

**Beyond**

the dark

**Horizon...**

a collective work

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# Introduction

## **Beyond the Dark Horizon - Volume 4**

Welcome to issue 4 of 'Beyond the Dark Horizon' an irregularly published journal of anarchistic creations. By which we mean anarchistic creations created by a small group of anarchists or fellow travellers. In this issue we have a range of beautiful photographs, drawings, poems, raves, scene reports from some radicals in the lower south-east of so-called Australia. Topics include squatting, relationships to environments, critiques of modernity, reflections on barricades, forest campaign reports and reports of actions.

We hope that while the Palestinian resistance and indigenous struggle here against genocide continue, while rents go through the roof, ecological disasters like the algae bloom off the 'south Australian' coast (algae bloom) unfold, fascism grows in America and social and ecological collapse play out that this little volume will inspire reflection and resistance

on anarchistic struggle against the capitalist, colonial mega-machine.

**FUCK THE COPS, LAND-BACK, DESTROY WORK, SMASH THE STATE, SMASH  
FASCISM, 3 WORD SLOGANS, DESTROY CLOCK-TIME!**

Beyond the Dark Horizon

<https://beyondthedarkhorizon.org>

[Insta/beyond\\_the\\_dark\\_horizon](#)

## Grange St Notice to Squatters



SQUATTER!

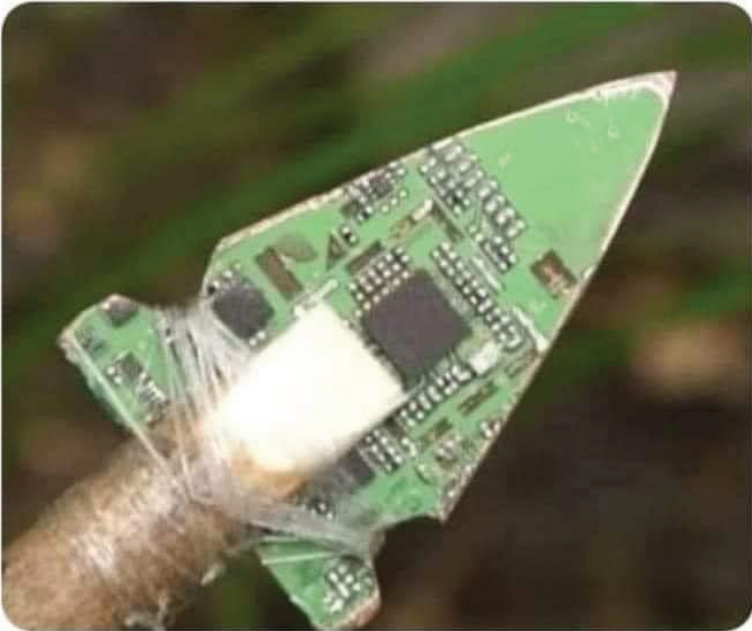
Going to be CIVIL  
THIS TIME! IF you  
ALL get out of my  
HOUSE (soon to be DEMOLISHED)

I will HAVE my  
REMNANTS REMOVE you  
AND your PROPERTY.

P.s cops haven't been  
NOTIFIED AS of yet.  
THE OWNER !!!

"WE'LL BE SO TECHNOLOGICALLY  
ADVANCED IN 20 YEARS THAT  
NOBODY WILL HAVE TO WORK!"

PEOPLE IN 20 YEARS:





57,000 EMPTY HOMES  
- 100,000 CAPS  
30,000 HOMES

THIS HOUSE HAS  
BEEN EMPTY  
15 YEARS

SANTA  
HATES

HOMES FOR PEOPLE  
NOT FOR PROFITS

YEARS  
PT

# Barricades



A barricade in the Paris Commune, March 18, 1871.

The ultimate NO! The last stand ...building strong resistance, using pallets, planks, rubbish, railway girders, concrete, our own bodies..

Echoes of the cobbled streets from Paris, in 1968...where the streets themselves became a source of rocks to defend the barricades...

Some of my favourites :

### 1. 70's Bowen hills

Hot sun of Meanjin beating down on us, outside the rough weatherboard houses we were occupying to stop the freeway being built through the inner city suburb... the only warning to residents was a letter "your house is being compulsorily purchased" for far less than its value of course .... **Long-hair, bodies, women and men, blocking the narrow house passages against the scabs and cops...** Rough treatment when the cops broke through – lumps of hair pulled from heads as we were dragged from the houses..sometimes arrested, sometimes dumped out on the road..

### 2. 80's Effra Parade

Plenty of time to make perfect barricades, while we lived in a row of old brick houses, all squatted except for one.. in Brixton, South London. Due for demolition, 9 perfectly good houses, (some even with working bathrooms!) And to build what instead of the houses? A housing office – what a bureaucratic joke ! It was really to get rid of the anarchists..

