For some months now there has been a strategical debate evolving around different concepts for blocking the G8. Participating in this debate are different German and international groups, but also groups with somewhat different analysis and goals, ways and means. Appreciating so much that a debate like that arose on an interational level, and hoping that fans of all those ideas will come to the international gathering in Rostock in March 2006, we want to provide all of you with the papers published so far.

First one is the proposal of some groups of the Interventionist Left (IL) planing one or more mass blockades definitely avoiding confrontation with the police - but respecting other concepts of action at other places. Next paper is written by groups from different German regions: PAULA proposes a concept of all kinds of blockades and actions aiming at a collapse of traffic on the ways to Heiligendamm. The next two papers - also often called October and November Paper - are results of international discussion processes, and focus on critique of the former blockade concepts, promoting decentral blockades instead for different reasons. The at this point in time last paper is the answer of PAULA to these papers.

**BLOCK THE G8!** For mass blockades of the 2007 G8 Summit in Heiligendamm

Almost every spectrum of the political left – from NGOs, church groups and trade unions, to Attac and the groups and networks of the radical left – have called for protests against the G8 Summit in Heiligendamm (near Rostock in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Germany), planned for June 2007. Already, a year ahead of the Summit, it is clear that it will be the biggest left-wing mobilisation in Germany in years, in terms of its breadth, number of participants, and the intensity of actions – on top of this, the mobilisation will be international. According to the plan so far, and the way it was discussed at the Action Conference in Rostock in March 2006, the mobilisation won’t be limited to the obligatory big demonstration, counter-conference and cultural event. The perspective held by many is that powerful days of resistance to the G8 and the current world order should also be an opportunity for the possibility of, and forces for, change to be made visible. The migration-political day of action and the camp play a role in this – along with an action perspective yet to be realised: Blockade the G8! The critique of the G8 always returns to its lack of legitimacy. Alone the construction of the G8 as the group of eight most powerful and economically strong states on Earth illustrates their lack of a democratic basis. Discussions are held and decisions made with global implications, without the vast majority of those affected being represented in any way. But the G8 does not just lack a democratic legitimacy, but also one of political content. The world dominated by the G8 is a world of war, poverty and misery, a worldwide attack on social and democratic rights, ongoing environmental destruction, and a political practice of removing rights and carrying out torture in connection with the “war on terror”. All of this not despite but because of the politics of the G8 states – and the G8’s alibi of debt forgiveness and “Help for Africa” cannot distract from this. The issue here is not that the G8 should make other decisions. Rather, we want to call the G8 and its politics itself into question. We reject the legitimacy of the G8 as a whole. This clear “No!” is also reflected in the form of our protest. From the perspective of a globalisation from below and a world of solidarity, democracy, peace and respect for natural resources, a political concept and the mobilisation of a large number of demonstrators is necessary, but by no means enough. Along with good arguments, a symbolic and practical break with the G8’s claim to power is necessary in order to make clear that we want to do more than just register protest. A practical de-legitimation needs to take place which expresses itself in the form of our actions: in which we do not recognise the power of the G8, in which we actively refuse, in which we obstruct. Ultimately, we need to appropriate the collective determination of our future. Our objective is blockades in which thousands of people from different political and cultural spectrums, and with experience of different action forms, can take part; in which actions do not only respect and tolerate one another, but where a way is found to genuinely act together. For this, we don’t need “heroes”, but rather the strength which comes from the solidarity and collectivity of many. Our action plans, therefore, are not oriented towards the needs of the apparently most committed or radical. Rather, as calculable situation as possible should be created in which decision making structures are transparent, the boundaries of everyone are respected and a political and practical responsibility for seeing through the blockades are taken on. We are convinced that these are the conditions in which thousands of people from different backgrounds would genuinely be able to actively participate. Even if the blockades do have a symbolic meaning as a symbol of resistance and social disobedience, we are not aiming for a purely symbolic action. Our objective is a genuine blockade of the 2007 G8 Summit and to cut it off from its infrastructure. We will occupy points through which the enormous number of service providers, translators, ordinary delegation members and so on… need to pass – and we will not leave these points voluntarily. We are not, however, looking for confrontation with the police. Our objective, rather, is to realise lasting and mass blockades, and to create a situation which is calculably and transparently created by as many blockaders as possible. We understand ourselves as fundamentally in solidarity with action concepts from other leftwing summit opponents and it is not our intention to limit the diverse ways in which the movement expresses itself. At the same time, we take for granted that everyone who takes part in the actions will respect the consensus reached at particular blockade points. The big opportunity presented by the anti-G8 mobilisation – which motivates everyone involved – is to realise commonality and facilitate communication over the borders which currently divide spectrums and concepts, and on this basis open the movement for many new activists. Through this, a long term strengthening and empowerment of the leftwing political movement could grow from the days of protest and resistance in June 2007. It is on this basis that we are convinced of the necessity to leave divided conceptions of action and blockade forms behind and to look for new forms of commonality in action. We come from different traditions of protest and resistance: from the youth
environmental and anti-nuclear movements, from Attac and the radical left, from non-violent action groups and the autonomous antifascist movement. We bring with us, into this cooperation, diverse and years-long experience of blockade actions: experience from the CASTOR (nuclear waste) transport in the Wendland (in northern Germany), experience of successful blockades of Nazi demonstrations in Berlin, Kiel and Leipzig, experience from the Resist campaign against the Iraq war, and of course experience of summit blockades, for example in Evian in 2003. Aware of our differences, we have decided to take responsibility for the mass blockades of the 2007 G8. Many questions remain to be answered within an exciting processes of getting to know one another and finding ourselves. For all of us, the conviction about, and optimism for, successful mass blockades of the 2007 G8 summit, along with a lasting, positive action experience for activists can only come from moving beyond the borders of our respective spectrums and acting together. This Call Out primarily has the objective of presenting our thoughts about mass blockades up until now. We hope that blockade groups which can imagine taking part in such actions will be established in as many locations as possible over the coming weeks and months. With a common “Blockade on Tour” trip, beginning in the Autumn, we hope to be able to support the process of group building. We hope that many of these blockade groups, and others, will come to the International G8 Action Conference in Rostock from 10th-12th November 2006 to call the blockade network into being.

