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A Theory Of Sabotage

Anti-Zionism, Disruption and National Liberation

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August 25th 2026

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lation of common principles and relationships, but upon a shared vision: that the liberation of Palestine sets the stage for the freeing of us all.

For those comrades we have the honor to struggle with, our eternal love and gratitude. With your actions you inspire the human spirit in ways that are hard to comprehend and you provide strength to wavering resolve in difficult times. For those who we will never meet but struggle alongside us around the world, together we must recognize that we have one right alone: that of demanding human behavior from each-other. We have one duty alone: that of not renouncing our freedom through our choices. The Palestinian fighter faces annihilation so that two or three truths may cast their eternal brilliance over the world. Let us open up the whole of human history in spreading them.

“Never spread the occupation’s propaganda; do not contribute to instilling a sense of defeat. Never spread panic; be supportive of the resistance; do not spread any news broadcast by the occupation.”

existence. That the international struggle for the liberation of Palestine is not a human rights project, but situated in the historical continuum of Third World decolonization. Anti-Zionist sabotage rejects the counter-revolutionary myth that material resistance – be that with the sledgehammer or the gun – diminishes support for the liberation struggle. That somehow the discourse of victimhood and pity is what sustains a liberation struggle over years and decades and not the determination to struggle by any means necessary for the liberation of oppressed peoples from Imperialism:

*“Pity is a fragile and feeble foundation for building movements. Our strength does not lie in eliciting pity but in inspiring through various acts of resistance...Resistance, including armed resistance, inspires...”*⁶⁶

There was no struggle for a free Vietnam without the Viet Cong; no struggle for a free Algeria without the Front de libération national; no struggle for a free South Africa without the African National Congress. These are not political claims designed to impose who should support what political party or faction. It is simply a truth dictated to us by historical inheritance from past liberation struggles. That there is no resistance without the blood and flesh, the real human beings engaged in battling colonialism for the national liberation of their land and their people. The Palestine Solidarity movement must draw from past collective experience and begin to negotiate its modes of resistance to Zionism in connection with the networks, parties and resistance organizations waging battle against Zionist colonialism in Palestine and not an opportunist and compromised NGO elite more concerned with legitimacy than liberation. Anti-Zionist sabotage conditions its resistance to Zionist Imperialism not in a racist paternalism that legitimates the vio-

⁶⁶ Abdaljawad Omar. 2024. People’s Conference for Palestine: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nt436UHdBLU>

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on a Toll Holdings facility in England.⁶³ Anti-Zionist sabotage has operated not only to materially disrupt the supply chains of Zionist Imperialism and degrade its productive capacity, but has disseminated across the terrain of resistance in the Imperialist core a conception of solidarity as Anti- Imperialism premised upon material and symbolic support for the Palestinian national liberation movement and its social, political and historical objectives.

In 1968 and 1977, the Palestinian National Council declared a set of inviolable principles of the Palestinian national liberation struggle for sovereignty that have come to be termed Al Thawabit.⁶⁴ These fundamental principles guide the historical struggle and constitute demands in which no compromise can be made:

The right of return of all refugees across the diaspora; the commitment to the realization of the national question as the liberation of the entirety of the land under Palestinian sovereignty; the commitment to the armed struggle as the central feature of the Palestinian revolution; rejection of all normalization with Zionism.

These principles are consistently violated by organizations that claim to be in solidarity with the Palestinian struggle. They are consistently violated by compromised Palestinian leadership figures such as the Boycott National Committee — who have openly attempted to repress affiliated members and grassroots BDS groups when they have expressed support for the armed resistance or even direct action.⁶⁵ Al Thawabet is not a goal to be reached by the Palestinian solidarity movement, it constitutes the very conditions of its

⁶³ Death to Toll. 2026. First International Hit on Toll Holdings: <https://tolldeth.noblogs.org/post/2026/03/18/first-international-hit-on-toll-holdings/>

⁶⁴ Palestine Diaspora Movement. What is Al Thawabet?: <https://www.palestinediasporamovement.com/newsletter/what-is-al-thawabet> ; The Avalon Project. 1968. The Palestinian National Charter: Resolutions of the Palestine National Council: https://avalon.law.yale.edu/21st_century/plcov.asp

⁶⁵ A Tactic not a Trademark.

that have advanced the ideological war being waged over the legitimacy of armed national liberation as constituting any basis for international solidarity.

On May 6th 2025, students at the University of Washington occupied their newly built interdisciplinary engineering department for holding partnerships with weapons manufacturer Boeing. The students built barricades, damaged building infrastructure and sabotaged the machinery inside causing over \$1 million in damages, declaring in their communiqué:

*“We are taking this building amidst the current and renewed wave of the student Intifada, following the uprising of student action for Palestine after the heroic victory of Al-Aqsa Flood on October 7th, which shattered the illusion of Zionist-imperialist domination and brought Palestine to the forefront for all justice-loving people of the world.”*⁶⁰

On March 20th 2026, a new front called Earthquake Faction burned down an Elbit Systems factory in the Czech Republic and declared in their communiqué that they aim to “destroy all limbs of empire from within, by any means.”⁶¹ Death to Toll in Melbourne situates its own strategy of guerrilla sabotage against Imperialist logistics firm Toll Holdings in relation to the ebb and flow of Hamas and the Palestinian armed resistance.⁶² On the 9th March the group internationalized their campaign with an attack

⁶⁰ Students United for Palestinian Equality and Return. 2025. Pro-Palestine Student Activists Occupy University Of Washington: <https://popularresistance.org/pro-palestine-student-activists-occupy-university-of-washington-issue-demands/>

⁶¹ Earthquake Faction. 2026. Communiqué 1: <https://earthquakefaction.net/one/>

⁶² Death to Toll. 2026. Global Call to Action: <https://tollddeath.noblogs.org/post/2026/02/24/global-call-to-action/>

“Each generation must out of relative obscurity discover its mission, fulfill it, or betray it ... As for we who have decided to break the back of colonialism, our historic mission is to sanction all revolts, all desperate actions”

Things fall apart; the center cannot hold

Anti-Zionism has entered the phase of sabotage. Lobbying governments to sanction Israel has been replaced with breaking drones and dismantling factories; boycotts traded for slashed truck airlines and arson; rallies and peace marches superseded with red paint and shattered office windows. It is a medium of tactics signaling a shift in the repertoire of collective action undertaken against Zionist Imperialism. This form of resistance did not emerge out of Al Aqsa Flood – but it too signals a new terrain upon which Palestine will be fought. It deserves an uncompromising theory of struggle.

The time has arrived for us to create something new. The mainstream Palestine Solidarity Movement has demonstrated its inability to effectively counter the growing international Zio-fascist alliance. It continues to rely on outmoded, outdated and counterinsurgent formulas of struggle while putting considerable effort into restricting, internally-policing, ignoring and countering the most dynamic, effective and generative aspects of Anti-Zionism that have emerged over the past six years.

In both theory and practice, the Palestine Solidarity Movement has been co-opted by self-aggrandizing opportunists, NGO/Academic careerists and racist paternalists,¹ committed to an understanding of social struggle that has no room in its conceptual land-

¹ Max Ajl. 2024. Palestine and the Ends of Theory: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/19436149.2024.2404338#abstract> ; Naji Handallah. 2022. “A Tactic Not a Trademark: How the BDS National Committee Supports the Liberal Zionist Agenda”: <https://orinocotribune.com/a-tactic-not-a-trademark-how-the-bds-national-committee-supports-the-liberal-zionist-agenda/>

scape from which to comprehend what has been happening in front of it. Inside its performative rallies, on the edges of its peaceful pickets and fake boat blockades, circulated anonymously on social media: militant Anti-Zionist resistance.