**Strong front doors were braced into the floor joists diagonally in 3 points, ready for the sledgehammers.** Windows were protected by layered bed springs, with plywood bolted on top..banners on the houses showing our resistance “Save Effra Parade!” Locals told us the day the cops and council bailiffs were arriving, at dawn.

We hugged each other inside my house, prepared, but a bit scared, with the bailiffs smashing away at the doors and windows, working up a proper sweat trying to get in...the sledgehammers were bouncing off the bed-springs! The timber gave way, after a while..we were pulled out, but not arrested...except for one. We moved off to the anarchist book-shop for cups of tea and to feed my cat, who was safely out of harm's way. Funnily enough, the cops also smashed the door of the renters who were living in the row, hoping to be re-housed if they behaved!

### 3. 2000's London CBD

Carnival Against Capitalism in London! **The Stock Exchange had to go – and it did**, people running around inside causing havoc and getting away before the police and security realized what was happening...

I knew reprisals would be swift. On a main road leading towards the Exchange, I pulled

out rubbish into the road, which was already full of reclaim the streets party goers. Their ultimate goal seemed only to perform and dance with music..gorgeous people, obviously.

Another older protester joined me piling up barricade material..next minute, a party-goer told us that barricades were “violence”.. Arrgh, surely they were to prevent heads getting kicked ? We didn’t bother arguing, and left them to their “party”..

#### 4. 2002 Pink Castle



A creative inspiration – build a Pink Castle at the entrance to a GM maize “trial” in Dorset to stop it ! Sounds far-fetched? Google it! It was already built when I arrived with strings of flags for decoration.. I had a freezing night there with the others..heard a cuckoo in the morning and saw a deer grazing on the edge of the woods ..End result ? No GM crop was planted.

## 5. The desal plant

**Bodies can be barricades, as long as the batons and capsicum spray of the cops are not being used to “keep the peace”. Whose peace? The peace of passivity and obedience.**

Rallying on the only road into the desal plant site was keeping the trucks in a traffic jam. The campaign was to stop the energy guzzling desal plant and go for better options, like tanks and storm water capture. But should we stay on the road ? For how long ? Was this a token protest ? Or did we really mean to hold out? The last refuge of social democrats – “let’s have a vote!” There was a vote, but half the people voted to stay...so half the people left, weakening our human barricade, and the trucks eventually got through...until the next time !

Jennifer MacPherson

Further reading : Protest 1830-2023 Architecture: Barricades, Camps, Spatial Tactics: Barricades, Camps, Spatial Tactics 1830-2023 1 February 2024 by Peter Cachola Schmal

First book ever on architectural manifestations of protest movements . Features a chronology of some 80 protest movements and their mostly temporary structures between 1830 and 2022, with around 170 entries, and 14 detailed case studies.

**ALL THE  
ARMS WE  
NEED**



# Rebels with a cause: the defiant power of Anarchy & Animal Rescue.

Defiance is the refusal to comply with authority, norms, or control imposed by a higher power, whether that power is a government, institution, or societal expectation. Throughout history, defiance has been a tool for challenging oppression, fighting for justice, &

demanding change. Two seemingly unrelated movements that exemplify defiance in modern society are anarchy & animal rescue. While anarchism is often viewed as a political ideology aimed at dismantling hierarchical systems of governance, animal rescue is seen as a humanitarian effort focused on protecting & nurturing animals from harm. Both movements, however, are united by a common theme: the act of defiance against systems that perpetuate control, exploitation, & suffering. Anarchy & animal rescue, in their own unique ways, challenge the status quo & stand as powerful acts of defiance against authoritarian structures that harm individuals & other sentient beings.

## **Anarchy: Defiance Against Authority**

Anarchy, at its core, is a political philosophy that advocates for a stateless society, where individuals or groups govern themselves without hierarchical systems of control. The word Anarchy often conjures images of chaos & lawlessness among the great unwashed,

but in its philosophical context, it signifies a rejection of unjust authority & the belief in self-management & voluntary cooperation. At the heart of anarchism lies a profound act of defiance against state power, institutional control, & oppressive systems that regulate every aspect of life.

The roots of anarchy can be traced back to the works of philosophers like Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, who famously declared that “property is theft”, & Mikhail Bakunin, who argued that the state serves as a mechanism for the suppression of individual liberty. These thinkers laid the groundwork for Anarchism as an ideology that critiques the political structures that create inequality & injustice. Anarchists do not just resist the power of governments; they also oppose the economic systems that allow for the exploitation of both people & resources. They reject the notion that power should be concentrated in the hands of a few, arguing instead for decentralized, egalitarian forms of governance where individuals have more autonomy & control over their lives.

