

# Climate Change as Culture War

## The Aesthetics and Politics of Environmental Struggle

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[A]ny democratic or majoritarian approach to climate action must build a working-class coalition.

Matthew Huber, *Climate Change as Class War*<sup>1</sup>

We have to learn how to fight all over again, in what might be the most unpropitious moment so far in the history of human habitation on this planet.

Andreas Malm, *How to Blow Up a Pipeline*<sup>2</sup>

In calling for, on the one hand, renewed working-class organization and, on the other, militant direct action, Matthew Huber and Andreas Malm, respectively, appeal for shifts in environmentalist strategy, both predicated on the failure of the climate movement to date. After nearly three decades of UN climate summits that have led to little meaningful change in the global operations of fossil capital, we continue to witness steadily rising emissions, along with associated forms of ongoing extractive and petrochemical violence, bringing catastrophic climate breakdown – wildfires, droughts, heatwaves, superstorms, floods – in the wake. It's true, environmentalist social movements have achieved some small, short-lived successes. But it's indisputable that they've achieved nowhere near the system change necessary to halt disastrous environmental transformation.

Malm helpfully summarizes the three recent waves of twenty-first century environmentalist struggle. The first commenced in 2006 with the climate camps in Britain – bases for radical education and mass direct action aimed at shutting down (at least temporarily) nearby emitters such as airports, coal-fired power plants, and financial centers – and ended with the People's Climate Summit held at 2009's COP15 (the United Nations Climate Change conference) in Copenhagen, which targeted the inaction of government delegates (especially those of the US) that killed the idea of mandatory emissions cuts.<sup>3</sup> The second wave gained momentum

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Oliver Ressler, *For A Completely Different Climate*, 2008, 3-channel slide installation with sound, exhibition view *We will beg for nothing, we will ask for nothing. We will take, we will occupy*, Centro Andaluz de Arte Contemporáneo, Seville, 2015



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Gilbert Kills Pretty Enemy III, #NoDAPL, 2016–2017, posters, exhibition view *Overground Resistance. Resistencias a la luz del sol*, Centro de Arte Contemporáneo de Quito, 2022. The exhibition cycle *Overground Resistance*, curated by Oliver Ressler, brings together artists who produce their works in dialogue with the climate justice movements in which they consider themselves participants. Climate justice movements worldwide are the most serious and significant drivers of the struggle for climate justice and decarbonization. Historically, resistance has often been organized “underground” by partisans or extra-parliamentary groups. Climate activism, by contrast, is coming “overground” on a massive scale, despite often crossing the boundaries of what is considered “legal.” The worldwide scope and visibility of the movement reflect the terrifying global scale of the threat and also the unprecedented social breadth and depth of collective determination to counteract it.



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Oliver Ressler, *Barricade Cultures of the Future*, 2021, 4K video, 38 min, exhibition view *Overground Resistance. Resistencias a la luz del sol*, Centro de Arte Contemporáneo de Quito, 2022

around 2011, with mass protests erupting in the US against the Keystone XL pipeline, the permit for which Obama finally rejected in 2015 following the record-breaking 2014 People's Climate March in New York that drew 400,000 protesters to the streets, and the Indigenous-led resistance to the Dakota Access Pipeline that encroached on the sacred lands of the Dakota and Lakota peoples' Standing Rock territory. It came to an abrupt end with Trump's election in 2016, and his decision in the first week of office to approve and prioritize both pipelines. Following devastating European heatwaves and wildfires, the third wave began with Greta Thunberg's climate strike, soon collectivized by her generation in Fridays for Future's international demos, joined by Extinction Rebellion's late 2018 civil disobedience in London and demands for government to declare a climate emergency, and Ende Gelände's direct actions to shut down lignite coal mining in Germany. All were interrupted by COVID-19, leaving us in an uncertain present.