Interpersonal opportunism, peace policing and activist influencers only explain a part of the problems many of us have experienced since October 7th 2023. Individuals, spokespeople and careerists are provided platforms by the rest of us in a movement that remains confined to theories, ideas, strategies and weapons of struggle which we must now finally discard. The mainstream Palestine Solidarity movement is based upon a strategy provided by the Boycott Divestment and Sanctions model. This organization initially began as a solidarity call by Palestinian civil society, but has since become consolidated under a comprador petit-bourgeois class of opportunists and counter-revolutionaries run by an undemocratic Boycott National Committee with ties to the traitorous Palestinian Authority. The strategy they provide is based on a historically whitewashed picture of the South African Anti-Apartheid struggle. It is a picture where groups engaged in peaceful acts such as boycotts, divestment campaigns, protest marches, trade union organizing and other practices of “civil disobedience” that eventually led to the economic, diplomatic and political isolation of the White Supremacist regime and the collapse of Apartheid. This counterinsurgent² picture of what constituted that struggle has been increasingly addressed,³ but

² Counterinsurgency is a model of reform based pacification which attempts to undermine, isolate and contain militant resistance from the broader social struggle through a set of practices which conveys militancy – particularly forms of direct action and Anti-Zionist sabotage – as “extreme” not tactical, ineffective, a form of white saviourism etc. Dylan Rodriguez. 2022. “Insurgency and Counterinsurgency”: <https://www.blackagendareport.com/insurgency-and-counterinsurgency-interview-dylan-rodriguez>

³ Anonymous. 2025. Bring The War Home: Recovering Anti-Imperialism: <https://backlashblogs.wordpress.com/2026/02/01/bring-the-war-home-recovering-anti-imperialism-zine/>

the last thirty years has worked in allegiance with Imperialist narratives to erase the centrality of national liberation as an historical category to the question of Palestine. Prioritizing victims over resistance; paternalism over collaboration; death over life. It has chosen to favor narratives of human rights and humanitarian catastrophe that expunge the defining features of Palestinian and Arab politics so as to refuse engagement with the existing political factions waging guerrilla war against Zionist colonialism. While Zionist military strategy in Gaza sustains a counterinsurgency model that engineers mass civilian liquidation – the guerrilla cannot swim among the people if the sea itself is drained – calls for “ceasefire” and emphasis on the description of genocide – a moral and legal, not a historical category – have ensured the victory of Zionist political strategy to debilitate the armed national liberation struggle being carried out by Hamas, the PFLP, the Al Aqsa Martyrs and others of the resistance. Moral appeals and not political ideology based in support for Indigenous Sovereignty are the basis upon which Palestine is framed, theorized and engaged with.⁵⁸

Anti-Zionist sabotage negates the bourgeois myth that non-violence is both the tactically effective and morally legitimate option of struggle, both within the Imperialist core and the peripheries of Empire. Practically it has sustained the generation of material alternatives that favor disruption to obsolete strategies endorsed by the mainstream Palestine Solidarity movement. Ideologically it has subverted the politics of gesture and performance for theory constituted as an asset in a war of position against Imperialism throughout the networks, institutions and political imaginaries of “western” society.⁵⁹ While this new phase of Anti-Imperialist resistance may have begun with Palestine Action and its call to “Shut Elbit Down” new fronts have now emerged

⁵⁸ Max Ajl. 2024. Palestine and the Ends of Theory: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2024.2404338>

⁵⁹ Daniel Egan. 2016. Gramsci’s War of Position as Siege Warfare: Some Lessons From History: <https://sci-hub.ru/10.1080/03017605.2016.1236486>

tive action defined by Anti-Zionist sabotage, we shed the ideological anathema of social struggle of “non-violence” so prioritized by the Palestine Solidarity movement for the last two decades. Where boycotts and council divestment’s and political lobbying cannot prevent the trading and logistics of Imperialist slaughter the riot will stand in as the form which mass resistance to it will take. We have witnessed in recent years the burning down of police stations and the destruction of symbols of corporate greed. When will we witness the burning down of an arms convention or the looting and destruction of an Israeli embassy? We have no idea where we are going, but such collective forms symbolize only the beginning. The era of non-violence, of peace marches, of passive-acts of disobedience are over. The battle has not ended, it has only just begun.

Anti-Imperialism and National Liberation

“Today the people reclaim their revolution, correct their path, and return to the march of return ... Today, history opens its most pure and honorable pages.” — Mohammed Deif, October 7th 2023

We have the methods of our resistance: guerrilla sabotage, the occupation, the blockade, the riot. How do we use them to express our fragmented yet collective actions as a single Anti-Zionist struggle? What binds all of us who have carried out clandestine attacks at night? Who have built barricades and set fires at factories and port entrances? Battled with cops outside weapons conventions and Zionist embassies?

Today our struggle is witness to the end of one ideology and the emergence of another. The slow death of a solidarity emptied of all friendship, content and dignity and the rebirth of a philosophy that insists on the inalienable right of the national liberation of a people to struggle by any means necessary against the systematic violations of colonialism. The Palestine solidarity movement over

suffice to say the Anti-Apartheid struggle involved not only boycotts and peace marches but riots, sabotage, armed struggle and military conflicts across multiple continents.⁴

*“Engaging in wanton destruction of property as their main tactic [can not be] associated with the BDS name.”*⁵ This was the Boycott National Committee speaking of Palestine Action at the BDS Europe Forum in February 2021. At this time Palestine Action had not achieved the domestic or international status it was going to. A number of its founders were on the run and had been detained under charges of “terrorism” with many others facing lengthy prison sentences. It was this context in which both the Boycott National Committee and the Palestine Solidarity Campaign – Britain’s largest Palestine NGO – went out of their way to undermine, condemn and distance themselves from what was about to become the most successful Palestine resistance network in the Imperialist core.⁶

The BDS Movements “Guide to Boycott and Pressure targeting” states that its model reflects the “historically successful method of targeted boycotts, inspired by the South African anti-apartheid movement, the US Civil Rights movement, and the Indian and Irish anti-colonial struggles, among others worldwide.”⁷ The operational principles of these stated methods are “Gradualness (incremental-

⁴ Gerald Horne. 2019. *White Supremacy Confronted: U.S. Imperialism and Anti-Communism vs the Liberation of Southern Africa from Rhodes to Mandela*

⁵ Naji Handallah. 2022. “A Tactic Not a Trademark: How the BDS National Committee Supports the Liberal Zionist Agenda”: <https://orinocotribune.com/a-tactic-not-a-trademark-how-the-bds-national-committee-supports-the-liberal-zionist-agenda/>

⁶ This comes from discussions with members of Palestine Action networks in England. In 2020 PSC sent an email to its local groups demanding that they have no engagement with Palestine Action. This was ignored by many of them, especially the grassroots Manchester Palestine Solidarity Campaign and associated Manchester Palestine Action (A precursor to Palestine Action) which continue to support Palestine Action to this day.

⁷ BDS. 2024. “Guide to BDS Boycott & Pressure Corporate Priority Targeting”: <https://bdsmovement.net/Guide-to-BDS-Boycott>

ism in building power to achieve the ultimate goals); Sustainability (sustaining victories and building on them to move forward)” with the associated tactics to achieve these objectives involving “boycotts when reasonable alternatives exist, lobbying, peaceful disruptions, social media pressure, strategic litigation, etc.” As mentioned, this framework fails to accurately represent a lot of what historically consisted of the Anti-Apartheid struggle, or any of these movements — all of which had “violent” elements which engaged in armed self-defense, property damage, looting and riots, if not explicitly armed struggle.⁸ It is however a strategic framework that is similar to many of the arguments cited over the last few years that have worked to legitimize a specific set of practices, namely: “getting workers onside”⁹ (and prioritizing unions); A to B protest rallies where marshals policed any attempts at material disruption;¹⁰ student encampments¹¹ which were often policed from the inside into compromising with university administrations; peaceful family pickets of weapons factories, political offices and voting. During much of these events organizers, self-appointed spokespeople and activist influencers went out of their way to delegitimize — or at best treat as a useful, but ultimately politically ineffective and immature — “autonomous direct action” or materially disruptive re-

⁸ Charles Cobb. 2015. “This Nonviolent Stuff’ll Get You Killed: How Guns Made the Civil Rights Movement Possible.”; Andreas Malm. 2021. *How To Blow Up a Pipeline: Learning to fight in a world on fire*.