The act of defying authority through Anarchism can be seen in various forms, from protests & direct action to community-based efforts aimed at creating alternative systems of living. Anarchists challenge the traditional structures of government, law enforcement, & economic systems that, in their view, perpetuate injustice, inequality, & oppression. By refusing to comply with these structures, anarchists are engaging in an act of defiance that

calls into question the very legitimacy of these institutions & demands a rethinking of how society should be organized. This defiance is not merely theoretical but manifests in direct actions that seek to disrupt the status quo & promote self-determination.

### **Animal Rescue: Defiance Against Exploitation & Abuse**

Animal rescue, while not necessarily a political movement in the traditional sense, can also be seen as a form of defiance this time against the exploitation, cruelty, & abuse faced by animals in society.

In the modern world, animals are often treated as commodities, whether for entertainment, food, or labour. They are subjected to factory farming, forced labour, & even environmental degradation that puts their habitats at risk. The act of rescuing animals from harm, therefore, stands in direct opposition to these systems of exploitation & control. Animal rescuers, whether they are individuals or organizations, often operate outside of the traditional structures that govern animal welfare.

Many rescues take place outside the boundaries of legal systems, especially in cases where animals are trapped in dire situations & the state/law enforcement is either unavailable or unwilling to intervene. In such cases, animal rescuers often take matters into their own

hands, removing animals from environments where they are being harmed, such as puppy mills, laboratories, or factory farms. These actions represent a form of defiance against a system that legalises & perpetuates animal cruelty for profit. Furthermore, animal rescue can be seen as a critique of the commodification of animals. In industries such as factory farming or entertainment (ie ;horse racing), animals are treated as property to be bought, sold, & exploited. By rescuing animals from these conditions, rescuers are directly challenging the systems that treat animals as mere objects rather than sentient beings with rights & intrinsic value.

**The act of saving an animal from harm is a direct challenge to the systems that devalue their lives, asserting that animals, like humans, deserve respect, dignity, & freedom from exploitation. Parallel Defiance: middle fingers to the Status Quo Despite their different focuses, both Anarchy & Animal rescue share a common underlying theme: defiance against oppressive systems that maintain control over individuals & animals. Both movements critique systems that perpetuate suffering, whether that suffering is political, economic, or ethical in nature.**

Anarchists reject the centralized power structures that allow for exploitation, inequality, & control, advocating for a society based on mutual aid, cooperation, & self-determi-

nation. Animal rescuers similarly challenge the systems that allow for animal abuse & exploitation, advocating for a world where animals are not treated as commodities but as beings deserving of compassion & care. Both movements call for radical change & the dismantling of systems that perpetuate harm, whether that harm is inflicted on humans or animals.

At the heart of both anarchy & animal rescue is the idea of autonomy. Anarchists seek a world in which individuals are free to govern themselves, without interference from authoritarian forces. Similarly, animal rescuers seek to liberate animals from systems that deprive them of their autonomy, allowing them to live free from exploitation & abuse. Both movements seek to promote justice & equality, whether for humans or animals, & to create a world where freedom, compassion, & mutual respect are paramount.

### **Challenges & Resistance**

Both Anarchism & Animal rescue face significant challenges & resistance from the established systems they seek to challenge. Anarchists are often viewed as radicals or extremists, & their actions are frequently met with legal & social opposition. Governments, law enforcement, & corporate entities often view Anarchist movements as a threat to the established order & respond with repression, surveillance, & legal action. Despite these

challenges, Anarchists continue to engage in acts of defiance, believing that the fight for a just & free society is worth the risks. Similarly, Animal rescuers face legal & social resistance when they defy the systems that exploit animals. In many cases, animal rescue organizations operate in a legal grey area, particularly when they rescue animals from situations where the state fails to protect them.

Animal industries, such as factory farming, also exert significant influence over political systems, making it difficult for Animal welfare advocates to pass meaningful legislation that protects Animals from abuse. Despite these obstacles, animal rescuers continue their work, driven by a moral imperative to protect animals from harm.

### **The Moral Responsibility of Defiance**

At its core, both Anarchy & Animal rescue are motivated by a deep sense of moral responsibility. Anarchists view their defiance against the state & hierarchical systems as a moral duty to fight for justice, equality, & freedom. Similarly, animal rescuers view their actions as a moral imperative to protect animals from suffering & exploitation. Both movements, in their own ways, challenge the moral legitimacy of systems that perpetuate harm, calling for a world that is more just, compassionate, & free.

The sum of it all Anarchy & Animal rescue, though different in their goals & methods, share a common spirit of defiance against systems of oppression. Both movements challenge the status quo, whether by rejecting state authority & hierarchical governance or by defying industries that exploit & harm animals. In doing so, they advocate for justice, autonomy, & freedom values that transcend human & animal boundaries. The defiant actions of Anarchists & Animal rescuers serve as powerful reminders that standing up to injustice, regardless of the form it takes, is a necessary & righteous pursuit.