These waves of environmentalist insurgency are largely what Oliver Ressler addresses in his umbrella project *Everything's Coming Together While Everything's Falling Apart*, 2016-2020. Over six interrelated videos – situated between engaged documentary form and analytic, interventionist aesthetics – Ressler systematically examines the rebellious events around COP21; the anti-mining activism of Ende Gelände (meaning "Here and No Further") in Rhineland, Lusatia, and Leipzig; the anti-airport struggle of the ZAD (*zone à défendre*) near Nantes; Code Rood's blockade of Amsterdam's coal port; the anti-extractivist engagements of the Czech activist group *Limity jsme my* ("We are the limits"); and Venice Climate Camp's operations against massive cruise ships.

The videos present a veritable anthropology of recent climate struggle, including mass protest, autonomous resistance, and direct action, offering insider accounts of activists on the frontlines, with rousing political speeches by participants, and footage of occupations, nonviolent occupations, and battles with riot police. Eerie ambient sounds accompany the scenery of fossil infrastructure, intercut with shots of organizational sessions, coordinated assemblies and marches, chanting, drumming, and dancing. Each is between ten and thirty-six minutes, all carefully edited, several presenting



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Oliver Ressler, *Barricade Cultures of the Future*, 2021,  
4K video, 38 min

incisive political analysis of fossil capital, its responsibility for climate breakdown, and poetic expressions of collective resistance, in voice-over commentary co-written by Ressler and Matthew Hyland and read by different narrators. These are partisan videos, created from within and about the struggle, their movement-based aesthetics re-engaging the militant image of Third Cinema, especially in that the mode of address leads not to objectivity or neutral observation, but to implicacy, inclusion, solidarity. By deploying a participant-based viewpoint, galvanizing affect, and providing radical education, the videos transform the viewer into accomplice.<sup>4</sup>

Still, we know that these documented actions, as ambitious as they may have been, have not been enough to stop the ravages of fossil capital and the worsening of climate breakdown. The nearly thirty years of COP meetings have only seen the steady rise of carbon emissions; the Garzweiler mine continues to operate (now bringing destruction to Lützerath village, with land defenders brutally attacked by German police); Macron discontinued the new airport plans for Nantes, but the Vinci corporation has moved on to other major airport developments, now in Mexico; European demand has soared for Colombian coal via the port of Amsterdam following the Russian invasion of Ukraine and resulting disruption to energy flows; brown coal continues to be dug up in the Doly Bílina mines; and cruise ships still set sail to Venice, only stopping short of the over-touristed city borders.

So where do activists go from here? If we've indeed reached a point where it's necessary to consider more

aggressive tactics (as Malm argues), and more concerted organization at the nexus of environmentalist and labor struggles (as Huber contends), then what role can art play? How does art as a form of cultural politics correspond to these recent shifts in socio-environmentalist strategy? How can it connect with movements now critically assessing their recent past and considering strategic shifts for the future? If Ressler's current work addresses these difficult topics – and it does so systematically and provocatively, amplifying and expanding the terrain of frontline struggles, and generatively contributing to organizational debates – then it does so with no simple answers.