Antifaschistische Linke Berlin [Antifascist Left Berlin], Avanti – Projekt undogmatische Linke [Avanti - Project for an undogmatic left], Gruene Jugend (Budesvorstand) [Green Party Youth (Federal Steering Committee)], X-tausendmal quer [a network for mass blockades of nuclear waste (i.e. CASTOR) transports]. Along with individual activists from: Attac (Germany), Solid [Socialist Youth], and Werkstatt fuer Gewaltfreie Aktion [Workshop for Non-violent Action]. Contact [blockade@g8-2007.de]

SOMEHOW THE FOREST SEEMED TO THICKEN AROUND THE GUARD, AND ALSO IT WAS ADVANCING...

A call for massive blockades around the Red Zone

It is not only since Seattle and for sure not only within the globalization movement that we are out in the streets fighting against the destruction of our living conditions and for a self-determined life. But it is here that we do it together. When the G8 meet in 2007 in Heiligendamm to plan the next steps of the belligerent sale of the world, they will hide in a cage, as they know all too well that there are 1001 reasons to attack them for their policies. It is the never-ending expansion of capitalist greed, that sacrifices people and nature for the interests of arms dealers and economical warlords - and last but not least the cynicism to disguise all this bitterness in sweet words - that fills our hearts with deep sadness so often, but also enflames us in rage. Stop it! We think that the previously summit protests have proved the most successful whenever we managed to interconnect the diversity of emancipatory struggles and forms of action in a respectful way. The cooperation during the g8 protests in Evian 2003 embodied this idea as much as the yellow, pink and blue demolines against the IMF 2000 in Prague, which effectively supplemented each other in transparency for all participating. We will again in this year respect the forms of protest of all emancipatory oriented groups, and we wish to be treated alike.