Mel





"I don't do what I do because I think I can save the world. I fight because I know that the whole world will be destroyed, it will be consumed by the sun, leaving only ash, and when that day comes, I want the story that comes to an end to be a story of beauty and tragedy and resistance, not a story of stupid, pointless suffering, but a story of joy and courage. I fight because I know that there is no happily ever after, there is no salvation or revolution waiting for us at the end of history, there is just what we do today—that is all the beauty and meaning in the world that there will ever be."

# NOTE FROM THE BUSH WORKERS COLLECTIVE

**We work for Country. And in turn, we work for the Sovereign Peoples. We are on Kulin Lands.**

We are ecologists, botanists, bush regenerators and land protectors. Anarchists, communists, collectivists and socialists- we are not bound to any particular sect or dogma. We deserve a living wage, a subsistence wage and more. While others profit from and plunder the Stolen Lands we attempt in small ways to reverse the ecocide caused by the colony. The First Peoples deserve Landback, economic and political power and the end of the genocide.

We turn to the First Nations, to the Blak Sovereign Movement and radical and revolutionary mob Resistance for leadership and guidance. The british colony known as australia has had 237 years, the port phillip settlement called victoria 190 years; to prove to the Land and her People that it can sustainably reside here, care for her and all the beings here.

**The colony has failed. The colony will fall.**

-----  
In winter 2023 we held our inaugural fire barrel meeting at Catalyst and commenced

monthly meetings. We have held two social camps. We now have 6 full members and a growing number of solidarity members.

We have issued a Minimum Wage Statement to unions, businesses, local governments,

indigenous nurseries, community organisations and land councils proposing improved wages for ecological restoration workers in 2022, 2023 and 2024.

**It has been an honour to be involved in a small way with the re-establishment of Camp Sovereignty. We are grateful and delighted to stand with our comrades at the Black Peoples Union and the supporters of Djuran Bunjileenee Uncle Robbie Thorpe.**



We have many plans- in 2025 we will draft our constitution, we will claim neglected land for restoration. We will continue to engage with the 'industry'. We will build community and work with others to create capacity to survive and thrive in a post-colonial, post-capitalist society.

[www.bushworkerscollective.org](http://www.bushworkerscollective.org)

## Callitris view of lake mungo - Paakantji, Mutthi Mutthi, and Ngiyampaa country

This Callitris tree stands at the edge of lake mungo looking over to the great wall of china – a feature created by the overgrazing of stock leading to erosion and exposure of the ancient remains of a woman and a man

My first sight of this place was in my early teens, with my family including the dog, squashed in the holden heading for a fishing trip to an old camp on the darling river. My blind grandfather was directing which lead us coming on to dusk in the middle of nowhere.....with red kangaroos hopping in front of the car and my dad swearing. We finally made it out to the highway but I never forgot the sight of that desolate landscape

Travelling there recently with new eyes and new understanding, it made more sense.... why it looks that way

And the long,  
long story  
from when  
it was a lush  
flourishing  
wetland with  
enough water  
and food to  
sustain a large  
community  
before climate  
change

I sit by this old  
Callitris and  
wonder what  
its seen and  
what its ances-  
tors saw





EAT THE BANKERS



# Flooded Bael - Barapa Barapa country

River redgum (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis*) was first botanically described in 1832 at l'hortus camaldulensis di Napoli in Naples Italy