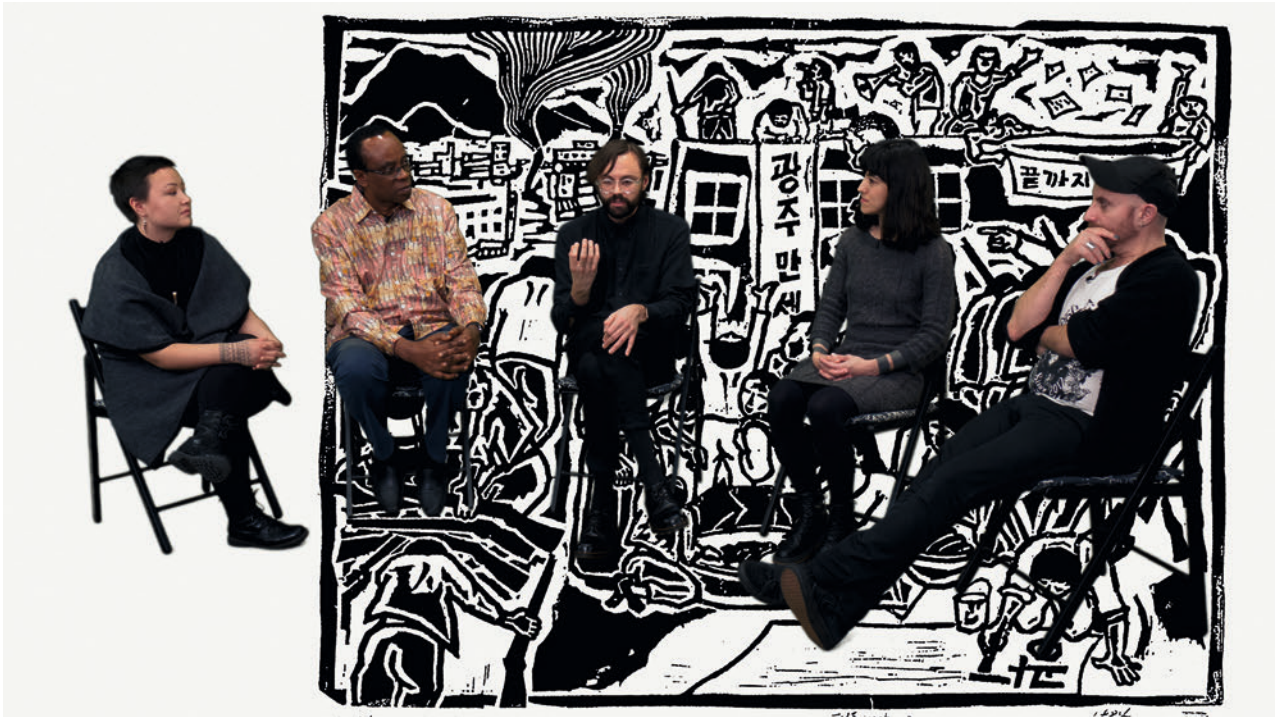
Organizing and recording a public conversation between activists about just these questions, Ressler created *Barricade Cultures of the Future* (2021, 38 min), resulting in a video that foregrounds speakers who review the recent history of environmentalist struggles, considering their gains and challenges, and debating future priorities. Originally taking place in Graz on February 27, 2020, just before the pandemic spread to Europe, the video's exchange includes five discussants – Marta Moreno Muñoz (performance artist and Extinction Rebellion activist), Nnimmo Bassey (COP climate negotiator and member of the Nigerian Health of Mother Earth Foundation), Aka Niviãna (Inuk poet and environmentalist), Jay Jordan (member of The Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination, based on the ZAD), and Steve Lyons (of the traveling pop-up museum The Natural History Museum and art-activist collective Not An Alternative). Presented in a carefully edited choreography, speakers comment on different approaches to the struggles for climate justice, and for political transformation more broadly, including the role of art, or aesthetic practice more widely, within those struggles, and consider what tactics and strategies future engagements may require.

The piece presents participants seated before a green-screen, with the video's background alternating between white, black, and red – colors of anarcho-socialist resonance – with notable agitprop graphics (including Dadaist and Constructivist montages of Heartfield and Rodchenko) interwoven into the visual flow at conversational transition points. In addition, documentary footage of specific struggles enters as backdrop at key moments, transporting the speakers into an activist assembly, rendering the discussion as both *about* and *of* struggle aesthetics and politics. Sharing similarly complex aesthetic and political functions as his other video projects, this piece too performs the role of “para-academic ‘militant research,’” as Ressler

explains, insofar as the video both critically reflects on climate struggle strategy and is meant to feed back into social movements. One can extend that formulation to the piece's para-artistic mode as well.