⁹ Anonymous. 2025. “Getting Elbit “off side”: <https://antieverything.noblogs.org/post/2025/05/22/getting-elbit-off-side/> ; “Official Myths and Enduring Fantasies”: <https://backlashblogs.wordpress.com/2024/03/19/official-myths-and-enduring-fantasies/#more-1275>

¹⁰ Anonymous. 2024. “Peace Police are Police”: <https://north-shore.info/2024/03/11/peace-police-are-police-new-zine-classic-image/>

¹¹ Al-Asaad, F. 2025, “Reflections on the “Global Student Intifada”, Abolition Media, Available at: <https://abolitionmedia.noblogs.org/13805/> ; Casey Goonan. 2024. Timeline of the Gaza Solidarity Encampment Wave & Campus Flood at U.C. Berkeley: <https://zinesquatteshoppe.noblogs.org/category/palestine> Casey is an Anarchist, resistance fighter and political prisoner of Amerikkan empire. Provide support to his campaign: <https://freecaseynow.noblogs.org/>

resistance. “If Gaza cannot be like the world, the world will be like Gaza.” This is not merely a warning, the prediction of the dystopian future we are heading towards; it is a declaration. An insistence that if Palestine burns, then we will burn brightly together.

Through the riot our learned passivity transforms into a shared solidarity mobilizing a material force on the streets denying the legitimacy and authority of cops, state and property. The “almost” riot of Disrupt Land Forces may not have been structured primarily by our economic conditions — although once again it took the form of blocking circulation in the city — but corresponds to the disappearance of our collective options to achieve political ends without violence. The total allegiance — and reliance — of our political, social and economic institutions with Zionism has closed all avenues for normative forms of “civil disobedience” and political activity to achieve a sustained resolution to the contradictions of capitalist Imperialism. Once again, it is all sticks and no carrots. Yet the repression of the Disrupt Land Forces resistance does not signal the total power of the state. We are on asymmetric terrain with regards to the capacity of the state to deploy a monopoly on violence. Rather, just as with the “terrorist” proscription of Palestine Action it reveals the fear with which the colonial state views the possibilities that Anti-Zionist resistance can generate. The Victorian government was required to call in thousands of extra cops from around the state in order to repress the expected resistance on the streets — reportedly it was the largest police operation in Melbourne since 2000 when the city hosted the World Economic Forum — and took to moving military equipment destined for the convention under the cover of night by police escort in fear of potential blockades or sabotage. Material resistance on the streets is what forced the arms trade back, even if only to another city.

While the “almost” riot of Disrupt Land Forces did not transform into the form of opposition it should have, it represents a significant shift in what is publicly understood as resistance to Zionism. With the emergence of the riot into the repertoire of collec-

police stations in Ferguson or Cairo, or threw bottles at cops in Footscray after the pigs murdered Abdifatah Ahmed⁵⁵ — but were students, political activists and representatives of Melbourne’s largely white “progressive” scene. They were not battling over the price of food or rent, at least not in a direct sense, or a death in custody that so often sparks the riots of our historical era. So what connects the “almost” riot of Disrupt Land Forces to our shared conditions under Riot Prime in the struggle against Zionist Imperialism? Why did a Riot not occur in response to a genocidal profiteering racket in the center of the “protest capital” of so called “Australia”?

Reflections of the struggle, while sympathetic, largely misinterpreted the content of the riot as a living expression of popular resistance.⁵⁶ The continued attachment to outmoded models of struggle and counterinsurgent practices by dominant political organizations sustained the demobilization of broader collective activity towards material resistance through tired appeals for the need to “organize” and by mystifying political violence as a set of practices that are incomprehensible to the “public”. The nation-wide support for the burning of the Minneapolis police precinct after the murder of George Floyd rejects the legitimacy of such opportunistic dishonesty.⁵⁷ What is clear is that something resonates at the core of the struggle for Palestine that connects our disparate struggles into a singular collective momentum where “protest” becomes

⁵⁵ Keiran Stewart-Assheton. Anonymous. 2025. Liberal Activism and the Police State: On the killing of Abdifatah Ahmed by Victoria Police 17/4/25: <https://zinesquatteshoppe.noblogs.org/category/from-so-called-australia>

⁵⁶ Anonymous. 2024. Reflections on the Campaign to Disrupt Land Forces: <https://backlashblogs.wordpress.com/2025/02/07/reflections-on-the-campaign-to-disrupt-land-forces-new-zine/>

⁵⁷ Matthew Impelli. 2020. 54 Percent of Americans Think Burning Down Minneapolis Police Precinct Was Justified After George Floyd’s Death: <https://www.newsweek.com/54-americans-think-burning-down-minneapolis-police-precinct-was-justified-after-george-floyds-1508452> ; Further see Zines from the 2020 uprising on Counterinsurgency: <https://uprising2020.noblogs.org>

sistance. In some cases the organization of the former was directly dependent upon the subduing and rejecting of the latter.

“Gradualness,” “sustainability,” “long term vision.” They reflect a conceptual landscape in which material resistance to Zionist Imperialism in the present has no place other than as a component of a “longer term strategy” of the Palestine movement — always led and organized elsewhere — that will ultimately be fulfilled by an abstract category of “the masses” “the worker” or some political party that has consistently defended the Zionist entity. The “short term” or “immediate” effects of material disruption to the Zionist supply-chain, its form of appearance, is mistaken for its political content. Because it is not seen to be “building” a reformist political party or “organizing” like an NGO or union in a traditional fashion, it must therefore exist only in a restricted and localized space. Because it prioritizes material action in the present, it therefore forsakes the possibility of alliances and winning political concessions further down the line. This confusion between form and content, between immediate action and long-term strategy (as if these exist as oppositions in praxis) frames the struggle — it is a framing which we must shatter into broken glass.

This critique should not be mistaken as an abstract argument. Strategic decisions based on this framework have resulted in a direct human cost. As early as July 2024 the Zionist military was reported to have been depleting its reserves, running out of ammunition, tanks and other resources necessary to carry out systematic genocide in Gaza¹² resulting in “war-related limitations.” In short, they were laying waste to Gaza at such intensity and the Palestinian armed resistance was incapacitating their machinery of death enough to severely restrain the colonizers capacity to carry out mass slaughter. The Zionist entity relies on a global supply

¹² The New Arab. 2024. “Israel Army “Running out” of Ammunition, tanks amid ongoing Gaza War: Report: <https://www.newarab.com/news/israel-army-running-out-ammo-tanks-amid-gaza-war-report>

chain of fuel, ammunition, weaponry and servicing parts for its drones, tanks and other vehicles. It is physically impossible for it to maintain the military infrastructure it does without this global system. This supply chain could have been dismantled. At the very least it could have been severely disrupted all over the world from October 7th — Yet it was largely left untouched. On many occasions attempts at disruption were actively prevented because such “short term” disruption was subordinated to the more “tactical” strategy of “long term gains” which three years on have simply not materialized anywhere.

Most states continue to supply the Zionist entity¹³ with fuel, arms, ammunition and components and no mass blockade has been implemented indefinitely by any of the unions representing workers that are key to the supply chain. Most universities simply violently shut down or ignored their student encampments and refused their divestment demands. The protest rallies by organizations such as Jewish Voice for Peace, Palestine Action Group Sydney and the Palestine Solidarity Campaign put a lot of time and energy into disciplining any kind of mass disruption — even of city centers — on the basis that the protest rallies had to be allowed to continue, presumably long enough so that they could become “churches of the dispossessed.”¹⁴ While mass rallies are a great way at getting people out onto the streets, they mistake the mobilization of numbers for actual political power.¹⁵ As we have seen, millions of people can join weekly rallies and protests against live-streamed

¹³ Although the U.S. accounts for 66% of the total arms exports to the Zionist entity, this can be misleading. Many countries, including Britain and Australia, are second-suppliers of the Zionist supply chain, exporting fuel, ammunition, military components etc. to the the U.S. which are then exported to the Zionist entity. Campaign Against the Arms Trade. 2025. “Israel’s Arms Suppliers”: <https://caat.org.uk/data/countries/israel/israels-arms-suppliers/> ; DeathToll. 2025. “Toll Holdings Drives Genocide.”: <https://deathtoll.noblogs.org/>

¹⁴ A comrade.

¹⁵ Vincent Bevins. 2024. “A Counter-Revolution Always Comes”: <https://jewishcurrents.org/vincent-bevins-if-we-burn-mass-protests-2010s>

cops and obstructing the city on the first day of the convention — attended by forms of late night sabotage that occurred during this period.