What's in a name

They occur all over this country with a number of different subspecies

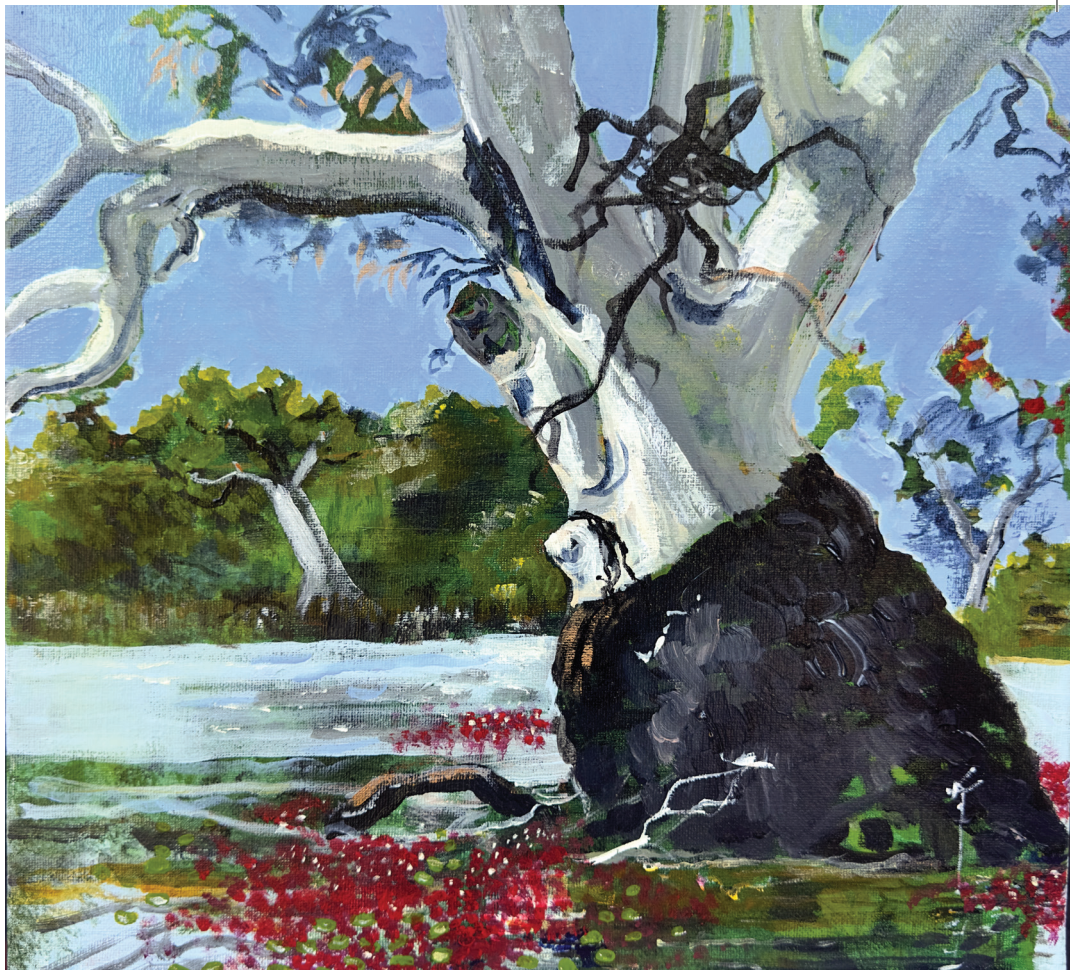
To the Barapa Barapa they are known as Bael

This tree in drier seasons has witnessed marriages and is part of the cultural landscape of the biggest inland island in so-called australia, Gawarra.

Here it is flooded, the water red with *Azolla* a water fern

This tree taught me about water- not just water per se, but how high the water gets; what season it floods and how often; how long the water takes to drain/evaporate; how dry it gets and for how long....and whether the water is clean. This is one of the few areas along Mirri/Mile (Murray River) that is allowed relatively natural flows and that is reflected in its biodiversity

The night herons watch from their roost in a distant tree



# Geco 30 Years

**GECO Timeline**

Nov 1993 Celebrate + Defend Festival X

DEC → Alstead ~~W~~ Bungwar, Ferntree X  
 Sellers Rd + Ned Kelly Action Humphries Mill

1994 Hensleigh CK blockade + jai-lsts

1995 Sellers Rd + <sup>cont.</sup> Carbera Forest Embassy  
 blockades (RFEU) Eden Chipmill

1996 Cobon Great Walk Greens Rd + Ada  
 + Quadra + Cobon + Humphries Mill

1997 Goolengook starts + <sup>hundreds of arrests</sup> Woodstop  
 John Bisted March Evening Day

1998 Celebrate + Defend Festival + Woodstop  
 Walk Against Woodchips Future Reserve  
 2000 Erindara Rd + Shadyon + EGL Action STUMP TRUCK  
 BASHING → Goolengook KFOET Phy Action  
 2001 Goolengook galth-criming Medieval Feast  
 Dingo Creek Survey Rd Ferntree Howard  
 2002 Goolengook busted + RALLY MELBURNE  
 Survey + Centre Rd Stump Truck  
 2003 Johnny + BigTree Ferntree X  
 Neighbour 5  
 Cigarette  
 or wall

