



Heat

Stroke

laclac



HEAT STROKE



Surprise! After years of environmental destruction, the forshadowed crisis is upon us. It's hard not to notice that the climate is fucked. And undoubtedly, the capitalist system is to blame. A radical critique of the issue is in order and we have to act now if we want to avoid the worst.

Those who still drink promises of the cruel system that dictates our every move, often ask us not to respond to violence with violence. Not to fight to fire with fire. However, they are the ones adhering to green capitalism, obeying the laws of colonial state, and enforcing private property without questioning the extreme violence that is the status quo.

In turn, we tell them not to replicate the violence of oppression. Systemic. Normative. Acceptable. The violence that rips us from our bed at the sound of an alarm. That shuts us up when we want to scream. The violence that imprisons us because we haven't done enough or murders us because we did too much. We forever reject their violence, but we will always respond.

"Heat Stroke" is a collection of radical perspectives on our ecology in crisis. These texts, assembled by the Convergence des luttes anticapitalistes (CLAC), are the fruit of reflections by militant groups, friends, and anonymous accomplices. Words and sentences carrying the destruction of what destroys us.

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Note : (ov) under the titles means that it's the original version of the text and (tra) means that it's a translation.





POLITICAL GREENWASHING, OR HOW OUR STRUGGLES ARE EXPLOITED

(TRA)

During the 2019 federal election campaign we learned, with some surprise, that it was the Bloc Québécois who was responsible for the shutting down of the Energy East project. It was not the hundreds of petitions, protests, blockades and sabotages that led to the withdrawal of the project, no! It was the Bloc Québécois¹, the same Bloc who is currently trying to sell us another pipeline. A gas pipeline this time : The Énergie Saguenay of GNL Quebec².

What the Bloc did was nothing new. It is a form of “greenwashing”, presently popular among our elected officials. This particular form of greenwashing steals the work done in local struggles in order to gain a few votes. And our elected stooges do it because it works!

O Liberal Party!

The people supporting Steven Guilbeault tag him as a “pragmatist”. Being pragmatic is the new fashionable word to say that we recognize the importance of climate change, but whatever solution is proposed must not affect the economy. In other words, it is recognizing that we are up to our neck in shit, and plugging our nose hoping this will fix the issue.

Steven Guilbeault, ex-spokesperson for Greenpeace and co-founder of Équiterre is therefore a pragmatist. It is therefore by realism that in 2015 he associated himself with Rachel Notley, now ex-prime minister of Alberta, when she announced her climate plan. Did this plan promise an end to tar sands exploitation? No. A diminution of the exploitation? Nope. A moratorium to the increasing production levels? Not even that! This so-called climate plan imposed a moratorium 40% greater than the levels of production of Alberta at the time of the announcement³.

Being a pragmatist, according to Steven Guilbeault, is getting friendly with a political party who already bought a \$4.5 billion pipeline (but which could cost up to \$12 billion⁴). A party who is building by force, a pipeline in the ancestral lands of the Wet’suwet’en people⁵. A party that nonetheless fears so much of its environmentalist veneer that it pushes it as far from environmental responsibility as possible⁶.

Being pragmatic means convincing everyone that we support the environment while at the same time supporting fossil fuel industries. In the end, it is managing to get elected by waving a flag stolen from all the local groups and collectives who are doing the actual field work.

The Pact for Dominic Champagne

Another example of reappropriation of environmental struggles is the message transmitted by Dominic Champagne, spokesperson for the Pact for transition⁷. The pact itself is not bad, and is an interesting local struggle. Granted, we need to stop taking the car for a long time to compensate for a billionaire taking his 500 foot yacht around the world, but it is a start. But for Dominic Champagne, the Pact is mostly a platform. A platform that he is not ashamed to use to sell his own crap. We can salute a laudable effort for the fact that he tries to convince CAQ activists, but to proudly wear a “I love my prime minister” pin for an openly ecophobic government is going a bit too far⁸.

Dominic Champagne also worked to block the Conservative Party during the last federal elections. The Pact therefore sent a controversial email, pressuring its members to vote in a “strategic” manner⁹. Pact spokespeople defended this move by saying that this was not partisan politics, since they did not explicitly call for a Liberal vote. Except that Dominic Champagne, in a radio interview, said the exact opposite: “Between Trudeau and Scheer, the choice is easy”¹⁰.

For once, we agree with you, Dominic. Our choice is: neither of those fuckers!

Note that this is not a denunciation of the Pact itself. We must support people trying to do what they can, within the limits of their capabilities. What we denounce is the recuperation of all these individual struggles by people more motivated by their personal political capital than our collective survival.



What can we do?

As with commercial greenwashing, the first step is not to fall for it. We roll our eyes when we see an ad showing a SUV driving through a forest, our reaction should be the same when politicians try to sell us “green” policies. These green policies should be properly analyzed by non-partisan researchers. For instance, recycling is partly an ecological nightmare: most of the recycled plastic rots in countries unable to manage it, and often ends up in the ocean¹¹.

The current system is built to elect politicians that are unable to make the radical change necessary to save the Earth. When you cannot even wear a cotton sweater to the parliament, when will you be able to tell the fossil fuel industry to fuck off? This system is designed with precise limits in mind, limits which aim to maintain the elites in power for as long as possible. For these elites, it will be *business as usual*, until death do us part.

What can we do? Stop listening to them, do not wait for a political messiah, do not wait for them to realize their promises. And start to build right now the world in which you want to live in. A world designed and decided by us all, instead of built by and for a minority of privileged assholes. A world where all of us will be able to live and grow. A world with a future beyond year 2050.

Exploiting Struggles

Political recuperation is not limited to the ecological movement. We can also mention the struggle against antisemitism. Don't get us wrong : Antisemitism exists, and is seeing an explosive growth lately on Turtle Island. Many local groups denounce and fight this antisemitism. Its source is well-known : an unashamed far-right spreading an increasingly violent discourse.

The Canadian government take opportunity of this struggle to attack... other leftist groups. This rise in antisemitism is used to justify a more and more controversial support of the government of the State of Israel, and to denounce the BDS (Boycott, Disinvestment, Sanctions) movement. These friendly gestures toward the State of Israel have numbers to support them: the free trade treaty between Canada and Israel brings 500 million dollars to Canada each year.

1- See <https://bit.ly/2GbsuT7> where we can also see him callout his anti-immigration right wing. This statement is probable based on this 2017 article: <https://bit.ly/2sOkRyJ>

2- We take this opportunity to recall that the leader of the Bloc Québécois openly claimed to be pro-fossil fuels when he was Environment minister at the provincial level. For the GNL project, see: <https://bit.ly/2TNtYLb> and <https://bit.ly/3avR7b7>

3- See <https://bit.ly/2ukkJj> for the photo-op of Guilbeault and Notley. See <https://bit.ly/3aCX4mn> for the details of the 2015 plan.

4- See <https://bit.ly/37juhBr>

5- See the Invasion short on this topic: <https://unistoten.camp/media/invasion/> [18:20]

6- See <https://bit.ly/2tH3b8J>

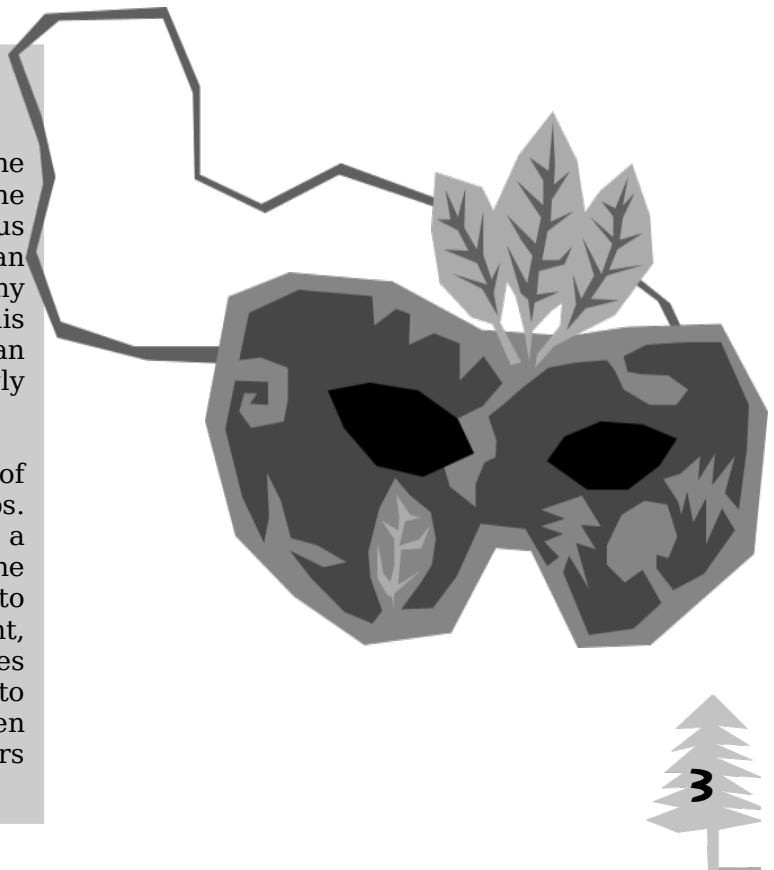
7- The pact for transition is a personal pledge to diminish our greenhouse gas emissions through local actions (avoid using a car, eat less meat, etc.).