Beginning at around 7am a few thousand people had turned up to block the outside of the convention center where Land Forces was being held. A few hundred people had covered half of the intersection nearby preventing most traffic from moving. After a few hours when cops decided to make their move — after leading protest organizations decided they wanted to make no real effective material disruption and led hundreds of attendees away — cops and riot pigs deployed arrests, beatings, capsicum spray, rubber bullets, pepper balls and stinger grenades in order to push the remaining protesters off the intersection, down past the convention center and over the bridge a few hundred meters away. Resistors responded in kind by blocking cars and tramlines, throwing juice, fruit, trash and horse shit and holding the line against brutal cop attacks for as long as possible, deploying makeshift barricades and setting bins on fire while occupying the far end of the bridge. Eventually the cops charged the crowd including mounted cops, to disperse them, but not before they were met with further physical opposition. The scenes gained international attention depicting both the displays of pig brutality and resistance put up by those facing an array of anti-personnel weaponry to hold each step for as long as they could.⁵⁴

The collective resistance on the streets that day did not really signify a riot. The small crowd that resisted were largely engaged in defensive rather than offensive maneuvers against the cops over the course of the day. Nor did resistance reflect the conditions of Riot Prime — most people in attendance were not reflective of the communities of the racialized urban proletariat that burned down

⁵⁴ Al Jazeera. 2024. Antiwar protesters clash with police at Australian arms fair: <https://www.aljazeera.com/gallery/2024/9/11/antiwar-protesters-clash-with-police-at-australian-arms-fair>

The Almost Riot ...

The riot echoes across centuries as the collective means of resistance to capitalist dispossession, slavery and state violence. At its core, the riot is a struggle for the survival of our communities. From the peasant food riots of the 16th and 17th centuries, to slave rebellions and the black uprisings of the 60s, to the riots of Redfern, London, Ferguson and Minneapolis, the riot returns as the leading form of collective action through which the urban dispossessed wages battle against the capitalist state. Marxist theorist Joshua Clover⁵² defines our current era as marked by “riot prime” – the struggle not of waged-workers on the factory floor, but of the dispossessed racialised urban proletariat on the street, the square, the highway. In September 2024 on the streets of “Melbourne” on unceded Wurundjeri Woi Wurrung lands there was an “almost” riot.

A few thousand people had turned up to protest and disrupt “Land Forces” the largest weapons convention in the southern hemisphere. The convention occurred in the midst of the genocidal assault on Gaza, with most of the weapons dealers in attendance actively supplying the Zionist entity. Land forces signaled itself as a monument to a global arms trade reproducing Zionist Imperialism and therefore a necessary target of mass resistance. After a few days of protest rallies, arrests, “die-ins”, vigils and other forms of tactics – which made no more than symbolic opposition to the convention often hundreds of meters or entire blocs away – it was later declared that Land Forces would not be returning to Melbourne for 2026 and would instead be moved to the safer location of Perth.⁵³ Despite denunciation by politicians, the media, the cops and parts of the Melbourne Left “activist” scene of “violence” and the “outside agitators” it is undeniable that the primary reason for the move was the hours spent battling

⁵² Clover. Riot Strike Riot.

⁵³ It has since been reported that Land Forces will be returning in 2028 – we must prepare ourselves for this fight.

genocide and it can make no difference. In other words, the ammunition, weapons and parts being used to obliterate entire families continued to flow at the rate they did exactly because of an attachment to an ideal of “protest” that is increasingly detached.

It is a model of protest that understands the struggle for Palestine as existing in the space of civil society. That is, a legalized space of political contention that is outside of the state and market economy – *note the separation of economics and politics – that includes non-governmental organizations, protest groups, universities, trade unions and so on. The idea is that social movements achieve their goals by gaining political influence, something that is progressively accumulated through incremental legal and reformist changes over the years to eventually pressure a shift of local, government and international policy. In this case, building towards forcing the Zionist entity to uphold Palestinian “Human Rights” and implement United Nations Resolutions towards the end of occupation, Apartheid and the right of return of refugees. Such a strategy earns its claimed legitimacy from its movement towards achieving its end goal, where the arc of history bends towards justice. The BDS movement explicitly frames its strategy this way: “The South African anti-Apartheid movement organized for decades to gain broad international support leading up to the fall of Apartheid; and Apartheid did fall. Freedom is inevitable.”¹⁶ It is safe to say that in the context of Palestine this model has failed – it has failed in many ways in South Africa.¹⁷ We have seen with Gaza that contrary to the progressive march of Liberal history, things can get worse, freedom is not inevitable. At best, most Palestinians will be dead and dispossessed out of Palestine

¹⁶ BDS Guide to Strategic Campaigning for Palestinian Rights: <https://bdsmovement.net/bds-guidelines/bds-guide-strategic-campaigning-palestinian-rights>

¹⁷ Joseph Dana. 2020. The Dispossessed: Palestine’s forgotten lesson from post-apartheid South Africa: <https://www.972mag.com/south-africa-capitalism-apartheid/>

by the time the goal of BDS is reached. We are not willing to wait to find out while thousands more die and live poor-butchered half lives because we failed to act.

As smoke continues to rise from Gaza, while the Zionist entity and Amerikka wage war on Lebanon, Yemen and Iran and Zio settlers continue to steal Palestinian land from Gaza to the Naqab and the West Bank, we must realize that this form of solidarity and the praxis it conveys has exhausted itself. It has become tired, stale and lacks the energy, dynamism and will to confront Zionist Imperialism and the increasingly fascist Imperialist states of Europe, Amerikkka and “Australia” which defend and support it. The BDS framework has become sedimented in a view of social struggle trapped in a set of strategies and theories of liberation that are simply not adequate for the political and economic context we find ourselves in. If you join a local BDS group or Palestine organization, they are saying and doing the same things they were largely doing ten, fifteen years ago and its usually exactly the same people doing it too. The counter-revolutionary leadership of the Boycott National Committee is still urging boycott strategies against multinational corporations which are so wide-ranging that the tactic is effectively based in individualist consumer actions, “peaceful” flotillas that will never reach their objective and performative rallies designed as a pressure-valve to deplete peoples righteous anger and energy and funnel them into more pointless parasitic “Socialist” “Palestine” and NGO organizations.¹⁸

There is no more need to raise awareness when everyone on earth is already aware of what is happening. In opposition to this antiquated model that continues to be prioritized by the Palestine Solidarity movement the past six years has been witness to the emergence of a form of social struggle that ruptures it completely: Anti-Zionist sabotage.

¹⁸ Workshops for Gaza. 2026. A Rethinking of Everything Altogether: <https://workshops4gaza.substack.com/p/a-rethinking-of-everything-altogether>

enforced by Direct-Action and Autonomous networks. All of these blockades however crystallize the shift from the “worker” as the agent of resistance to that broader category of an expanded proletariat represented by all those human beings not willing to trade solidarity for jobs. Instead, they seek through common effort to intervene in circulation to put a stop to it all.

While Palestine Action popularized the guerrilla style factory occupation and blockades, the character of the Anti-Zionist blockade will continue to appear in a mix of alternative forms. Where anyone committed to disrupting the logistics of extraction, colonialism and Imperialism have an equal footing to enforce it together. The blockades of port Melbourne are exemplars of collective action that connect Anti-Zionist sabotage to the circulation struggles of our era. If we cannot control capital, if political parties can no longer enforce sanctions on a genocidal colonialism, if workers do not or can not organize effective resistance to the logistics of Imperialism, then such collective activity will be enforced by those who are not workers, politicians or “activists”.

While hundreds have been arrested in Britain on charges of terrorism for holding signs in support of Palestine Action, how much disruption could have occurred if those same people had collectively enforced blockades of production sites or the circulation choke-points of the Zionist supply-chain? The blockade represents a modality of struggle through which its very materiality – the concrete acts of barricading roads, sabotaging trucks, of preventing traffic and interrupting all movement – signifies a broader symbolism to disrupt the circulation of Zionist Imperialism in its totality. The collective enforcement to stop it all. And through its disruption, new solidarities will emerge.

