

“It is time to  
bind ourselves  
definitively to  
the darkness,  
to stagnate still  
less beneath the  
spotlights, to  
relearn how to  
be everywhere  
at once.



## *Against the Airport and Its World*

Texts from an Intensification of Struggle in the  
*Zone À Défendre*

Non-Association Press  
Montréal, 2013

October – December 2012  
Notre-Dame-des-Landes, France



**FURTHER READING**

Website of the ZAD occupation  
zad.nadir.org (English, French, other languages)

Collectif de lutte contre l'Aéroport de Notre-Dame-des-Landes  
lutteaeroportnddl.com (French)

Nantes Indymedia  
nantes.indymedia.org (French)

The Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination  
labofii.wordpress.com (English, French)

Le Jura Libertaire  
juralib.noblogs.org (French)

**AGAINST THE AIRPORT AND ITS WORLD**

Texts from an Intensification of Struggle in the  
*Zone À Défendre*

October – December 2012  
Notre-Dame-des-Landes, France

anti-copyright

*DISCLAIMER: This publication is intended for informational purposes only and in no way encourages, promotes, or condones any illegal activity.*

Non-Association Press  
Montréal, 2013

## CONTENTS

Translators' Preface.....	4
Some Notable Actors.....	6
Abridged Timeline.....	7
Maps and Aerial Views.....	8
Further Reading.....	80
<b>Texts, in chronological order</b>	
Call for Actions upon Evictions from the ZAD.....	10
Urgent Call to Occupy the <i>Zone à Défendre</i> .....	11
Press Release Sent 17/10 at 11:30pm.....	13
15 more days – NEED FOR SUPPORT – Give Them Nothing!.....	14
Everyone to the ZAD.....	15
Call for Massive Resistance Against the Terrorist State!.....	16
Call for Support from the Insurgents of the ZAD.....	17
In the Cracks of a Dying World.....	18
A Short Report-back from the Reoccupation Demo of 17 November.....	20
We Shouldn't Forget that We're Winning.....	21
Urgent – ZAD – Demo – Saturday – Defense of the Reoccupation Site.....	23
Communiqué of the Medic Team 24 November.....	24
Communist Measures in Notre-Dame-des-Landes?.....	25
On the Barricade Considered as One of the Fine Arts.....	28
In Response to the Government's Proposal of a Dialogue Commission.....	30
Fire to the Collaborator Corporations.....	31
Outburst of Police Violence in Rohanne Forest.....	31

world fundamentally opposed to that of the VINCI corporation whose buildings (airports, parking garages, highways...) rely on the prior, cold devitalization of the territories it occupies, to lay down its massive concrete scenery. Beside these, what more fragile than the assemblages of wood, straw and clay that we are fashioning: castles of cards infused with sap, with life, that resemble our dreams though sculpted in matter, and which we will defend as we defend ourselves.

A “cyst,” declared the surgical State; a “lawless zone” according to the barons of the department. Is it in virtue of such comments that there exist judges to execute VINCI's sentence – to make a clean sweep – by systematically banishing those who appeared in court for acts of resistance to the police? But those who distribute so generously their forces are at home in the ZAD, and it's a kind of crime to tear them from a land and an environment that gives air and life back to all sorts of uprooted people. This countryside so inhabited is a refuge and a beginning.

“I miss my boots,” wrote a young stonemason imprisoned for five months. Boots and mud, communal living, animals encountered, scratches of gorse thorns, exhaustion, each day's bread, fires in the mist, barricades inhabited, planks transported and nailed together, sling-shots forged, food offered... It's life itself, in the form of a breach of a thousand contours by which rush in a thousand faces of the future, which the speculators of life want to channel or annihilate.

This breach will have to be held open and for that, we will have to defend this site “until the very end”; because it incarnates a terrain that offers us the life needed to test our actual forces and to measure (the measure of love is to love without measure) our chances to make of our time as lost children on earth a dazzling, fierce, nonstop adventure.

– Patrick Drevet, in the *Châtaigneraie*

**2013.1.7****DEFENDING THE CHÂTAIGNERAIE**

*Well, I still have to tell you this: many among us did not know the taste of liberty, and they learned to know it here, in the forests, in the marshes and the perils, at the same time as adventure and brotherhood (...).*

*If this isn't what must be done, what to do?*

*And if it isn't now, then when?*

Primo Levi, *Now or Never*

West of Rohanne moor, in the Châtaigneraie, a small village was built in one week, without prior authorization. The set of wooden houses are divided in two parts: one intended for sleeping and care, the other made up of a large kitchen, a meeting room, a tavern and a workshop. Close to forty thousand people assembled 17 November against an airport project and for the re-occupation of the countryside which the forces of order had depopulated since 16 October, demolishing the old houses, proceeded from Notre-Dame-des-Landes toward the forest. Then began more than a construction site: a work, a shared work. One day to the sound of a sax and accordion duo atop a roof, another day under lashing rain; always in the mud and under a sort of communicative brotherhood. One of those moments of pure joy where you could believe such a deployment of free forces is easy and would last forever. However, all was accomplished under the constant pressure of police, of helicopters, of threatening declarations by public figures, and with the consciousness that the rest of the world had not changed, that it overflowed with hostile measures, turned against us as soon as we showed by example that we didn't need them to conduct ourselves.

Such a work is the fruit of that which formerly bore the nice name, popular emotion: a shaking of being which brings about the cry: enough! We accepted it all until then, the mutilations and prostheses, the auction of all that lives, the concreting of the earth, the programming and traceability of all movements, of feelings and of acts, and the fake speeches to make us swallow it all. But it sufficed that in Notre-Dame-des-Landes the machines of the State came under heavy police protection and after years of tension to ravage the Sabot vegetable garden, the wood cabins of the Saulce and of Rohanne, of Cent chênes and of the Bell'ich, the old farms of the Rosier, of the Planchettes, of the Gaité and some others, for the anger to rise up from the depths. So many destructions, so many injuries, so many reasons to bring to the ZAD (Deferred Development Zone, become *Zone à Défendre*) all the best that we had: material for reconstruction, clothes, food, bedding, strengths, dreams and practices that combine to figure a concrete conception of the

A Comrade Is Sentenced to 7 Months in Prison.....	33
Call of the <i>Chats teigneux</i> : 10 Days of Resistance in the Châtaigne.....	35
Opponents of the Anachronisms of the Future.....	38
“Countryside Guerrilla?”.....	40
In Response to the Call of the <i>Chats teigneux</i> .....	46
Discussion on Sexism, Homophobia, Other Relations of Domination.....	48
“Free Toll” Action in Poitiers.....	49
Rennes Proposals for the Meeting of the Anti-Airport Committees.....	49
Nantes 15 December: Against All Repression, <i>Outrage et rébellion!</i> .....	52
The ZAD Is Dead, Long Live the ZAD!!!!!!!!!!!!.....	54
Want to Amputate Militants?.....	55
The Black Ray.....	56
Demonstration Against Imprisonment 20 December.....	59
Communiqué: Retreat of the Prefecture in the Châtaigne.....	59
Report on the Arrests of the Last Two Days.....	61
When a Sound Grenade Becomes a Devastating Explosive.....	62
Communiqué of the Occupiers of the VINCI Construction Site.....	63
Open Letter to Journalists in General and to Stainville in Particular.....	65
Account: “It’s as if you enjoy walking through the mud”.....	67
Society Is Fucked.....	73
Defending the Châtaigneraie.....	78

## TRANSLATORS' PREFACE

Beginning in 1965, a series of politicians and business interests in France have sought to replace just over 2000 hectares of wooded farmland in the commune of Notre-Dame-des-Landes, in the west of the country, with a new international airport. The *Aéroport du Grand Ouest* is to serve as a “gateway to Europe,” in particular for North American freight.

In 1974 with the declaration of a *Zone d'aménagement différé* (Deferred Development Zone, ZAD), politicians began using legal means to gain control of the proposed airport site from the small farmers who lived there. For more than three decades, the plan mostly stagnated. In 2008, a €580 million airport project was formally approved, and the French state escalated its efforts to expel the ZAD's inhabitants, by means both legal (expropriation) and extra-legal (harrassment, intimidation).

Construction was scheduled to begin in 2012; it did not. The ZAD quickly became the *Zone à défendre*, the “zone to defend.” In August 2009, inhabitants launched a call for occupation of the zone. Demonstrations and actions against the planned airport multiplied. Support committees sprung up across France.

In October and November 2012, militarized French police forces began entering the zone in large numbers and conducting operations to clear it of opponents.

The texts that follow were written by people living in the ZAD, and by militants elsewhere in France, mainly during the months of October, November, and December 2012, when the struggle on the ground in the zone reached unforeseen intensities – violent clashes with police often throughout each day, barricades and living spaces defended, arrests, injuries on both sides. It became common to refer to the prolonged battles as *guérilla bocagère*: guerrilla warfare proper to the local terrain of wooded countryside. We could also call what is happening in the ZAD an insurrection.

Hand in hand with the material organization of defense and attack, militants, many of whom left towns and cities to join the ZAD, have joyfully broken from a sterile, deathly society – *the airport and its world*, a regular refrain – and experimented with relations and practices experienced as a radical affirmation of life. Beneath this, sometimes, an understanding that no total or permanent break is possible without an infinite movement of destruction: the ZAD must be everywhere.

authority is here fully exposed, brought to light. They see that nothing can prevent someone, whatever their age, from leaving. Why must one “not leave children without supervision”? Because otherwise they would realize the uselessness of the family, they would realize that they could let their desires guide them. The problem being that no one today raised them to measure risks, to take care, to evaluate a situation outside a family setting, ... Education limits itself to teaching respect for authority, work, to teach things for which most of us have little use. Rare are the adults that prepare children for independence, they are raised to be autonomous in a society of judges, of bosses, of representatives, ... a society of cops.

We will hear soon without a doubt of the risk of pedophilic acts to which the two friends have exposed themselves, without ever questioning the power that “adults” give themselves over “children” or “men” over “women,” as complicit in these acts, without ever asking if education in total respect for the choices of each person, big or little, would not be the best protection against all violences to which are exposed individuals deemed the most weak.

You know as well, Geneviève and Camille, everyone has access to all the pornography possible online or on television, sex is placed at the center of all relations, but it's your choice of direction that will be judged irresponsible. What do you expect, pornography brings in lots of cash, your liberty none. You don't have the right to have longings, desires that depart from what they deem of “good morals” if it gets them nothing, heteronormative fling at the limit, but no more, you'll see the reactionary moralists, to remind you soon, before going to jerk off before the latest XXX video, or to meet up with their lover outside their “family,” sacred family core when it's convenient (some even will live out gay or bisexual fantasies, you can be sure).

We could talk even more of what Geneviève and Camille among many others are bringing to light by their choice and the way they are conducting their journey, all that their experience highlights as deficiencies in “the good education,” as deficiencies in society, but for me one fact is certain, this autonomous and as far as I can tell organized vogue (if it's really a vogue) is a brick (and not the least) in the end of their world!!

Thanks friends ;) *kmilles sabords*<sup>24</sup>

– Zone À Défendre

<sup>24</sup> A reference to *Les Aventures de Tintin*, in which Haddock's phrase is translated as “billions of blistering blue barnacles”



choice, placing them under supervision of parents, kids deemed incapable of discernment as to their desires for encounters, escapes, education, etc... Except in one case, if they commit a criminal offense. Then it's not quite the same, if they do something stupid it can't be because of their family environment, it can't be because of their shit social surroundings, the only possibility is that they're individually responsible, their environment could be a more or less aggravating factor, but they will be held responsible. Imagine Geneviève and Camille had chosen instead in their journey to live off of shoplifting, taking what they needed to subsist left and right in a few stores, and that they had already been in trouble with the law for identical acts. They would be recidivist delinquents, criminally responsible. The dungeon door would be open and the great moralists of the moment would call for strict "justice."

And yes dear comrades, according to them, you're old enough to live in prison but much too young to live free. You cannot resign yourself to this fact? In that case, good for you and I'm with you with all my heart, but that struggle is much more difficult still than those of the *zadistes*, it's a permanent, total struggle against all and first against oneself, against what they want to instill in us or what they have instilled. There are all kinds of prisons: family, school, factory, morality, ... wanting to destroy them is a lifelong fight.

If journalists' reactions are so violent, if comments on blogs or "info" sites are so harsh, it's because Geneviève and Camille dared to question the family and their dependence on parental authority, they dared announce that they were entitled to choose what they wanted to do with their life, freely. They are not minors, but able to make the choices that concern them, essentially responsible. The families are worried we're told, fortunately they worry, they decided it was up to them to educate the young and they never thought to teach them to live free, they never thought to explain what daily life could be without them, they worry because they took care to not teach them all that. To egoistically keep them under their wing, to preserve their power, they denied them encounters with independence, they taught them to speak for themselves in terms of the choices they were offered, without ever involving them in the determination of those choices, or simply secondary subjects.

Above all they worry because people are realizing that in fact kids don't need them, that parents are useful to kids only insofar as they cannot feed themselves (and even this could also be a need filled by society, as it apparently went for Camille and Geneviève, fed by the sharing of donations from everywhere).

What feeds the wave of hateful, moralist, and ultimately very stupid comments online is the fear of all the "adults" seeing that the fraud of parental

As of February 2013, the occupiers have not been dislodged. The state appears to have retreated fearing the consequences of further escalation.

---

We are anarchists based in Montréal who were inspired by the accounts we read of the struggle in Notre-Dame-des-Landes, even if it is only the after-image of the breathlessness, rage, contradictions, determination, and ecstasy of the resistance there that rises to the surface of their words on a page. We wanted to collect and translate these callouts, communiqués, report-backs, and reflections to make them available to more people, in the hope that they inspire others. And by this we mean inspiration not to endless contemplation, but to action, to attack, "from where you are, in any way ... everywhere by any means," in borrowed words.

We also hope to provoke discussion, especially in urban milieus, around possibilities for self-organization and action in non-urban areas against projects that the society of capital is undertaking today wherein the destruction of the wild is at once side effect and indispensable function. It is no accident that in Québec's simmering resistance to a territorial development plan – *Plan Nord*, rechristened *Plan Mort* – as in the ZAD's explosive recent months, battles and battles to come are cast in terms of life and death.

## SOME NOTABLE ACTORS

**Zadistes** are those who inhabit or occupy the ZAD to resist the Notre-Dame-des-Landes airport project.

**ACIPA** is a coalition of community organizations opposed to the airport project.

The **Collectif de lutte contre l'aéroport de Notre-Dame-des-Landes** (Collective for Struggle Against...) is a collective opposed to the airport and independent of political parties and other formal organizations. It distinguishes itself from the concertationist stance of groups such as ACIPA.

**Parti Socialiste** or **PS** (Socialist Party) is a social-democratic political party in France. It has been in power since May 2012.

**Jean-Marc Ayrault** is the current Prime Minister of France and a principal promoter of the airport project, which militants have taken to calling the Ayraultport. He took office in May 2012.

**Manuel Valls** is the current Minister of the Interior of France, appointed in May 2012. He is well known for referring to anti-airport militants as a “cyst” (*kyste*).

**VINCI** is the multinational corporation contracted to clear the ZAD for the construction of the Notre-Dame-des-Landes airport. Militants in the ZAD have called for and engaged in sabotage of VINCI's operations beyond the ZAD. The company has offices and active projects in Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere.

**Mobile gendarmes** are officers of the anti-riot division of the *Gendarmerie nationale*, a military-trained corps typically responsible for police operations in non-urban areas.

The **Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité** or **CRS** are the anti-riot forces of the French National Police, typically used in urban areas.

journalists losing themselves in collective delirium ask if these kids didn't just want to take a trip, to experience things, to let themselves be guided by their desires? Without knowing them, without having met them, I'll let Camille and Geneviève tell whether they ran away or just went for a wander.

[link to interview with Geneviève in *Le Parisien*:

LP. How are you doing?

G. *I'm doing very well. I lack nothing, I'm in good health, and I'm surrounded by kind people. Above all, I'm being true to myself. I'm very happy.*

LP. Why run away with your friend Camille?

G. *For many reasons. First, it wasn't going very well at home with my mother. Since my father passed away, our relations have been tense. As well, I don't like life in the city too much. With my parents, we lived in the country for a long time and I loved that. I missed the contact with nature.*

LP. Why take refuge here, in Notre-Dame-des-Landes?

G. *I consider myself an anarchist. I started off being communist, but I realized that this system failed in the countries where it had been applied. I like sharing, thinking not only about yourself. Here, we live in a community, and I like that. As well, I see myself in the fight against the airport, a project which threatens nature without being necessary. We're defending a just cause.*

LP. What do you do with your days?

G. *When Camille was here, we spent our time building a hut in the woods, with branches, ropes and nails. Since she left, I'm building another with people I met here.*

LP. How did you react to her leaving?

G. *I'm disgusted, all the more since they forced her to leave. She suggested to her parents that they come and see that she was doing well, and they took the chance to take her away. I think my mother would be ready to come see me, but she wouldn't try to force me to follow her.*

LP. When do you plan to return?

G. *I won't leave. When I arrived, I thought about staying here for two or three months before going elsewhere. I haven't changed plans. I want to live outside, have unexpected encounters, be free in my movements.*

LP. Do you understand your parents' anxiety?