2004 Emerald Adventure Walks + Fern Forest #2  
 Martins CK + 36 Mile + Result CK "Research Station"  
 2005 Dingo CK + Student actions <sup>Valley</sup> X  
 2006 DMC Eden Ade River Rally for Forest 10%  
 GEO EVICTED! - Stamp truck  
 2007 Punk Grog Goongah blockade - <sup>Colman Ashtrays</sup> Black Hair Red  
 2008 Sundry Rd Brown Mountain <sup>Pungwarra</sup> Stuyck  
 2010 Sundry Rd Goongah anniversary  
 +11 Larissa Lane Pikes Hill <sup>summiting</sup>  
 2012 Such is Life Festival Cabri Hill + Jersey 36 miles  
 2013 Such is Life Valley Mt Jersey <sup>Nippon beer Goonmik Rills</sup>  
 2014 Fires in Goongah **KUARK** <sup>Tony Abbott visits Goongah</sup>  
 2015 Hensleigh Statts Jacks Rd <sup>Rainforest logging</sup>  
 2016 **KUARK** <sup>Goonahood</sup> <sup>Chien Suee Award</sup>  
 2017 Granite Mountain Emerald Link **KUARK**  
 -18 Illegal logging case "Sliding to Extinction"  
 2019 Granite Mountain <sup>Enrto old growth logging</sup> 96000ha  
 2020 **FIRES** ☺ <sup>Destroyed everything</sup>  
<sup>Bushnell family stop logging</sup>  
 2021 **ERKUNDIRA BLOCKADE**  
 2023 End to native forest logging!







# EARTHCARE

NOT

# WARFARE



**DISRUPT LAND FORCES 2024**

**SEPTEMBER 8-14 | NAARM**

More info at [www.disruptlandforces.org](http://www.disruptlandforces.org)



# Disrupt Land Force 2024 Reflection part four: Enduring.

<http://linktr.ee/disruptwars> The DLF mobilisation in 2024 was one of the largest direct action mobilisations in recent times and the following is some extracts from reflection documents written within the movement.

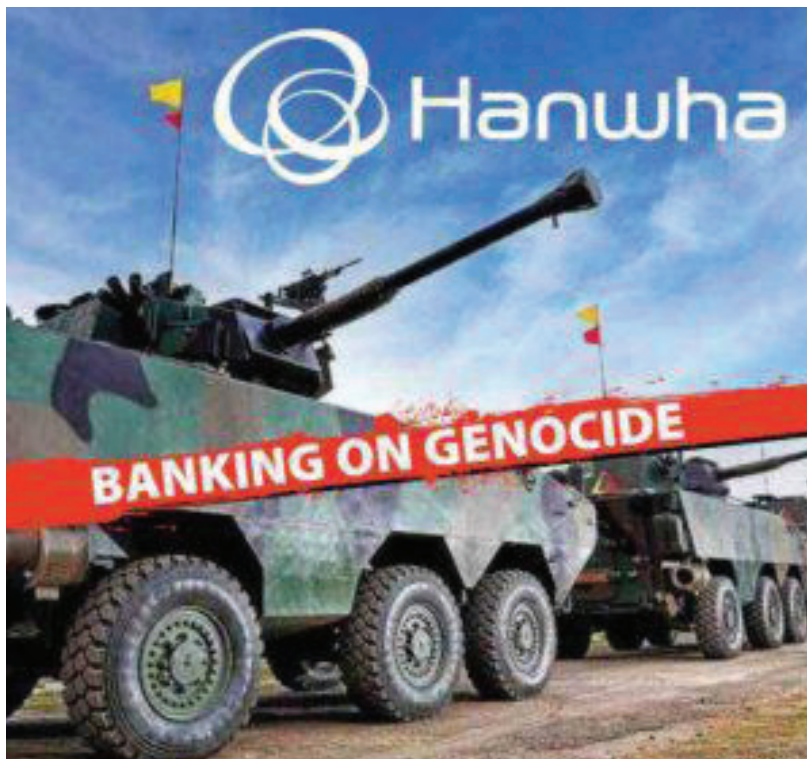
The violence

When spray paint on a window is diagnosed as ‘violent’ in public discourse but the beheading of toddlers is constituted as legitimate ‘defense’, we feel that the term ‘violence’ has lost its meaning. Regarding protest, the ‘peaceful’ versus ‘violence’ frame is a narrative trap set for us by mainstream power holders. The more we use time and energy disputing what is and isn’t ‘violence’ amongst ourselves the more successful their trap has been. At DLF we choose not to step into this trap.

Rather than ‘peaceful’ versus ‘violent’ we use a frame of ‘harm’ and ‘care’ in our organising. We foster an ethic of community care and we centre this in all our spaces. We ask that comrades ‘do no harm to life’. We ask that comrades engage with each other with maximum respect and – stretch goal – in a spirit of revolutionary love. Even at our most

vulnerable, such as during the extreme policing of the Land Forces expo, we saw a community praxis of care that was extraordinary. The way people stepped up to protect, assist and look after each other during the police assaults of September 11 gives us hope for our future.