On the one hand, the discussion scrutinizes art's potential social movement operations – referencing, for instance, Jonas Staal's notion of “emancipatory propaganda art” and Decolonize This Place's theory of “institutional liberation,” both allied practices put to task in anti-capitalist and anti-colonial political struggles as modes of radical education, collective social composition, agitational aesthetics, and instituting otherwise (beyond toxic philanthrocapitalism). All purposively situate themselves outside of and in confrontation with the commercial and elite institutional capture of creativity – according to which radical aesthetics come to serve neoliberal ends – which is directly criticized in the discussion. And on the other, the video contributes its own creative modeling of social movement aesthetics, strategic observations, and networking of movements to the wider political struggle, including the push for socio-environmentalist political aesthetics that can expand art's conceptual, transformative, and institution-building capabilities within culture at large. Ressler's may not be an art that foregrounds affect, bodily experience, performative or representational play for their own sake – though it's not without these qualities either. Nor is it the kind of aesthetic spectacle of commercialized entertainment, or the ironic conceptualism of liberal indeterminacy unwilling to take a position, or the dead-end artistic appropriation of activism reflective of institutional opportunism, all of which Lyons criticizes in the video. Instead, Ressler's project models an art with a dedicated aesthetic-political function that compliments the practices of Staal and DTP: an expanded mode of creativity situated within and commenting on environmentalist struggle that is directed at social transformation in turn – specifically, in the case of *Barricade Cultures of the Future*, by facilitating the self-reflection of social-movement actors who compare notes from actual sites of contestation, collectively consider the lessons of past engagements, and together, building on past accomplishments, speculate upon and elaborate future priorities.

In pondering what future barricade cultures will look like – where “barricade cultures” suggests the strategic and tactical priorities, social values and formations, and aesthetic elements of resistance movements opposing fossil capital, from land-based struggles to digital insurgencies – Lyons ends the conversation with the following propositional question, which I paraphrase:



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Oliver Ressler, *Barricade Cultures of the Future*, 2021, 4K video, 38 min



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If what is most needed is not simply a massive climate movement, but an *anti-imperialist politics* more expansively opposed to the extraction of life, land, and labor – where it's not simply the fossil fuel industry but the entire capitalist system that is oppressing the majority of human population – then how should activists and artists mobilize internationally toward this goal as a shared political horizon?

By ending the video thus, Ressler strategically highlights this provocation, taking the question Lyons poses to other participants and extending it to viewers to consider further. Indeed, that's what I'd like to do in what follows, while also acknowledging that multiple responses are possible. In elaborating my approach, four interrelated priorities appear that help unpack the insights and implications embedded in Lyons' question, which Ressler's video subsequently highlights: first, the necessity of expanding the frame of struggle from environmentalism to anti-imperialism; second, to build effective resistance requires transnational solidarity and diverse tactics, including aggressive ones; third, transformative change requires a working-class base; and fourth, the imperative of building a majoritarian politics of life. My discussion leaves open how aesthetic practice in particular can contribute to these political priorities. However, leaving it open may be one crucial point of *Barricade Cultures of the Future*: to signal the urgency to collectively consider organizational tactics and strategies, including of aesthetic forms, that have yet to fully emerge, or be re-engaged once again, within the present field of shifting political circumstances.

The first implication contends that environmentalism is too limited a political framework for the struggle for emancipatory social transformation. Indeed, when "climate" politics gets articulated in mainstream social movements (such as 350.org, The Climate Mobilization, Extinction Rebellion, and more recently, Just Stop Oil), the perceived emergency tends to center on a single concern (atmospheric carbon), which in turn calls for a technocratic solution (decarbonization). While we do indeed face a climate emergency of carbon pollution, the problem with emergency's narrow definition is that it caters to green capitalist interests, which would like nothing better than to view the crisis in the most limited way, so as to predetermine a limited solution – e.g. geoengineering, carbon capture, renewable energy – thereby keeping unequal social and economic systems intact.