8- See <https://bit.ly/2TOe4QB>

9- See <https://bit.ly/30MGaxq>

10- See <https://bit.ly/2v7awi6>

11- See <https://bit.ly/37j6mlH>





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(101)

I remember the first time I killed a deer. I don't know why, but before we started skinning or anything, I walked up to that deer and I put my hand on it. I could feel that the deer was still warm. In that moment I knew that he was the same as me. As I had taken his life, now I owed him mine.

Indigenous relations with the non-human world are very different from non-Indigenous in the Americas, so different that it's difficult to begin discussing it in such a short article. As an example, the human being, as an idea, and therefore the idea of a non-human world and human non-human relations, are European concepts. In my language, Cree, the distinction between human and non-human does not exist. Thus someone such as myself, who has killed a deer, cannot say that they, and I, have not killed.

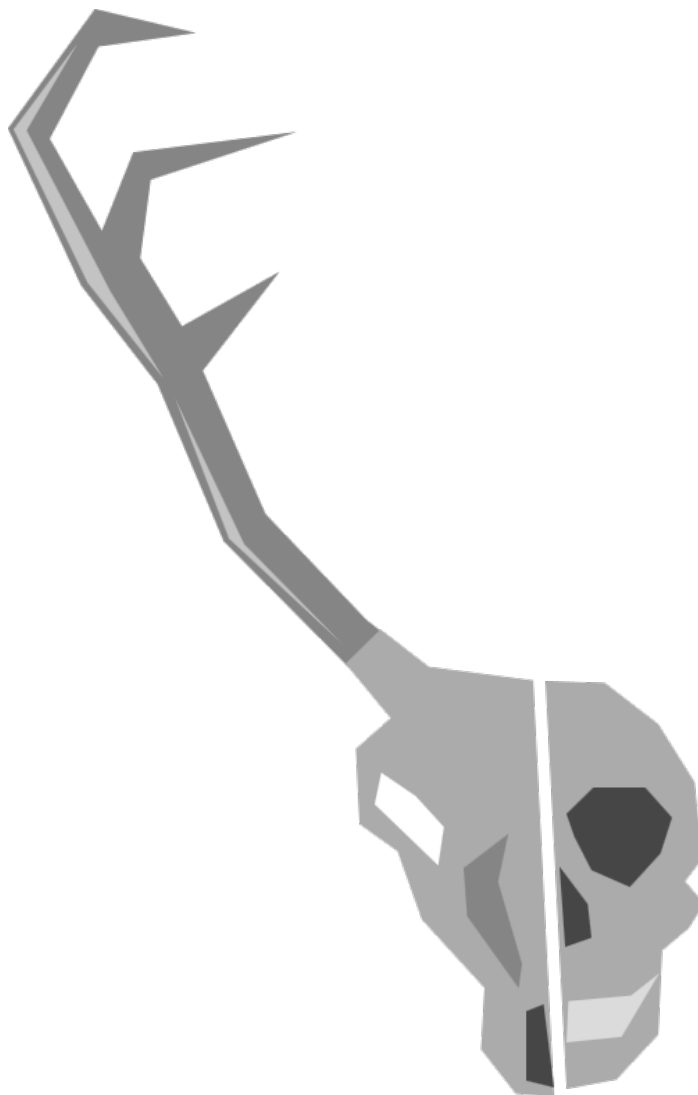
Before I go more into the Cree, Métis, western Indigenous connections with the natural world (again, I am struggling with the language here — there is no such concept as the natural world in Cree. We are natural and so is our world), I would like to discuss a little bit of my experience working for two seasons in Jasper National Park¹.

Admittedly, before I went to work in Jasper, I had thought of the mountains as a pristine wilderness preserved of the destruction which had been wrought upon the rest of the West in the process of capitalist colonization. Much of the province of Alberta is urban development, monocrop farmland, logging areas and, of course, oil extraction with some refining. The mountains inside the national park were saved of most of this industrial development and clear blue-green water still runs from their glaciers, which I drank, untreated, for the duration of my work.

Of course, while the land in the Park was spared the industrialization, across the rest of the province the land was not spared colonization and colonialism. Between 1907, the year of the creation of the Park, and 1913 the last of the Indigenous people to inhabit the mountains, those not already displaced onto reserves or elsewhere, were removed from their homes by force and booted from the Park. The small settler town of Jasper was established to house Park employees, businesses, and in practice, all who could afford to reside in the Park outside of the normal restriction, namely that a person must be working in the Park to be allowed to live there.

So of course while it was nice to share the company of the mountains, streams, animals and trees, in Jasper I was naturally lonesome to speak my language and see my people. But I quickly noticed something wrong in the environment outside of town, as well. It seems the mountains, too, were lonesome to see their people again.

In my adventures exploring, hiking, fishing and picking medicines (an Indigenous person is allowed to perform limited traditional activities in the Park in specific spaces, which I sometimes ignored),





CONSUME, RECYCLE, AND SHUT UP

(TRA)

Compost trucks have now been running in most big cities in the West. Just like recycling and garbage, our urban trash is collected, week after week, propagating the shameless lie that it is the key to our survival on this planet.

How can we believe composting in Montreal will solve any problem if large multinational corporations continue mass production across the world? Is it surprising that recycling is inefficient when we know that the real problems are overproduction and overconsumption? Emma Goldman once said "If voting changed anything, they'd make it illegal". By extrapolating a bit, we can reach the same conclusion about individual solutions proposed to us such as recycling, composting and soon the right to repair. The conclusion is simple: none of these solutions will bring structural change to the fundamental problem: capitalism.

Therefore, and contrary to what many people say, recycling, composting, building cooperatives or communes should not be taken as solutions, but as experimentations of a post-capitalist society. At best, these are forms of struggles and sparks of the fight against capitalism. They remain a limited representation of the fight however, since there is always a danger of seeing individual emancipation as an end, and thus, this form of freedom remains limited for it would not be shared. By limited, we mean here that any freedom which doesn't imply freedom for all of us would be incomplete. An incomplete freedom only be made possible through domination of other people. A form of freedom that would suit capitalism after all.

This discourse for individual solutions is dangerous because it pushes for a disintegration of the collective struggle against the ongoing ecocide. This destruction of the collective for the profit of individual interests is hidden behind the neoliberal mask of a so-called collective freedom which could only be attained through the full liberty of the individual¹. This regularly publicized lie only serves economic neoliberalism and destroys any possibility to find a real collective solution to the issues of capitalism, ecology being only one of them.

In his observation of American society and its political system, Alexis de Tocqueville², in 1835, observed that in democracy, no one is strong enough to fight alone and win. There is only the combination of our collective forces which can warrant liberty, as power will keep trying to isolate people in order to consolidate its grip on the State³. Therefore, on a macro level, all this individualization of social problems only serve, as mentioned precedently, the existing powerbase: the rich, the powerful, in summary, those who already benefit from the capitalist exploitation.



If we look specifically to the ecological challenge, in 2017, the Carbone Disclosure Project NGO estimates that 100 companies are responsible for 70 % of greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, and that most of these came from the oil industry. Therefore, when Radio-Canada and others try to convince us to diminish our personal, individual ecological footprint, that we must do our part for the planet and that responsible consumption is the solution to all our issues, then we are clearly in the right to tell them to fuck off.

Take our car less? An utopian solution, insufficient within the capitalist system. Why? Because this is a despotic system which forces us through many tricks and traps, to overconsume through a personal isolation, and through sources of happiness we look for between two antidepressant pills.



Happiness, said someone, is only true when it is shared. By extrapolating again, we can affirm that this happiness is true only when it is shared with every one of us. Therefore, this happiness is unattainable under the shadow of capitalism. At best, we can hope for the hypocritical happiness of a small tomato harvest from a garden, at worst we will try to drown our sorrow by buying useless crap on Amazon, while trying to forget that it is the awful exploitation of the Earth that creates these mind-boggling Amazon profits.

If we had to climb out of our cocoon, we could therefore see that collective struggles are ongoing. Whether it is ZADs⁴, anti-capitalist collectives of all types, or autonomous towns and groups hungry for social justice and for the rebuilding of an ecological cycle which would give us a life worth living.

In the end, are we not all, first and foremost, reliant on the Earth?



RACISM AND CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT'

(TRA)

Racialized people are victims of many forms of discrimination. For instance, during the 2016 census, the income of people reported as belonging to visible minorities was 30% lower than white people. Another example is the fact that polluting factories and city dumps are often found on land populated by Indigenous and racialized people. One may assume that capitalist developments simply prefer territory inhabited by poorer people, but wealth does not explain what is seen in the field. In practice, capitalist developments are often used as a pretext to enforce racist ideology.

We can see that, generally, public opinion is much less receptive to the discourse of racialized people. What happened in Oka is a glaring case. Following the announcement of a real estate sale in Kanehsatà:ke in order to build hundreds of luxury houses, the band council wrote a letter to the developer to ask him to follow the XVIIIth century treaty which recognized their entitlement to the territory targeted. Note that this is only a simple letter: there is no mention of protests, blockages or any other actions typically provoking negative press coverage. Following this letter, the Oka city mayor answered that this would make the city landlocked by "cigarette huts". This caricature of Indigenous culture discredits native speakers and makes it especially difficult for non-white communities to make any demands, in part due to racism within the public opinion.