G. *I can understand that they fear I'm sick or that I'm keeping bad company. But that's not the case. I'm doing well and I'm happy. Knowing that, I ask them to respect my choice from now on.]*

In any case it seems their trip answers to at least one of the slogans heard in the struggle against the airport project: “finish with their world” and the world structured around the nuclear family, denying younger people free



being forcibly put in a car or having to endure interrogation. And for those who would really worry too much, we just received this information:

*For the Republic's prosecutor Jacques Louvier, Geneviève's decision to go to Notre-Dame-des-Landes was not at all a sudden impulse: "[Camille's] hearing confirms that it was a well thought-out act in accordance with a commitment." The two teenagers "had discussed their plan to join the opponents to the airport construction with their close friends. She is defending an ideal," he continued. In this way, forcefully taking the young girl back when she carried out her plan could lead to a deterioration of relations with her mother, the prosecutor reckoned.*

Mr. Valls also stated "that it would be dangerous to 'send police officers' to recover Geneviève from Notre-Dame-des-Landes. Relations between opponents of the airport project and the forces of order are already tense in the extreme."

Right, yeah, the relations are super tense. For that matter Manuel, if you could tell your police to leave the zone, that'd make life a bit easier.

(Again) regarding "runaways," we received this text, which details another aspect of the system that goes with this airport and against which we struggle: the domination of "children"/"minors" by adults:

*In France, the penal age of majority is strictly 18. But, by twisting of words, many have it begin earlier, at 13 years old, even at 10, since starting at this age the child at fault is made personally subject to justice. Concretely, the minor found guilty of an infraction is subject to:*

- *from the age of 10: protective measures, surveillance, and education;*
- *from the age of 13: educational sanctions (notably in closed education centers) and, exceptionally, prison sentences in a special detention center.*

Source: service-public.fr

Ah the great moralists are having a field day, thousands of runaways go unnoticed, but two kids longing to experience things makes the front page. A bit like for hostages, when it involves journalists the community frets daily, but it suffices that [the journalists] be freed for the story to fall to the weeklies for the others, in other words into insignificance, same goes for runaways.

Anyway can we speak in this case of a runaway? To run away is to escape, to find a way out, the necessity in a given moment to leave a daily life that chokes you, that oppresses you, to go elsewhere, anywhere. Did someone among the

## ABRIDGED TIMELINE

1972 – First mention of the airport project in newspapers. Creation of the Defense Association of Farmers Concerned by the Airport.

1974 – The ZAD (Deferred Development Zone) is decreed, 1200 ha. The regional council obtains right of preemption for 7 years, renewable once.

1988 – End of the ZAD decree, beginning of the Urban Preemption Right (DPU). Now the mayors can agree or disagree with the regional council on the purchase of land and buildings.

2000 – Creation of the Inter-municipal Citizens Association of Populations Concerned by the Airport Project

2004 – End of the regional council's right of preemption. Purchases of land and buildings are done only by amicable agreement with the owner.

2007 – The Rosier is squatted. First squat in the ZAD.

February 2008 – Declaration of Public Utility (DUP) decreed for 10 years. 1650 ha. The DUP gives a right of expropriation not preemption. For 2 years the state is obligated to buy if an owner wants to sell to it.

August 2009 – Action Climate Camp in the ZAD. There's an occupation of the existing airport in Nantes and a call by "inhabitants in resistance" to come occupy the zone. The Gaité then the Sècherie are occupied soon after.

7 May 2011 – A demonstration of 1000 people occupies more of the ZAD.

6 June 2011 – Confrontations between militants and police as drillings proceeded in the ZAD.

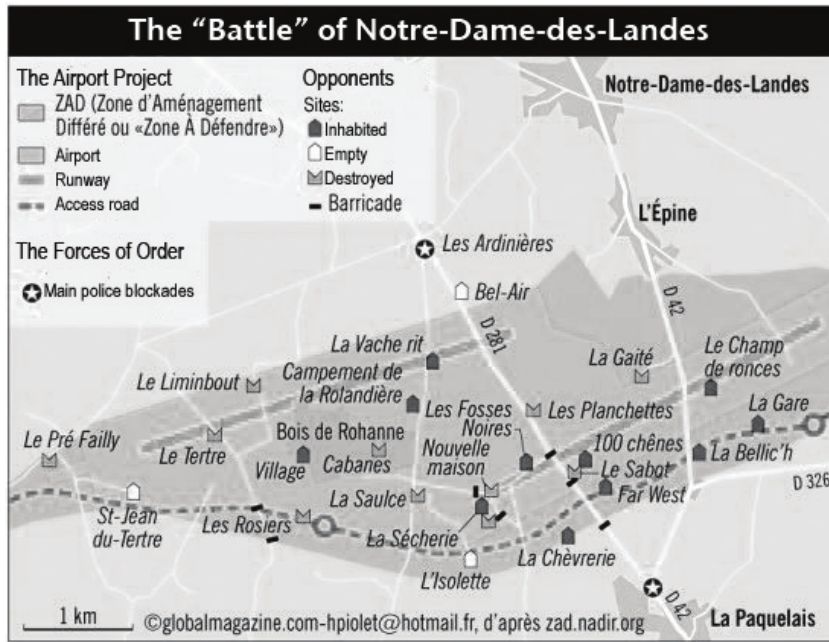
8-10 July 2011 – A call for three days of resistance against the airport draws 15,000 people.

October – December 2011 – Actions against VINCI, local politicians, and the Socialist Party multiply.

March 2012 – Police carry out raids and evictions in the ZAD.

16 October 2012 – Police evict eight occupied sites, two of which are demolished the next day. Generally, evictions, demolitions and confrontations with police have intensified.

17 November 2012 – Over 30,000 people participate in a demo to reoccupy the ZAD. A new site, the Châtaigne, is built.



A map of the ZAD, dated 24 December 2012



An aerial view of the ZAD

to begin to glimpse presages of light...

And then what will happen in the ZAD if the project is abandoned? Discussions are starting in the zone. PAC discussions: communal farming perspectives. It's good to keep the initiative and stay a step ahead, even if we shouldn't be over-optimistic. The struggle must continue, because the project is still relevant. Another question: will the current sacred union arising out of police aggression hold when we discuss with power the future of the zone?

But we're not there, and the government's retreat has not yet taken place.

What appears certain is that Ayrault could not stay on as prime minister if there's a retreat on the project. So the next cabinet shuffles are to watch.

And then let's continue again and always, let's answer the different calls from the ZAD, let's go see how it's going on site, let's ruin our politicians and their indigestible greetings and let's continue this exhilarating struggle!

– *L'ère des Chênaies*

## 2012.12.31 SOCIETY IS FUCKED

Some people are worried that the presence of "runaways" could harm the struggle. We expel no one from here and we kidnap no one, we force no one to stay, certainly not those irritating types who feel obliged to put in an appearance. As it happens, regarding the violence endured by Camille's family which came to find her, several elements of context should be made clear, which have been conveniently left out of media reports and notably by print media. From direct eyewitness reports, Camille did not wish to follow her parents. They were physically forcing her to follow them when people intervened and tensions rose.

What harms the struggle are those who appropriate anything and at any price, sometimes it's alcohol, lack of communication, crises of overly keen egos, sexism, homophobia among others, "blood-sucking" journalists, lack of respect for all living things and for the personal choices of each individual.

To return to Geneviève, we cannot force her to return home, or tell her she's not welcome, because it's false, anyway the latest news is that she decided to leave to avoid having a whole battalion of soldiers come and get her, to avoid



logue if there were (attempted) evictions in the ZAD. Will the prefecture understand this subtlety or rather re-attempt a forceful strike, believing the opponents put to sleep by the declarations of the dialogue commission? Legally, one of the last difficult sites in the zone, the Sécherie, is evictable beginning on 27 December, and we'll see what happens next legally with the Chat-Teigne.

[...]

### What next

It appears evident enough that the State, its guard dogs and the politicians campaigning for the project are beginning to panic and to no longer know what to do faced with the *zadiste* cyst. Latest example, the publication of a 200,000-euro call for bids by the airport's joint association to promote arguments for the airport as much in media as on social networks. Highly comical call for bids, because it would seem that the arguments for the airport are not sufficiently convincing if they must hammer at them by means of specialized lobbying firms. And the latest gag is the withdrawal of the call after the outcry it elicited and also the actions carried out by opponents to respond to the call for bids. Nth retreat by the aediles who no longer know how to act... Their last and final argument when all the others are dismantled piece by piece is respect for representative democracy, because they were elected being for this project, never hid from it, and that democracy sure has to be respected. And well, no, and precisely what is developing on site in the countryside is another democracy, without delegation, without representatives, without experts, just a direct and egalitarian democracy. Shocking that the people coming out of the ENA<sup>23</sup> will never understand this kind of dynamic and thought! Another world is being experienced.

One of the debates during the meeting of the local committees was about the link with local struggles. Should we ride the dynamic of the ZAD to strengthen local struggles (against high-speed rail, against leasable areas, against stadiums, against highways, etc.) or should we concentrate first on the ZAD, continue to hammer away, to push the wedge deeper and finally win? And this victory would strengthen all the local struggles. Difficult to decide, evidently, and in terms of social movements there is fortunately no exact science. This debate reveals two things, the future charge of debates on infrastructures as already mentioned and also the possibility, the eventuality of victory. Which does not come without its own questions. What victory do we speak of, when we struggle against the airport and its world? On the airport, maybe we can win; on the world, a new cycle of fierce struggles will need to be waged

<sup>23</sup> *École nationale d'administration*, a graduate school which trains senior French officials



A map of ZAD support committees across France



Squats in Rohanne forest

**2012.10.11****CALL FOR ACTIONS UPON EVICTIONS FROM THE ZAD**

In this fall 2012, the opposition to the Notre-Dame-des-Landes airport project re-enters a delicate phase. The echo it might have elsewhere than the directly concerned zone will be determining for the future of this struggle.

Creating a deferred development zone (ZAD), preempting, purchasing, destroying a few homes, staging a swindle in the form of a democratic measure, then certifying the project of public utility before beginning the first polling operations. This is done.

The zone that the regional council stole, then ceded to VINCI, is beginning to seriously empty. Harassing people on short-term leases to convince them to get out, preparing the eviction of recalcitrants (whether they squat or stop paying their rent) and expropriating the last ones who haven't sold their land and buildings. This is currently the task of the deciders. This offensive comes in a pivotal period since it's a matter of kicking out a major part of the inhabitants before the first construction on the large access road in 2013.

Contrary to rumors spread by the press as to the false "moratorium" conceded by the scoundrels of the PS, it is in fact only a promise, which costs them nothing, to not kick out those who have refused to negotiate until now, and this until the end of certain legal processes. In reality the people concerned continue to feel stronger and stronger pressure to get out.

---

This struggle took a decisive turn in 2009 with the invitation to occupy emptied spaces. The choice to live on the land concentrated forces locally. But the risk is that the evictions entail the end of the engagement of all the people from here and elsewhere who meet and forge ties here around practices of autonomous organization and a critique of the politics of land development.

If this airport story is effectively the element that allowed many to meet each other, it is also the means by which we chose to confront this world. That is to say the commodification of spaces, the laying out of our lives, the control of populations; all of a repressive and authoritarian politics that hits everywhere and concerns us all everyday, whether in the neighborhoods, at school, at work or in social movements. The eviction of ZAD inhabitants for the construction of this airport, symbol of this politics, cannot be allowed without a response.

movement.

I have the impression that for quite a long while we have had a truly strong combative movement that weakens neither by media setbacks nor by police pressure and repression.

The violence of the police assaults of 23 and 24 November and the over one hundred injured strengthened solidarity and the cohesiveness of the movement.

A legal battle was also waged around the authorization of destruction/eviction of cabins built 17 November, particularly the Chat-Teigne. At the Saint-Nazaire court on 4 December, the prefecture requested destruction. The court delivered its verdict the 11th, the delay being a disappointment for the prefecture. The morning of the 11th, the court authorized the cabins' destruction. Opponents say that people live there, and a judgment ordering their eviction is needed before being able to destroy. In three hours (doubtless a record of judicial velocity), the court gives the authorization to evict. The prefecture then declares that the opponents no longer have any right. Again the prefecture lamentably stuffed a finger in its eye, because these opponents who claim no right showed the prefecture that there were other ways, and in particular a revocation motion that would have had worse effects on the prefectural services, since they risked being forced to launch a nominative eviction procedure, the traditional procedures against squats. The prefecture asked that the motion not be granted and launched this nominative procedure.

All this tedious legal action demonstrates one of the strengths of the movement: we give ground nowhere, from the barricades to the legal aspect.

At the same time, the State launched the dialogue commission on 21 December, with three technocrats who had already participated in and/or organized public debates on major infrastructure projects like highways. Can a commission that blows hot air be called wind-powered?

At least two conditions were set by ACIPA, the citizens' association opposed to the airport: the withdrawal of police occupation forces and the possibility of broaching the substance of the matter, that is, the construction, or not, of the airport. No question of discussing adjustments to make to the project so that it can move forward.

The CEO of the dialogue commission announced that his work would continue until 31 March, deadline, and that it would be a poor indicator of dia-

ence either historical (as in the Commune or May '68) or exotic (as in Oaxaca). Here and now we are living historical circumstances necessitating these means. From another side the mythology of the barricade and its somewhat warlike dynamic brings about an atmosphere that is not necessarily ultra-agreeable because it's very macho, big dicks and testosterone. Some women who were on the barricades or participated in different confrontations no longer want to step foot there because of this atmosphere. It's a shame.

In the same spirit of not idealizing what's happening in the zone, homophobic and sexist attitudes and remarks sometimes weigh on the atmosphere. At least two gay couples were followed, teased or threatened...

Goes to show, one can be against the airport but not against its world...

### Risks

If in the initial evictions the violence was relative, the conditions of police pressure, as I said, lead thereafter to quite a lot of human damage. The Flash-balls and stun grenades cause many injuries. The grenades release little bits of plastic or metal that enter flesh white hot and cauterize the wound. It's very difficult afterward to remove this shrapnel. Not to mention of course the blasts of tear gas and rubber-ball grenades.

The will to repress appears to have grown recently, with an increase in trials and arrests. By the latest count, we were at eighty arrests with trials to come or held in the form of immediate appearances. Sentences are principally suspended, with fines for refusal of DNA or fingerprint registration, and territorial exclusion from the five communes surrounding the ZAD.

Nevertheless two people are in prison serving five- and six-month sentences, which is starting to weigh very heavy. The need for solidarity is important. Is it because the trials began in a sporadic, dispersed manner that mobilization against repression appeared to me quite insubstantial in the beginning? It's changing since we're coming to such a high number of criminalized people that solidarity is starting to be concretely organized.

A thought too for the injured, more or less seriously, who are either still in hospital or in recovery.

### Political situation

The human and social proliferation, the hyperactivity of daily life could almost make one forget the concrete political situation of the struggle and the

The military measures that will be put in place at the moment of evictions against resistance on the ground will be such that they concentrate several hundred mobile guards and CRS in one locked-down zone. A good way to draw strength from this moment chosen by the enemy would be to create other fields of tension beyond the enclave of the ZAD. It would be the time to look for gaps and to attack where they are not, where they don't expect it.

In a context where the developers are facing more and more resistance, it seems necessary to organize ourselves such that the repression of one struggle does not weaken others. So we invite you to mobilize where you are too, to affirm not your support, but your solidarity, because your struggles are ours.

Assembling, occupying a building, a street, tagging or dropping a banner, attacking offices, sabotaging a construction site, blocking intersections, starting a wild demo, hitting targets in unexpected spaces... In short, so many possible ways to make the conflict boil over.

War on the organizers of misery!

Our turn to play!

– *zadist*

### 2012.10.11

#### URGENT CALL TO OCCUPY THE ZONE À DÉFENDRE (ZAD) AGAINST THE NOTRE-DAME-DES-LANDES AIRPORT PROJECT AND ITS WORLD

North of Nantes, for more than 40 years, an airport project has augured the destruction of 2000 hectares of farmland and countryside. It was relaunched in 2001 by Lionel Joséphine and firmly supported since then by the Socialist Party and notably J.-M. Ayrault, former deputy mayor of Nantes and current prime minister. A pharaonic, immensely harmful project, it's the symbol of a destructive productivist system that seeks only profit in the name of a sacrosanct progress. It's also the product of a close collaboration between politicians eager for urban "development" and a large multinational, VINCI – specialist in projects which encase the world in concrete (prisons, parking garages, highways and nuclear power stations).

In 2008 a local residents' collective made a call to occupy the lands hoarded by this project, the Deferred Development Zone. After a Climate Action Camp in 2009, the occupation movement amplified in what became the *Zone*



à *Défendre* (ZAD). Today more than thirty spaces are occupied by 150 inhabitants: empty houses (and VINCI is emptying more), cabins built in fields or in trees, trailers all over. Solidarity was born between inhabitants resisting and the new occupiers. The ZAD has become a laboratory of alternative experiences, a space in which to bring theory and practice face to face, to build new solidarities, to learn to be a bit more autonomous each day from the commodity system: collective vegetable gardens bloomed, a bakery, a *chèvrerie*<sup>1</sup>, a theatre, two library-buses, market gardens, free stores... knowledge is shared everyday, from the bakery to the engine shop, from construction to market gardening and artistic exchanges, in unspoiled nature.

Today the Socialist Party in power is not ready to abandon this airport. It continues to display its total support for the project and its environmentalist allies still pretend to defend the threatened land. Skillfully, these smooth talkers have used the press to make believe that a moratorium has been put in place and that the chances of seeing the project go through are declining.