We are firmly convinced that there is no use in subject-related appealing to the reason of those in power, or to work on building a civil society in the shadow of their escalating warmongery. It is not our aim to have the summit make other decisions - which in most cases only mean a modernisation of exploitation and oppression. Under the primary of plunder there won't be any constructive cooperation with us. In our actions we refuse to be pinned down to forms that demand an affirmation of legality - which means nothing but compelling us to approve the ruling order. We don't want our actions to symbolize submission to an order that kills thousands each and every day. Rather we will hurl our determined NO at those responsible for that organised crime - and a good deal of other things as well!

International mass attacks - Sink the summit!

To get started and to disturb the course of the meeting as comprehensively as possible, we place our bet on a circle of bigger and smaller blockades, massive and massing, multiple and decentral, that in time advance closer and closer to the G8. Besides sg, standing and walking mass blockades this will include the construction and eventually the defence of barricades. Direct actions of small affinity groups, the appearance of the Rebel Clown Army, creative actions of incalculable activists or the tying down of police units in black block actions will complement the scenario.

Even though the highest representatives of the 8 leading industrial nations meet directly in Heiligendamm, the summit as a whole takes place in a lot of meetings during several days. For the “success” of a summit in the sense of a smooth course it needs a lot of translators, delegations of political officers & so called experts, security and catering personel, hack writers and smooth talkers. Last but not least - all of these 5,000-10,000 participants need to be supplied with everything from food and drink, to such banal things as toilet paper. Through these, the potential field of disturbance is expanded to the places of accomodation of all those mentioned above, and the routes they have to take in the course of the summit. Here everyone is called not only to install big and massive blockades on the central road going from Bad Doberan to Heiligendamm, but on all approaches to the summit as well as on the roads to and from the locations of accomodation. In doing so, activists can easily decide whether they want to do affinity group actions in cooperation with bigger blockades, or if they prefer to erect enduring blockades. The dispersion the places of protest invite, and the diversity of forms of action, leave us in joyful anticipation of a festival of international actions.

In the discussions about the choreography of protests we had so far, the evening before the summit and the first „real“ G8-day appear to be the times of coordinated blockades. Whether the blockades are to be continued the next day, or if the Red Zone is going to be attacked is not clear by now. What we know is that acting effectively during the summit constantly demands timely information - a task that will be covered by infopoints on the camps and wherever we need them to be.

Our aim: zero traffic to and from Heiligendamm for an entirely different entity

Paula

A CALL TO ATTACK AND BLOCK CAPITALISM
Towards an inventive strategy

In the cycle of recent counter summit mobilisations we can see that each time we've won its because we invented some new tactics rather than reproducing a ritualised staged confrontation. For example, in Seattle in 1999 the capitalists did not expect a large physical mobilisation of people trying to shut their meeting down. In Genoa in 2001 they expected the red zone to be the focus of action and yet we were elsewhere. During the G8 2003, the commercial centre of Geneva could be set on fire, blitzed without anyone being caught because we had the element of surprise. Since Genoa we have had few successes, mainly because we were pursuing another Genoa whilst the police organised to prevent that. Thessaloniki, St Petersburg, Gleneagles and others were arguably failures in terms of sabotaging capital because they were repeats of similar centralised spectacles. However they were powerful events in terms of networking and building relationships between disparate people and groups in struggle.

But the question is who blocks who? If we organise a large mobilisation in one place then the strategy of the state/capital is clear. They also mobilise there. Through the nature of capital they always have greater resources than we do. The conditions of political struggle have also changed; in many situations night time sabotage has become safer than open demonstration on the streets. Terrorism is the new spectacle of capital, the currency of fear is their means to legislate against, divide and imprison us. We make their work easier if we allow them to label us by our mobilisation in one place.

