOYED WORKERS UNION** RAN FOR THREE YEARS. THERE I MET ANOTHER LOCAL ANARCHIST. SO IT TURNS OUT I WAS NOT THE ONLY ANARCHIST IN THE VILLAGE AFTER ALL! WE MET MONTHLY AND SUPPORTED EACH OTHER IN BATTLES WITH THE JOB AGENCIES, CENTRELINK AND SHARED INFO ABOUT SOURCES OF FREE FOOD, LOCAL CHARITIES AND OF COURSE, THE BINS OUTSIDE LOCAL SUPERMARKETS. WE PICKETED THE (NO)JOB CENTRES ON DAYS OF ACTION AND BECAME INVOLVED WITH HOUSING ISSUES AFTER THE LOCAL CARAVAN PARK WAS DEMOLISHED. WE FORMED HOUSING MATTERS TO CAMPAIGN FOR MORE HOUSING AND BETTER PROVISION FOR HOMELESS PEOPLE. OUR GROUP HAS HAD MIXED SUCCESS. AS THE EXISTING SUPPORT AGENCIES SUPPOSEDLY HAVE EVERYTHING COVERED. EXCEPT WHEN THEY TELL US PRIVATELY THAT THINGS ARE DESPERATE, AND LOCAL SHORT-TERM ACCOMMODATION CAN BE SO OVER-STRETCHED THAT PEOPLE IN NEED OF A BED HAVE TO BE SENT TO A CITY HOSTEL IN A TAXI. NO WONDER PEOPLE JUST GO BUSH. WE RUN MONTHLY RENTERS RIGHTS SESSION AT THE NEIGHBOURHOOD HOUSE. WHICH HAS BEEN SUCCESSFUL. WE HAVE ALSO HAD SOME SUCCESS GETTING SUPPORTIVE LOCAL PEOPLE TO DONATE TO THE FREE FOOD OUTLETS.

So, is all this activity worthwhile? I've been called the busiest anarchist in town. I wonder sometimes and also wish that more mutual aid was taking place... and less racism and blaming each other for the woes of capitalism. Now, we have formed the CWA, the Circle of Wonthaggi Anarchists, where we meet, eat and watch films together, as a beginning. It certainly gladdens my heart to have a few people around with similar politics — watch this space for the next exciting installment!



ART, POETRY, RANTS, AND IDEAS, FROM THE FRONT LINES OF RADICAL, GREEN, ANARCHIST, DIRECT ACTION IN 'SO-CALLED AUSTRALIA' AND BEYOND...

BEYOND THE DARK HORIZON VOL. 3. 2023

ART, HOPE & RESISTANCE FROM WITHIN THE COLLAPSE