That's not the case! After pseudo-public inquiries, land studies (drillings, surveys), evictions have started, expropriations are going forward, inhabitants are being pushed out of the zone and deadlines for the start of construction work are fast approaching.

16 October there will be ten sites invaded, pillaged, by police forces. And that's just the start. Doing nothing means allowing the arrival of excavators in the zone, it means abdicating before VINCI.

We call on you to join us because it's not only a matter of opposing an urbanist project but a model of society that we want none of. This struggle finds itself within a larger fight against a system in which humans and the planet don't matter, within a planetary movement against all productivist systems of domination and social control, against the infernal machine that enslaves us to technology so as to always go faster and farther in the dispossession of our lives.

It is urgent that we be more numerous on the ground to physically oppose the preliminary works, to give strength to those who made the choice to stay and resist. The occupation is not an end in itself, it's a way to be present on this land in struggle, to be active together against the project. There's still time to share all this.

<sup>1</sup> Typically, a place where milk and cheese are produced from goats.

happening across the two thousand hectares of countryside.

What's clear is the building. Building, and building... Pallet-sheds, yurts, caravans... Up to a kind of childhood dream, like that little house on a pier in the middle of the swamp named rotten tripe that is only reachable by boat.

A large food storage field site was set up, so well named, Hors-Contrôle.<sup>21</sup> It is constantly resupplied by the generosity and solidarity of a very diverse mass of people. Different collective kitchens exist around a few big collective spaces: Chat-Teigne, Hors-Contrôle, Fosses-Noires...

Days start at 6am listening to "the pirate radio made by pirates who have never made radio," Radio Klaxon squatting the airwaves of Radio VINCI Autoroute. Traffic info has turned into *trafic*<sup>22</sup> info!

"You're on Radio Klaxon 107.7. A meeting on farm projects and market gardening is planned this afternoon at 5pm in the Chat-Teigne meeting room. And we remind you that there are still five trucks of mobile gendarmes at Ardillières. Apparently they are inspecting only cars but not pedestrians or bikes..."

Medical hours are held regularly, with real doctors and nurses and it's no luxury given the number of those injured by the military-democratic forces. In the same line of thought of protecting the movement, a legal team works shifts with a permanent phone number to call in case of a problem. A pool of lawyers are ready to defend people caught in the judicial net.

And then there are the barricades. Inevitably, we must talk about the barricades... When farming skills and materials meet militant know-how, we get impressive results. Bales of hay and corrugated sheet metal combine to make barricades at once very tall and apparently more or less solid. Especially when there's time to plan, build, and reinforce the barricades. Barricades united with the determination of the people defending the sites are real obstacles, in any case slowing down police action, allowing for outside reinforcements to arrive in case of possible police attacks. On the barricades, watch begins very early in the morning, around 5 or 6am. Despite everything, tension and attention depend on the judicial situation (even if at different times the prefecture forced its way through without even respecting the law of which it boasts!) and for the moment we are in a quite bizarre kind of status quo.

The barricade generates from one side enthusiasm, energy because, *finally*, we are in a situation where real barricades exist and are no longer a refer-

<sup>21</sup> "out of control"

<sup>22</sup> A portmanteau of the French words for traffic (*trafic*) and cop (*flic*).



## The cops

Let's talk then briefly about those heavily armed, bluish forces.

In the biodiversity of the forces of military occupation on the ground we are entitled to either the CRS or the mobile gendarmes. Between the two my heart wavers. Daily checkpoints, with or without identity checks. Their presence makes so that school buses no longer enter the zone. Sometimes, without us understanding exactly why (what order was given when and why?), the cops block all movement, including that of people living here for twenty years... or let people through without inspections or check only cars, or bikes, or pedestrians, or everyone, or no one...

When we were there, three prefectural decrees claimed to govern life in the zone: prohibition of explosives, firecrackers and other fireworks, prohibition of transporting petrol and prohibition of construction materials.

The cops are perfectly conscious of their uselessness in applying these decrees, seeing as they themselves say "anyway it will get in through the woods on foot." Which indeed happens except when people want to rightly oppose the aberration of such prohibitions and of a military occupation, and force things through in front of the disappointed and nonetheless stifling mobile officers. That's what happened Saturday the 15th, with a tractor bringing a toddlers' crèche for assembly.

If you don't want to cross uniforms, it suffices to cut through fields under their noses and moustaches, and so to trudge through the mud, again. When it's below zero, the mud twists ankles.

The police omnipresence nevertheless brings about quite a bit of damage within the movement via repression and injuries – I'll come back to that. Facing police harassment there is a certain harassment of the police. From chatty older people who wear down police patience talking for hours, asking them why they're doing this, aren't they ashamed, etc., to more offensive actions.

The police forces generate insecurity, and as soon as they're not there or we keep away from them, a calm life of subsistence develops in a phenomenal laboratory of human experience.

## Life on site

It's not easy to describe the ZAD anthill and nearly impossible to know what's

Two houses, the Planchettes and the Gaité, can welcome you upon your arrival.

We are here, our lives are ours, we refuse defeat.

– *Inhabitants/occupiers of the ZAD*

## 2012.10.17

PRESS RELEASE SENT 17/10 AT 11:30PM

**We live here, we will stay here!!**

After two days of resistance and solidarity, only seven houses and one plot of land were evicted in the ZAD, the area threatened by the Notre-Dame-des-Landes airport project. Everywhere, the forces of order encountered the determination of opponents in different forms: residents refusing to leave their homes, others perched on their roof, gatherings around living spaces, barricades on roads, opponents coming from elsewhere to join the zone, etc.

For several hours, opponents have defended the plots of the Far Ouest du Sabot, market gardening land collectively cleared in May 2011 and drowning at the present hour beneath a cloud of tear gas, to the tune of a batucada. Solidarity actions are being organized everywhere, for instance a gathering in front of the Nantes prefecture this very night.

Contrary to what the prefect implied Tuesday morning, then, the zone is far from emptied. There remain about twenty occupied spaces, in addition to the owners, renters and farmers still living here. The police pressure, as witnessed yesterday when the forces of order set fire to a cabin without even checking if it was still occupied, will not quiet the contestation.

Without seeking to compete with the military arsenal that State violence can deploy to impose its projects of "public utility," acts of resistance will continue as long as the project is not withdrawn.

Here as elsewhere, from Atenco to Val de Susa, passing through the Ché-fresne and everywhere struggle is waged, let's refuse to be managed!

**2012.10.19**

**ZAD: 15 MORE DAYS – NEED FOR SUPPORT – GIVE THEM NOTHING!**

“All took place without incident, the operation is finished,” said the prefect at 10:30am the first day. Really? However just as he was speaking those words the cops were attacking the Far Ouezt and the Sabot and access to the ZAD was prohibited to all, including journalists and “legal” inhabitants! The cops planned to take 11 sites that day, meaning a third of our habitations spread out over 2000 ha. They succeeded only for 8 of them. To take the first site they contented themselves with firing a torrent of grenades from a distance until it was set on fire. Of course they didn’t check if people were sleeping in their cabins or not! That, then, is an “operation without incident”...

For most of the following sites they were surprised to not find us there, except for two houses barricaded on several levels which made them lose precious time. Indeed we were not home that day. We don’t intend to be where they expect us. We are mobile, we know the terrain, it’s our strength. We quite intend to make of the ZAD a new quagmire, a bitter failure for the State and capitalism.

They are 1200, we are 200. However, we hold our positions. We even offered ourselves the luxury of retaking three sites today. We’re doing well, we have nothing to lose because we have nothing. We have everything to gain because our rage and the strength of our resistance are infinite. We are a minority and we will make the majority give in! For this we need you. We need reinforcements on site (you can reach us on foot or by the side roads with a detailed map), but also to spread the struggle by means of decentralized actions. If you can’t join us, know that there certainly exists near you a VINCI work site or highway/toll, and PS offices, or even a Loxam which rents the machines of destruction (those in Nantes may target the Louis XVI garage, 114 rue de l’Étier). They must be secure nowhere! The ZAD is everywhere!! Thanks to friends from Atenco, Brussels, Angers, Poitiers, Montreuil, La Roche Sur Yon, Lyon, Vienna and Rennes who have already started and to all those who send us messages of support. For those who will join us, plan for boots, rain-coats and headlamps. According to our sources (which have proven correct until now), the operation will last 15 days, unless they give up earlier ;)

– *Résistons Ensemble* discussion list

Our thoughts are with the political prisoners, with Cyril and with all the others who opposed the airport and have fallen into their nets.

War on VINCI and its world!

– *an ultra-leftist parasite, jobless, stinky and muddy, a thoughtless vandal and congenital delinquent*

**2012.12.26**

**ACCOUNT: “IT’S AS IF YOU ENJOY WALKING THROUGH THE MUD”**

I spent a week between 10 and 17 December, a short month after the reoccupation demo of 17 November (cf. brief chronology of recent events in the ZAD), in the now famous ZAD (that *zone à défendre*, or deferred development zone, or zone of definitive autonomy, in fact zone of dissidents’ anchorage – it all depends on perspective), that zone of difficult landing for J.M. Ayrault and his airport project north of Nantes.

I won’t return to why a whole section of the population is opposed to this airport and to the many arguments. No, I prefer to focus on the few days that I spent there and on what I experienced and shared.

### The mud

The first material element to take into account and to handle is... the mud. At first, especially coming from the dry Provence, mud is a substance that one has little experience handling, and in the countryside mud is omnipresent, the precipitations of the last weeks having been exceptional in a country already of damp vocation.

Standing in my hip boots, I would regularly take a step expecting to feel solid ground only once the mud had exceeded the top of my boots. Honestly, in some places there had to be nearly fifty centimeters of extremely fluid mud, quite beautiful in its viscosity due to the passing of hundreds of people.

And if in the beginning one can be surprised, in fact hesitant, one quickly learns to live happily with this captivating element. In any case more joyful than the cops staying put, who I think really find it difficult... Just like the cleaning ladies at one of the hotels hosting them who went on strike against the omnipresence of the mud.

Dame-des-Landes are clearly some sort of cave-people who need to be dislodged, residues of the past...

Raphaël, if we truly seemed so unfortunate to you, it's without a doubt because we do not come from the same world, and because you have far too much disdain for these humans who surround you, for real life, for the manner in which those far from your caste exchange and live freely. Of course, in your golden childhood in Versailles, you never had to wear boots and walk in the mud. Of course, if one is selling weapons for pay, there's little need to see regard for any human life aside from one's own. We congratulate you for making a career out of writing books on the Le Pen family and terror-inspiring articles that describe all that which is different as dangerous; your spitballs masquerading as journalism under the banner "Nothing is getting better, it's just like before, everything's going to hell" must spice up the daily lives of all those octogenarian National Front-voting readers of yours.

And so these has-beens like you, with their "pretty faces," their "impeccably-fit jeans, [their] blemish-free skin [and their] side-parted hair", come around to mock us, well – we're essentially here to kick their asses. Those who – like you – sell poisoned soup to better suit the needs of those who are destroying life as we know it (*Figaro* readers, concrete salesmen and arms vendors, nostalgic retirees, penny-pinching merchants, traders and frantic businessmen, fundamentalist Catholics, doctors from Good Families...) will never be on the same side of the barricades as us. Pretty faces or otherwise, you're in the Death Party, whereas we've taken the side of life. And while we might seem prehistoric to you, it's people like you who are living in the past.

I'll end this piece by addressing you, well-meaning journalists, freelancers, video and photographers who deal with the daily hassles of trying to present our struggle in a friendly light: in these battles that pit us against those with power and money, against those who deploy the police to throw us in jail and shut us up, against Interpol and the national police who flag us as terrorists for having thrown fireworks and bottles and infiltrate our groups, all the better to hunt us down, the slightest indulgence of those who take pictures or glean information which could later be used to identify us or understand our modes of organization constitutes a danger. We have no way of knowing if you are well-intentioned or an undercover. Our only defense is intransigence.

It is a struggle for your profession, therefore, to weed out the journalists who spoon-feed information to the police and throw us into the arms of the enemy. The system which we oppose is far too powerful to allow us to be accommodating. We have far too much to lose! And we've only got one life...

**2012.10.29**

**EVERYONE TO THE ZAD**

Since 15 October, the several hectares of countryside south of Notre-Dame-des-Landes have been the theatre of a quite singular war. The prefecture initiated eviction procedures for the occupied spaces in this zone in struggle for 40 years against the construction of the new Nantes airport. The excessiveness of the forces employed (500,000 euros, 1500 police officers, in addition to the excavators, dump trucks, etc. and associated workers) did not however expedite an operation that was supposed to last 48 hours. Indeed, on site, the reaction was immediate and organized: new barricades rise up while others are strengthened, all are defended and inhabitants see reinforcements flow in from surrounding towns by the dozen. The conflict is taking on airs of irregular warfare, where the apparent invincibility and number of the forces of order are undermined by terrain favoring the opponents. Where the police vans know only roads and roadblocks, we clear paths through the corn and hedges, appear and disappear easily in a space that they cannot understand by means of their tools. The hedges are the walls we hide behind, the woods become the crowds into which we disperse, the dirt roads transform into back alleys cluttered with cut trees. While some hold strategic barricades, other mobile groups can disrupt police movements and interventions. Communication between groups is well developed: a radio (107.7 fm) and relay walkie-talkies circulate information related to the enemy, the needs of each site, and reinforcement requirements.

This call is addressed to all those who can't get used to the destruction of this space by the construction of an airport, to all those who've spent hours fantasizing in front of films about the possibility of scrubland, to all those who feel like jumping into a scavenger hunt where the stakes (and risks) are very real. To come, it's best to arrive well equipped: boots, windbreaker, sleeping bag, some food, pocket lamps, map, spare socks, chainsaws and pickaxes, something to cover the face (the police film a lot), gas masks, swimming goggles and Maalox for tear gas etc. Coming to fight in the ZAD is also having in mind that temporality is often uncertain: in between battles and blows, time frays, one looks for something to do. Coming implies being determined to play one's part all the while staying attentive to all that pertains to the situation.

The latest news from there is good. Three of the sites evictable as of tomorrow (Saturday 27 October) obtained additional delays. Until 15 November for the Rosiers and until 27 December for the Sécherie. As for the Saulce a big street party is organized starting tonight and throughout the weekend. A legal

camp will be set up nearby where we can meet up, eat and sleep. Nevertheless all those who have barnums, marquees, garden tents, powerful sound systems or any other logistical help are invited to join us.

Starting now, may as many people as possible converge in the ZAD.

– *Maison de la Grève*

### **2012.10.31**

#### **CALL FOR MASSIVE RESISTANCE AGAINST THE TERRORIST STATE!**

#### **ACCOUNT OF A RESISTER IN THE ZAD CONCERNING THE STATE TERROR OF 30 OCTOBER IN NDDL**

Hatred, only hatred.

Today Tuesday 30 October 2012 terrorists (the term terrorism appeared when the State was terrorizing populations) besieged us. Armed with Flash-balls, sound and rubber-ball grenades, tasers, guns, batons, all the equipment that stinks of the dead fallen under their yoke. They encircled and after confrontations where one heard the explosions of grenades, the bulldozers arrived. These machines of destruction came to erase a space where individuals retook control of their lives in their own ways, where they defended what allows everyone to live. Because “when the last tree has been cut down, the last fish caught, the last river poisoned, only then will you realize that you cannot eat money.”

But these dangerous terrorists wish to destroy everything to encase in concrete what allows everyone to live, for jobs, for growth, and of course in the name of the environment. So it was easy for them because a State-multinational permitted all. In this world justice is in the service of the true terrorists.

So Mr. Prefect and his clique, when you attack people with grenades and Flash-balls... When you terrorize people with repression, when you destroy what allows you and your henchmen to live on this earth and in addition you have the nerve to say that we are terrorists harassing you, allow me to tell you that your arrogance and your contempt are the reflection of your recklessness. So you the prefect, you the terrorist republic that keeps the masses asleep, go throw yourself into the abyss that you created.

We should condemn you for pillaging, destruction of life, indirect long-term genocide of the human species, terrorism against a population, by repression,

### **2012.12.25**

#### **OPEN LETTER TO JOURNALISTS IN GENERAL AND TO RAPHAËL STAINVILLE (*LE FIGARO*) IN PARTICULAR**

On 7 December *Le Figaro* published Raphaël Stainville’s newest spittle, entitled “The Insurgents of Notre-Dame-des-Landes.” He permits himself within these sputterings to explain our defiance in regards to the press. He also handily demonstrates the reason behind our animosity to those journalists who continue to take offense at having been “rejected”: there are just too many Stainvilles in your profession!

Stranded in NDDL for three days, Stainville, weighed down by all his anti-leftist baggage (souvenirs from frequent visits to Le Pen...) came to sight-see at the ZAD. Maintaining his protective bubble of affronted rightist (not too different from that of any [extreme-right-wing] frontist) and carrying his most crass prejudices, he came “to meet with” those opposed to the airport project. Not giving a damn about all those who agreed to speak with him and to show him some of themselves, he threw them to the mercy of the readers of his rubbish. Even worse, based on a few scraps of information, he paints them in an odious and condescending fashion: for him, we are all Youth in Distress who come to the ZAD for the thrills. He sprinkles clichés throughout the article: pre-pubescents, pimply, paranoiacs, dirty, “black-blocs”, hash-smokers, good-for-nothings... As the brave little soldier of Dassault<sup>20</sup> he carried out his mission: discredit those opposed to the airport project by using the falsest, weakest images possible. Yes, because beyond his utter inability to write, Stainville shows us the true face of today’s press: mediocre and indentured to the most reactionary right wing, of which the journalists, well-trained products of major journalism schools, are only capable of vomiting back up wholesale information from their “police sources,” since they don’t know how to speak the same language as the population.