This racism is reinforced by the fact that racialized communities have more difficulty to defend themselves legally against these types of attacks. They have a lower graduation rate than

1- Individual liberty which finds its limit in the repression by the "invisible hand of the market". For instance, if we do not have a lot of money, we cannot afford to eat organic food, since the market defined organic products are more expensive.

2- Alexis de Tocqueville was a French aristocrat and author. Following his trip to the United States of America, he writes a book where he describe a democracy he considers much more stable than the one in France. However, he warns about certain ills from the American situation, especially toward political apathy and how people turn to individualism. The danger he sees is a transformation of State power into a dictatorship.

3- Alexis de Tocqueville, *De la démocratie en Amérique I* (1835).

4- ZAD is a French tactic, which litterally means zone to protect ("Zone à défendre"). This tactic consists in the permanent occupation of land we want to remove from capitalist development.

white communities, and consequently lower income, which offers them fewer means to hire lawyers - in the instances when there are any willing to defend their cause. These communities therefore find themselves even more marginalized.

Another important aspect of environmental racism is that the geography of Indigenous communities are not accounted for in the Canadian and Quebec territorial development. Pine forests, rivers and animals do not initially have a market value, that is until they are exploited as a natural resource. Consequently, they are not considered as important as bridges, mines, dams or outfitters. This major distinction displayed by the government's decisions, significantly devalues Indigenous resources and very negatively impacts their community. A striking example is the drowning of 10,000 caribous in the Caniapiscou river in 1984 during a massive opening of the gates of a Hydro-Quebec dam. This example shows how



different the value is given to buildings, flora, and fauna within a given territory. For Capital, nothing exists if it is not colonized, an attitude causing irreversible damage to local communities.

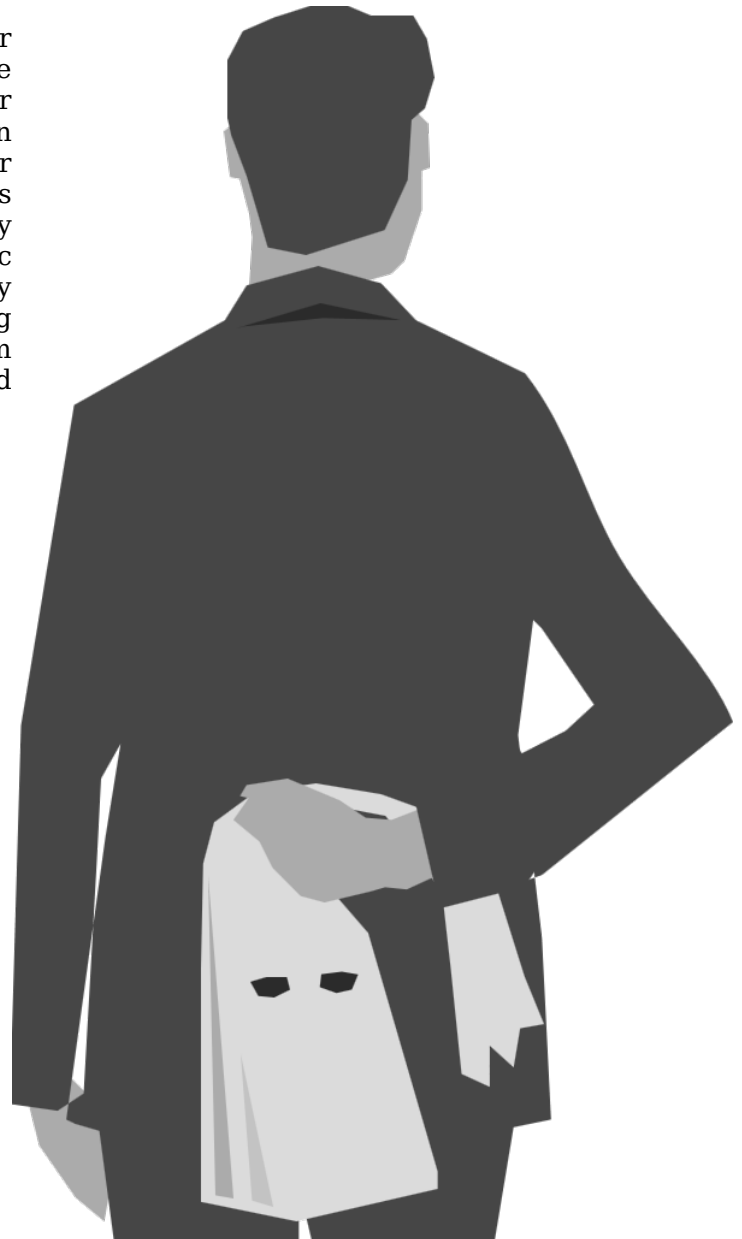
In the same way, the importance for Indigenous and racialized communities to stick together is another value not considered by development projects. For instance, in the early 1970s, the Quebec City Chinatown was razed in order to make space for the Dufferin-Montmorency highway. In Nova Scotia, the case of Africville is especially telling: Africville was a black neighborhood since the 1860s, founded by black loyalists². Africville saw, on its territory, the building of a slaughterhouse, a city dump, and countless railroad tracks, before being completely destroyed in 1965. In these two cases, the communities were divided in order to be better diluted within the urban fabric.

Beyond simple economical concerns, within our own borders, white people are less likely to see polluting and disturbing developments in their neighborhoods. Despite the marked disparities in the health and quality of life of poorer populations, racialized and Indigenous populations are particularly impacted by development projects, due to the systematic racism supported by the capitalist elite. They maintain their power by appropriately appealing to the silent white majority. This takes the form of development projects having a disproportioned negative impact on racialized communities.

Our struggles must therefore go beyond the “Not In My Backyard” mentality, because the consequence often leads to the problematic project being relocated to the backyard of the most vulnerable. We must strike the issue at its root: the infinite economic growth necessary for capitalism’s survival. In the end, the complete abolition of this economicist mentality is mandatory if we want to attack the fundamental problem of racism blighting our societies.

1- The arguments in this article is an adaptation of the works of Ingrid Waldron found in *Re-thinking waste: mapping racial geographies of violence on the colonial landscape*, 2018.

2- People of African descent which joined the English loyalist forces during the American independence war, under promise that they will be given their freedom.





GREEN CAPITALISM: FOLLOWING THE PATH OF IMPERIALISM

(TRA)



During the latest September 27th climate demonstration, an irritated voice could be heard over the crowd saying: “Can we avoid mixing everything and just do a demonstration for the environment, without mentioning capitalism?”

As a feminist, anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist and ecological collective, our answer is a resounding NO! No, we cannot talk about climate crisis without talking about the capitalist system since they are so closely intertwined.

The Environmental Problems

The environmental crisis and climatic disruptions includes but is not limited to : air pollution, water pollution, soil erosion, melting glaciers, extinction of species, acid rain, forest fires, droughts and floods. This crisis can be computed in terms of greenhouse gas emissions, in degrees Celsius, and in the number of climate refugees. The state tells us that to fight these issues, we must change our habits, consume better, buy greener, take transit, use more reusable bags and take shorter showers.

But human activity, especially in the West, is directed by three dominating systems: the systemic exploitation (and capitalization) of resources, the cis-hetero-patriarchal system, and the racist colonization system. These three systems are interdependent and reinforce each other. The current environmental crisis is a direct consequence of its existence. We cannot understand and fight this crisis by hiding the fact that we live in a capitalist world, where nature is subjected to unbridled extractivist¹ exploitation. It is no more to pretend that everyone has an equal responsibility, than to assume that everyone will be affected in the same way, no matter the color of their skin, their gender identity, or their wealth.

Canada: Exploit to Dominate

The Canadian State impose its domination to other territories by taking over resources using different strategies. In Colombia for instance, Canadian oil and mining companies take advantage of the social and armed conflict to steal the land of the people who were forced to flee. Families who decided to stay and resist against this encroachment face threats and assaults, going up to criminal acts and targeted assassinations. All this is operated by armed agents, hired by private companies and State institutions.

The business world feeds violence to the conflict in order to maintain its grip on the exploited territories. As such, Canadian companies are directly linked to forced movement of population within and outside the country. According to the Trochando sin Fronteras organization: “Since the arrival of multinational companies in Colombia, we evaluate that they are responsible for about 12,000 assassinations, 3,700 disappearances and 1 million forced displacements.” Companies often set up on the territory without consulting the local population, even though this right is given to them by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). When there are consultations, they are often rigged in order to influence the local communities to give their land away to private companies.

From Environmental Racism to Patriarchy

Because of the specific impacts they face, it is often people who identify themselves as women who are on the frontline of the struggle to protect their lands. To present one example of how patriarchy and imperialism cannot be separated, note that during forced displacements, women often find themselves in charge of children and elders, making them even more vulnerable (not only the case in Colombia, but also in “Quebec”). Additionally, because property titles still belong mostly to men, women have difficulties in reclaiming their land back².