The second blockade was a full obstruction of a key intersection at Webb Dock, leading to seven port terminals of different companies and key logistical infrastructures. A group of approximately 30 autonomous resisters sabotaged and stopped a truck diagonally exiting the intersection with the intention of creating a large obstruction which would cover the intersection and would be difficult to move. The tires of the truck were deflated by cutting the valves and the brake lines were cut. Two vans full of old furniture, construction materials and trash were used to cover the remainder of the intersection and build a barricade which was set on fire. The van tires were also let down making it difficult to move, with banners, Palestinian and Aboriginal flags put up on the sides. Traffic lights were also sabotaged so as to prolong and cause further disruption to the intersection. A large portion of the group retreated when riot cops arrived, with some public facing people staying until they were moved on from the site three hours later. Trucks and workers entering and exiting the port terminals were disrupted for a number of hours, taking until at least 7am the next morning to repair the traffic lights.

All three of these blockades share differences and similarities. The first represented a mass community blockade of a production site of Zionist weaponry after an initial factory occupation. The latter two represented a mix of a mass and autonomously coordinated blockades of the logistical infrastructure of Zionist circulation. While the blockade of the entrance to Webb Dock on the 22nd March represented an attempt by autonomous resisters and community members to generate the conditions for workers to enforce work stoppages, the other two blockades contained no attempt to negotiate worker power, rather they simply represented the enforcement of disruption through mass collective action. As it became clear that organizations such as Unionists For Palestine and other trade unions were intent on the performance of solidarity while undermining Anti-Zionist disruption in practice, blockades around Port Melbourne throughout late 2024 and into 2025 were

The roots of this mode of struggle runs deep, back to the Palestinian revolution of the 1930s and its attacks on British military and industrial infrastructure.¹⁹ Its contemporary form in solidarity practice emerges with Palestine Action in England, but has appeared throughout the Imperialist core over the last few years striking at the infrastructure of Zionism across the globe. From Palestine Action networks in Dublin and Berlin, to Shut The System in Britain and “Death To Toll” in Melbourne “Australia” — It is a mode of struggle that prioritizes the immediate disruption of the “everyday” production and circulation of the global Zionist supply chain. Its temporality exists in the immediate damaging, destruction and arrest of the weapons, ammunition, technological parts, production equipment and financial institutions that reproduce the Imperialist war machine.

This has been carried out primarily through the targeting of production facilities (Elbit Systems, Thales), insurance and banking firms (Allianz and Barclays), transportation companies (Toll Holdings, Zim Shipping, Kuehne & Nagel) and logistical infrastructure (roads, ports, railways) that sustain colonial war on Palestine. Sabotage is articulated here as both a specific practice and as mode of resistance. As a practice it describes the specific acts of property destruction typified in the smashing of windows and building infrastructure crucial for a business to operate; the cutting of airlines or deflating of tires to delay the transportation of materials and the outright destroying of weapons such as drones and machinery. As a mode of resistance it expresses itself through the broad repertoire of collective action signified through what Anarchist theorist Mehmet Dosemeci²⁰ defines as disruption struggles. Or in the context of Anti-Zionism can be defined as supply-chain struggles: property destruction, the blockade, the occupation, the riot. All

¹⁹ Andreas Malm. *How To Blow Up a Pipeline: Learning to fight in a world on fire.*

²⁰ Mehmet Dosemeci. 2024. *The History of Disruption: Social Struggle in the Atlantic World; Disrupt Now:* <https://disruptnow.org/>

those practices defined by the goal of disrupting the smooth circulation of Zionist Imperialism around the world.

As an Anti-Zionist saboteur has described: “not all of these practices involve sabotage, but sabotage can enter into all of these practices”²¹ – trucks can be disabled at a blockade; buildings can be made inoperative at an occupation or a picket; roads and intersections can be laid to waste under cover of a blockade or riot. To enforce and generate a break, fracture and disruption to the dominant Zionist order of things, not reformist incrementalism, is the basis of Anti-Zionist sabotage:

*“In June 1980, commando units from MK – the armed wing of the African National Congress – cut holes in the security fences around two hydrogenation facilities at the Sasol oil refineries just outside Johannesburg and planted mines in their tanks: “Lasting for three days, the smoke plume could be seen by electrified audiences in Johannesburg: it ‘shattered the myth of white invulnerability.’ In the assessment of Nelson Mandela, the action contributed to the revival of the Anti-Apartheid struggle in the early 1980s: ‘None of these attacks’, one scholar of the MK asserts, ‘came close to bringing down the state, but they provided physical evidence of a tangible potential threat to the regime – reinforcing the sense – that “something out there” represented a shadowy threat to the long-term future of white supremacy.’”*²²

We see here a mode of social struggle that contrasts with the forms articulated by the strategy of BDS and the dominant model of the Palestine Solidarity movement. Where one prioritizes appeals to the state, the other negates appeal through direct intervention. Where one sustains a movement towards incremental change

²¹ Discussion with an Anti-Zionist militant in “Melbourne”, Boonwurrung, Woi wurrung and Wurundjeri land.

²² Malm. To Blow up a Pipeline

mass resistance on the 24th remains the largest mass blockade of a weapons factory in England to this day.⁵⁰

On 22nd March and 12th November 2024, blockades were established at the entrance to Webb Dock in Port Melbourne.

The first blockade began as a community picket of the Webb Dock entrance so as to disrupt two ships which were tied to the Zionist supply-chain. The picket line was originally initiated by autonomous groups and others so as to generate conditions for Port Workers to ‘stop work’ and enforce ‘tools down’ but was transformed into a blockade following the escalation of cop violence. The picket line was further joined by people responding to a public call out, with 80–100 people turning out to enforce the blockade at its peak, backing up trucks for a few kilometers and forcing hundreds to turn around. After cops attacked the picket with batons in an attempt to force one of their cars through the picket line they then sought higher approval to bring in the PORT (riot cops) team. When mounted cops arrived, along with cops armed with riot shields, rubber bullets, flash bangs, pepper ball rounds, strobe lighting, stinger grenades and other anti-personnel weaponry, the picket line responded with its own forms of resistance to defend the blockade. Resistors pulled construction materials from a next door site across the road and tied together temporary fencing using zip ties/rope to build a wall, a tipped over road sign, plastic piping and rocks in the construction of a makeshift barricade across the road lighting a fire in the centre. The picket line was maintained for around five hours until the cops eventually managed to force a break in the blockade, forcing a tactical retreat.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Tom Anderson. 2021. In Leicester hundreds demonstrated outside an Israeli arms factor. What if that could be repeated nationwide?: <https://www.thecanary.co/uk/2021/05/26/in-leicester-hundreds-demonstrated-outside-an-israeli-arms-factor-what-if-that-could-be-repeated-nationwide/>

⁵¹ Anonymous. 2024. Webb Dock Blockade: <https://backlash-blogs.wordpress.com/2024/03/22/web-dock-blockade/> ; also see the reportback at the Action4Rafah Instagram: March 24th 2024

entrances and intersections to Webb Dock. At times, what were initially “soft pickets” became blockades through the spontaneous action of individuals that came to be enforced by the majority. Both the occupation and the blockade have relied primarily not upon “workers” trade union or “progressive” political organizations. But rather, they have depended upon the self-activity of the expanded proletariat – all of us who are not capitalists – groups and individuals committed to the liberation of Palestine and the disruption of the weapons trade to enforce them around the world. While guerilla sabotage necessitates operating underground through clandestinity, the blockade generates terrains of resistance upon which broader collective resistance can occur.

In May 2021, the Zionist entity carried out a routine assault on Gaza against the March of Return protesters and embattled Hamas resisters. From 19th – 24th May 2021, four Palestine Action resisters in England carried out a rooftop occupation of an Elbit Systems factory in Leicester, England.