Many of the acts police referred to as ‘protester violence’ were in reality part of a spectrum of care that was selfless, tireless and ultimately very effective. Leaning into the protester tactics described by media outlets as ‘violent’ we discover acts designed to protect community from police attacks. People placed their bodies or bread crates up against the horses to prevent trampling or enable safe movement. Rubbish bins were set on fire to deter a police charge with those horses. None of us hurt a horse or another human. Not one. Throwing soft projectiles like eggs or tomatoes, verbal heckling, setting fires and using our bodies as a barricade to protect our comrades are tactics some people don’t relate to, and this was reflected in our evaluation sessions. Our ethic is one of non-judgement of other people’s tactics; discussion is great, cancellation not so much. We only note, here, that none of these tactics caused harm to life. Any injuries to police were self-inflicted, with officers accidentally spraying each other, hitting each other and falling over themselves.



Meanwhile, deals to displace First Nations peoples, destroy their lands and murder en masse were going ahead inside the weapons expo. The most egregious harm at Land Forces was the genocidal commerce taking place within the concrete box that is MCEC.

The police brutality on Wed 11 Sept showed how determined the State of Victoria was to enable this lucrative murder trade to take place.

Sasha, 64

We forced the State to show its hand. Its hand looks like 2000 paramilitary goons firing projectiles, trampling and beating us. This is the reality of militarism, revealed in its all its gory expenditure.

Caroline, 55

The structural harm playing out inside the Land Forces expo was complemented by the material harm police inflicted upon our people. Police used batons, capsicum spray, hard foam bullets and stun grenades to attack activists who were seated or who had fallen down, who were in wheelchairs, holding children, administering first aid to other activists, or who were simply present at the protest. Some of us felt that police used the Land Forces event to conduct a real time training session, to 'road test' weapons and combat-style policing.

A disheartening and gross feeling was the reality that we kinda became part of the expo with the deployment of those weapons, we became an on the ground showcase of crowd control.

Rose, 30

Police used it as training practice, deploying their riot squads and projectiles.

Napi, 32

There is no way in which we contributed to the assaults. I was on the road and I saw different groups doing different things. I stand by everyone's actions. They put on all those extra cops so that they could use military weapons and practice against civilians. Even with all the attacks against us, it was incredible and amazing to be there. I'm proud of our people.

Marigold, 54

The brutal actions of police at Land Forces left hundreds injured and everyone shaken. The anger and grief continue to rise in us two months later. September 11 has become a watershed for repression and also for resistance. We have had many conversations and will have many more to evaluate the tactics used on that day. Activist aftercare continues, with emotional, material and legal support crews all held in the powerful embrace of the grassroots antimilitarist movement.

The violence was horrendous. It was hard to notice how much it affected me until the next week.

Sebastian, 23

**I'm really angry about the terrible cop violence.**

**Ahmed, 28**

The police violence was really scary for me and my friends, it was overwhelming. I feel sad about it. I was worried that the violence on Wednesday may have deterred people from turning up. I don't think it will deter people from turning up but it may encourage people to be more strategic about how they turn up, and how to reduce harm.

The heavy repression felt overwhelming. There were so many cops. They want us to feel that it's not worth it, they are punishing us so that we give up. Being at the Seafarers was an amazing counter to that repression. The coming together of community is beautiful.

Sandy



Going into the mobilisation, DLF organisers knew that police would attack us at the Picket event on September 11. People did not expect the array of weaponry and military tactics police deployed, however; nobody expected the coordinated shield advances, baton charges, grenades and shootings that occurred. We were appalled as we watched and experienced the police harming our community over and over again. Organisers had attempted to mitigate police harm by suggesting deployment in 'pods' and to stay away from police lines. The pod tactic was somewhat successful (see part 3 of this report), however the level of cop brutality set the agenda for both the picket and its representation. The mainstream media, predictably, normalised the militarised policing operation while dehumanising us. Back in the real world, dealing with the extreme policing and heightened surveillance took and continues to take a lot of activist time and energy. This is an intended effect of policing-as-repression.

Organisers considered engaging in liaison with police prior to the mobilisation but decided to leave that decision up to the various event organisers. A few comrades suggested that marshals or police liaison people may have been effective in mitigating police attacks on September 11.

Not doing liaison contributed to this over reaction by the cops on the Wednesday. Police liaison is an obligation. You have to carry the police with the movement; change has to include police. To walk away from it is dangerous. They got to use the event to try out crowd control weaponry.

### **Some responses to this point:**

In other pickets I have seen police liaisons get pepper sprayed. Their ability to mitigate police attacks is very limited.

Bella, 44

*I think police liaisons can be very helpful but in some circumstances like Wednesday it would have made no difference to the brutality, it just would have made the police liaisons vulnerable.*

*Yiannis, 35*

DLF organisers liaised with police about one event, the Motorcade on Monday 9th, hoping that liaising would mitigate police harassment along the route. Our liaison was completely fruitless. Police harassed and humbugged every single set of wheels on the road or off it. All our liaison achieved was to give them a heads up about the route, resulting in heavy police guards at all the weapons corporations of inner city Naarm. A police liaison / bunny buddy was the first person to be arrested during the mobilisation, in relation to the Lizard car block of the Westgate Bridge. We do not believe that deploying police liaisons or marshals would have led to a reduction in police brutality.