Stainville the Big-Time Reporter, like all the ideologues behind this witch hunt, loves to use a vocabulary which incites disgust, which renders us rats: we appear to be a filthy multitude moaning from the mud, ignorant, starving and brutal. His “article” calls us drop-outs, brutes and thugs who wander from city to city wreaking havoc. We’re portrayed like some kind of chaotic magma made up of punks, hippies and black blocs, crowding into the ZAD just to mix it up or settle their accounts with the living. As for the farmers, while hastily described (not appetizing enough for the ravenously anti-youth *Figaro* readers), they are no exception: the only impression of them left by Stainville’s piece is that they’re old and stubborn. Those who resist in Notre-

<sup>20</sup> Dassault is a French mega-corporation which owns, among other things, *Le Figaro*. Its CEO, Serge Dassault, is a billionaire and right-wing politician.



tribute a flyer around a breakfast. Once again, contact with workers turned out to be very positive, and some even thanked us for saving them a day of hard work under the rain, asking us to “hold out until Saturday.” For that matter we found one of those present at the preceding occupation of the VINCI Saint Hélier, who confirmed to us that all of the personnel (temps included) were paid despite the day’s work stoppage.

While relations with workers were favorable, even complicit, the interaction with the bosses stayed tense, the latter fully collaborating with the police.

Throughout the occupation, undercover cops hung around the site and the surroundings, above all preoccupied by the risk of deterioration and the use of the crane by militants.

The public demonstration called for 9:00am joined us about thirty minutes later, just when the National Police riot squad arrived to evict us (coincidence?). Around fifteen lightly equipped cops, coordinated by the undercovers present inside the site, charged us, requiring us to escape by an emergency access.

No arrests were observed.

At noon, a worker charged with an enormous basket crane was still in the process of removing the concrete slab, and it seemed that activity on the site barely restarted in the afternoon.

This occupation/blockade follows various actions that took place in Rennes: occupation of the VINCI Saint Hélier site on 14 November, disruption of the municipal council meeting on 10 December, facelifts of the facades of city hall, the PS office, and Rennes Métropole,<sup>19</sup> rally in front of the prefecture... In this way we affirm our solidarity with the resisters of the ZAD against the military occupation of the countryside and our opposition to the airport project.

Spreading the conflict beyond the ZAD appears necessary to us so as to multiply the centers of struggle and diffuse offensive practices against the politicians responsible for the project and associated companies like VINCI. We relay anew the ZAD’s call to engage in actions everywhere that the airport’s promoters are implanted.

VINCI NOWHERE  
NO TO THE AIRPORT!

<sup>19</sup> An inter-urban administrative body

endangerment of humanity’s chances of survival, collaboration with a mafia named “multinational,” organization of wrongdoers having collaborated to commit vandalism, endangerment of people with “non-lethal” weapons, participation in the extinction of living species, severe pollution of soil and atmosphere via kerosene and concrete, deportation of the local population to rent-controlled housing, endangerment of biodiversity and human relations. But not to shut you away in a deathly prison that you established, not to sentence you to death in a popular tribunal, no. But to employ you to enter all the radioactive sites, all the polluted sites to decontaminate them with the material that you give to the “simple” entry-level employee. To make you face the reality that you created, you the republic, you the boss, you the multinational, you the cop, you the State, you the patriarchy, you the fascist, you the collaborator.

– From the ZAD occupiers’ website

#### 2012.11.4

#### CALL FOR SUPPORT FROM THE INSURGENTS OF THE ZAD

#### The best defense is attack

For several days, the police commanded by JM Ayrault, defender of the interests of VINCI, have lead a military attack against the ZAD. We are enduring tear gas grenade blasts, charges, evictions, destructions of all kinds. However, we’re holding out. We’re defending our living spaces with only our bare arms against the assaults of an armada of 2000 heavily armed CRS and mobile guards. We’re defending the countryside against their predatory appetite. Messages of support rain in from everywhere. We need your support. We need your help to fight the destructive work of capitalism. From where you are, in any way attack VINCI, everywhere by any means. Because their weakening matters to us. Because our solidarity is stronger than their money. Because we are all fighting for a better and more just life. Because we refuse that the planet pay the price for their whims.

NO TO THE AIRPORT

– Zadist



A PS office is tagged:  
NO TO THE  
AYRAUPORT  
THE ZAD IS  
EVERYWHERE!  
TREMBLE

6 November 2012

### 2012.11.19

#### IN THE CRACKS OF A DYING WORLD: A DAY IN NOTRE-DAME-DES-LANDES

One o'clock in the morning, we're freezing in the car parked near an interchange. Behind us, finally: headlights. We get on the bus, greet the company, we sit back in our seats, and a night of broken sleep has begun. At 3am, bathroom break in the offices of the Farmers Confederation, where they would stay just fine. But they prefer embarking with us, and the trip continues. At 8am the bus arrives in Notre-Dame-des-Landes, I shiver – I've heard about this place! People arrive little by little. Tractors proudly display a sunflower on their bow. Look, Greenpeace is there, with a big yellow ball. And the narrow streets of the village fill up. Things won't get started before 11am. A small radio perched on a tractor broadcasts Klaxon, the pirate radio of the *zadistes* transmitting on 107.7, VINCI's frequency. As if to happily thumb their nose. There's a message of support from Mexico. The feeling of being part of a sole global struggle intensifies.

There's everything here: anarchists, autonomists, environmentalists, farmers, party and union members, the old, the young, clowns. Improvised bands that strike up rhythmic airs. A chorus of small children defying Ayrault by their words, and their hearts are in it! Art everywhere: graffiti on asphalt, on street signs, on walls of old farms. Along the side of the road, strangely shaped scarecrows bearing slogans each more affecting than the last. And the huge crowd deployed in a long strip in front our ravished eyes: there's so many of us! Several kilometers before we arrive at the *Zone À Défendre* (ZAD), during which we enjoy the countryside. It's as if the land prepared itself to receive us, putting on its prettiest fall finery. Meadows, magnificent trees, hedges in all directions. And water running in streams beneath our feet, passing under the road on the right and re-emerging on the left, snaking through the wetland.

In short, all those who were punctured by grenade shrapnel, who had a bit of their skeleton torn, were not necessarily in the process of committing the tortious act of responding to the cops' attacks. It suffices to just cross the bridge, to be on the side of struggle, to receive various stigmata on behalf of power. We've known that for a while already, it's not that which will make us surrender. They will never take the ZAD because we carry it with us, everywhere we are, we will make this world ungovernable.

– Website of the ZAD

### 2012.12.24

#### COMMUNIQUÉ OF THE OCCUPIERS OF THE VINCI CONSTRUCTION SITE FOR ALMA CENTER

#### Report-back from the occupation of the VINCI construction site for the Alma shopping mall in Rennes

This Wednesday 19 December, we were around thirty to block off the construction site of the Alma Center in Rennes managed by CMA, one of the numerous subsidiaries of the multinational VINCI, specialist in concreting land and concessionary of the future Notre-Dame-des-Landes airport. The expansion of the shopping mall destines it to become the largest in Brittany.

Despite the trigger of an alarm upon our entry and the premature arrival of security guards (whom we at first convinced that we worked on the construction site), we decided to continue the action. Besides the invasion of the site, this consisted:

- of the hanging of a banner on the main crane: "Solidarity with the ZAD"
- of the placement of dummies on the highest platform of the crane, giving the impression of a human occupation to necessitate riot squad intervention
- of the blocking of access to the crane's cabin, by blocking off one of the access platforms located 20 meters away with a baseboard covered by a slab of cinderblock, those connected by metal rails and cast in concrete.

During our occupation, no delivery truck could enter the site, some leaving whereas others parked, disrupting circulation in the zone's surroundings.

The site could not operate and none of VINCI's workers worked while we were present.

While they were assembled around the prefab, we went to meet them to dis-



tion action at the Nantes Christmas market were stopped and taken into custody. All three were released, without charges.

Tuesday night, three people (at least) were arrested in the ZAD: one of them was released yesterday (with or without charges?). Another had his custody prolonged by 24 hours, with strong chances then of making an “immediate appearance” today in St-Nazaire. The last person, no news.

That means it’s very likely that this afternoon some of these detained people will go before a judge for an appearance, at once at the Nantes court and that of St-Nazaire. A new imprisonment is to be feared!

So we encourage you to go to the courts of these two cities to attend the hearings (in the case that there are), so that at least those before the judge don’t feel alone. In St-Nazaire as in Nantes, the immediate appearances begin at 2:00pm.

Also summoned in Nantes this afternoon are two comrades who were arrested at the end of October (during the first arrests in the ZAD since the evictions) and refused their immediate appearances. So come support them.

– ZAD News Flash

## 2012.12.22

### WHEN A SOUND GRENADE BECOMES A DEVASTATING EXPLOSIVE

The equipment they use, those exemplary forces of order, is meant to be thought out scientifically, and if ever they permanently injure us, it’s because the instructions for use were not respected (since we’re on the side of common sense), it’s because the game was rigged. Because when they advance after three polite notices, we in theory retreat, and if not, the response is graduated, always non-lethal please. A spectacular *mise-en-scène* meant to shock, make one lose one’s sensory indicators, create injuries more impressive than real.

Except when one loses an eye, a toe, when one has an asthma or heart attack in the gas, and still then as the pigs are good at their roles as measured and republican cops, they evidently cannot accept that they had a good laugh at it and assure you that you are among those who didn’t understand the diagram, because they thought of everything so that nothing newsworthy would happen.

*La Vache Rit*,<sup>2</sup> finally, in the ZAD. A self-managed farm. A small concert is improvised on some bundles of straw. I cross a large space seething with vegetables and people, and I come to a small room. On the table, a map: that of the airport they want to build. And their project is explained to me. The oozing corruption. It makes something boil, in my gut. An anger that makes me set out again on the road, under a fine rain that had just begun, toward the heart of the ZAD. In a field, clowns play at riot control and bombard us with clumps of earth. The fools, they almost had me. We pass splendid Rohanne forest where resisters’ cabins were destroyed recently. A bit farther down the road we reach a huge field. In the middle, a circus tent has just been set up. Tents, cabins. *Zadistes* serve me a delicious organic squash-curry-coconut soup, and I pass through some woods to join the endless human chains passing each other planks, pallets, and buckets. People are sweating, talking, singing, laughing. On one side trailers are unloaded. On the other, nailing, assembling. Dry toilets grow like mushrooms. In the heart of the forest, wooden houses are built in front of my glazed-over eyes. We look at one another, stirred. Solidarity? It’s here, in front of us. Humanity? It’s all there is here.

“Too many people at this building site, look farther down!” We’re hundreds running from one side to another, from one trailer to another, offering our assistance. We talk to one another, we make connections, very quickly. We exchange a few words, a joke, a smile, emotion. A girl and I carry a heavy pallet. Clowns toss confetti at us. In between two tractors, a small band: “Let’s go, girls, dancing!” So we dance to their melody, while making sure not to slip in the mud with the pallet. During a well-deserved break, I asked myself, what is happening here? What are we doing? No need to over-intellectualize, it’s so obvious: we’re bringing to the surface another world. On the margins of their rotten world, of their dead world, is a world that is joyous, communal, and human. Open the smallest space and you’ll see it spring up. I would cry out. The slogans, the quotations, that flower throughout the ZAD are clear: the enemy is identified. It’s the whole system that is thrown into question. All the generations are here. So many young people ready to take over for the ancients of the Larzac and elsewhere. On a large banner: “NO to the airport and its world.” That’s really what it’s about. In Notre-Dame-des-Landes, we are reviving a joyous furor. We are fighting for land, for vegetables, for animals and trees. In short, we are fighting for life.

– Emmanuelle

<sup>2</sup> “The Cow Laughs,” one of the occupied sites in the ZAD

**2012.11.19**

**A SHORT REPORT-BACK FROM THE REOCCUPATION DEMO  
OF 17 NOVEMBER**

From 9 o'clock in the morning, thousands of protesters converged toward the village of Notre-Dame-des-Landes. Around 11 o'clock, an immense procession set forth toward the *zone à défendre* in a great jumble. Immense, but also full of people with different horizons: from the region and from the other side of France or Europe; young and older; families and groups in struggle; local committees and individuals... A procession of varied ambiances too between batucadas, choirs improvised or not, calm ballads and groups of clowns, sprinkled with a flag of the colors of the struggle: a red circle around an airplane crossed out. A happy group accompanied by tractors and trucks loaded with building frame pieces, various construction materials, big tents. By our count, there were around 40,000 protesters accompanied by more than 400 tractors. This large, popular demonstration showed once again the failure of the authorities' campaign to divide the opposition to the airport and its world.

Around 1:00pm, the front of the procession arrived at the reoccupation site while the end of the demo had still not left the village! While a welcome camp was being set up in a field, clearing started on the land chosen to host the new organizing site: a woods of chestnut trees scattered with clearings in the course of expropriation. We were lots to form a chain to carry construction materials unloaded from tractors to the end of the muddy road. The frames of the base structures were assembled very quickly. Meanwhile, in the field, a number of groups in struggle spoke about the struggles they're engaged in here and elsewhere against development of territory and the world that goes with it.

At the end of the day, the walls of the meeting cabin and collective kitchen are erected. We also build toilet blocks, dormitories, a workshop and furniture, and other small structures. Many other cabins brought during the day will be assembled in the days to come.

We were tens of thousands to occupy this new site for organizing the struggle against the airport and its world. That means good collective strength to intensify the struggle from here in the perspective of the works that are planned. We hope this collective strength also gives energy to all those who came from farther away to struggle against the projects and other shit being forced down their throats.

Last 15 and 16 December, a month after the reoccupation demonstration, more than 300 people representing 150 local support committees met in Notre-Dame-des-Landes to coordinate the actions and mobilizations of the weeks and months to come, to reaffirm their opposition without compromise to this project and the world that produces it, and to strengthen ties with other local struggles (UHV, high-speed trains, shale gas, concreting of farm land...).

Our immediate thoughts go to our two comrades in prison since their arrest on a barricade and at a police checkpoint, to our comrade still in hospital after taking a grenade in the foot Sunday night, as well as all the other injured or accused since the start of Operation César.

They will not discourage us. Resist, build, grow, occupy, reoccupy!

– *Occupiers of the ZAD*

**2012.12.20**

**REPORT ON THE ARRESTS OF THE LAST TWO DAYS**

Monday night, 10 people were arrested in the ZAD. For six of them, we no longer have news (they could be released or held in provisional detention); if you have news, call the legal team at 06.75.30.95.45. Four people went before a judge yesterday at the end of their prolonged custody, for an "immediate appearance"; one of them refused the appearance, the three others did not refuse it (which means accepting it): the person who refused to be judged in immediate appearance has a court summons for January. From here to their trial, she is under "judicial control" (she will have to go every week to the police station nearest her declared residence) + she is excluded from Loire-Atlantique. One person was jailed under a committal order, that is to say he was imprisoned immediately after his trial. He is sentenced to 2 months in prison + 6 months suspended sentence + upon his release, obligation to work, exclusion from the 6 districts of the ZAD and one year of probation. The two other people were sentenced to 3 months suspended + exclusion from the 6 districts of the ZAD.

So again someone in prison, convictions and a new trial in January for "assembly after summations," "violence against an officer" ... based only on dishonest declarations of police!

During the day Tuesday, three people who were readying to do an informa-

Following our announcement of the implementation of a revocation procedure, the Prefecture made known that it didn't intend to make use of the injunction authorizing the eviction of the Châtaigne. This signifies that a new procedure, this time nominative and adversarial, will be necessary to obtain the eviction of the site. After the police attack on the Châtaigne and the theft of our tools and materials 23 November, as well as the various forced entries on the legal front, it appears that the Prefecture is retreating.

It's funny to think again of the Prefecture's official communiqué affirming last Wednesday that the inhabitants of the Châtaigne had "no longer any right". Beaten at its own game, it must admit today that it will need to reinitiate a procedure to obtain the right to evict. If on our part we do not hide behind a "right"<sup>18</sup> that sides most often with the powerful, we will not let go on that terrain, more than on the others... Moreover, we don't intend to rely on risky procedures: opponents, farmers, inhabitants and associations remain ready on site to defend the Châtaigne and to react if necessary in the cities and towns everywhere else.

Despite the multiplication of prefectural decrees prohibiting the transport of materials, tools, fuels in the ZAD, despite the checkpoints, the harassment, the inspections and repeated arrests, the unlimited use of sound grenades, we haven't stopped supplying the cabins and building. Noon Saturday still, after a picnic on the road was gassed, a large flat-pack nursery transported on tractors succeeded in passing through the police ranks under pressure. If it's not out of a will to maintain a permanent point of tension, and to continue injuring the opponents, the presence of prefectural troops is no longer of any use. It's really time for them to pull out of the ZAD.

After the "governmental dialogue commission" proposes a first meeting in Nantes this week, we recall that the different components of the struggle on the ground are united in refusal of a puppet dialogue on the adjustment of the airport project. We won't make that mistake, particularly as evictions of farms, fields and habitats still threaten us and VINCI is announcing the continuation of implementation work. We are determined to resist until the withdrawal of the project.

If the pressure momentarily lets up in the Châtaigne, vigilance remains appropriate in all the other occupied habitats, among others the house of the Sècherie (Fosses Noires road) which could be evicted as of 27 December and which is calling for mobilization.