They sprayed paint down the building and prevented the factory from operating for six days. During the occupation activists and members of the local community had already been providing support and solidarity by protesting outside the closed entrance to the site, with some managing to throw water and food up to those occupying the roof. On the final day, after the last two resisters were brought down by cops and into custody, word spread throughout the local Asian and Arab communities. After a few hours hundreds of people had descended on the grounds of factory. When the small team of cops present attempted to move the resisters from the site the crowd outside used fencing to blockade the factory gates preventing cops from leaving the grounds of the site for a number of hours until riot cops were brought in to push them back. The

and the building of pressure, the other subverts through immediate disruption of that which it seeks to stop and dismantle. One sustains continuity towards a means to an end, the other breaks with the passiveness of the solidarity movement and expresses itself through rupture into new terrains of struggle and resistance. This will be our point of departure for a theory of Anti-Zionist sabotage.

Lastly, it is important to explain why write something like this now. We consider this less a zine and more an open letter to fellow travelers. The practice of theory is informed by struggle. It is not a program which can be simply wished up from past examples laden with backdated prescriptions about how the struggle today ought to be waged. Rather it signifies the interplay between the creativity of human action to resist oppression and our always inadequate attempts to understand our shared reality through the continuum of time. Everyone has an opinion about what should be done. We are far more interested in what is being done. How growing numbers of people are choosing to resist now. “A theory of the present will arise from its lived confrontations.”²³ It is time for people to leave ineffective and counterproductive political strategies and trade it for material resistance as disruption through sabotage. If you feel unable to engage in such resistance, then your time, money and effort would do far better investing in those engaged in the fight rather than attending performative protest rallies, lobbying local councils or donating to online fundraisers which amounts to no more than charity.

Anti-Zionist Sabotage has organically emerged across multiple countries and continents at this historical moment for a reason. The people who have taken the course of sabotage against Zionist Imperialism – at great cost and risk to themselves – do so for real and achievable objectives: material, ideological and historical. This form of resistance should no longer be denied, ignored and disci-

²³ Joshua Clover. 2016. *Riot. Strike. Riot: The New Era of Uprisings*.

plined by the rest of the Palestine movement, its organizations and representatives. It is not merely a disorganized reaction that exists in some other reality to Palestine “activists” and organizations — where its agents are simply unknowable amorphous entities underserving of symbolic, material, financial, anti-repression support or even basic solidarity. They are real people. With lives and goals and love. They are people who have committed upon a course of taking the fight against the Zionist enemy on our own streets. It is a growing form of resistance that exchanges the overabundance of safety in symbolic protests and online fundraisers for the material force of solidarity as shared risk in combat.

At present, Anti-Zionist sabotage represents the most effective, generative and creative segment of Anti-Zionist resistance in the Imperialist core. The number of closed Elbit factories, millions of dollars worth of damages, thousands of hours of production and transport delays and the very real material threat against Zionist collaborator businesses now resonating at a global level attests to this reality.²⁴ It has generated new ideas, tactics, security protocols, methods and models of resistance against Imperialism, policing and the state. It has breathed life into a struggle that has become trapped in archaic, dying strategies and social movement infrastructure more concerned with its own longevity than battling the enemy. At the very least, resistance deserves to be understood on its own terms.

²⁴ CAGE. 2025. “Putting Bodies on the Line: The Landscape of Direct Action and Civil Disobedience for Palestine in Britain”: <https://www.cage.ngo/product/putting-bodies-on-the-line-the-landscape-of-direct-action-and-civil-disobedience-for-palestine-in-britain> ; Recorded Future. 2025. Palestine Action: Operations and Global Network: <https://www.recordedfuture.com/research/palestine-action-operations-and-global-network>

While weapons production centers in England may be located in urban areas which are vulnerable to guerrilla sabotage or rooftop occupations and blockades, in landscapes such as Amerikkka or “Australia” they are often located in remote areas in state-run facilities and/or military sites with high- security, making such attacks difficult. Alternatively the Anti-Zionist circulation blockades in Melbourne have prioritized disruption further down the logistical supply-line at the point of infrastructural bottlenecks such as at Webb and Swanson Dock’s. A circulation bottleneck – or “chokepoint” – can be understood as the “concentration of the circulation of commodities at certain key sites along the supply chain” where capitalist circulation can be ground to a halt through the use of vehicles, the erecting of barricades and human bodies.⁴⁹ While at times complicit transportation companies may be targeted and delayed such as Toll Holdings or Zim Shipping, this is not always the case nor does it necessarily need to be. While a shipment of fuel or weapons may not be the direct target the Anti-Zionist Blockade attacks the intersection of the Zionist supply-chain: Imperialist logistics, colonial extraction and the social infrastructure of capital, signifying that logistical chokepoints are legitimate targets for continuous disruption, delays and sabotage until the supply-chains are dismantled.

The power of the blockade is situated in its modality as a spatial struggle – it is fought over who has the ability to enforce control over space; what is moving and what is being stopped – it is a form of struggle open to everyone. While the blockades and occupations of factories by Palestine Action and similar networks have followed a model of recruitment, planning and execution so as to disrupt operations with a small group, the Port Melbourne blockades depended for their success on a larger model to obstruct the

⁴⁹ Charmaine Chua. 2014. Logistics, Capitalist Circulation, Chokepoints: <https://thedisorderofthings.com/2014/09/09/logistics-capitalist-circulation-chokepoints>

maneuver their way onto rooftops or in-front of site entrances to occupy/blockade and disrupt business as usual operations over a prolonged period of time. Such disruptions have the capacity to cost time, money and resources through the interruption of movement and denying the ability of working hours to continue. Due to the form these actions take they most often end in arrest and as such are legally and contextually specific. Sabotage can be carried out either by those engaged in the occupation/blockade themselves, or such acts can also operate as distractions while other forms of sabotage take place elsewhere.

Alternatively, the port and intersection blockades that have taken place in “Melbourne” are defined by the targeting of circulation – the logistics of Imperialism – and by their more generalized character. Whereas the rooftop occupation of an Elbit factory or a Thales may represent a more direct example of disruption, the mass blockade affirms itself through generalizing its attack on circulation: cars, transport, commuters, roads, bridges, the rupturing and recapture of public space. While specific locations and objectives may be the target, such as obstructing the entrances to Melbourne’s primary shipping docks through the delaying of operations and the transportation of goods for hours at a time, the blockade encapsulates a broader scope to disrupt the sphere of circulation through which the Zionist supply chain moves through, its logistical infrastructure:

“Logistics means the movement and storage of goods between different points in the supply chain (e.g. from manufacturing plants to distribution centers) ... the angles of attack can be adapted to the context: a supply vulnerability depends on supplier bottlenecks, and a logistics vulnerability depends upon infrastructural bottlenecks.”⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Anonymous. 2024. Developing Incisive Capacity: Making Actions Count: <https://zinesquatteshoppe.noblogs.org/category/how-to-guide>

Supply-Chain Struggles

“The riot, the blockade, the barricade, the occupation. These are what we will see in the next five, fifteen, forty years ... further circulation struggles are inevitable”²⁵

The old models of resistance are dying, the new struggling to be born. Put simply, we no longer exist in the same capitalist economy that we did in the 1960s during the height of the Vietnam war or even in the 1980s at the height of the Anti-Apartheid struggle. As such the repertoires of collective action with which we resist Zionist Imperialism must change in line with the shifting historical conditions of the world in which we now live.

Over the last fifty years the global economy, particularly in the Imperialist core, has shifted away from large scale manufacturing and production of commodities (making things) reliant upon a mass of industrial “workers” – companies have shifted production to countries in the global south where the cost of labor is cheaper or developed new technological innovations and large-scale automation – to an economic system increasingly defined by services, finance, logistics and circulation – the marketplace where commodities are transported, exchanged, bought and consumed around the world:

“Since the 1970s, the revolution in logistics and supply chain management has shifted capital’s focus from its sites of production to its sites of circulation: no longer able to generate substantial profit from the mechanized and labor-saving technologies of factory manufacturing, firms began to experiment with increasing the speed and efficiency through which commodities could circulate across the globe. Thus the rise of business logistics: the management of complex networks that coordinate the

²⁵ Joshua Clover. 2016. Riot Strike Riot.

stocking, distribution, and transportation of services and commodities in international space.”²⁶

So think logistics companies like Amazon, Mearsk, Zim, Kuehne & Nagel, Toll Holdings. This shift signifies a move from the worker resisting capital at the site of production — peoples places of work — a move from the lobbying of government bodies — with diminishing control over capital in its diversified and global form — to any of us, all of us, resisting militarism, capitalism and Imperialism through its global routes of circulation: the streets, public squares, the highways, the ports.²⁷ Disruption of circulation is not a weapon of choice, but of historical circumstance:

“To physically attack these flows, at any point, is therefore to politically attack the system as a whole. If the subject of the strike was the working class, the subject of the blockade is whoever. It’s anyone at all, anyone who takes a stand against the existing organization of the world.”²⁸

In the 20th century, workers and social struggles such as Queer, Feminist and Anti-racist movements could engage in a wide range of protest strategies so as to force concessions from the state and capital into providing social reforms and even to retract support for war in Vietnam or Apartheid in South Africa. The problem is that this was only really true for a particular historical moment of capitalism and for a small portion of the worlds population.