The social-environmental impacts of extractive projects are not the same for everyone. They vary in intensity based on social class, race construct, gender, and the colonization process of the land. The people and social groups most affected by environmental problems are those which benefit the least from the economic model behind these problems. And it is true everywhere around the world: the lack of drinkable water in multiple indigenous communities in Canada, the horrific consequences of the Katrina hurricane on African American populations and poor people of New Orleans, the injustice faced by the survivors of the Bhopal catastrophe in India, are all examples of environmental racism³.



Green: The Color of the Environment

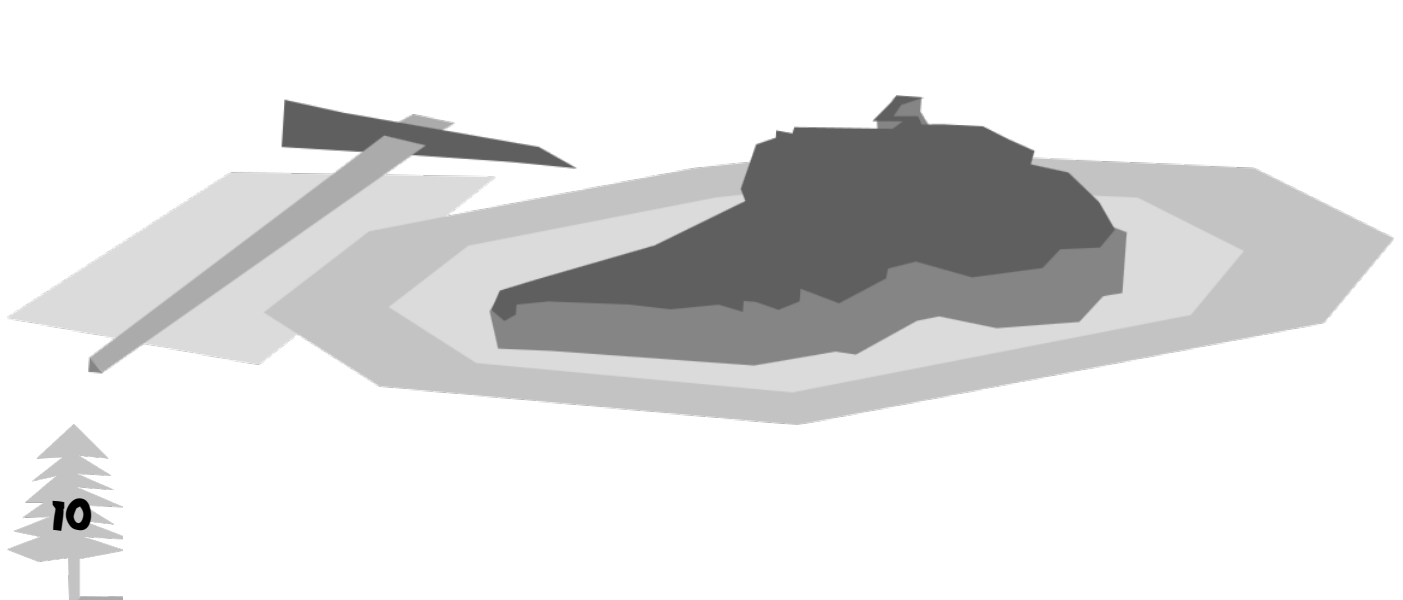
Here in Canada, the people most affected by the crisis are precarious groups which cannot afford the so-called solutions which capitalism, now dressed in green, try to force us to adopt, like a biological product, a bamboo toothbrush, or an electric car. These propositions are costly, often useless, or even harmful. Therefore, it is important to think about alternatives to the climatic and social crisis in conjunction with domination systems and not only through individual solutions.

Green capitalism is still capitalism... The case of the Hidroituango hydro electrical project, in Colombia, proves it. While trying to rebuild its image through a renewable energy project, the Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec (CDPQ) decided to invest in this hydro electrical dam built on the second largest river in the country. However, this dam resulted in some of the worst ecological disaster of the history of Colombia. Communities were forced to move, and those who tried to raise their voices against this project are facing death threats. To continue to exploit local populations only reinforces the systems contributing to the current climate crisis.

Therefore, when we see Justin Trudeau, icon of the imperialist State of Canada, strut in a climate demonstration, then yes, it is essential to recall that the environmental crisis is not only linked to capitalism, but it is a direct consequence of it, and of patriarchy, colonialism and racism.

Le PASC

(Projet Accompagnement Solidarité Colombie)
<http://pasc.ca/>



1- The concept of “extractivism”, which comes from “extraction”, refers to a supply and demand economy in which natural resources (minerals, oil, agriculture, animals, forests, etc.), seen as the central wealth of an area or a country, are massively exploited, in order to be sold on the market, based on prices fixed by these, often international, markets.

2- See the work done by the Permanent Peoples’ Tribunal on the mining industry in Latin America (2014).

3- Environmental racism is a form of systemic racism, defined as following the The Canadian Race Relations Foundation: “People of color, indigenous groups, working class people and low-wage workers find themselves disproportionately exposed to environmental dangers and risks presented by toxic industrial products, air pollution, tainted water, health-damaging work conditions, and the placement of toxic and dangerous installations, like incinerators and toxic waste dumps.”



ECOLOGICAL INTERSECTIONALITY

(TRA)

Intersectionality is mentioned in about all of social science literature nowadays. Typically, this concept shows the interdependent relation between generic situations and how different domination systems can overlap. Intersectionality is however, as it presents itself historically, an analytical tool developed especially with the aim to build an understandable holistic view of the critics of capitalism, patriarchy and racism. It is why this concept is so important for environmental struggles.

Patriarchy, Capitalism and Racism Criticized

A number of Black American feminists, like Audre Lorde, Barbara Smith and Angela Davis outlined early on, how difficult the condition of Black American women was. In the 1970s, to make matter worse, many Black women felt they were excluded from both the Black liberation movement and from the feminist movement. This gave them very little space to express their issues in the liberation theories of the time. Despite this, they kept being deeply involved in the struggles for women's rights, for Black liberation, and in the anticapitalist struggle. Angela Davis, among other authors, presented in "Women, Race, & Class" how the living conditions of Black American women cannot be split from the poverty generated by capitalist processes. Therefore, when Kimberlé Crenshaw presented the concept of intersectionality, there was already almost 20 years of political writings produced by revolutionary political movements. These writings presented the effects of these domination systems, and demonstrated how they were especially visible in the context of people affected by more than one.

This analysis was nevertheless an overthrow of the classic White Man's World, in which racialized people and women were considered exceptions to everything. The objective of the intersectional analysis was to put back these so-called "margins" to the center, to prevent a few privileged voices from shutting down the specificities of their struggles. Anticapitalist, feminist and antiracist struggles were the bases of these analyses, which aimed explicitly to overthrow the capitalist, patriarchal and white supremacist system by making links to Marxism.

Intersectionality and Ecology

At this point, the capitalist system and its insatiable need for growth have been damaging Earth's ecosystems for a long time. The intersectional perspective, as a critic of capitalism, can put into context a number of concepts, among them the concept of "responsible consumption". Responsible consumption can effectively be used to cast aside poor populations by blaming them for the planet's degradation, since they do not put enough effort into buying "ecological" goods. The worst



contradictions come out when we take into account how non-white communities are affected by those politics. For instance, campaigns to forbid bottled water do not take into account that many Indigenous reserves do not have access to clean drinking water. As anarchists say, it is important to take into account the most marginalized populations if we want to develop a solution which will free everyone.

Additionally, taking into account the importance of racism in the creation of capitalism can help understand the dynamics in which relatively autonomous communities see the implantation and intensification of capitalist exploitation. Effectively, capitalism is always looking for new markets and more hands to exploit. This is what we see when Indigenous communities are displaced in order to install new mining projects. Left to their own devices, most of these communities are forced to join the working class of urban centers.

Therefore, Black American feminist writings are relevant in helping us understand the challenges raised by the current climate crisis. An intersectional perspective contains in its roots, an anticapitalist, feminist and antiracist perspective. This perspective is essential if we want to avoid reproducing the inequalities in the new society that we want to build, from the ashes of the old.





UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT TO KANEHSATÀ:KE RESISTANCE

(TRA)



Last Fall, Al Harrington and other people from Kanehsatà:ke did a fifteen day hunger strike to denounce the theft of their land by a real estate developer.

1. Historical context

In this area, and since the XVIIIth century, Mohawks continue to claim their ancestral rights on their land. Land which was at the heart of the Oka Crisis.

In the 1960s, a golf course was built on part of this claimed land. Important detail: a Mohawk cemetery is located there.

In 1990, in addition to unveiling a project to enlarge the golf course, the Oka city mayor approved a real estate project to build luxury houses. This projects encroached on a pine tree forest part of Mohawk territory. Following this announcement, on March 10th, 1990, members of the Mohawk nation started a blockade on a dirt path leading to the golf course. The Oka city mayor managed to obtain a court injunction stating they had until July 9th to leave otherwise the mayor would get the police involved. Which he does, on the following day, July 10th. This is the starting of the Oka Crisis.