<sup>18</sup> Droit, meaning "right" in addition to "law".



A building under construction by Rohanne forest, 18 November 2012

Over here the struggle continues in the days to come: this weekend and next week to continue the reconstruction on the land occupied today, in Rohanne forest and elsewhere; next weekend for the monthly demonstration against the airport and its world in Nantes Saturday the 24th; and in the months to come to prevent the destruction of Rohanne forest and the first works on the roadblock planned in the months to come – rendezvous details will be transmitted on the website [zad.nadir.org](http://zad.nadir.org).

Where they thought they could empty the zone, the movement against the airport and its world is gaining strength. A collective struggle has only just begun.

– Occupiers of the ZAD

**2012.11.22**

**WE SHOULDN'T FORGET THAT WE'RE WINNING**

When we await the early hours of the morning in a little house or behind a barricade, telling ourselves that it really is difficult to not know when they will attack, it's easy to forget how the current situation on the ground is a victory:

- the D81 [road] has been "ours" for over three weeks (barricades or other obstacles, depending on the moment, set up on the asphalt);



- the Far Ouest, as well as other cabins, are still standing and occupied;
- the house of the Rosier, evictable since 16 November, is still happily inhabited, and defended by a whole bunch of people including farmers with their tractors;
- the road to the west of the Rosier is now “fitted” with splendid barricades;
- the house of the Sécherie obtained an extension until 27 December;
- Klaxon radio broadcasts throughout the zone;
- there is building once again in Rohanne forest, at the new site occupied since 17 November, and in lots of other woods or blackberry bushes...
- more broadly, there are people, we’re organizing to settle in and welcome others in the encampments, we’re reflecting on the future of the struggle.

And of course, beyond what is happening in the ZAD itself, it’s the whole dynamic of struggle against this project and the world that goes with it that has been reinforced since the start of the evictions, this crazy mobilization from everywhere, the 40,000 people who came here on 17 November, the collectives created in so many towns and countrysides... And who knows what awaits us still?

So, from time to time it’s worthwhile to say it again: we are in the process of winning, and on the other side they must be pretty bothered! Besides, one only has to read their pitiful declarations, exhorting good citizens to let the politicians think in their place, desperately waving the red flag of the ultra-left/anarcho-autonomous/whatever-frightens menace, trying again and always to divide opponents with calls to reason, coloring themselves regularly



Mobile gendarmes attack opponents in the forest, 23 November 2012

**2012.12.20**

**DEMONSTRATION AGAINST IMPRISONMENT THURSDAY 20 DECEMBER  
IN NANTES**

WHEN THEY IMPRISON, WE TAKE THE STREETS!

Over these two months of evictions, 80 arrests have been recorded. The first weeks had that strange taste of gentle war with cops smiling, making as few waves as possible. This last week, arrests took place every day. The injured can no longer be counted, immediate appearances come one after the other, sentences come down heavier and heavier. The cops don’t stop giving false testimony to convict the people they arrest. The PS-EELV “clean hands” strategy flunked, the airport project is showing its true face.

The strategy of power is to create an intolerable situation in the ZAD: permanent police presence, occupation and blockade of the central crossroads, identity checks and searches of vehicle trunks. For once, cops make no distinction between legal and illegal inhabitants, everyone can be prevented from leaving and returning home. It angers whether one has been there for years, a few weeks, or just to visit.

Tonight, someone finds themselves in the can, arrest the day before yesterday at midnight – detention – prolongation – immediate appearance – committal order – cell! Innumerable are those imprisoned to preserve the established order, but in this struggle they’re already the second. A few months in prison here, a few weeks in hospital there, “hey no one’s dead,” it remains acceptable to the project’s bearers.

Breaking individuals to weaken the movement is all they have left. Faced with that, our best weapon is solidarity.

DEMONSTRATION THURSDAY 20 DECEMBER 6:00PM PLACE DU  
BOUFFAY (NANTES)

– ZAD occupiers’ website

**2012.12.20**

**COMMUNIQUÉ: RETREAT OF THE PREFECTURE IN THE CHÂTAIGNE**

Since last week, the Châtaine, the space reoccupied with 40,000 people 17 November in the ZAD, has been threatened with eviction following an injunction.

ing a semicircle, the rumble became a thunder. Ear-splitting or guttural howls echoed, crudely cadenced: “Woe to you! Woe to you! Woe to you!” After a short silence, the incantation rose up, all roars and chanting:

“We are neither human nor animal, not even living or dead, not yet ghosts, already gone from the world.

Yet, we inhabit the burnt moors, the miry forests, the crescent rocks, we inhabit, or rather, we roam, insulting the unseen, stripping your mummies, all wastelands have known our corrosive orgies.

No calendar attests to our existence, no Empire could suspect the resurrection of our disgraceful pact, the fire of battle birthed us. We are not an army, we are the dregs of the world turned projectile, hardened to the lashes of vengeance, with each of your blows a certainty takes shape: your defeat will appear to us a bloody Feast.”

As an exuberant energy flowered around us, a warlike energy emerged too despite the ritual, brewing within it. The woods called us, but at the same time we could not withstand the vertigo that drew us toward the enemy. We moved ever closer together in a fray of endless noise. A second group formed on the road to the north. Blending in with the imprecations and fireworks, we saw several bottles of fire take flight. Progressively another atmosphere, more familiar, took hold: some met it with the same joy. Projectiles multiplied, insults started to fly. Shadows assailed the imbecilic bunch of police. Then, after an inaudible warning, a salvo of grenades covered the road and the field. A plaintive cry for assistance. A foot torn through a boot. A toe that may be amputated, a nerve hit, bones crushed.

It’s a war. We want it. But we decide to be even more prepared and coordinated to confront the aggression that faces us. It is time to bind ourselves definitively to the darkness, to stagnate still less beneath the spotlights, to relearn how to be everywhere at once. We will attack after dusk or in the middle of the day, when the noon sun darkens the earth by its black ray and opacity infects even the light.

It is time to become one with the night.

– ZAD

with implied xenophobia (“they are foreigners”, as though we didn’t all live on the same earth!). All these words suggest that they no longer really know how to deal with the thing...

And we don’t intend to let them retake control! The idea is to continue affirming our radical opposition to this project and to the system that supports it, and to act accordingly. It’s to strengthen the complementarity between our modes of action such that this struggle is enriched still on multiple fronts, each complicating the work of the deciders who would want to shut us up.

The airport will not be!



A *zadiste* throws back a police tear gas canister, 23 November 2012

**2012.11.24**

**URGENT – ZAD – DEMO – SATURDAY – DEFENSE OF THE REOCCUPATION SITE**

**Saturday 24 November, starting at 6am and all day Saturday and Sunday...  
Call to assemble massively around the Chataigneraie reoccupation site and the cabins in Rohanne forest**

The new cabins are still holding, let’s defend them!

Permanent camp info center established along the d81 between the place called the Domaines (la Vache-Rit) and the Rolandière.

Saturday 17 November we were 40,000 to come reoccupy and rebuild in

the ZAD. All week a new space of struggle was built in a field provided by an owner. New cabins were built in Rohanne forest. A magical week during which hundreds of people communized their skills, creativities, tools, materials and managed to construct a kitchen, dormitories, meeting rooms, toilet blocks, cabins in the trees...

Friday 23 November at dawn, we had to confront a new, massive police attack on the ZAD. The Rosier surrounded by the tractors of farmers in solidarity and by numerous barricades was attacked. The occupiers of the rebuilding site were ordered to leave after being tear-gassed in their beds. Rohanne forest was attacked. All day hundreds of people resisted, harassed the police, immobilized construction machines... The Rosier was finally destroyed, but the structures built all week on the reoccupation site are still standing, as well as most of the cabins in the trees of Rohanne forest.

On the reoccupation work site, the prefecture acted forcefully. Thanks to an emergency decree aiming to end construction work, it obtained the right to remove all tools and materials, and to seal off structures. We know it will try very soon to obtain the right to demolish them. We cannot let them. So we're calling for a massive gathering all day tomorrow around the reoccupation site and the forest to protest and prevent any destruction.

In parallel, a demonstration in Nantes at 3pm, Place Royale, is called by the Nantes Collective Against the Airport.

We thank all those who across France today blocked roads, protested the PS, VINCI, in front of prefectures... 50 rallies and actions organized in a few hours isn't nothing.

We hope that all this will continue in the coming days. This struggle is tomorrow and in the long term, we will win!

– *Call of the assembly of the 23rd at 7pm at la Vache rit*

## 2012.11.24

### COMMUNIQUÉ OF THE MEDIC TEAM

After weeks of occupation and police and military harassment, as we continue to defend the zone of programmed concrete, we reached, today, Saturday 24 November, a peak of violence with a hundred injured, including around thirty seriously who were taken in at the infirmary of the medic team established at the Vache Rit, one of the many care teams in the zone.

dozen in a row, still some dozen too many. Yesterday, in the cloud of tear gas, someone was seriously injured in the foot by a stun grenade and was hospitalized, facing possible amputation of her toe.

So, César, how far are you ready to take your carnage and how far will the demons of the night have to go to tear from you your ego?

The night is ours.

### The Black Ray (report-back from the evening of Sunday 16 December)

*The blazing gold of the great offering flooded the vault of the sky, Scorpion and hyena advancing as if lame and blind, Sand giving off smoking tears, And the storm on the horizon appeared to raise a horde riding toward the damned city.*

Al Morzad'Him Molat, *The Wound of the Desert*

Night had fallen long ago in the surrounding sky when our macabre cortege set off toward the Moulin de Rohanne. We were a hundred, maybe more, covered in iron, fire and bone, in any case immeasurable in our madness. What brought us so to life resembled ancient superstitions, old sorceries deemed obsolete. Also obsolete, a certain idea of community and all the rituals that gave it flesh. We are not nostalgic for the period when reality teemed with irrationalities. However, if it happens that the multitude that haunts the mud of the countryside is sometimes able to create community through them, and that then, what creates community maintains a certain relation to war, it may be that we could arrive at some power by such magical comedies. And first certain categories must be abolished that continue to burden the assessment of our acts. Namely for example the distinction between ostensibly symbolic acts and acts ostensibly of war. There should be but a continuum connecting our attacks, our voices, our presences, and which would be in any case the measure of our effectiveness. We can be effective, in other words impactful, thanks to a text or thanks to an ambush. What weaves these acts together could be called "enchantment." Understand us well: we intend to be as rigorous in matters of magic as any Leninist apparatchik in his day.

The procession carried on in the rustling of steps and murmurs, on Suez road, and in the forest and finally all along the edge of the last field. Spreading out, regrouping, vibrating in a kind of impatient anxiety. The sky burst with stars and our huge torches still lit up resembled pitchforks. Despite its obscene lights, the enemy heard nothing of the rumble approaching. Terror first struck when our army of torches invaded the space facing it. Four effigies in straw, stood up on wooden stakes, were immolated as a final threat. Form-



Yet seeing as the only weapon they have against us is violence and judicial repression, and as they have the sympathy of most of the media, why not try again...

This is therefore what came to pass on Sunday 16, when some comrades wished to say no to their constant oppression of the ZAD. Their “legitimate” (and yes, terrorist!) violence crashed down once again, and one comrade felt all the brutal consequences.

One comrade who is today (12/17/12) in the hospital with fractures of her tibia and toe, and missing one big toe (amputation!). The robocops used once again their favorite mutilation toy: the rubber-ball grenade.

But dear Mafio-sirs, know that your violence only feeds our determination, our rage and our hope to see your stupid airport plans crumble!

You’re out of arguments, so you use force... Every day, we become more numerous to declare your fall, that of the planned airport and of the world that goes with it!

This state terrorism will not stand!

– *Masked Brigade Opposed to Terrorists*

**2012.12.18**

**THE BLACK RAY**

**Woe to you!**

Yesterday, in the dark, torches exited the woods, mannequins on sticks were burned and incantations were made.

An attempt like any other to free us from the police presence, from this military occupation that has gone onnnnnnnnnnn now for several weeks. Day and night, cops are there, 3 or 160, just to say that they’re there, even if the crossroads security never made any sense.

Yesterday, after the voodoo ceremony ended, some people came to take over on the road, continuing to piss off the cops, telling them that they really, really should leave. The confrontations lasted until very late into the night, such that even from quite far away, one could hear stun grenade blasts, several

We count around twenty people hit by shrapnel from sound grenades, in the legs, in the arms, in the lip, in the lower stomach. These metal or plastic bits enter the flesh, they can rarely be extracted, and they often stay for life.

Sound grenades are supposed to be used according to a precise protocol: notably in case of encirclement of the forces of order, and in the direction of the sky, which was clearly not the case today. The police use them such that they explode next to or on protesters, causing serious injuries.

One person was hit in the lower stomach by shrapnel from one of these offensive grenades, causing a large hematoma and internal lesions. We note in two persons 10 impacts each in the legs. One person might lose their right eye. We note as well an eardrum wound due to a grenade blast, causing sudden deafness. Following Flash-ball shots, we count four injuries to the thorax, with rib fractures and shock, multiple injuries to the legs and hands, a hemorrhagic injury to the face. And many others injured.

It was difficult to evacuate the most seriously injured by ambulance or by special vehicle following the various police roadblocks. The scenes of an uninterrupted stream of injured from morning to night invokes the memory of the mass action against UHV (ultra-high voltage) electrical pylons in the Manche 24 June 2012 during which the forces of order put the same weapons to disproportionate use, injuring more than twenty in one hour.

The usual strategy of striking hard against those resisting their plans of destruction does not seem to be working here in Notre-Dame-des-Landes. Strength and determination are alive and well in our faces. We won’t give them anything.

**2012.11.25**

**COMMUNIST MEASURES IN NOTRE-DAME-DES-LANDES? OR, REFLECTIONS ON RESISTANCE AND ON CURRENT LIMITS TO THE RESISTANCE**

*The struggle against the NDDL airport is an attempt to breach the capitalist ramparts. Because for many, to attack capitalism, one has to start somewhere!*

*It’s 2000 ha that will first be razed and then paved over, with the insane goal of creating an international HQE (High Environmental Quality) airport. The part of the local population favorable to the project, which imagines profiting, makes it no laughing matter. But the rich will get richer and the poor, poorer. The realization of this airport project led by VINCI, a multinational*

*corporation present on every continent (in Khimki too, near Moscow, where VINCI wants to destroy the last local forest, and where the weak on-the-ground resistance faces ultra-violent far-right militias, and political assassinations are common), is going ahead with contempt for local populations, who launched a call to occupation in 2009.*

*The occupation has gone on then for two years, time used by a handful of anti-capitalist resisters to develop autonomy – dietary, cultural, and political. But the squat of this zone à defendre (ZAD) slows the work, leads to surveillance and repression of militants, and recently eviction procedures, but we will resist whatever the cost!*

*So today we make a call for the reoccupation of the sites and for international rebellion!*

*It goes without saying that when they evict us, we will resist!*

*(and international support is needed if we want to see the end of capitalism!) Against this rampant capitalism, and against the all-power of money, one solution, insurrection! (from the site zad.nadir.org/)*

There then is what scares them: autonomy, attack, insurrection. They know the relative fragility of the society of capital in this current moment of restructuring in which a situation dawns, a time of hierarchical redeployment of the constitutive authorities of the society of capital, a time of uncertainty. At the heart of this situation there are possibilities, potentialities as much for capital as for its antithesis, communism. There is also and above all a necessity: the ideological struggle by which each dynamic will tend to lead it right to the end, until the abolition of one or the other of its opposing forces. For capital then it is a matter of maintaining its hegemony and deepening its hold in minds, eradicating all contestation that could take the appearance of a localized abolition of its order and its rules. More than defending the construction of this airport, it's really a matter of attacking the insolence of a band of "anarcho-autonomous ultra-leftists" vindicating another way of conceiving social life, of building differently social relations no longer mediated by the categories of the society of capital.

The struggle of the puppets of "politics" and of those they serve, the capitalist class itself in service of capital for its greater good, is then an ideological struggle. They have no choice but to take it all the way. To make of Notre-Dame-des-Landes a concrete desert in order to further reduce the distance between consumers and merchandise. But above all, to impose by force of Law the necessity of all this and to reveal it as sole "alternative" to the naive face of the proletariat awaiting solutions to current problems. Any radical

propagate revolt without waiting, so as to end this hierarchized and deathly society.

The ZAD is everywhere  
For a society without masters and slaves

– Friends of anarchy

## **2012.12.16**

### **WANT TO AMPUTATE MILITANTS? CALL ON THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND ITS ROBOCOPS! ON STATE TERRORISM IN THE ZAD...**

On the evening of Sunday 16 December, a few comrades tried to dislodge a group of dangerous cops who have blocked a square close to the ZAD organizational hub for several days.

With repeated searches, restrictions on free movement, identity checks, daily humiliations and provocations, these dangerous terrorists have for the past week dedicated themselves ceaselessly and fullheartedly to maintaining a regime of terror over the ZAD.

These comrades had no choice but to react to this military occupation of a territory that rightfully belongs to those who live there, who grow there, who love and connect there. They had no choice but to react and to oppose these guard-dogs of the Socialist Party and Capital, and to persuade them (it being useless to just ask) to go back home, see their families and maybe try to reflect on the use(lessness) and violence of their chosen occupation.