²⁶ Charmaine Chua. 2014. “Logistics, Capitalist Circulation, Chokepoints”: <https://thedisorderofthings.com/2014/09/09/logistics-capitalist-circulation-chokepoints/>

²⁷ The Invisible Committee. 2014. To Our Friends: <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/the-invisible-committe-to-our-friends>

²⁸ Always must be kept in mind that the defeat of Imperialism always be laid at the feet of Indigenous National Liberation Movements themselves.

trance, we recreate and recapture space and land and with it reconstitute the basis of our oppositions to Zionism, colonialism and capitalism.

The Anti-Zionist Blockade has developed to prioritize three forms: the rooftop occupation of weapons factories and partner businesses in the supply-chain; the blockading of building or site entrances with make-shift lock-ons, cars and vans; the general blockading of capitalist circulation through the targeting of key choke-points of Imperialist logistics such as intersections and port entrances.⁴⁷

The rooftop occupation and lock-on obstructions of buildings signify the most continuous and prominent tactic of Anti-Zionist blockades popularized by Palestine Action. Networks plan, organize and execute, often with a small select group of people, to occupy, block and shut down targeted sites for as long as possible. The additional sabotage of buildings, through the destruction of infrastructure, smashing of windows or use of red paint, are optional practices depending upon the specifics of the action and the intent of the occupation/blockade. Such blockades have tended to be more specific — owing to the smaller number of people engaged in the action — by targeting specific buildings or sites connected to the Zionist supply-chain most often its production sites or financial investors. This set of smaller-scale blockades and occupations identify more closely with the repertoire of action defined by guerrilla sabotage. Wherein a small number of people are able to quickly

⁴⁷ These blockades represent what the “Block the Boat” campaigns should have been. Instead, mainstream BDS, Palestine, trade union and “progressive” political organizations actively prevented the dissemination of this strategy to become an effective material force around the world. In many cases where blockades have taken place, it has been the result of workers or resisters rejecting the disciplining and compromises of mainstream organizations and leadership, see: Anonymous. 2023. The Boat that Wasn’t Blocked: <https://unravel.noblogs.org/the-boat-that-wasnt-blocked/> ; Anonymous. 2023. The Boat That Wasnt Blocked: “Australian” Version: <https://www.newsocialist.org.uk/transmissions/the-boat-that-wasnt-blocked>

Blockade/Occupation

In contrast to the purposeless movement of the Palestine rallies, that cyclical march from A to B or returning full circle from where you began, the blockade situates itself instead through arrest; the very rejection of movement. While the protest march passes through the city its streets return to normality. That continuous circulation of goods, exchanges, of people, all those relations capital requires to stay in motion are left barely disturbed. The blockade signifies itself through the refusal of this motion. While the Palestine marches and its organizers, its marshals, the cops, demand you keep moving, the blockade and occupation assert the autonomy of remaining in place, to seize space. If Guerrilla sabotage signifies itself through its striking at links in the supply-chain, the blockade affirms itself as the direct negation of capitalist circulation and the logistics of Zionist Imperialism.

From Tahir Square, to Standing Rock, to Djab Wurrung, to Port Melbourne, the Blockade/Occupation emerge at our current moment as the primary political forms through which people come together to directly enforce disruption upon the infrastructure of global capitalism. The Blockade/Occupation arrives on the streets of Cairo and Minneapolis, the rivers and plains of “North Dakota” and “British Columbia”, the Webb dock intersection, as a mirror of capitals reliance on extraction and circulation to the extent they seek to deny it. It is no wonder that the blockade has emerged as the principle tactic of Indigenous struggles for land and sovereignty.⁴⁶ Where begins the blocking of a gas pipeline or the felling of sacred trees transforms into a shared set of social reproductions to keep the blockade in place. Put simply, to care for and to protect one another. Whether through the obstructing of a railway or pipeline, the occupation of a city square, a weapons factory or a port en-

⁴⁶ Glen Coulthard. 2014. *Red Skin White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*; Nick Estes. 2019. *Standing Rock Versus the Dakota Access Pipeline, and the Long Tradition of Indigenous Resistance*.

With rising profits and production governments could afford, with enough public pressure, to purchase the social peace – literally. Women, queer people, racialised minorities, the working class, could be incorporated (to a degree) into better jobs, better housing, better protections, because the state could provide those jobs, provide housing and social benefits, largely off of a still productive industrial capitalism which benefited from a global system of Imperialist rent that kept poor countries poor and rich countries rich.²⁹ In Britain, Amerikkka and “Australia” social struggles got people welfare states, healthcare, higher pay – in the global south social struggles often got you murdered by regimes put in place by Imperialist states.³⁰ During the Cold War the “West” needed to compete with the Soviet Union and China over newly independent countries in Asia, Africa and Cental/South America – white supremacy, colonialism and race-based capitalism were deeply unpopular in a changing world-system which saw countries from the South voting for UN Resolutions in favor of Armed Struggle and National Liberation, much to the anger of the Imperialists.³¹ It was in this changing global context where Amerikkka ended its internal Apartheid, “Australia” granted concessions to Aboriginal struggles and Britain dismantled its empire. By the turn of the 21st century, with the dominance of Amerikkkan Empire, shock doctrine free market economics³² and the trading of Black integration for mass-incarceration, millions of people can now engage in the same forms of political action and they can be completely ignored.³³

²⁹ Social “reform” as counterinsurgency see: George Jackson. 1972. *Blood in my Eye*; Orisanmi Burton. 2023. *Tip of the Spear: Black Radicalism, Prison Repression, and the Long Attica Revolt*.

³⁰ Vincent Bevins. 2020. *The Jakarta Method: Washington’s Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that shapes our world*.

³¹ Jason Hickel. 2016. *The Divide*.

³² Naomi Klein. 2007. *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*.

³³ Bevins. *If We Burn*.

Today, with expanded policing, securitization and anti-protest laws the state and capital do not need to grant concessions where they can simply crush dissent. The response to “protest” is all sticks and no carrots. Even if the state wanted to grant us concessions, it no longer can. In response, the last 30 years have witnessed the emergence of new social struggles reflecting the historical conditions of our present: circulation struggles – They are struggles which are defined by forms of collective resistance in public spaces over the price of survival in the marketplace: whether that be the price of food or fuel, the cost of rent or resisting those agents of the state that impede our ability to confront capitalist violence: the cops. As capital continues to shed its need for labor in the sphere of production, the sphere of circulation exists as the site in which battles over survival will increasingly take place.³⁴

While “workers” in a traditional sense fought over the price-setting of their labor-power in their workplaces – we see this with the strike and the increasing of the wage – where people now do not have the means to resist in this way they are going to struggle in the spaces and ways they have access to: through looting – setting the price of market goods – blockades, occupations, riots:

“The people who struggle [in the street, on the freeway, the space of circulation] may be workers, but they’re not showing up as workers. That’s the key thing. I may have a job, but if I go blockade a freeway because I want to bring this world to a crashing halt because its intolerable, im not doing that as a worker, but im doing it as a body that can block a freeway.”³⁵

³⁴ The Final Straw Radio. 2021. Joshua Clover on Riots and Strikes: <https://thefinalstrawradio.noblogs.org/post/2021/07/05/joshua-clover-on-riots-and-strikes/>

³⁵ Joshua Clover. 2024. “People struggle where they are: Joshua Clover on Riots, Strikes and Communes that are already here”: <https://turningpointmag.org/2024/11/24/people-struggle-where-they-are-joshua-clover-on-riots-strikes-and-commune-that-are-already-here/>

pear.⁴⁴ This has also been reflected by clandestine Palestine Action networks and Anti-Zionist cells across Europe which carried out attacks on insurance and banking firms such as Barclays, Allianz and Aviva – all of which have also allegedly cut ties with Elbit Systems. These clandestine forms of indirect-sabotage not only generate a smaller but more wide-scale cost on the supply chain, they produce an atmosphere of hostility for any complicit companies to conduct business in and offer a warning to others.