Leaving those systems intact means doing nothing to stop the larger sociopolitical spectrum of historical and

ongoing oppression – the extraction of life, land, and labor, in Lyon's terms, creating conditions of economic inequality, racist police terror, social exploitation, and ecological violence – resulting in *multiple interconnected emergencies* that are the unavoidable outcome of centuries of racial and colonial capitalism. This is best understood not as the Anthropocene, a socio-geological term that falsely generalizes causality and equalizes the distribution of vulnerability, but rather as the "racial Capitalocene," as Françoise Vergès proposes. This latter concept "help[s] us understand that climate change is not about human hubris" – which fails to provide a credible analytics of the structural disparities caused by capitalism's socio-environmental relations – but is instead "the result of the long history of colonialism and racial capitalism." By limiting climate emergency to a matter of carbon pollution, proponents enable this unjust system to go unchecked, a system deeply complicit in the contradictions of dominant economic arrangements dedicated to unsustainable growth on a finite planet, which is fundamentally irreconcilable with meeting human needs and environmental wellbeing. Not surprisingly, Indigenous decolonial positions have severely criticized neocolonial green extractivism (seeking out new frontiers of lithium necessary for renewable batteries and infrastructure) for its complicity in anti-Indigenous colonial oppression (perpetuating new waves of landgrabs, exploited labor, and the displacement of Indigenous and racialized communities on the frontlines of anti-imperial struggle) ; while Black political ecology has condemned colorblind white environmentalism for its un-seeing of anti-Black racial injustice (where communities of color are disproportionately situated near toxic waste sites and sacrifice zones) ; and Marxist ecosocialism has opposed liberal technocratic solutionism (advocating carbon sequestration, geoengineering, and so on) that focuses narrowly on reducing atmospheric pollution, constituting a liberal single-issue environmentalism inattentive to, and potentially repeating, long histories of socio-economic oppression. Where all these concerns meet, and what's ultimately required, is an intersectionalist, trans-environmentalist, anti-systemic ecopolitics that draws ecological relations into alliance with socio-economic justice.

Given its assembly of diverse sociopolitical and geographical positionalities, Ressler's video's multi-perspectival social composition is crucial in this sense – as its aesthetic networks representatives from Indigenous Greenlandic and sub-Saharan African climate justice and anti-colonial struggles, French rural autonomist eco-anarchism, US anti-capitalist organizing,



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 Top: Tiago de Aragão, *Entre Parentes*, 2018, HD video, 27 min; below: Seday, paintings on banking buildings, 2015–2020; Lauren Bon and the Metabolic Studio, *Artists Need to Create on the Same Scale that Society Has the Capacity to Destroy*, 2006/2021, digital print, variable dimensions, exhibition views *Overground Resistance*, frei\_raum Q21 exhibition space, Vienna, 2021

and Spanish-internationalist urban environmentalism into an intersectionalist mix. The conversation performs and expresses a wide range of identities and strategic commitments. And while participation is not comprehensive in global distribution, nor are speakers unified in strategic approach, the discussion enacts expansive geopolitical reach with a firm anti-systemic (meaning: anti-capitalist) and anti-imperialist politics that provides a necessary corrective to liberal single-issue environmentalism.<sup>12</sup>

From the expanded basis of anti-imperialist struggle arises the second concern: how best to mobilize in-

ternationally at present? This question is particularly urgent given that the last thirty years of environmental struggle have been largely unsuccessful, as Muñoz contends, which corroborates the positions of Malm and Huber, each elaborating their own explanations. For Muñoz, the environmental movement must be magnitudes stronger to globally disrupt emissions-producing states in their capitals in order to force global system change, not just build autonomous spaces in the provinces like the ZAD, which articulates one point of tension in the discussion. Jordan responds by explaining that diverse sites of engagement remain necessary, including more aggressive tactics than merely nonviolent protest (which also finds visual expression in Ressler's exhibition *Overground Resistance* of 2021 in Vienna, including documentation of Zadists' destruction of fossil-fuel infrastructure and their violent confrontations with the police in the defense of their territory in 2018). Jordan's point resonates with Malm's *How to Blow Up a Pipeline*, which argues that twenty-first-century environmental movements have misguidedly limited their own power by fetishizing nonviolence above all else. In view of climate emergency's urgency that demands immediate response – offering all too little time for the difficult, time-consuming work