But of course, the hierarchy cannot see things this way, from its comfortable seat in cozy offices, sipping its expensive whiskey and strategizing over a map of the divided territory, thinking certainly of the new profits and Mafia contacts this new project could bring. So these bureaucrats, these business-school alums, these Mafiosos of the modern-day, they don't like it much when we try and relocate these "respectable" robocops who are so integral to their dirty business!

So as they realize that in spite of their impressive mobilization, our own grows bigger each day along with solidarity for diverse tactics in response to their daily acts of oppression, these Mafiosos say to themselves that if they hurt some of us, they'll manage to terrorise us! And yet the phase of violent repression of 23 and 24 [November] has only reinforced our rage and solidarity!

Despite the police occupation of the city, this demonstration showed again our determination and our solidarity in the face of all repression.

Freedom for Cyril.

Surrender nothing. Rage and courage: we will win.

– *Indymedia Nantes*

## 2012.12.16

### THE ZAD IS DEAD, LONG LIVE THE ZAD!!!!!!!!!!!!

[Flyer found during the demo against the NDDL airport on 15 December]

Around the ZAD, it's daggers out when a question of defending the occupations against cops, and the rest of the time we build... Support committees are forming across all of France, and in numerous places attacks, revolts and acts of solidarity flay social peace.

In shared struggle many reconsider the citizen consensus, their prejudices on violence, and discover paths of subsistence other than submission to the rules of the State and capitalism. Points of view meet, are exchanged, evolve, no one will leave unscathed. This is what makes us say that there emanates from the ZAD a revolutionary aroma of the best kind.

One must nevertheless understand that Notre-Dame-des-Landes for us is like elsewhere. The ZAD could be a lunar desert, and they could want to build there rent-controlled housing or a school, we would fight it with the same rage and the same determination. Because ultimately, the manner in which they want to develop NDDL is the same that manages our daily life. It's the arrangement of space by power, constant surveillance, the occupation of streets by armed forces and the economic apartheid that each time you go out for smokes slaps you a thousand times in the face. The world of the airport is there, in social atomization, in the wage system, in the imprisonment of the least cooperative, in the "blunders" and "accidents" of work.

And as we like the taste of liberty and not so much the stench of control, well we struggle: refusals, revolts, a few escapes and when it's opportune we attack. By day as by night, alone or with many discreetly or lost in the crowd; the targets are myriad, one must only choose without waiting.

Because servitude is a crime that justifies all the others, it rests with each to

(taking things at the root) contestation must then be banished from the public sphere. Any discordance then cannot spread beyond what capital could tolerate for a time, the time to be amused by those hippies and their shacks in the trees. But that time is done, we're finished laughing, it's time to whistle the end of the game and prevent an experience and a struggle starting to take shape in the social body (the famous "cyst" of Valls – priceless, that guy!) from spreading further.

But the question is whether this struggle would really have been able (or would be able, since it was not at all finished on this day, 24 November 2012) to spread to the heart of the machinery of the market: into the sector of production, to connect with (relatively little) existing struggles in the regional factories. Or, in other words, would it have been able to use the autonomous onsite dynamic that it built with a part of the local population, to spread and carry forward toward the heart of production and of social reproduction the iron of revolt?

The struggle against the airport of NDDL is a precious experience of what can be carried out locally, in building autonomy and in defending it. But it is also precious in the sense that it shows that it could only be an attack on capital (yet it's as such that some of its protagonists present it: against the airport and its world!) if this fragmentary autonomy concerning but one sector of rural life surpasses itself at some point and connects with other struggles in other sectors of capitalist social life, namely the factories, the ghettos, the struggles of the unemployed, the struggles of the worker proletariat, etc. To build oneself an identity through such a struggle is to positively affirm oneself in constructive opposition to an enemy, but it's also to take root in a position of which the particularity tends to confine its actors strictly within a defense of autonomy, the result of which is to attract a mob of vultures at a loss for representativeness (EELV and *Front de Gauche* members of parliament among others, ATTAC and other "alternativists").

That being said, the tipping point is never far, and the political and economic officials know it well. If the buzz created by this struggle spreads, then certain links will be possible with other struggles, other angers, in other zones closer to the heart of the sacrosanct commodifying dynamic of capital. And so then BOOM?!? Valls, VINCI and consorts on Mars... There will nonetheless be a limit to overcome, that of the mediations of the society of capital, up against which is the struggle in Notre-Dame-des-Landes. Because this struggle is contradictory like all those taking place right now: to attempt to expand, they cannot prevent the entry of, on one hand, the diffuse mediations of simple exchange (the farmers and the "alternative"), and on the other, the opportunist presence of political mediation ("green" members of parliament, *Front de*

*Gauche*, etc., or “negotiator” organizations).

Communist measures have been and remain to this day applied on these 2000 hectares in Notre-Dame-des-Landes, as well as even outside of this now symbolic place (by support committees elsewhere in France). But it will take quite a lot more to initiate a sustainable process of communization. Or let’s say that the latter remains circumscribed within this struggle and this cause, that of the defense of a site, of a vision of production, of the earth. Could struggle in its course abolish production and the mediations that are the process of capital (and counter-revolution)? Could it irreversibly expand the practices and immediate social relations between individuals engaged in conflict?

Capital necessitates also its limit, directly, violently in the material form of helmeted decerebrates trying to put an end to the experience, and above all the expansion of this struggle beyond the markings of mediation, of negotiation. It knows that there is a risk in this period of disruption, and that explains the panic of the henchmen, the ministers, the capitalists, the prefects and others. The youth recoils? Then the senile (age is no criterion) must retake control... to save their own life!

This struggle will at least serve as example, will show that self-organization is the first act of revolution... but that what comes after will work against it. In this it deserves respect and support. What dawns through this struggle and many others in other places (in Egypt, Tunisia, South Africa, Greece, Italy, etc.) is the present culmination of the contradiction – between classes and between genders and which we may identify as the commodifying dynamic of capital – which can no longer resolve itself by the affirmation of one of its terms. It becomes necessary now to oppose the Unity of humanity to the Totality of capital.

– Max L’Hameunasse

## 2012.11.25

### ON THE BARRICADE CONSIDERED AS ONE OF THE FINE ARTS

The show was worth the effort Saturday 24 November in Rohanne forest, where the collective resistance hit new heights of intensity, determination, and coherence. Bottles, stones, earth, rockets, fireworks, molotov cocktails, pieces of wood and steel marbles... cops, they’re like pigs: they’ll eat anything. Good for them: through two days opponents throughout the ZAD offered them a copious and varied menu, the “Notre-Dame-des-Landes special.” Of course, the blues are not exempt from this generosity so particular to

Lots of anticapitalist and anti-cop banners and chants. The objective of converging in front of the courthouse, on Nantes Island, to demand the immediate liberation of Cyril – sentenced to 5 months in prison following the ambush by a commando of infiltrator cops – is prevented by a line of cops blocking access to the footbridge. It was also planned that those affected by repression would be able to speak, give accounts, discuss repression in front of the symbolic building.

The tension rises, the cops aren’t reassured. They take a few paint eggs, a few firecrackers and some gravel. They take the opportunity to copiously pepper-spray the front of the demo, which responds all the more intensely: smoke bombs, bottles... Tear-gas grenades are thrown, but also what seems to be a rubber-ball grenade (?) explodes in the crowd.

The big Gloriette parking lot is captured in a thick fog of tear gas, many passersby are poisoned by the gas, a child faints.

The demo cut into three parts is rewelded to set off again in a procession downtown as a column of trucks of mobile gendarmes suddenly appears. Far from dispersing, several hundred protesters occupy the tram intersection, singing and dancing, then set off toward the prefecture: word spreads that demonstrators were arrested by the BAC.<sup>16</sup>

*“Libérons la ZAD, et tous nos camarades/Libérons Cyril”, “Qui sème le béton, récolte les pavés” ...<sup>17</sup>*

Over there, a welcoming committee almost like for a counter-summit, by now almost habitual in Nantes, awaits us: wide anti-riot railings on two boulevards, anti-riot truck with water cannon, rows of cops along the entire width of Morand bridge, BAC-like. A veritable vice.

The crowd sets off again on 50-Otages Avenue where the tension rises anew against the gendarmes mobiles.

Back to Place du Commerce: the demonstrators disperse into the night.

<sup>16</sup> The Anti-Criminality Brigade, a subdivision of the French National Police focused mainly on petty crimes, sometimes operate undercover in protests.

<sup>17</sup> “Liberate the ZAD, and all our comrades/Liberate Cyril” and “[They] who sow concrete, harvest paving stones”



in advance. As mentioned during the assembly of 18 November, we think it would be wise to set up a presidio a few days before the opening of the construction sites to pre-empt the arrival of the bulldozers. It would be set up in the same place as the sites. Secondly, a demonstration upon the opening of the sites would be foreseeable. In Italy, the NO-TAV movement terms presidio those encampments where the logistical means for welcoming, for food, and for sleeping are gathered for the arrival of a large number, in the perspective of a targeted offensive on construction sites. The presidio is the material condition for fighting and living together. The habit we would make of rotating between towns (proposal 1) would help us build and maintain the presidio.

– *Assembly on the ZAD, Maison de la Grève, 12 December 2012*

## 2012.12.16

### NANTES 15 DECEMBER: AGAINST ALL REPRESSION, *OUTRAGE ET RÉBELLION*<sup>14</sup>!

In response to the military occupation of the *Zone À Défendre*, to the multiple persons injured by the assaults of the forces of Order, to the arrests in the struggle against the airport, but also to the police context in Nantes: city under siege, mutilations, police impunity, beatings or daily harassment... a demonstration against repression took place Saturday 15 December in Nantes: “*Outrage & rébellion!*”

At Place du Bouffay, the crowd of already a few hundred people sets off, it won't stop growing throughout the march: between 1000 and 2000 people at the height of the demo. Among the demonstrators, individuals and collectives against the airport project, the “a roof for all” collective and many other rebels from Nantes and elsewhere.

“*Police nationale, milice du capital!*”, “*VINCI dégage, résistance et sabotage!*”<sup>15</sup>

The demonstration climbs the major downtown arteries in full Christmas buying fever. A long red carpet in a bourgeois shopping street is moved, the demo sings, shouts, rumbles to the rhythm of percussion.

<sup>14</sup> A set of offenses under the criminal code of France, where *outrage* is defined as speech, acts, or threats which harm the dignity of a public official, such as a cop, and *rébellion* refers to “violent resistance” against such a person.

<sup>15</sup> “National police, militia of capital!” and “VINCI get out, resistance and sabotage!”

them, delivering astounding amounts of tear gas, stun grenades, and rubber bullets, which can become annoying; during one of these countryside guerilla sequences of legend where things explode in every direction, I was lit up by a Flash-ball, without consequence.

Ah! one had to see the people of the meadows by their presence at the tree line defending the masked combatants forced to leave the woods to fall back, hungry for clean air, anonymity, conviviality. How one had to be with this crowd of people with faces uncovered dancing as close as possible to the lines, to the point of jostling the cops, and applauding the Irregulars protecting them in turn by blows of rocks and branches against the panicking cops (imagine: a circle of braves singing a *ridée*<sup>3</sup> arm in arm), after they had gassed them. At one point a commando of over-equipped pigs tried to get around an enormous upturned tree stump behind the mound of humus out of which a number of comrades had fashioned refuge, in order to dislodge the stronghold where many attacks began.

In these dense, humid thickets, the movement of the chickens was made all the more difficult that behind each tree, lying low at the edge of the ditch the comrades were all frozen, projectiles in hand ready to fire. Right behind us came the *pétroleuses*,<sup>4</sup> with bags of rocks to distribute: suddenly dozens of valiant spirits were equipped with a means of defense, and all were united around a single objective: preventing the cops from advancing. Time was suspended... No one was over-confident, but how we had courage! And how we were beautiful, all together defying them to pass! And so, in the sights of the first line of shooters, covered by the second and third lines of stone-throwers (*morbleu!*) they didn't succeed.

It would take them 12 hours to dislodge the opponents set up in the canopy, cut down ten trees and destroy a cabin. My friends, I tell you in truth: we are legion, whatever they wreck, we will rebuild. As for the trees, there remain millions. Two days earlier, I was in the company of an accordionist friend with whom, sitting atop a barricade on Suez road, I savored a glass of muscatel, not far from the Rosier. We spoke about art, about improvisation, about beauty, and it appeared to us that whatever our role in life, it is vital to cultivate one's individuality. From then on, struggling in Notre-Dame-des-Landes has meant offering to all hope, strength, the courage to live a dream.

Because it's a dream, and it's blooming endlessly.

<sup>3</sup> A genre of song and dance native to southern England

<sup>4</sup> Women accused of using petrol to start fires during the Paris Commune in 1871

**2012.11.25**

**IN RESPONSE TO THE GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSAL OF A  
DIALOGUE COMMISSION**

Having learned of the government's will to open negotiations with the different parties present in the struggle, we decided to make known our demands:

- Closure of all businesses of more than 12 employees;
- Life annuity for all workers;
- 20 hours of sunlight in winter;
- Multiplication by 8 of all minimum social benefits;
- Welfare for all, attributed at birth (and for the aborted too);
- Removal of TV hosts' hair implants;
- Replacement of nuclear energy by ministers pedaling;
- Transformation of the Elysée into a wetland;
- All letters to Santa Claus to be received and fulfilled by the government;
- Manuel Valls as well as everyone at Defense and the Interior tattoo "Fuck the police" on their foreheads;
- That the Académie française<sup>5</sup> accept and use SMS language;
- That after the death of Jean-Marc Ayrault, it be inscribed on his tomb, "the ZAD killed me";
- That the Earth turn in the other direction;
- Postpone the end of the world (to well after 21 December);
- Same weather in Lille as in Marseille, but without Mistral;<sup>6</sup>
- *La Marseillaise*<sup>7</sup> will be replaced by a children's nursery rhyme sung backward;
- Spiritualist sessions will be reimbursed by social security;
- Pipelines will be reserved exclusively for transport of fruit juice;
- For each animal killed, a parliamentarian will be sacrificed (even when an ant is squished by accident);
- 20 to 30 hectares of land granted to everyone having visited or lived in the ZAD (plus a tractor or helicopter if wished);
- That negotiations be prohibited.

This list is open and non-exhaustive.

– Zone À Défendre

<sup>5</sup> The pre-eminent authority on the French language

<sup>6</sup> A strong, cold wind in France

<sup>7</sup> The French national anthem

tory is placing power in difficulty. Let's agree then on this: each group chooses its modes of action, night sabotage reinforces the noisy demonstration, evening fundraisers support blockades of highways, and vice versa.

**The ZAD anticipates**

The government delayed by six months the destruction of the forest and the opening of the construction sites. This time, it believes, will be enough to secure the zone, that is to say spread the military occupation and prevent all possibility of inhabiting the spaces. This "climb-down" gives us time to anticipate at best. So, the game will be reversed: it will be our turn to dislodge the machines. Anticipation is a quality of the first order. If the reoccupation demonstration of 17 November was a success, it's because it was planned well

**NON À L'AÉROPORT!** NO TO THE AIRPORT!  
VINCI GET OUT!  
DEMONSTRATION  
SATURDAY 8 DECEMBER 2012  
3:30PM PLACE DU 8 SEPTEMBRE  
[Besançon]

**MANIFESTATION**  
SAMEDI 8 DECEMBRE 2012  
15H30 PLACE DU 8 SEPTEMBRE

**Response demo  
(Marseille, Notre-Dame-des-Landes  
support committee)**

In case of eviction in the ZAD  
Rally Place Castellane  
7:00pm the same day  
8:00am the following day

**No to the airport  
and the world that goes with it!**

**Manif de riposte**  
(Marseille, comité de soutien  
Notre-Dame-des-Landes)  
En cas d'expulsion  
sur la ZAD  
Rassemblement  
Pl Castellane  
19h00 le jour même  
8h00 le lendemain

**Non à l'aéroport  
et au monde qui va avec !**  
<http://zad.nadir.org>



sharing is elaborated, an intention sharpens to not get used to the police presence. In Rennes, it is this movement that we would like to prolong. Which is why we are submitting to the debate of the 15th and 16th these three proposals.

### The ZAD for all

The ZAD is no longer the affair of a few and has gone well beyond solely the construction of an airport. After weeks of battle, a few hundred against mobile gendarmes, thousands of people conquered a new terrain called “the Châtaigneraie.” In that, we can say that victory is not only ahead of us, it is already present in what we have succeeded in taking on in terms of political desires and practices. We need to prolong on site the multiplicity of presences. How? What we propose is to organize ourselves in the perspective of a continual rotation of anti-airport committees, groups or associations in the ZAD, and this until the end of winter – initially. In addition to more or less regular comings and goings, particular weeks see the light of day: to the ten days of resistance to the military occupation of the Châtaigneraie answers an invitation by Kulon Progo to defend the Sècherie from 27 December to 3 January and to celebrate the new year. It would suffice that each town takes on one week: cooking, building, hosting radio, maintaining the NO-TAVerne, organizing discussions, greeting guests, etc. If desired, different faces may appear in the course of the weeks. The important thing is to maintain a presence in the ZAD that corresponds to the wager of 17 November, to the European scale that the situation has reached.

### The ZAD everywhere

A new type of movement has been born with a power of contamination that surprised us all. The 22nd and 23rd of November, when hundreds of people fought the police who wanted to evict the Rosiers and raid the Châtaigneraie, there arose actions, blockades and occupations everywhere, of all kinds. That which is spreading largely surpasses support, emerging from the trees are relations of power winding through the zone.