Here are some details on how the historical narrative was built, its treatment in the media, some excerpts from school history books, and how the narrative was modified when compared to what exactly transpired.

1.1 The Oka Crisis

In March 1990, after the Oka city approved the luxury housing project and the enlarging of the golf course, Kanehsatà:ke Mohawks started to block the dirt road leading to the golf course. Based on the court injunction obtained, the Oka city mayor left them until July 9th to remove their blockade. If they refused to leave, the mayor threatened to get the police involved: which happened, a day later. The police charged the area known as the Pines of Kanehsatà:ke, throwing tear gas canisters. Gunfire then broke out, where a cop was killed.

To this resistance, we must mention the support of the Kahnawake Warriors, who blockaded the roads leading to their reserve. Followed shortly afterwards with a blockade of the Mercier bridge during rush hour. The Mohawk resistance intensified, but so did police presence (1000 more cops). Oka and Chateaugay settlers then protested their anger: during one of these protests, Châteaugay settlers burned an effigy of a Warrior while

yelling “savage”. During the following weeks, contrary to what the government said, food – sometimes tampered with – and medicine were difficult to get through to the occupation. Road traffic was over controlled, and journalists were controlled and pushed back by the Army.

On August 8th, the police were replaced by the Army, and negotiations started. Multiple events happened, chiefly among them:

- On August 26th, when a convoy of children, women and elders left the occupation, Oka settlers threw rocks at them. A Mohawk got hit straight in the thorax; it is the first and only stoning death in the history of Canada.
- On September 8th, Randy Horn, a Mohawk activist, is brutally beaten by the Army. Despite the necessity to quickly see a doctor, Mohawks were forced to negotiate to gain access to one.

It was not until September 26th, that the siege ended. State forces took advantage of the end of the siege to get revenge on the activists, by brutally beating them up.

Throughout and following the Oka Crisis, it was the Warriors who were generally presented as being violent and using violence. Francophone media spoke of armed activists, using harsh language to describe them, qualifying them as terrorists. In news reports from the main francophone media outlets in 2005, 2010 and 2015, the death of the cop, Caporal Lemay, was always the center of attention. However, the death of the Mohawk elder is never mentioned.

1.2. Summer 2019

During Summer 2019, tensions escalated again between the Oka city mayor – who made unacceptable remarks about Mohawks – and the Grand Chief Serge Simon. Through these tensions, we are reminded of the 1990 Oka Crisis, as the matter at hand was again regarding land claims. Here is an excerpt of what happened:

“The situation has been at its worst between these two men for the last few days. At the center of this war of words: a project for retrocession of forested lands to the Mohawks, including part of the Pines which was at the heart of the 1990 Oka Crisis.”

Mayor Quevillon claims that since 1990, the Kanehsatà:ke territory has had a 'cigarette and pot hut' problem, based on the large number of stores where it is possible to buy what is often, according to colonial laws in place, 'contraband' tobacco and marijuana.

M. Quevillon also argued that the land retrocession project would cause the real estate value of Oka houses to plummet, along with an uncontrolled multiplication of these so-called 'huts'."

1.3. The Hunger Strike

At the heart of this conflict is the construction of hundreds of houses on a territory granted to the Mohawk nation since 1718. The objective of this hunger strike was to request that the government take the demands of the longhouse seriously, particularly to obtain a moratorium on real estate development on Kanehsatà:ke territory.

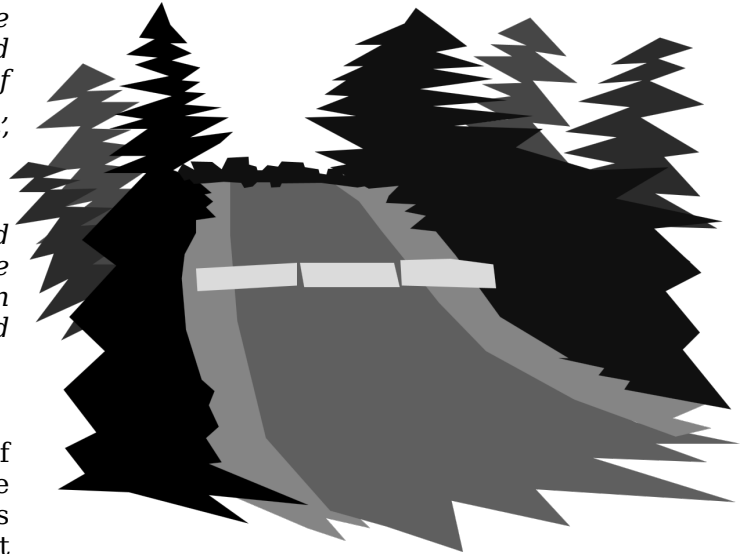
2. Colonialism and Capitalism

We can start with native author Glen Coulthard, who honors the celebrated decolonial activist Frantz Fanon, in his book "Red Skin, White Masks".

In this book, the author shows the limitations to the recognition and reconciliation policies of the State, which only aim to strengthen the colonial power of the government. And the events we witness now is another proof: by doing a hunger strike, Al Harrington, a Kanehsatà:ke community member, demonstrated extraordinary political dignity. Coulthard shows that the indigenous political identity remains unassimilable, despite crushing colonial repression. Additionally, it shows us that recognition policies are only masquerade and subterfuge. They do not protect indigenous people from the exploitation of their land. Al Harrington also did this hunger strike to spread awareness on the long-standing land conflict which was ignored by colonial powers for more than 300 years and which was revived by the 1990 Oka "Crisis".

The so-called antiracist and multiculturalist liberalism shows its limits, and these limits go down to its roots. Since global capitalist production is linked to colonial expansion, the practice of land expropriation can only increase. It is even more the case when we stand in the presence of settlement colonies, as is the case here. As Ellen Gabriel explains:

"It is the government who is hurting us, who is letting real estate development take place on our fraudulently 'sold' land. The government must take its responsibility in this ongoing conflict."



Effectively, Glen Coulthard tells us that: *"even if recognition is raised as a 'vital right' and it is a significant improvement when compared to previous strategies of exclusion, genocide and assimilation made by the canadian government, I surmise that 'recognition' is something that is 'allowed' by the government, or 'offered to a lesser group by a dominating one', and that this approach is destined to fail, because it is unable to change, and even less to transcend, the amount of power in play within colonial relations"*. We can complete with this often repeated quote: *"An independence granted is only a different way to manage servitude."*

This is how it is possible to have a public policy of recognition of Indigenous people, while still supporting what is fundamentally cultural genocide.

For the right for all people to decide for themselves, we support the Mohawk nation!

Adapted and translated from a text written originally by the **Pour une dignité politique** collective.

1- *"The colonial domination now takes the form of recognition and accomodation mecanisms by the State. [...] The reproduction of colonial relations now depends on the ability of the State to convince indigenous people to adopt, implicitly or explicitly, asymmetric and non-reciprocal forms of recognition, which are imposed or given by the colonial society or colonial State."* Translated from Glen Coulthard, *Peau rouge, masques blancs* (2014).





ECO GLOSSARY

(TRA)

Biodiversity: The diversity of life and species living in a given ecosystem. Biodiversity is important for ecological resilience in the face of environmental changes. For instance, if a season is longer than usual, a species already in place, which thrives under these new conditions, will be able to compensate for the population reduction of other species which are not adapted to this change. Unfortunately, the planet's biodiversity has radically diminished in the last few decades.

Capitalism : Economic system in which a minority of owner purchases the labor of the majority to sell it for more. The wealth produced by this process creates in part a capital to be reinvested in more means of production followed by a theoretically infinite economic growth. In that perspective, all is optimized toward reducing costs. Thus, goods starts from the extraction of ressources to end in landfills, to the opposite of the circular logics of ecosystems.

Carbon: An element present in great quantities in most organic compounds, like wood, coal, and petroleum. Combustion of these compounds produces an oxidization reaction resulting in, among other things, carbon dioxide (CO₂), a greenhouse gas.

Carbon Cycle: Outside of human activity, plants absorb greenhouse gases to feed parts of the plant through cellular respiration. Carbon dioxide is necessary for the growth of plants, and enables them to produce oxygen. This oxygen is then used by animals who breathe it in and produce carbon dioxide.

Carbon Dioxide (CO₂): Gas produced by, among other sources, human activity, and is responsible for the greenhouse effect. The greenhouse effect raises the amount of solar energy absorbed by the atmosphere, which raises the Earth's mean temperature.

City Dump/Eco centre: XIXth century invention used to accumulate waste produced by cities. Before that time, most of the goods were reused or made from easily degradable matter. Commercial plastic usage started mostly in the 1910s and more than 79% of plastic that has ever been produced, is accumulated in city dumps or the natural environment.

Ecofascism: Far-right doctrine which recognize the importance of climate change, but whose solutions are to reduce human consumption drastically through a radical diminution of human population. Ecofascists typically recommend the genocide of non-white populations.

Ecologist: Term used to qualify a person or a community defending practices which favors the safeguarding of ecosystems.

Ecology: The study of ecosystems, how they work and their interrelations. Ecosystems consist of a set of species living together and maintaining a certain long term equilibrium in a specific environment. In order to understand the dynamics within an ecosystem, specific cycles are used as base elements, like the water cycle. This equilibrium is possible because an ecosystem is made of different populations of different species using resources in a complementary manner.