Today effective struggle against capital means blocking the economy. The insurgents in Algeria, the piqueteros in Argentina, the anti CPE movement in France have in common this focus: attack on circulation of capital by all means. Therefore we would argue that by blocking the economy through attacking infrastructure and the flow of capital across the world we open the doors to an insurrection. There have been many criticisms of counter summits, notably the idea that they are purely about spectacle. This ignores the vast power that new encounters and networking hold for inspiring new struggle. We believe that the power of convergence should not be lost but focused instead on conspiracy, sharing experiences, and skills. Literally speaking, this means that we would dissociate convergence with actions because it is harder to share ideas under the repression that follows acts of sabotage. Hitting where it hurts is easier when they are not watching you. There is a value in meeting and sharing ideas prior to and after an event. This should be a focus of centralised organisation as it has a value in its own right. We need opportunities to strategise. We are committed to transnational acts of sabotage but we need to learn ways of theoretically discussing them as the police are in all our meetings.

Therefore we propose, that in Germany in 2007 the convergences are for planning and strategising for transnational counter summit actions and analysis of their outcomes. The target should not be Heiligendamm but the global economy. Meaning that, there are large international gatherings before and after direct actions against the G8 summit that allow us the space to conspire and be inspired together without providing the excuse for massive repression. We call for actions to take place on the three days of the summit (6th-8th June 2007) across the world with the aim of paralysing the global economy. We call for these ideas to be discussed in every context of international preparation for the summit. This proposal is not explicitly against mass actions, just against one mass action in one place against G8. Symbolic actions are not useless but capital is not at war in a symbolic way. Our limitations are the bounds of our imagination.

the 22nd october collective

BLOCK GERMANY

In recent weeks we have heard much discussion of criticisms of the current mobilization against the 2007 G8 (e.g. those of the „22nd of October Collective” published on the Indymedia UK website). Though we have taken part in such discussions we do not consider the debate between centralised and decentralised action to be very fertile. However, it is indisputable that as a movement our strength lies in our ability to innovate, and that the current proposals for Heiligendamm offer nothing but a repetition of tactics which have over recent years become increasingly ineffective, as the forces of order learnt from their mistakes and our internal weaknesses began to show through.

For us it is clear that if the Heiligendamm G8 counter-summit goes as planned - with its array of single-issue demos, its symbolic blockade which will block nothing, and its camp which can be encircled by the cops at the slightest pretext - it will go down in history as the self-managed burial of the anti-globalisation movement.

We disagree with the alternative proposal of the „22nd of October Collective“: to remain in our „own” cities or countries and fight locally misses what is most fruitful about mass gatherings. We need to make a camp in the vicinity of Heiligendamm in order to meet, discuss, get organized and feel our collective strength. We also need to engage in actions which test this strength and inspire new potential. But the relation between mass-gathering and mass-action has to be reconsidered, with the former functioning as a point from which to emerge rather than a base to which we retreat, and to which we become bound.

Recent years have shown the preeminence of tactics aimed at blocking the flows of commodities and capital. It is as if the relentless pace of globalization has become unbearable, and everyone can feel that the only reasonable response is to jam the machine. We can see from recent struggles in France, Bolivia, Algeria and Argentina that the only way to block them, is for us to be mobile. We must be free to move to places where we can be most effective. But above all, we must be clear that if we limit our action to blocking the delivery of supplies to a meeting whose organizers have such huge resources of time and money with which to prepare themselves, then we will be sacrificing ourselves for a goal which falls drastically short of our potential. We must raise our sights from an impractical and insufficient blockade of a lonely hotel on the Baltic sea, to blocking the economy, to blocking Germany. Also, only by opening up our struggle in such a way do we stand a chance of out-maneuvering the massive security force which will be mobilized against us.

In view of this we propose to massively congregate in the proposed camp 10 days before the start of the G8, to meet and plan together in peace, but to preempt the opening of the G8 with a massive exodus, away from Rostock where there is nothing to block, away from the high-security hotel where the G8-leaders are already blocked, towards one or more centers of capital and state-power (e.g. Hamburg, Berlin, Frankfurt...). And there to engage in a day of blockades which will have more than just a symbolic effect. A series of such days of blockades would constitute a literal movement with a singular purpose: to block the motor of accumulation of which the G8-leaders are just the interchangeable masks.

This proposal will require much organizing activity, possibly more than people had hitherto envisaged for July, but as opposed to the alternative of blocking ourselves in a corner of Germany where we can block nothing, it at least stands a chance of success.