Guerrilla sabotage remains the primary weapon of Anti-Zionist resistance in the Imperial core. It has continued to adapt in response to the changing conditions of repression, the availability of vulnerable points in the supply-chain in a geographical area – whether that be production, financial or logistical – and the possibility of action success and escape. By adapting the diversity and range of attacks across the broader infrastructure of the military industrial-complex, from non-technical attacks utilizing the smashing of windows and spraying of red paint to more specialized operations such as the cutting electricity cables and arson of vehicles, sabotage disseminates across the terrain of urban struggle.

While its attacks are small compared to the vastness of the infrastructure of the enemy, it is fast and hard to capture. “When they advance, we retreat. When they are tired, we attack.” The guerrilla saboteur strikes at the chains of Zionist Imperialism from multiple angles – and if the battle lasts long enough, the enemy will be subdued – links can be shattered with a sledgehammer.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Anonymous. 2024. Developing Incisive Capacity: Making Actions Count: <https://anarchistnews.org/content/developing-incisive-capacity-making-actions-count>

⁴⁵ Basel Al Araj. 2020. “Live like a Porcupine; Fight like a Flea”: <https://zinesquatteshoppe.noblogs.org/towards-the-next-intifada-collected-writings-of-basel-al-ara>

gistics company Kuehne+Nagel by Palestine Action⁴¹ – which subsequently ended all contracts with Elbit Systems — and Toll Holdings by Death to Toll⁴² represent the transformation from overt sabotage of production sites in public direct actions to covert sabotage of the logistics and circulation of Zionist Imperialism. As Death to Toll describes the conditions of their own campaign:

*“The supply chain for genocidal weapons includes logistics firms ... Multiple “Australian” companies, including Toll Holdings, have been identified transporting weapons for export to the US where they are used to support “Israel’s” murderous campaign against Palestine ... Much of “Australian” arms production is concentrated in remote, centralized and/or government-owned facilities ... security is high and the consequences of action may be severe. Toll Holdings is a privately-owned company whose assets are dispersed and move through ordinary communities.”*⁴³

The normalization of militarism into our everyday lives opens up new terrain in which to assault it. The dispersed logistics of the supply chain – making the weapons, servicing the parts, getting them from A to B – allows for a more widespread form of asymmetric-warfare signified by the targeting of vehicles while they are in transit, to striking offices, factories and transportation sites located in urban areas which lack sufficient security infrastructure and more easily allow for saboteurs to strike and disap-

⁴¹ The Canary. 2024. Palestine Action Disrupts Israel’s Arms Trade in the United Kingdom: <https://popularresistance.org/palestine-action-disrupts-israels-arms-trade-in-the-united-kingdom/>

⁴² Death To Toll. 2026. Toll Drives Genocide: <https://zinesquatshoppe.noblogs.org/category/palestine/>

⁴³ Toll Holdings Drives Genocide: <https://tolldeath.noblogs.org/>

This historical shift to circulation struggles both in terms of where the struggle is fought and by who, was reflected most clearly over the course of the Gaza war. Most material forms of resistance that targeted the Zionist supply-chain or assaulted the institutions that collaborated with it, were most often not workers in their places of work or mainstream political parties or NGOs. They were networks, groups, individuals and communities most often outside of those spaces that carried out the blockades, the occupations, the pickets, the sabotaging of factories and offices. The historical terrain we find ourselves in does not reject workers organizing to engage in strikes against the supply-chain or protest marches calling on the state to divest from Zionist Imperialism – they form fragments of that mosaic we call social struggle – but no longer can all forms of our resistance be defined through them. One does not have to be a factory worker to occupy one or to sabotage the machinery inside. One does not need to be a port worker or a university student to set up a barricade or a blockade. One does not need to be a protest “organizer” to occupy a city center and grind everything to a halt. People struggle where they are.

Where workplace organizing and political lobbying is no longer an option, sabotage simply reflects a logical avenue for resistance. Anti-Zionist sabotage is a mode of social struggle and solidarity suited to the historical conditions of our present.

Guerrilla Sabotage

Sabotage is a direct affront to the sanctity of capitalist property relations.³⁶ It shatters the violence of bourgeois values determining property to hold legitimacy over and above that of land and life. Subverting the dominant narratives that represent vandalism and property violence as illegitimate acts existing outside of political action. When Palestine Action began it was with small scale-

³⁶ To Blow Up a Pipeline.

graffiti and occupations of Elbit Systems offices and factories. This quickly transformed into outright destruction and was taken up by hundreds of people engaged in direct actions. The pictures of shattered windows, red paint and broken machinery has now become the global symbol of Anti-Zionist “direct action”. For a long period – until the British state made its mission the liquidation of Palestine Action – when resisters faced juries during their court trials they were found not guilty. Through the smashing of windows the “over-ton window” – what was considered politically legitimate Palestine solidarity resistance – was itself shattered.³⁷ Sabotage was a key weapon in the arsenal of labor struggles for centuries – for both wage-laborers and the enslaved alike – and was even likened by leading member of the Industrial Workers of the World Walker C. Smith as a form of worker “guerrilla warfare” within the class struggle.³⁸

Within the repertoire of collective action defined by Anti-Zionist sabotage, two dominant forms have emerged: direct-sabotage and indirect-sabotage. Direct-Sabotage can be viewed most clearly with actions undertaken by networks such as Palestine Action and Shut The System in Britain. Such sabotage has occurred primarily through public occupations and break-ins of arms manufacturers such as Elbit Systems and their subsidiary sites such as UAV Engines, Elite KL and Ferranti Technologies – a number of which have now been sold by Elbit after sustained attacks and community protests – where machinery, weaponry and site infrastructure such as roofs and ventilation systems are broken and destroyed. These actions generally end in arrests after large scale destruction has taken place. Direct-sabotage has also occurred – although less frequently – through the more clandestine targeting of site infrastructure, such as hit-and-run

³⁷ Statement from a comrade in the struggle.

³⁸ Industrial Workers of the World. Direct Action and Sabotage: Three Classic Pamphlets from the IWW.

attacks cutting internet and electricity cables, the breaking of windows, the destruction of doors, gates and security infrastructure etc. So direct-sabotage can be said to prioritize the disruption of the production sites of the Zionist supply chain, that is the arms manufacturers themselves. This was the dominant form which Anti-Zionist sabotage took with Palestine Action during the networks first few years of operation from 2020–2023.³⁹

Indirect-sabotage represents all those forms of property destruction or vandalism which do not primarily disrupt or destroy the weapons or incapacitate a factory, but generate a slowdown or cost on the supply chain either through the targeting of business partners which provide financial investments, supply manufacturing materials, property insurance as well as transport and logistical services.

Networks such as Palestine Action cells throughout Europe, Shut The System and Death to Toll have opened up new fronts of struggle primarily through the use of clandestine indirect-sabotage.

This shift reflects the growing form in which Anti-Zionist Sabotage is taking globally and has generated an expanded terrain in which to carry out a variety of attacks on the supply chain – not only on weapon production sites, but its networks of circulation – with varying levels of damage and severity. While large-scale sabotage of factories, often through site occupations, continues to be the most effective form through which to carry out immediate large scale destruction, smaller hit and runs and indirect-sabotage across the supply-chain have generated a return of the methods of the urban-guerrilla of the 1970s-80s⁴⁰ in the form of what can be described as “guerrilla sabotage”. The attacks on the lo-

³⁹ Huda Ammori. 2024. Israel’s War Machine Can Be Stopped. Here’s How: <https://znetwork.org/znetarticle/israels-war-machine-can-be-stopped-heres-how>

⁴⁰ Red Army Faction. 1971. The Urban Guerrilla Concept.