Environment: That which surrounds a person or a community. The environment can be natural or artificial.

Evolution: Scientific theory which explains how species adapt to their environment, depending on other species around it and their specific biome (desert, tundra, etc.) in which the species evolves. It includes generally the ecology of populations, which explains how these populations increase and decrease over time. For instance, dandelions became an invading species in the context of the massive use of Kentucky bluegrass (commonly used lawn grass) in urban settings. Evolution processes take thousands of years, therefore it is clear that current climate changes will not be compensated by evolution.

Global Warming: Because of human activity linked to, among other things, fossil fuel use, the planet's greenhouse effect was reinforced, causing a global rising of the Earth's mean temperature, starting in the middle of the XXth century. This warming is inconsistent across the planet's surface, with certain zones more seriously affected than others. This global warming comes along with drastic changes in the amount of precipitation and in the durations of seasons. The term more often use nowadays is climate change.



Greenwashing: Deceptive marketing practice which aims to convince people that an organization, a product or practice is ecological. An example of greenwashing would be an ad presenting a detergent as “ecological” based on the fact that it contains less phosphate than other products. In this case, a true ecological solution would be to completely remove phosphate.

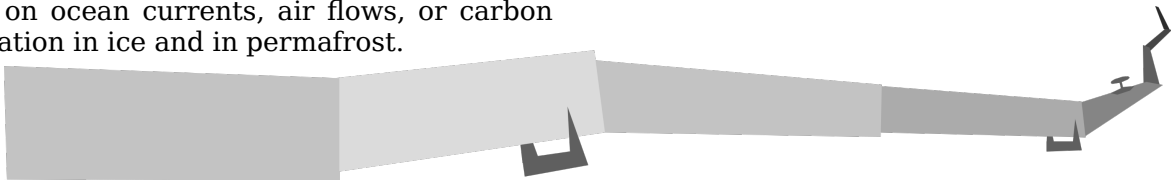
Internet: Interconnected network of computers which consumes as much energy as the whole airline industry. The Internet uses a huge quantity of servers, necessary for the transfer and the storage of information, which are mainly on “American” soil, where electricity is mainly produced using coal and natural gas. Therefore, between 10% and 50% of the electricity used by websites comes from fossil fuels.

Social Ecology: School of thought which aims to understand the impacts of specific forms of social organisations on ecosystems. One interesting thesis of Murray Bookchin is that a society based on domination tends to dominate ecosystems.



Watershed: Area where water empties in one specific waterway, often a river. It is an important concept in ecology since an upstream pollution source will affect its whole watershed. The Montreal island is situated in the Saint-Laurent watershed, in which flows the Great Lakes.

-4.3 Degrees Celsius: The variation of Earth's temperature between the last ice age, 24,000 years ago and 1850. At that time, the layer of ice over the city of New York was about four kilometers thick. Many phenomena were disturbed by the temperature change since then, whether on ocean currents, air flows, or carbon sequestration in ice and in permafrost.



When the Internet is Slow: a Short History of Transportation

The perception that our consumption is abnormal is always based on comparisons between ourselves and people around us. However, consumption of goods, products and services depends first on transport and communication infrastructures. These infrastructures were built through the spending of billions of dollars each year, each time by stepping on local communities and ecosystems. It is therefore important to think about the colonization steps of the territory in order to put our consumption into context.

Before 1860, the river: If you take the time to look, most cities and villages built before 1860 were built near a river. The reason is simple: naval transport was the main way to get there. Many villages in northern Quebec are still only connected by boats.

1860, Pony Express : In 1860, the most efficient way to send a letter from Kansas City (Missouri) to Sacramento (California) was to pass it from hand to hand between horsemen, which relayed each 10-16km. It took 10 days to cross this distance.

1886, the Canadian Pacific: After four years of scandals and the destruction of many ecosystems, among them the plains bison's, in 1886, the first passenger train links Montreal to British Columbia and takes 8 days to cross the country.

1903, first crossing of the United States by car: In 1903, the first car crosses the United States, with a mechanic on board, in 63 days.



1918, Air Mail: The first plane company to transport mail by air is founded in 1918.

1.1 Degrees Celsius: The mean rise of Earth's temperature between 1850 and 2017.

2.0 Degrees Celsius: The objective of the Kyoto accord, which predicted how much Earth's temperature would change until to 2100.

5.4 Degrees Celsius: How much Earth's temperature is calculated to rise by 2100, in light of the objectives given by the countries present at the 2015 Paris Conference. These objectives are not followed through.

1927, the St-Hubert Airport: The first Montreal airport started its operations in 1927. It was replaced in 1941 by the Dorval Airport.

1928, the Loncoln Highway: In 1928, the last 25 kilometers of the Lincoln Highway are paved, finishing the first Transamerica highway which, in theory, made it possible to travel across the continent in 63 hours.

1928, plane of George V: First person to own a private plane.

1950s, the expressways: Expressways started to be built in the 1950s, in Quebec and elsewhere, after the 1930s crisis and the Second World War. Scandals abound, which forced the Quebec government to create the BAPE (public consultation office for the environment) following the building of the Dufferin-Montmorency expressway.

1951, phones: 100,000 phones are now connected to the telephone network in the Quebec region, therefore six digits telephone numbers were added. In 1961, telephone numbers are lengthened to seven digits.

1958, TransCanada pipeline: The first trans Canadian pipeline is built between Alberta and Toronto.

1985, the 40 expressway: The link between Montreal and Quebec City through the north shore is completed by the 40 expressway.

1996, first petabyte: In 1996, for the first time, more than a petabyte (1,000 Tb, or 1,000,000 Gb) of data is transmitted through the Internet in one month. In 2006, the first petabyte is transmitted through mobile devices. In 2017, a total of 122 000 petabytes is transmitted.

2008, ten digit numbers: Three extra numbers were added to phone numbers, a testimony of the larger number of users.



WHO POLLUTES WHEN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES POLLUTE LESS?

(TRA)

From the start, the Paris Conference aimed to take the year 1990 as a reference for greenhouse gas (GHG) reduction. 1990 seemed like a critical point for many international observers, since it was a pivotal year for the world economy: it marked the increasing trend in factory delocalization toward countries like China, India or Mexico. By using year 1990, future international accords like the 2015 Paris Agreement, would mainly serve the interest of western countries, by transferring the bulk of GHG responsibility to the countries responsible for industrial production after 1990. Based on this, year 1990 should be the one in which western countries reach their maximum GHG emissions. After 1990, we should therefore see an increase in GHG emissions in Mexico, while Canada and the United States should see a diminution.

However, the 1990 expected peak in GHG emissions did not happen until 2005-2008 for the United States and Canada. For Canada, the reason is simple: Alberta, British Columbia and Nova Scotia started programs to convert coal power plants to natural gas power plants. For the same amount of electricity produced, natural gas results in only half the amount of GHG, if we don't take in account the extraction process¹, explaining the GHG diminution after 2008. Some efforts were made by Canada and the United States, but they did occur at the same time that the coal prices increased, meaning the switch from coal to gas was probably more an economic measure, than motivated by ecological principles.

Therefore, between 1990 and 2013, GHG emissions actually increased, by 1.3% in the United States², by 20.5% in Canada³ and by 40% in Mexico⁴. The American decision to get out of the Paris Agreement can seem contradictory, but one need to see the systemic reasons behind these changes. In these three countries the main contribution to GHG production increase come from electricity consumption. Between 1990 and 2015, energy consumption increased by 15% in the United States, by 20% in Canada, and by 66% in Mexico. However, the data give more details on how industrial delocalization and individual consumption can explain changes in electrical consumption.

In Mexico, governmental statistics on energy consumption show the link between North American consumption and Mexican industries. The growth of energy consumption in Mexico comes essentially from the industrial and transport sectors, which increased respectively by 52% and 98% between 1990 and 2019. To give a base of comparison, between 1990 and 2016, Mexican residential energy consumption only increased by 17%. It is therefore clear that industrial transfer to Mexico resulted in a net increase in GHG emissions.

As we can see, ratifications of international agreements are no guarantee that actual efforts will be made, that the objectives set will be reached. These agreements are implemented in practice on a voluntary basis and are non-binding. For most countries, these treaties are mainly there for appearances, to look like a team player at the international level, to look like they are collaborating to the cause. These nice speeches are only there to hide the fact that they are still developing polluting industries, like the Trudeau government, who bought a 4 billion dollars pipeline which could increase tar sand production by 590,000 barrels of oil per day.

Between 1990 and today, economic growth never ceased, and therefore GHG production kept increasing. Whether the factories are in Canada or Mexico changes nothing: as long as industrial production increases, GHG emissions will increase. No sensible solution came from the States, except to transfer our pollution to Southern countries and to build more power plants using fossil fuels. We must fight polluting industries and other development projects in order to find collective solutions to the neverending consumption affecting our lives.



1- Natural gas can be, among other ways, obtained through fracking, a process which is much more polluting (and risky) than coal mining.

2- <https://bit.ly/3azBPlx>

3- <https://bit.ly/2RJvqvo>; documents are quoted only once, most of the numbers presented here come from the account of each country.