of organizing – Malm calls for revolutionary militancy, sabotage, and strategic property destruction in order to shut down the fossil economy at its point of production. (Ressler's own wall-scaled, ink-on-paper drawing, *Property Will Cost Us the Earth* of 2021 in Vienna, borrows its phrase from Malm's book, filling the outlines of its text's letters with drawings of hundreds of threatened species of wildlife).

For Malm, this necessary tactical step is in line with modernity's revolutionary struggles – he cites the suffragette movement, anti-Apartheid and anti-slavery campaigns, and decolonization efforts – which, contrary to the histories misconstrued by strategic nonviolence theorists, actually depended on militancy, where radical flanks of sabotage and armed resistance strengthened nonviolent social movements of liberation and were essential to their success. Complimenting Jordan's





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Tools for Action, *Red Line Barricade*, 2015, inflatable cube, poster; Rachel Schragis, *Confronting the Climate*, 2016, digital print, variable dimensions, exhibition view *Overground Resistance*, frei\_raum Q21 exhibition space, Vienna, 2021



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The Natural History Museum, *Mining the HMNS: An Investigation by The Natural History Museum*, 2016, posters, variable dimensions, HD videos; Noel Douglas, *No Breathing Space*, 2020, posters, 180 x 120 cm, exhibition view *Flood Tide of Resistance*, NeMe Arts Centre, Limassol / Cyprus, 2022



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Oliver Ressler, *Barricade Cultures of the Future*, 2021, 4K video, 38 min

statement, Bassey references the Nigerian context of anti-Shell struggles in Ogoniland, where, he explains, armed resistance to state oppression was critical in forcing the government to the negotiating table.

Jordan adds the necessity of future barricade cultures employing a diversity of tactics. More than masculinist heroics of militant resistance, they must be complex, multifaceted networks of distributed competences and roles, including mutual and medical aid, legal support, childcare, and collective provisioning. "There can't be women on the barricade if there aren't men in

the kitchen!" runs the Zadist slogan: in other words, climate politics, for its strategic success, must advance the intersectionalist practice of worldmaking, in this case, anti-sexist and anti-patriarchal, a principle which Aka Niviãna also articulates.

The third imperative is building a working-class base. Making this compelling intervention in environmentalist strategy is Matthew Huber's *Climate Change as Class War*, which advocates for renewed labor organizing, including within the energy sector. This is key, as workers ultimately keep the system in operation and uniquely hold the power to shut it down. Conspicuously, this position goes unaddressed in the conversation – perhaps confirming Huber's point about how environmental politics has largely been dominated by the professional-managerial class (PMC), which has lost touch with working class formations. It's also symptomatic of the left's current disorganization following decades of neoliberal attacks, labor's precaritization, and globalization's offshoring of union jobs to low-wage capital-friendly countries.

The result, Huber contends, is the reign of PMC climate politics, motivated by carbon guilt resulting from a privileged consumerist perspective – and one could extend this observation to much of the eco-aesthetics that dominate liberal cultural and institutional contexts, which often have little to nothing to say about class antagonism, commonly offering ecological proposals – unlike Ressler's own presentations – outside any anti-capitalist politics. Huber's challenge is that, if we are to build the mass movement necessary to transform the fossil capitalist system – the ultimate goal also recognized in Ressler's video – then it will require not PMC environmentalism, but one of an international working-class majority, the class responsible, more than any other, for the reproduction of life, including its present basis in fossil fuel systems.<sup>13</sup>