Here and there, organizing to make noise, occupy the police, city halls, construction sites. And we are right. As a police unionist recently indicated to us in le Télégramme: “There must not be other major events like this in France or demonstrations across the country. It’s not possible to manage long-term and to maintain such numbers at only one site.” Let’s take him at his word and insist again and again on that double movement that unites concentration and decentralization. At the same time as we decide on high points when numbers are necessary, our capacity to maintain tension across all of the terri-

**2012.11.25**

### FIRE TO THE COLLABORATOR CORPORATIONS

On Sunday 11 November, we launched our counterattack against the death machines that have been pillaging the forest and our homes. The Blanchard Corporation, which rents the machines that destroy trees and cabins in the forest, was attacked by night. The two largest machines were burned and are presently incapacitated.

We are not surprised by the media’s total silence, no info was given by the prefecture to the press regarding these attacks on collaborator companies. One must recall that in the past, every company that worked on the ZAD was counterattacked and never came back. The silence on the part of the prefecture clearly demonstrates their fear of no longer being able to find companies willing to collaborate in exchange for a fistful of cash. The next time we’ll just have to find a worker to burn along with the steam shovel, then at least we’ll be sure to make headlines!

In the meantime, we must reassure the other companies. Don’t be jealous, we’ll come and thank you personally, one by one. We’ve got plenty of time. It’s impossible to protect all these sites in the long term.

Cop by cop, machine by machine, we will destroy your means of destruction!

– *Some angry residents!*

**2012.11.25**

### OUTBURST OF POLICE VIOLENCE IN ROHANNE FOREST.

**VALLS ‘CYST’ MY ASS!!!**

**Outburst of police violence in Rohanne forest. More than fifty injured and many comrades disappeared.**

Yesterday [Saturday 24 November], throughout the day the forces of disorder encircled Rohanne forest to secure the bulldozers coming to destroy the cabins in the trees.

The cops placed themselves along the length of the D81 between the Saulce crossroads and the Rolandière starting at 4 o’clock in the morning. Around 6 o’clock, they once again invade the forest in order to wreck our living spaces.

The major presence in solidarity of people having come to support the *zadistes*

enduring the repression of the socialist State since 16 October had no effect on the limitless savagery employed by the helmeted terrorists.

Many direct shots of tear gas, pepper spray, Flash-balls, sound and rubber-ball grenades, as well as the numerous arrests and lynchings that followed, never damaged the determination of the resistance that grows from day to day in the ZAD, across France and beyond.

More than fifty of our comrades were injured more or less seriously, by numerous Flash-balls and direct shots of tear gas, and grenade shrapnel embedded in flesh. Many of our pals were evacuated by firefighters to the region's hospitals.

The cops did all they could to delay, even prevent, the evacuation of the injured, some of our comrades had to wait more than an hour before being evacuated, cops having blocked access to the fire trucks.

The terrorist armed forces were indeed there to pulverize with their weapons and injure the maximum number of people, regardless of their age. Retirees were lynched right under our eyes! Children were copiously gassed in an extremely dangerous context given the many direct shots. On what side is there irresponsibility?

The presence on site of many older people and children effectively changed nothing in the savagery employed by the forces of disorder having come one more time to permit the collaborator companies VINCI/AGO's machines of destruction (cranes, excavators, loaders) to desecrate the forest by destroying cabins and uprooting many trees.

Seeing all the resisters on site shouting in unison "VINCI get out, resistance, sabotage" shows that the struggle is taking a new turn and that all the people coming to the ZAD to join it are paying the price for the barbarism employed by the terrorist armed forces of the socialist State.

The pigs finally left the forest at about 10pm, to return and invade the ZAD an hour later by again blocking Rohanne forest and the Saulce junction in order to attack the barricades set up on Suez road and prevent any future reoccupation of the forest. The cops are still present this Sunday at the Saulce crossroads. Military occupation 24 hours a day in the ZAD, then.

The government, which seems to be navigating rudderless, announced in stride through the Ministry of the Environment (sic), Agriculture and Transport a freeze of tree clearings in the ZAD for a period of 6 months as well as

*Why did we hold a non-mixed meeting?*

*Between "men" (people who see themselves in this category or who have been socialized as such), there are no girls to rescue, infantilize, seduce. We thus limit the relations of seduction and/or of power between men and women. We free a bit more of the speech that might not have been expressed in a mixed setting for fear of accusation of sexism. We limit the leanings to play at "no one is more anti-sexist than me" in front of the girls. In short, the non-mixed setting is a tool which allows for cutting short harmful sexist dynamics as well as for discussing and organizing... against sexism.*

*This text intends especially to elicit discussions, anyway it was still the source of debate between us when fatigue and cold interrupted us. It's not to be taken then as a "clear cut" position of the participants in non-mixed "men's" meetings.*

#### **2012.12.10**

##### **"FREE TOLL" ACTION IN POITIERS**

A "free toll" action was conducted Friday 7 December at the exit of highway A10, property of the VINCI corporation, in Poitiers. We were around forty participating in this action in solidarity with the inhabitants of the *Zone à Défendre* (ZAD) of Notre-Dame-des-Landes and affirming our determination to oppose the "Grand Ouest" airport project and all useless and deathly projects (high-speed trains, ultra-high-voltage power lines, etc.). We are pleased with how the action went: on one hand, the police dispatched did not manage to interfere with the action, nor to check the identities of the people present; and, on the other hand, the support displayed by drivers confirmed to us the growing sympathy in favor of the struggle against the airport and the VINCI corporation.

*– Poitiers Committee Against the Notre-Dame-des-Landes Airport*

#### **2012.12.13**

##### **FROM RENNES, PROPOSALS FOR THE MEETING OF THE ANTI-AIRPORT COMMITTEES 15 AND 16 DECEMBER IN NOTRE-DAME-DES-LANDES**

It isn't easy to define what is happening in the ZAD, nor to understand how so many places and people, throughout France, have been affected by the situation. Furthermore, one feels that this movement breathes secession: a new geography is outlined, new relations are experimented with, a habit of

**2012.12.10****DISCUSSION ON SEXISM, HOMOPHOBIA AND OTHER RELATIONS OF DOMINATION AND HOW TO CONFRONT THEM (MIXED)**

*This text and this invitation are the products of two discussions that occurred during non-mixed meetings of “men,” meaning people who see themselves in this category or who have been socialized as such.*

A sexist, chauvinist, homophobic and virilist atmosphere has crystalized in collective spaces and moments in the ZAD. Girls have tools taken from their hands on construction sites, are implicitly and explicitly told that their place is not there. Conversely, it is a large majority of girls who cook and take on cleaning tasks in collective spaces, whereas a majority of guys hold down the barricades. A gay couple is followed, insulted, and threatened with a knife, and so far no one has responded... Other sexist or homophobic attacks have been made public. Beyond these most spectacular manifestations, it is a general atmosphere that actually excludes girls, gays, lesbians, queers, trans people and other “abnormals.”

We want to help create spaces and moments where girls, gays, non-whites and other minorities can feel good, not the oppressors. Because our silence is complicit we want to clearly signal that it is sexist, homophobic, racist, ableist conduct that is not welcome here. Because we fight not only an airport but the world that comes with it, we do not accept relegating questions of relations of domination to a secondary standing on the pretext of a “sacred union” against the airport project.

Sexism is too often in “the others,” the “not deconstructed,” those “outside the ZAD” or of course the “bearded islamists” for the mainstream version. It’s too easy to believe in getting rid of sexism by excluding a few macho types, handy scapegoats for avoiding overly questioning oneself.

We, guys, mostly white, straight and able-bodied, participating in this non-mixed meeting of “men” recognize our privileged position in this patriarchal world and wish to conduct the business of its meticulous sabotage, betraying the dominant class that is ours, as much as possible. This implies deconstructing the gendered education that we received, this implies unlearning sexist domination.

To talk about all this and to start together, we invite you to a mixed discussion at the Chat-teigne Friday the 14th at 6pm. Join us at 4pm to organize the discussion.

the creation of an administrative bureau, etcetera, whatever, while at the same moment the socialist police State’s henchmen were literally bashing people of all ages in an outburst of extraordinary violence.

Screwing with us, or new provocation of the terrorist *ripoux-blicain*<sup>8</sup> State, no matter. Nothing will shake our determination to force the retreat of this degenerate Government that orders its armed guard dogs to massacre the activists that came to the ZAD to defend the forest and the last living spaces still standing.

The search for a legitimacy that would center on a so-called state of right, which the State itself is the last to apply, shows everyone that it’s only a matter of permitting a big company like VINCI to command all the forces of law and order to impose on populations revolted by an insane political world an absurd Airport project by any means.

Let’s bring the State and VINCI/AGO to their knees, until they suffocate on their own venom.

We will avenge our friends who were bashed by the police scum.

We will rebuild ALL that was destroyed! And even more!!!

Immediate liberation of all our comrades!

Valls, Ayrault, *kyste* my ass!

VINCI get out,  
resistance, sabotage!

– *Inhabitants in resistance*

**2012.11.28****A COMRADE IS SENTENCED TO 7 MONTHS IN PRISON FOR RESISTING ROBOCOPS ON THE BARRICADES! SOLIDARITY WITH OUR COMRADE! FIGHT THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND STATE JUSTICE!**

[corrected 11.29: the comrade reported to have received a 7-month sentence was in fact sentenced to 5 months]

The State has apparently decided to hit hard, in order to destabil-

<sup>8</sup> *Poux* are lice; a play on *r publicain* (the French Republic)

ize the current battle over the planned Notre-Dame-des-Landes airport. This only reinforces our determination to put an end to the military occupation of the ZAD, and to resist this planned airport defended with violence by a State under the thumb of Capitalism!

You can now support the 3 comrades who received their sentences today in immediate appearance, including the one who received 7 months in prison by sending messages to the ZAD via the following address: zad@riseup.net

Protest in front of every Socialist Party office to show your rage and solidarity with the comrade thrown in the State's slammer! Ask PS supporters among your friends to tear up their cards and send them back to their association, because the Socialist Party is so in name only, and has shown once again that it's worthy of methods resembling a dictatorship!

They want to gag us, shut us away, mutilate us, but with each passing day they only succeed in feeding our resistance!

All *zadistes*!

...

Here is the summary of the ruling, from the ZAD news flash of 11/28/12:

*The three friends who were arrested by plainclothes cops, having just received the summons for their immediate appearance, were subpoenaed for violence against a police officer.*

*For the first, a sentence of 7 months. Banned from the Loire-Atlantique region for five months after his release, with the exception of his residence, with a judicial review for violence against a police officer and for carrying a weapon. This comrade has appealed. But he has been taken directly to prison!!*

*For the second, a suspended sentence of 2 months for having been behind the barricades (unlawful assembly).*

*For the third, a suspended sentence of 6 months and a 500-euro fine for refusing to provide DNA, and a ban from the Loire-Atlantique region for 2 years.*

**THINK HARD BEFORE ACCEPTING AN IMMEDIATE APPEARANCE AS YOU WILL HAVE NO CHANCE TO PREPARE YOUR CASE. It is always preferable to refuse, because the penalties are always**

the road as soon as possible and return to the camaraderies and damp lights of the countryside. If we travel to Notre-Dame-des-Landes it's not out of a taste for uprooting or in search of exotic adventures but before all because we also live somewhere. We know that what's playing out there is also what will make us more able to stand together at home, with others: to save other lands, prevent other evictions, build other existences denser and more autonomous... This collective challenge – against the steamrollers of the economy and the reorganization of the territory – necessarily summons others.

What is appearing in Notre-Dame, on these 1600 hectares recalcitrant to their “progress,” is the manner by which the social order is habitually maintained, but also its fragility when a part of the population decides en masse to no longer believe in it and to stand together. What we find here is a contagious hope that for two months soon has overturned separations and resignation. To them this hope is unbearable. 23 and 24 November they tried once again to muffle it. But as of today, all their dirty tricks, their assaults, their grenade shrapnel stuck inside bodies, their attempts at division, their fake dialogue proposals, their disguised cops and their excavators have left us with more strength and connections than wounds.

So we respond to the call of the *Chat-teigneux* and propose returning from 26 December to 3 January...

We want to participate in the defense of the Sècherie (evictable starting 27 December), make small dishes and canteens, build more, propose climbing workshops, craft tanuki masks... We would like to propose screenings and talk about the history of radical English environmental movements of the 90s, of the roads protests, of their victories and of the futures of liberated spaces... We would quite like it to snow or for wind to blow and for us to keep warm by the stove. We want a starlit party on the Chat-teigne chicken run and to promise ourselves we'll still be there in a year...

– *To the call of Kulon Progo (name given to one of the dormitories built in the Chat-teigne in honor of an autonomous farmer community of the island of Java, which is resisting its eradication by the mining industry...)*



in the ZAD.

### Fact sheet no. X: make a fact sheet

Why don't you add things to the text, and send to Indymedia Nantes and/or zad@riseup.net.

Some suggestions:

- potato rocket
- catapults
- smoke bombs
- media and propaganda
- burning a vehicle
- looting a parking meter or a toll booth
- erasing digital and DNA trails

etc.

### 2012.12.6

#### IN RESPONSE TO THE CALL OF THE *CHATS TEIGNEUX* AND INVITATION OF 27 DECEMBER TO 3 JANUARY

**We will not let the Chat-teigne be invaded once again!**

We traveled hundreds of kilometers with a flat-pack dormitory, kilos of beams, tools and materials. For a week on end we built without rest, shared human chains, assemblies and meals. We waited behind barricades joking with other capricious architects on the waves of Klaxon radio (107.7 – pirates of the airwaves!)

A few days later after a muddy tango concerto, we were torn from the dormitory by broken windows and tear gas. Beneath our eyes, they stole the innumerable tools brought the Saturday before by protesters. They took them away in their skips under a hail of rocks and bottles. We fought to slow down their machines of destruction a day on end. We suffered pathetic losses, we were taken by surprise, by fatigue and half-assed plans. But we're a little stubborn regardless. The following night we retook the Chat-teigne, losing ourselves in blackberry bushes then creating our own paths through the back woods. The next day we repaired the damage and cleaned the pepper-sprayed mattresses so as not to tear up once again.

More than ever, if they evict us, we return!

Meanwhile and since the Chat-teigne is still standing, we yearn to get back on

*worse otherwise.*

For your information, an indispensable guide for dealings with police and legal proceedings: [download link]

– *Nantes Collective for Struggle Against the Notre-Dame-des-Landes Airport*

### 2012.12.2

#### CALL OF THE *CHATS TEIGNEUX*:<sup>9</sup> 10 DAYS OF RESISTANCE IN THE CHÂTAIGNE

On 4 December the hearing took place concerning the request for authorization to demolish houses built in the Châtaigne<sup>10</sup> after the reoccupation demo of 17 November 2012. The decision will come 11 December. The Prefecture intends to eradicate a place which symbolizes the mobilization of 40,000 people against the airport and its world.

Already a call is circulating for decentralized action in case of attack on the space: Against the airport and its world: if they destroy our organizing space, we will occupy theirs!

It is still possible to reach the space, we will not cede to police pressure and to the present occupation of the zone. Building continues, energy is still here. More than ever it is essential to give this space life. Let's not let ourselves be smoked out by their promises of negotiation, the struggle is on the ground, not in the salons of Matignon.<sup>11</sup>

PS: there remain many other sites in the ZAD and occupation continues elsewhere. Numerous other building sites are ongoing!

#### Call of the *Chats teigneux*

(From the Châtaigneraie, the Châtaigne, the *Castagne*<sup>12</sup>, First Presidio, the Stumps, the Cyst)

From 4 to 15 December: let's continue to resist, let's stand ready.

17 November, 40,000 people, very diverse and determined, assembled in the

<sup>9</sup> "Nasty cats," a play on the hypothetical word for people from the Châtaigne

<sup>10</sup> "The Chestnut," the name given to an occupied site

<sup>11</sup> The Hôtel Matignon in Paris, official residence of the French Prime Minister.

<sup>12</sup> A tumultuous battle

ZAD to rebuild. A response after a month of eviction, destruction and resistance. Since then, the movement has never stopped amplifying.

As far as emptying the zone of its inhabitants, Operation César failed pathetically. We are sad about our destroyed houses, our injured friends, our imprisoned comrades. Rage filled the countryside and we were never so many – the ZAD, though besieged, was never so alive. In spite of attempts at division, the reoccupation engendered strong and novel complicities, which ask only to be intensified. A new site was born.

In this new space of reoccupation, collectives from here and elsewhere built a village: a workshop, a NO TAVern, a common room, a collective kitchen, two dormitories, an infirmary and a sanitary black bloc with heated bathtub. In three days, all these buildings rose from the ground thanks to the joy of being there all together, giving ourselves the means of struggle now and in the times to come. Hammering in a nail comprises the same movement as defending a barricade, preventing the trees of Rohanne forest from falling, being 8000 in front of a prefecture, sabotaging VINCI and the PS or resupplying food and materials.

After a week of life and of building, the *Castagne* was occupied, pillaged and looted by the cops. But one doesn't extinguish a volcano by means of a forklift. Tonight, the *Castagne* is more beautiful than ever: 45 linked tractors are defending it, many hundreds of people have gone wild to reinforce barricades, to rebuild and resupply. The eviction procedure was hastened for this land lent by a farmer, it would belong from now on to VINCI. Each retreat of the cops, each legal action taken is time won to organize life and the defense of the sites. That's where we're at. And, from 5 December on, the demolition of the Châtaigne could be permitted.