4- <https://bit.ly/2RH4Zqd>





ECOFASCISM 101

(OV)

Ecofascism is an ideology that merges neo-fascism with environmentalism. Ecofascists share many of the same concerns as radical leftist environmentalists in that they want to protect the Earth, as well as animals, from the ecological destruction that has been brought on by capitalism. Where they differ, of course, is that ecofascists aim to do so through tactics that spawn from racist and white supremacist principles.

Common ecofascist themes include anti-refugee and anti-migration sentiments, population-control, animal rights, Norse mythology and its symbols that were previously appropriated by the Nazis, clean-eating and natural health, an interest in the fascist esoterism embodied by Evola and Savitri Devi as well as in the terrorist agendas of James Mason, and other unsavoury characters like Charles Manson and Ted Kazynski. With a long history of ecofascist thought in both Europe and North America, and with the recent rise of the far-right, it is not surprising that several neo-fascist political parties and non-politically affiliated groups have embraced ecofascist ideas.

Ecofascists believe that lands that were originally inhabited by whites (i.e. Europe), need to be reclaimed as white nations. Of course, ecofascists in Turtle Island and Australia feel the same way about their homelands despite the fact that they are settlers. The gunman who shot up a Walmart in El Paso, Texas, last summer, blamed migrants for the ecological degradation of the United States and proposed genocide as a means towards ecological sustainability. Via their now defunct Twitter page, the B.C.-based identitarian group Northern Identity, states that "the most effective thing Canadians can do to lower emissions, preserve green space and improve housing conditions is to reduce immigration."

Part of the "Fashwave" Neo-Nazi / White Nationalist / White Genocide ideology is preparing for what they perceive to be an inevitable Doomsday. In most cases, these ideologues wish to hasten it and thus launch a revolution such that the White Ethnostate will become a reality in their lifetimes. In their worldview, abiding by the supposed current status quo of multiculturalism and inclusion in western society is unacceptable.

In North America, the Northwest Front is "a political organization of Aryan men and women who recognize that an independent and sovereign White nation in the Pacific Northwest is the only possibility for the survival of the White race on this continent."

The Northwest Front also claims to have "the right to a clean and healthy environment"...



as well as "providing social, racial, and environmental stability while serving as a constant source of spiritual renewal for man in close rapport with Nature". Their flag of blue, white, and green represents the sky above, the land below, and (white) people in the middle. The Northwest Front was mentioned by Dylan Roof in his manifesto when he murdered nine African Americans during a prayer service at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in downtown Charleston, South Carolina.

The Pine Tree Gang, a more militant offshoot of the Northwest Front, is a group of ecofascist Unabomber enthusiasts based in the northwestern region of the United-States. The group's aesthetic mimics that of Atomwaffen Division, another decentralized cell-based organization responsible for at least five murders. On October 20th, 2018, the Pine Tree Gang announced the launch of a new website called the "Eco Fascist Order". Essentially, it is an organization formed by some of the most prominent Pine Tree Gang and Northwest Front members to recruit like-minded white nationalists to a cause that is both fascist and eco-friendly. Both the Pine Tree Gang and the Northwest Front are proponents of the theory that there is a home for the white race in a place called "Cascadia", which is supposedly located in the United-States, in Idaho, Oregon, Washington, and western Montana. They believe Cascadia is the White Ethnostate of the future; a pure, untouched, exclusively white homeland.

With politically-mixed ecological movements (e.g. Extinction Rebellion) coming to the forefront, it is important to watch for infiltration of right-wing activists. Ecological discourse centered around population control, immigration policy, and purity in any form must be countered. A decolonial approach needs to be prioritized, with Indigenous people at the forefront. Social justice and environmental justice must go hand-in-hand.



TO THE ANTI-ANTI-SPECIESIST LEFT

(TRA)

When we restrain from buying on Amazon for a mere five-day strike, it isn't necessarily because we think our boycott will end capitalism or that our consumer behavior will save the planet. Anti-speciesists don't necessarily see veganism that way either. However, of all reactionary positions defended by people who call themselves leftists, anti-anti-speciesism is one of the most unceasing.

The ways in which anti-speciesism can be applied and understood are numerous. Opposing human supremacy might mean letting your feline roommate leave your one-bedroom apartment (and accepting if it chooses to never come back). It might mean actions of sabotage against the agriculture industry, which is linked to more assassinations of land defenders in Latin America than the mining industry¹. It might also involve an understanding of hunting as practiced by a bunch of other animals, and a recognition that it can be based on subsistence and respect rather than subservience and domination. It might mean freeing and caring for pigs or studying urban agriculture. Being anti-speciesist can also mean being anti-capitalist.

Unfortunately, animal liberation can be advocated for by racists, like women liberation by classists, or the liberation of racialized groups by homophobes. One hopes leftist vegans realize how our dieting possibilities vary with our environment, our body's limits, our knowledge, and our energy. If not, fighting one system of oppression without a good understanding of other systems is still a start. It was also our start, and possibly our right-now. So why not sacrifice a few minutes to the old popular education by telling liberal anti-speciesist that the impact of a multitude of individual veganisms in a capitalist economy remains limited by the handful of corporations that supply cafeterias, prisons, schools, and groceries. And if those racist bourgeois avocado and almond-eating vegans bother us, we should feel free to tell them to fuck off. I simply propose that we don't yell that poor people eat cheeseburgers. Poor people eat a bunch of different things. There are poor people in our neighborhoods who chose not to eat meat. In fact, in most places, eating meat is a privilege for those who are better off. In general, beans and grains are still a lot less costly than animal protein. When university-educated folks in imperialist countries spend less time using the working class to defend their own oppressive ideologies, everyone has more time and energy to do interesting stuff (that is cooking collectively and

teaching each other to eat well on the cheap, instead of building our anti-anti-speciesist argument in front of a computer).

The specisist ideology goes against social progress on all fronts. It's the acceptance of human domination on the rest of the natural world. It's the acceptance of hierarchical violence, as long as it simplifies enough people's daily life. It's the permission for the strong to determine the value of others. It's the normalization of violence based on perceived biological differences. We must remember that species categories are determined by arbitrary characteristics chosen by those who appointed themselves as authorities on the matter, exactly like "race" or "biological sex" categories. The assignment of individuals to these categories is similarly devoid of any understanding of internal experiences. Without recognizing these links between speciesism and other forms of oppression, anti-anti-speciesists often create false dilemmas by opposing the rights of human marginalized groups and those of animals. French anarchist Louise Michel put it this way:

*"[our translation] I've often been accused of having more concern for beasts than for people: why bemoan brutes when reasonable beings are so unhappy? It's that everything goes together, from the bird whose brood was crushed, to human nests destroyed by war [...]. The heart of a beast is like the heart of humans, capable of feeling and understanding."*²

Struggles for the welfare of non-human animals are largely the fruit of women's anger and indignation. Ecofeminists see, in the treatment of other animals, the same patriarchal attitudes behind the non-recognition and devaluation of their work. This often-gendered sensibility however allows speciesism to feed the patriarchal representation of women as hysterical, since a rational man would not care, and allows patriarchy to feed the representation of anti-speciesism as ridiculous and futile, since they are women's endeavor. Racist,



fatphobic, and ableist insults that compare us to other animals to dehumanize us are also the combined expression of similar ideologies reinforcing themselves. In return, our use of strong terms to describe what humans do to animals only diminish the importance of these terms in the eyes of speciesists. The rest of us will remain outraged by all forms of oppressive violence.