This is no easy matter to achieve, however, given the success of rightwing inroads into working class cultures, owing, in part, to the instrumentalization of worker social precarity through the scapegoating of racialized migrant

Top: *Overground Resistance*, exhibition poster, 2021; below: *Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination*, *Notre Flamme des Landes: The Illegal Lighthouse Against an Airport and Its World*, 2018, HD video, 16 min, exhibition views *Overground Resistance*, frei\_raum Q21 exhibition space, Vienna, 2021  
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Oliver Ressler, *Property Will Cost Us the Earth*, 2021, ink drawing on Hahnemühle Paper, 950 x 112 cm (drawings: Claudia Schioppa), exhibition view *Barricading the Ice Sheets*, Museum of Contemporary Art Zagreb, 2021

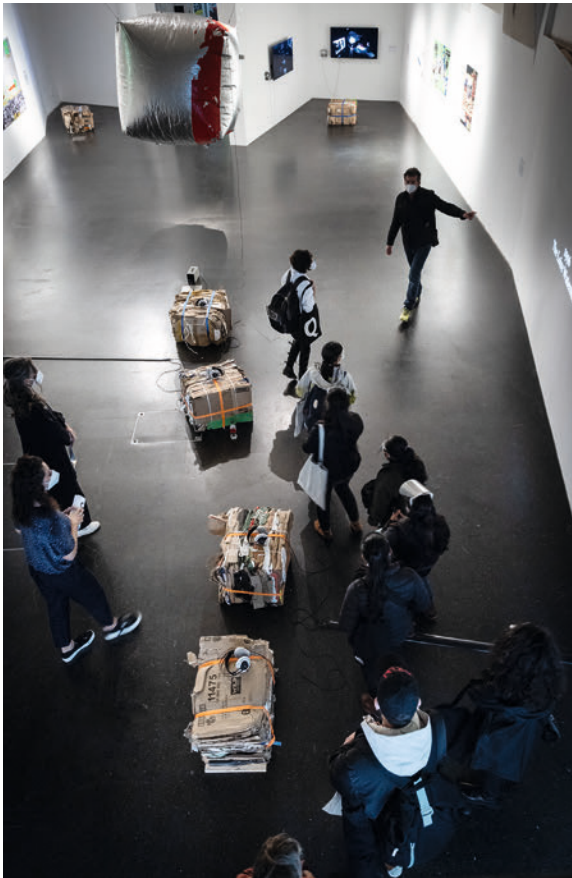
populations, thereby playing on fears that inspire the ecofascist formations Malm and the Zetkin Collective detail in *White Skin, Black Fuel: On the Danger of Fossil Fascism*.<sup>14</sup> Class consciousness is, of course, another site of struggle, and it cannot be assumed but must be built. As such, it demands an important role for cultural practice that operationalizes radical education, cross-racial movement formation, and the construction of the affects and aesthetics of social justice and equality – even while all of these areas are also exploited by and for reactionary political power funded by the ruling class. Climate change is also a matter of a *culture war*.

Finally, the fourth priority embedded in Lyon's question is that any majoritarian politics of life must be a politics of *more*, not *less*. This formulation, made compellingly by Huber, intervenes in current political debates between degrowth and ecomodernist environmentalisms.<sup>15</sup> While the debate is never directly confronted in Ressler's video – but is elsewhere in Ressler's work – several participants signal tension around the subject in the conversation. While Jordan emphasizes an immediate exodus from fossil capital to islands of radical degrowth like the ZAD, Muñoz and Bassey prioritize

a just transition from fossil fuel to renewable energy that requires not degrowth but the expansion of global-scaled decarbonized infrastructure for the global reproduction of life, according with Huber's terms. Meanwhile, Lyon's collective, Not An Alternative, warns elsewhere that "advocates of neo-primitivist lifestyle politics [who] retreat to the forests and mountains, to DIY off-the-grid living ... abandons the millions in the cities," and reflects "the failure to value black and brown life, the inability to conceive living with and in diverse egalitarian communities ..."<sup>16</sup>