On our side, we have a different view of what's happening here. The term secession, used to rechristen barricaded roads secession roads, takes on quite a concrete meaning now. All the dreams of our childhood, that the organization of society broke or shackled, are found here revived. When the government bulldozed houses, destroyed cabins in the trees and vegetable gardens, it provoked a profound rage, which travels far. Despite violence and fear, moments of joy are precious and numerous. Each time, it's spontaneously that people transport the battens, sheet metal and pallets. It's as if work no longer existed.

One no longer feels obligated to anything, it's something else, of a more magical substance, that gives us our energy. It's customary that money does not hold force of law between inhabitants. Today, in a village with the look of a little gold diggers' town, some farmers and occupiers discuss collectivizing

### Fact sheet no. 7: security #3: on site and nearby

This is the most difficult point. Faced with the more than probable presence of infiltrators and snitches, necessary security measures can quickly lead to a deleterious and paranoid atmosphere, which would be catastrophic for a movement as open as ours. It wouldn't be the first time that rumors of infiltrations skillfully choreographed corrupt a movement more dependably than real infiltrators. Moreover, against a Mark Stone, there's little that can be done. But we can assume that most infiltrators are not of his "class."

Some tips.

In case of suspicion, avoid rumor. Stay discreet, inform yourself: with whom the person arrived, who they know, where they sleep. What do they ask, to whom? Throw lines or set up traps.

In assemblies, theory, strategic guidelines. In safer small groups, precise organization of actions. Departures announced at the last moment, as much as possible.

Avoid gossip and speculations about who did what. Something was done, that suffices.

When one grants trust to a person recently met – which happily and inevitably keeps happening – do it for oneself, don't involve others without discussing it with them.

Don't forget to live and to laugh, don't let suspicion and secrets rule times when they're useless. Some knowledge is good to share widely – the how, more than the who.

Remember that we will win by being many who know how to fight and support ourselves in 1000 ways, not thanks to a few isolated and paranoid groups of warriors.

### Fact sheet no. 8: when it's too late

Know the legal team's number and lawyers' names.

Reject surveillance, even if blackmailed, avoid being sorry for it after.

One can refuse to give one's identity, but it's prohibited. For the rest, it's preferable to say NOTHING to the cops. Or sing songs. It's allowed, plain and simple. Their job is to pull the least bit of thread we may give them to unravel the sweater. After 48 hours fatigue can make one make mistakes.

Always refuse immediate appearance, to be able to prepare a defense. They won't offer it to you. It's when before the judge that an extension is requested. There will be pressures (maybe even on the part of the court-appointed lawyers). (Real) risks ahead. But coming to one's trial without preparing for it is to ensure being massacred.

There are the basic rules.

A medical and legal self-defense guide, more complete, is available online and

**Fact sheet no. 5: security #1: during an attack**

We lived through this situation: 10 cops disguised as rebels arresting four of our comrades on a barricade. Some lessons to learn.

As much as possible, decide where and when to intervene, rather than accepting their invitations. It's not always possible, particularly during an attack on a site. But some of their movements are very predictable.

Always go about things in a trusted group. Don't become isolated among strangers. In particular, before doing anything illegal, check to see who surrounds you. No one but those participating need to know about an action before it is conducted.

Be ready to react quickly – and doubtless violently – if this situation repeats itself. Sticks help.

In an emergency, it's better to be too suspicious than not enough. And don't be offended – or insist – when you're thrown out of a group where you know no one. Simple waste of time for all, and it weakens us.

**Fact sheet no. 6: security #2: communications/identifications**

Geolocation of a mobile phone is a more than common practice of cops. Reading of license plates too. And they often film comings and goings from their positions.

Even when one is not doing anything reprehensible, and even if one doesn't intend to, submitting to this surveillance helps them. By elimination, resemblances, deductions, it's much easier for them to identify someone within a defined group.

Change and trade clothes – and shoes – as often as possible. Pay attention to detail (jewelry, tattoos, postures...).

Communications are very certainly surveilled.

For phones: don't say anything on a mobile, don't take compromising photos. Even turned off, a phone can serve as microphone. Thank you for removing the battery during discussions.

For the internet: a Windows or Mac computer surfing the internet is an open book to the RG.<sup>13</sup> Proper use of Tails resolves most anonymity problems. You don't have to be "good" at computers.

As a reminder:

The secret services assigned by Sarkozy to surveillance of the "violent extreme left," which turned very fast toward the "anarcho-autonomous," were never dismantled. And so, at this time, the "anarcho-autonomous," for them, is us. Surveillance is not a fantasy.

<sup>13</sup> *Renseignements généraux*, French domestic security agency, equivalent to the FBI, CSIS, or MI-5.

the land. These new uses of the zone already bring us beyond the story of this airport. We want to prolong this movement of secession. The occupation of the Chataigneraie is a base – with it, all is possible.

This is why we are calling for ten days of resistance from 4 to 15 December in the Châtaigne. To reinforce and defend the spaces, continue inhabiting this vast territory, retake roads and fields, forests and the countryside. Together, let's prevent the presence and pressure of the police. We want to see them no longer manage our movements and our actions. We want to no longer be controlled. Let's be many to drive them out, that Notre-Dame-des-Landes becomes their ordeal!

We know too that the strength of Friday 23 and Saturday 24 November depended on the responsiveness of the support committees of all of France. This is why these ten days of resistance should also be the occasion of occupation, blockade, sabotage, etc., actions everywhere. We know that it's no longer a matter of support. Each act is a moment of life shared between here and there. That the spirit of the ZAD spreads in the metropolises!

These ten days of resistance will be prolonged 15 and 16 December by the assembly of the committees and collectives involved in the struggle (see the call on the site [zad.nadir.org](http://zad.nadir.org)). This will be the occasion to organize presences in this space in the longer term. We call for there to be proposals. Ideas are appearing already: workshops (foundry, biking, radio, cartography, carpentry...), building site weeks, themed discussions, regular public meetings. Already, we invite you to come eat, cook and discuss everyday at noon.

Astonishingly, let's envisage victory and think of the future without the airport...

Practical info and directions at: [zad.nadir.org](http://zad.nadir.org)

Come equipped: tents, sleeping bags, rain gear, gas masks, etc.

Call of the *Chat Teignière-es* for specific materials:

- pipes
- faucets
- transparent sheet metal
- universal chargers
- 12V valves
- in general whatever connects to a cigarette lighter
- 12V -> 220V converter

**2012.12.3****OPONENTS OF THE ANACHRONISMS OF THE FUTURE**

*The flowering hedges of the beautiful valleys concealed the combatants. Each field was a fortress, every tree an ambush; the hollow trunk of each old willow hid a stratagem. The place for a fight was everywhere.*

Balzac, *The Chouans*

They call us the opponents of the future airport of Nantes, but it is important to recognize that between now and when we win this battle, “the future” will have been modified. The interval of the struggle will not have left it intact.

With each struggle opens a spatiotemporal rift that we don’t want to see closed: it’s there that we want to live. In the enchanted calm that inhabits the heart of the storm. Doubtless because everywhere else the air is unbreathable. A manner of speaking, because we don’t live only on oxygen, as environmentalists haven’t understood. We thrive on combat.

Something has opened, and we’re diving in without an umbrella, with arms and luggage. To lend a helping hand, build where they want to destroy, destroy where they want to build. Only behind the barricades are we protected from this cursed rain. It’s the hours of combat, saturated with gas and fuel, that reveal the wrinkled apple as what it is: a blessing! Only the imprint of struggle justifies our trudging through the viscous mud as we do. Beyond this furrow, it would surely swallow us!

We don’t unanimously cherish these hostile moors, but in any case we like that they’re the same to the universal of the market. We intend for them to stay that way. It’s not the airport project that is useless, to the contrary it is quite certainly, from a modern-democratic point of view, eminently useful. It’s these moors and fens that are useless, and for the best. We need to fight for the undergrowth, the thickets, the tree lines, all the rest, the inextricable margins, all that escapes development, encasement of the territory, French gardening, with or without concrete. A future in the form of an airport is well worth a future in the form of a nature park. Only that which serves no purpose and which can be worth nothing immediately demands that we fight for it and with it. Because it is irrecoverable and reminds us of the existence of the irrecoverable. All the rest, the valorizable totality, is already damned, as such. Whereas that constellation, still visible from here, never yielded anything, if not bad poetry. Whereas the mushrooms persevere in their magical, enigmatic growth. Let’s consider the ZAD as a constellation, or as a mushroom poisonous for them, psychotropic for us. Let’s fight, one certainty is

sion, the knock-off brands come undone). You have to stretch the elastic to the max when you attach it, or else it detaches when stretched.

**PROJECTILES**

Stones are rare in the countryside. We could replace them with nice round pebbles, metal nuts or marbles (glass or steel).

Pieces of ceramic (spark plugs) allow one to shatter shatterproof glass. But the GM van windshields are most often plexiglass.

**BY EXTENSION**

On the same principle we can imagine “slingshots” fixed on fences and barricades, stretched with two hands and all one’s weight, with, for example, bodybuilding resistance bands or many tightener fibers in place of the elastic.

**Fact sheet no. 3: the famous Molotov**

The principle is well known. But the details count.

The bottle has to break. As such, wine or fruit juice bottles are preferred to those of beer.

The mixture must ignite easily and burn long enough. The 2/3 petrol, 1/3 waste oil mixture is effective enough. The ingredients may vary by usage.

The fuse is a piece of cloth. It must be absorbent enough to ensure a nice flame that doesn’t go out in flight. Soak the cloth at the last moment, petrol evaporates quickly. You can either stick the cloth in the bottle neck, or tie it around the bottle, which allows one to recap with a cork or a piece of candle and ensures better conservation of the cocktail.

Shoot straight.

**Fact sheet no. 4: shields**

Protecting oneself from shots allows one to approach much closer to the chosen target. It’s one of the conditions of being out in the open.

As examples:

Blue plastic containers, cut in half, equipped with two handles (a big one for the arm, a small one for the hand), are carried alone, and allow two people (one thrower) to cover themselves.

All kinds of banners made out of thick canvas reinforced with wood, PVC tubes, various defenses, allow more people to move together.

Practicing in mobile groups to advance, retreat, be struck by projectiles, helps one be more effective and less hesitant in the moment.



Close the holes with wax.

Variety 2: wax eggs

Melt paraffin (candles or one-kilo blocks from the store) in a pan or a can.

Blow up a balloon with water: place it on the neck of a plastic bottle full of water, turn it over, squeeze the bottle. There cannot be air left in the balloon.

The outside must remain dry. Hold without tying.

Dip the balloon quickly into the wax, about ten times, until there's an adequate shell. Submerge in water to cool down. Empty the water and remove the balloon.

Fill with the desired substance. The gas/oil/glycerin mixture, which stains and bothers, seems to have proven itself. Close the hole with a bit of newspaper coated in wax.

Dip the egg one last time.

Shoot straight.

### Fact sheet no. 2: slingshots

#### HANDLE

A Y-shaped branch can suffice. But slingshots with a rest on the forearm allow for much greater tension, so a doubled elastic, so much more force and precision. But they are less discreet.

They're found in stores, they can be forged with an 8mm rebar, or built in a number of ways.

#### ELASTIC

It's the most difficult material to find on site, and what breaks most easily. It's necessary to bring as much as possible from where you're coming from.

Foresee 30 cm for a simple slingshot, 70 cm to double them.

Slingshot elastic, by the meter in certain hardware stores and armories. Tubular or square, black. Tourniquet elastic, at hospitals, veterinarians or medical supply shops.

"Spanish" elastic, round and solid, more powerful, prohibited in France, without a doubt available online.

The inner tube is worthless, the tightener too, unless unweaved and the elastics inside weaved together.

#### TONGUE

Use a nice and thick piece of leather, around 8x4 cm, simply pierced to thread the elastic.

Leather "cones" or primer pockets for fishing slingshots can allow for shooting eggs.

For assembly, you can use electrical tape or, better, zip-ties (small white ver-

enough: Empire will never manage to abolish completely the moonlight in the fog. And let's stop with the public categories of usefulness and uselessness, categories of the *sold*. Let's think instead to what makes us stronger against them, let's think about puncturing them.

How to stay irrecuperable amid the irrecuperable? The bad environmentalist reflex consists in wanting to conserve, preserve, safeguard the territory, keep vigil like one keeps vigil over the deceased. When the matter is simply to fight and to live. To start from what connects and casts unsuspected bridges, to start from what speaks to us, from the multiplicity of uses, and never from "the environment." Thus is posed the question of needing to cut down 50 trees to save 50,000. A question which verges as little on morality as that of whether dry wood is preferable to green wood for lighting a fire. A question, among a hundred others, which recalls the entanglement of the perspectives of the inhabitant and the combatant, and the mistake it would be to want to separate them. Everyone becomes aware who steps foot here: here, we no longer know too well what is shelter, what is a tool, what is a weapon, what is food, what is music. – What is a tractor?

We do not fight against the future, but certainly against this idea, utopia on the march, that there would only be one. We fight against all those for whom THE future exists. They bet on billions in revenues, start or join myriad plans that beyond divergent interests always end up according with one another and composing an identical image: that of Hell. Plans of sons of whores. Because you really need to be one to go to Notre-Dame-des-Landes, take on an inspired designer's air, and say, "Hey, why not an airport, here?... It's possible, no?... A splendid cyst!... What else?..." Like you need to be a real son of a whore just doing his job, to pillage here with an excavator.

We fight for a tireless modification of the future, a tireless disruption. Once is excised this airport, small imperial tumor, bolted and homogenous future that all the world's plans project, the future presents a micro-fissure, and that's just what we want: to crack what they smooth out and polish, to break and enter. Everyone knows it: the opposition to another plan is but the reverse side, tails. Heads is the great unknown: the question of the ZAD's becoming. The acronym's meaning is already at stake in a battle. Deferred development zone? *Zone à défendre*? Zone of definitive autonomy? And what definitive do we speak of then? Alternative oasis? Or veritable hub, bushy hedge in the building of the European revolutionary movement?... Whatever it be, it's the threat of a constant reversibility between space of life and space of struggle, between inhabiting and fighting, that explains the anger and the loss of self-control at the Ministry of the Interior. There grows their peril, there is what saves us.

However, for a whole segment of the movement, the following stays hard to admit: going all the way means breaking out of the democratic frame. Where everything is okay on condition of remaining an opinion, a like/dislike, on condition of staying harmless. Giving a good shout, and knowing to bend over when asked, such is the democratic rule. But that is not our idea of life. We don't want to "make the law," as certain pacifists reproached us for, those who insisted on a Sunday picnic next to the police during the riot. We want to unmake the law. Sooner or later the democrats will say: the force of law must endure. Us, we want to give force to the communes, to friendship, all power to the communes. There is what they will not forgive.

As for us, we will not forgive the injuries and imprisonments that have been inflicted on our comrades.

– *Some zadistes*

### 2012.12.3

#### “COUNTRYSIDE GUERRILLA?”

**To never again hear “we shouldn't provoke them” when the crowd is clearing cops from a barricade. Or: for the sharing of useful popular knowledge.**

After a month of confrontations, destructions and barricades, the war being conducted here seems to be taking a new turn.

That the government is asking for a six-month truce signals good news: they were losing. That this truce, on the ground, signifies to the cops the possibility to act as if they were at home in the ZAD is far less welcome.

What is underhandedly in the process of occurring is more than a retreat. It is a different stage, less visibly offensive, of a counter-insurrection (as they say in their strategy manuals) or pacification (as they say on TV) operation. A stage of maintaining order, like that which preceded each eviction.

Let's resume. They are losing. Not militarily. The quasi-totality of evictable sites are now muddy fields. Our cohort of injured this Saturday says it too. But the eruption of brutality needed to thwart us is no longer so tolerable. Their “population” is becoming too hostile to them. And so the more we advance and the more we are numerous, and strong together. They are losing because our colorful people are sticking together.

What are they doing, then? They are occupying militarily, and they are com-

municating.

The cops have to be nice, they have to be able to go everywhere. We can move around – with a few detours – but on condition of not being offensive. That is to say, on condition of staying calm and shutting up. That is to say, on condition of losing.

To speak of counter-insurrection is not to say that we're in the Gaza Strip (despite the bulldozers and the prison sentences for carrying a slingshot), nor in Chechnya (despite the roadblocks on the secondary roads).

Neither is it to want to make us into soldiers.

It's simply to not lose sight of the fact that we're in a struggle, and it's a question of winning. It's to give ourselves keys to understanding the how and why of their maneuvers. It's to give ourselves the means for strategic thought, a sense of effectiveness in our actions, and lessons to learn from the vast world.

As for them, we can assume, following the rain of grenades:

- Information: very probable infiltration attempts, surveillance of comings and goings, surveillance of communications.
- Intimidation: heavy sentences on doubtful grounds, spreading of fear around offensive practices (throwing rocks and flares...), martial declarations.
- Communication: seizure of debate by the hazy intergovernmental dialogue commission, strategic use of their press.
- Deterrent presence: checkpoints, positionings in the forest, trucks roaming, cargo inspections, little provocations.

On each of these points, we have to defeat them. So, to keep it short:

We must be discreet, we must not get caught, there is NOTHING to negotiate, the cops must disengage the ZAD.

This is an invitation to circulate useful techniques, recipes, and knowledge toward this end.

#### **Fact sheet no. 1: paint eggs**

(or any other foul-smelling, coloring, irritant, or ignitable substance)

Variety 1:

Take eggs, make a hole at both ends, blow to empty, fill using a bag or a large syringe.