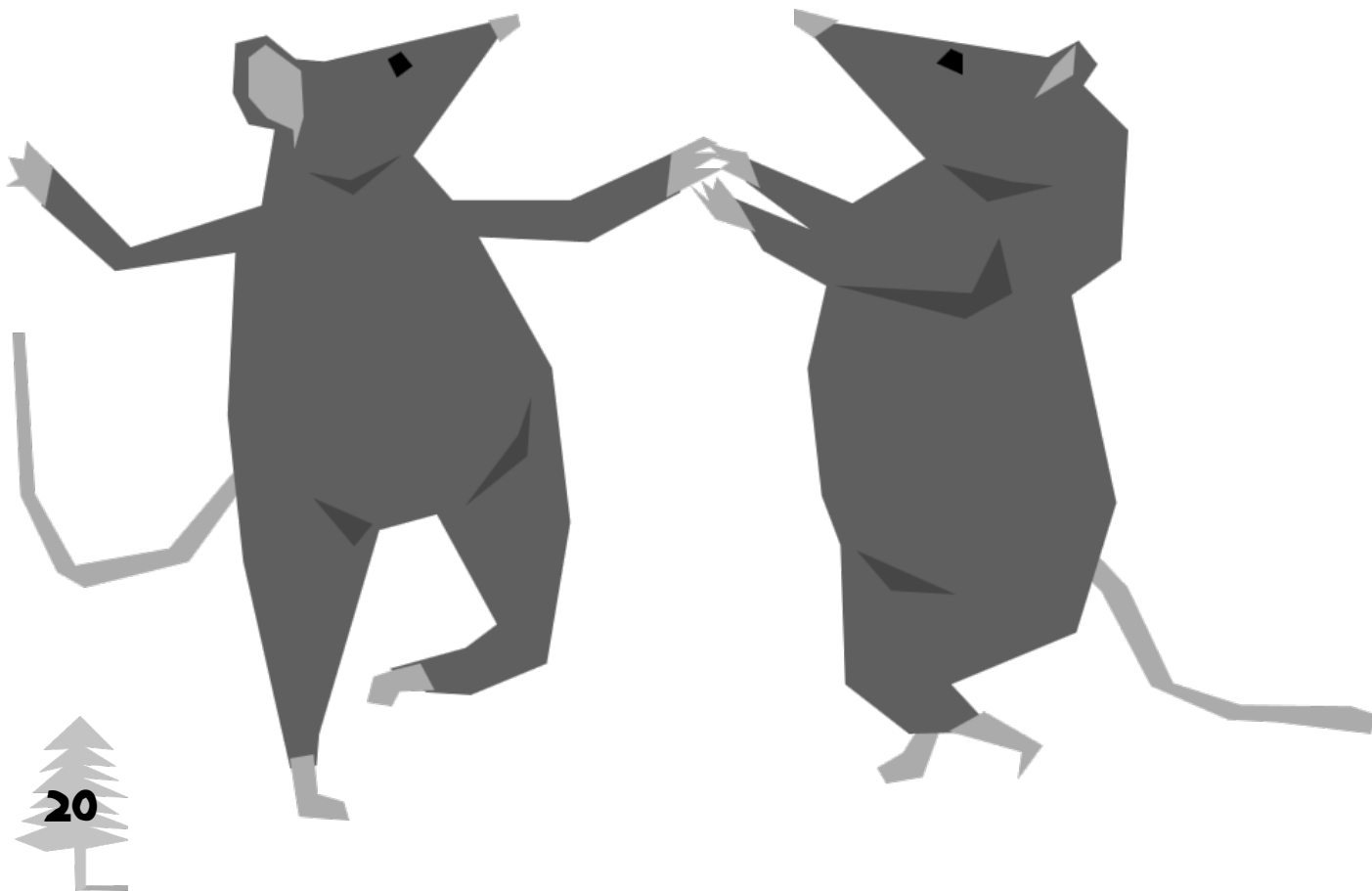
Moreso, how are we supposed to convince our neighbors that we must abolish the private property of brick buildings, heavy machinery, and rivers while tolerating the property of living beings screaming for their freedom? The comfortable left of the North, happy to postpone any questioning of its way of life until the "Grand Soir", will eventually have to rethink the place of other animals in the world to build. Even without empathy for non-humans, this left will inevitably be confronted with the reality that feeding animals until we can eat them requires more surface and resources than directly eating what grows...

This short text isn't intended to convince anyone of veganism, though that would be nice. The idea is to avoid opposing struggles that would greatly benefit from being understood convergently. It's also to avoid giving our time to those who would love to see us think of our universe as a bunch of overlaid pyramids. So let's confront our dissonances or discuss them until we forgive ourselves. Then we'll be able to eat together and fight together.

We'll move in groups. At night. Sometimes making noise. Sometimes causing problems. These humans who consider us vermin will have trouble sleeping. It's the year of the rat.

1- For example, Bolsonaro, president of Brazil, has publicly affirmed wanting to kill Indigenous activists blocking the destruction of the Amazon forest to make space for pastures. This was meant as a green light to allow armed militias of American consortiums to murder anyone who would stand in the way of the growth of the agricultural industry in Brazil. Dozens of Indigenous land defenders have been assassinated in over the last few months in Latin America.

2- Louise Michel, *Mémoires de Louise Michel. écrits par elle-même*, (édition de 1976).





DIVERSITY OF TACTICS

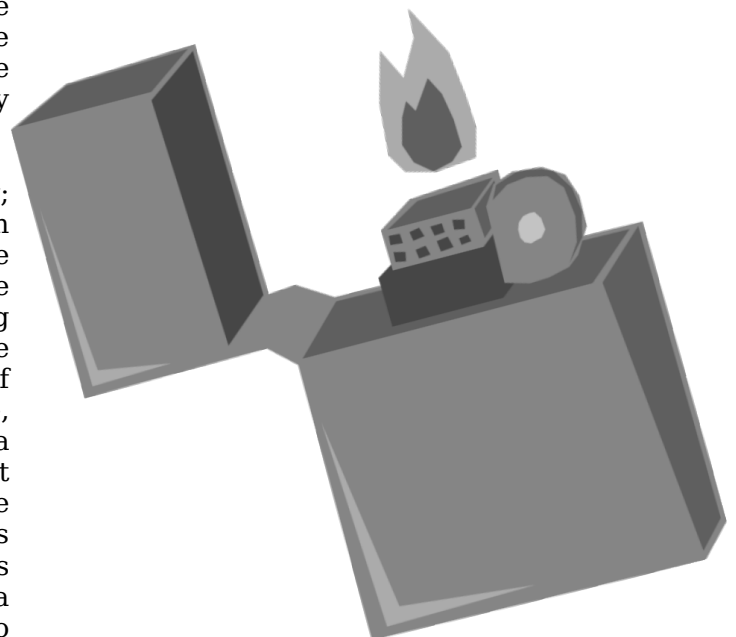
(TRA)



Diversity of tactics is first and foremost an acknowledgement that different approaches exist. It is an acknowledgement of the different modes of action used to drive our struggles. It is an acknowledgement that we can disagree on the means, but still work together toward the same end. In this way, the struggle for climate justice mobilizes as many different ideas as it mobilizes different methods: demonstrations, strikes, lobbying, civil disobedience, sit-ins, popular education workshops, disruption actions, votes, etc. Some of these approaches might seem contradictory, but they are in fact complementary. The strength of our movement is in its diversity. It is in the fact that we recognize and respect different approaches. It is in how we remain in solidarity and foster communication between groups. It is in respecting activists in their choices and to enable them to get involved as much as they want, in the way they want, in the cause. This respect of diversity of tactics includes certain approaches often considered as violent by the powers-that-be. It is therefore important to question ourselves on the legitimacy of certain forms of political answers, including violent ones, to the policies of this capitalist system.

When we oppose more radical approaches to non-violent ones, we play in the hands of those in power. We play a game with the goal of reaching some transcendental absolute, however it ultimately limits the autonomy of activists and divides the movement. This violent/non-violent debate often ends on dogmatic tones and forgets the fundamental reasons of our struggles. If the use of political violence puts off many, before issuing judgment, it is important to compare the violent means of activists to the actual brutality of the system.

Systemic violence is omnipresent in our society; the problem is however that we do not label them as such. We are hypersensitive when we see spectacular violence. We are extremely receptive when we see individual violence. We have strong reactions when we see one human attacking the physical, psychological or moral integrity of another human. Faced with individual violence, we experience a strong feeling of injustice and a will to eradicate it. We instinctively fight it, it should not be allowed, it is not right, because we do not want to live in a society where violence is tolerated and normal. However, violence is normal and tolerated in our societies, but in a more insidious way. While being sensitive to individual violence, we are completely desensitized to mass violence. The system in place is effectively mastering the concealment of the active structural violence that is constantly affecting us.



Let's take a cellphone for example. The common cellphone is, by itself, a concentrated form of violence. From its creation until it finds its way in our pockets, its path is filled with violence. It starts with wars in distant lands rich in natural resources, it passes through child slaves working in mines, to high-tech shops where workers toil in miserable work conditions, to transportation in unsanitary holds of container ships, until the said cell phone is sold by a minimum wage clerk to finally end up in our pockets.

This fabrication process can be extended to every object around us. As Marx said in his time: "The wealth of those societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails, presents itself as an immense accumulation of commodities,". Therefore, we live in a society which presents itself as an immense accumulation of violence.

The global economic system overwhelms and crushes millions of human beings. We don't need to leave the country to see this systemic violence. Patriarchy, racism, heteronormative values, wealth inequalities and environmental destruction are ills that permeate our society. Inconspicuous, often invisible ills, but relentlessly violent.

With no way to denounce or to shut down this systemic brutality, it is understandable that a feeling of revolt, even a revolutionary will, takes shape. It can be seen through the means of more radical techniques, which are often described as violent, but are actually a form of counter-violence. Counter-violence because it is written in a specific context: "What we must understand, is that a riot is the language of the unheard". These words, uttered by Martin Luther King, recall that our counter-violence represents a will to shut down the larger violent system, the root of all others. It would be hypocritical and in bad faith to express indignation and denounce the vandalism of statues of war criminals, or the broken window of a transnational corporation responsible of multiple ecocides, while forgetting the structural violence they produce.

It is important to understand that those who support more confrontational tactics are not worshippers of violence. They are not opposed to non-violent tactics. They only consider that certain tactics are more adapted to a given context than others. Tactics should be chosen in function of the desired objective, not in function of a so-called universal moral code of nonviolence. Not in function of an authoritarian moral code, which does not respect the autonomy of groups and individuals. If we want radical change, we must avoid falling in the trap of a violent-non-violent pseudo-duality. We must understand that what makes the brilliance and strength of our movements, is the complementarity of these approaches. A diversity of tactics, free of preconceptions. An inclusive diversity of tactics, open to debate and to critiques.