[11. November Bewegung]
Ok, maybe it’s not that nice next year, but we can imagine a better scenario than the abso-lut defeat. In the last years we often hid behind our assumed weakness because our police is well equipped. Facing the inter-national character of the summit protests, we should change this point of view and start to over-come our national perspectives and the cramped and repressive boundaries in our heads. We’ll be a lot of people next year in Heiligendamm and we should take advantage of this.

There was an international discussion about how to act next year (october and november pa-pers) and how to show our resis-tance against the G8. Our paper is part of this discussion. We want to to discuss our ideas and strategies with the international movement, because we want a resistance that uses our chances and strength consequently. We don’t want to discuss different protest forms as concurring al-ternatives. Next year there will be big mass blockades as well as decentral actions and we will be more successful the better we co-ordinate our strategies.

The paper of the “22nd Octo-ber Collective” is suggesting we should use the summit next year to concentrate on international networking and the discussion on strategies for the international protests. In the days before and after the G8 summit we should meet for that, but the moment of the summit we should use for blockading the global economy. The paper doesn’t speak against mass blockades but against one big symbolic mass blocka-de. Furthermore they say, that we will only be successful if we have a new, innovative strate-gy. We agree with the point of the new strategy but we don’t think it’s that new and effective to stay at home and do some actions there. (When there is a lot of action before the summit in the cities, countries or where ever it’s great..) To act at home during the G8 summit makes us believe we are save, but we will be only a few people at these actions and that makes it easier for the police to be prepared for it. Moreover as small and isola-ted groups our actions won’t be noticed as a collective protest and we won’t feel like a part of a big international movement. We disagree with the picture of an omnipotent state, because our experiences show that we can always find the gap if we’re flexible an incalculable. Flexible means also not to fix one strat egy months before the G8 sum mitt starts (later more about that point).

At all former summits there were pictures drawing a scenario of repression, but it was always possible to do some action. We will be a lot of people next year and that means we will be in-calcuclable even for a well pre-pared and well equipped police. At that point laid our collective strength and we won’t feel like a part of a big international movement.

The experiences of the Cas-tor-resistance show that street-blockades can be very success-ful though it’s not our preferred strategy to participate in passive and computable street-blockade-s. But we are emminent effec-tive if we combine different forms of protest. For actions besides blockades of access or com-munication roads, we propose to blockade also the cities in Meck-Pomm (Wismar, Rostock, Schwerin). Biotechnology com-panies and other companies who support the infrastructure of the G8 summit could also be on our route. Lists of ac-cording aims and places, maps with genetically modified crops, cop-stations, military bases etc. are made at the moment. Block Meck-Pomm!

Kühlungsborn too will play an important role because there isn’t enough space in Heiligen-damm itself for all the delegates and conferences. We are talking about 1200 delegates to sleep and eat somewhere and they have to move somehow. Let’s attack them wherever we meet – at the hotel, in the streets etc. But we should also use the strength given by the feeling of being a lot of people and that we are incalculable. The cops don’t know at all ti-mes what we are doing or going to do, and our experience with other protest show that despite them building up a police state things and actions are possible. We think there are actions pos-sible at Thursday when we have our big powerful demonstration towards Heiligendamm. If we use our possibilities consequent-ly a lot of things can happen here.

And if de facto nothing is pos-sible, because everything is her-metically sealed, we should have a plan B, C,... Maybe we are still motivated because everything went so well the first days? In both of these cases we appreciate the proposal to attack par-ticular places in Germany. But we would like to discuss later on where and when. Should we with this kind of action at the days of the summit? Should we appear wherever during the summit? Should we continue after it? All these are points of our discussion. Facing the situation the cops know a lot of our plans it’s necessary to leave a lot of doors open. Therefore we need an excellent system of commu-nication that makes the grade of flexible, uncountable and strong-willed action groups, but besides of this technical stuff we need direct meetings, trustful-ness amd personal exchange. With all of this we obtain all possibilities to act surprisingly everywhere.

What do you think about plan A,B,C,... We are looking forward to discuss with you and plan e.g. in Warszawa in febru-ary but also tomorow evening at the kitchen table....