The problem with degrowth, especially from the perspective of racially diverse working-class communities, is that it reads as more neoliberal austerity, which multitudes have suffered through for decades, especially in the global South living in the aftermath of the postcolonial underdevelopment of structural adjustment programs and governance by debt.<sup>17</sup> Getting less is therefore no selling point to winning widescale participation in environmentalist struggle, especially when combined with the narrowing of climate politics to mere decarbonization demands, which fails to address anti-imperial, racial injustice, and the decolonial struggle against decades of neoliberalism's organized abandonment.<sup>18</sup>





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Oliver Ressler guides delegates of the Zapatistas and CNI (National Indigenous Congress) through the exhibition *Overground Resistance*, frei\_raum Q21 exhibition space, Vienna, 2021

It's true that the rich must degrow, that the billionaire class must be abolished – not only for the sake of equality and democracy, but also because they contribute the majority of emissions – and that the military share of the global economy (particularly in the US) has no place in a sustainable and just world. But following strategic degrowth, the global working class stands to gain from the material redistribution of resources according to this politics of *more*, meaning greater economic security, expanded free education and health-care, better infrastructure, and plentiful decarbonized energy. (In Ressler's *Ende Gelände* video, the narration calls this "transfiguration by design," where instead of a degrowth by necessity, compelled by capitalist environmental disaster, an emancipatory ecopolitics worthy of the name would introduce more "mass transit and low rent, zero energy housing to grow," and "carbon-free provisions for needs on a global scale").

What's necessary, then – and what largely differs from the last few decades of environmentalist politics – is cultivating ecologies of labor to empower the move-

ment for a just transition, which must be for nothing less than an abundant ecosocialism, best defined by a future world prioritizing common welfare and majority uplift within a sustainable decarbonized economy. This is exactly the radical system change that's recognized today (and in some longstanding traditions) as the goal of the most far-reaching political horizon. More, it provides the foundational sociopolitical elements of the anti-capitalist anti-imperialism within which climate justice finds its surest basis. The problem, of course – which suggests why there was ultimately no easy response to Lyon's provocation – is that working-class organizational power is nowhere near the level necessary to challenge fossil capitalist rule.

Some, including Malm, Jodi Dean, and Kai Heron, have called for a "climate Leninism" – "the name for the politics needed at this juncture of imperialism and climate emergency," situated within "the tradition of revolutionary thought and struggle" extending from the history of socialist revolution – so as to bring about rapid politico-economic restructuring to forestall climate catastrophe. However, there's no collective subject at present capable of bearing the transformative agency of anti-imperialist anti-systemic change. Indeed, it must be built, slowly and systematically, with each new formation connecting to and advancing the last. What this requires, on the artistic front, is nothing less than a *climate aesthetics of class war*: a boundless arena of collective creativity, a worldbuilding liberated from dominant institutions of elite capture. The outlines of this principle are also threaded through the discussion in Ressler's video, which resonates with recent positions in politics and aesthetics (including emancipatory propaganda art and institutional liberation). While "aesthetic art promises a political accomplishment that it cannot satisfy," according to Jacques Rancière, militant aesthetics finds its accomplishment in contributing to social movements. Indeed, as Olúfẹ̀mi O. Táíwò outlines it, "a constructive political culture would focus on outcome over process," evaluated "by how well it helps us build what we are trying to build." To form barricade cultures of the future, this political aesthetics would be mobilized through a diversity of nonviolent and more aggressive tactics: from militant images to sabotage, from emancipatory agitprop to ecosocialist care, from an arts of assemblism to intersectionalist movement-building. All would contribute to shaping a cross-racial, internationalist, working class majority to defend a politics of multispecies flourishing – even while there's all too little time to do so.