There are upsides to the harmful repression we experienced. First, the multiple expressions of mutual aid both on site and ever since September 11 have created and cemented bonds within our community and demonstrated how beautifully we are able to support each other. The practice of care as solidarity was exemplary throughout the DLF mobilisation; more on this below. Secondly, our picket forced the state to reveal its commitment to corporatism and militarism through its vicious defence of the Land Forces expo. Last and not least, the deployment of thousands of militarised police in the centre of Naarm was in itself highly disruptive.

Working smarter, not harder, is the challenge we face at future arms expos and other large targets. The successes and failures of the four hour picket on Wednesday 11th are fertile ground for activist learning and planning. We will never outgun the police, nor would we try to. We can, however, outsmart them, and we frequently do.

After the brutality of Wednesday September 11, it felt like we had more traumatised people than we had arms to hold them. At that point, we hoped that others in the broader community would step up to care for the injured and distressed; many did. One comrade asked,

How could we have even bigger arms to catch all the people who were in distress? We

didn't quite manage to hold all the people.

We needed to prepare people for the repression. At other mobilisations we have held sessions to prepare people. Maybe that would have helped.

Celia, 59

As often happens after an episode of police brutality or state repression, some people looked for a person or collective to blame, holding other activists responsible for the harm instead of directing anger at the authors of the harm, the police. This was extremely disheartening for DLF organisers, who were ourselves injured, arrested and distressed by the police overkill. We invite community to reflect on our responses to brutality, study ways of resisting repression, and use crisis as an opportunity to double down on solidarity. We expect state repression to increase as climate impacts worsen and wealth disparity passes ever more ridiculous extremes. Let's be ready to hold each other. We are going to need those 'even bigger arms' to survive end stage capitalism.

## The care

A core goal of DLF was to foment communities of care. We met and exceeded this goal. The level and degree of care offered by everyone to everyone was the most heartening and hopeful facet of the mobilisation. Deep respect and radical altruism were present on the streets, at rallies, at Camp Sovereignty, in our homes and at our basecamp at the Mission to Seafarers. We welcomed new activists and established campaigners alike to eat, learn and mobilise together. We worked together to solve problems with humility and grace. It was a joy to be in our spaces. It is affirming to see that despite the shit and violence and chaos of the world, we know how to put community care into practice and foreground revolutionary love.

**I found it easy to connect with people. It was easy to come in as a sort of individual.**

**Drew, 50**

**Seafarers was an amazing space, where relationship building was enabled and happened.**

**Cass, 22**

Seafarers felt like home, our community's home. I loved being there.

Tati, 28

People were peaceful and caring and contained. Seeing that sense of community has really affected me. It's what I want to be doing. It has drawn me into wanting to be doing this, making this work my focus.

Sebastian, 23

The kitchen! Every time I entered the kitchen a different crew was in there chopping and cleaning and stirring.

Nour, 27

We built nice connections with new people, full of care and nurturing.

Sandy, 16

The kitchen team managed to feed a hundred people twice a day for seven days. Meals were tasty, nutritious, plentiful and 100% vegan. DLF organisers prioritise eating together as a foundation of all other work. Sharing food energises and bonds us. Sharing food during meetings and mobilisations is normal in much of the global south and across diasporic communities in the north. We want to normalise sharing food as a protest essential here in Straya. The kitchen team did a vast amount of work prior to and during the mobilisation. Their work anchored us in daily shared spaces of rest, recovery and sociality. The kitchen team deserve every kind of celebration.

Another team we need to single out for major gratitude is Naarm Frontline Medics. This crew was already beloved by the movement, having shown up again and again to care for people injured by police. When the police went ballistic on September 11, Frontline Medics were there to hold, treat and comfort us. Here, we quote from the Medics' own reflections on the mobilisation.

We were involved from the very start, so we had very established relationships and were able to help with decisions and thinking things through. This was a great thing for us. There was some well organised decon [decontamination]; the medics appreciated being brought in early. And it's good to see a genuine commitment to aftercare and reflection.

On the Wednesday there was a second self-organising group of medics not doing real well in the space. We've encouraged [Salt] medics to get training but the collaboration is poor. One thing we learnt is that the best thing for us medics is to not change our plans when there is a clash between others and our own organised crew.

There were some real problems with the way the other medic team was working. A big thing was people were spraying saline on peoples' faces, which spreads the OC spray as the water washes it down the body (potentially hitting incredibly sensitive areas). You need to wipe OC off, not squirt it away.

People were also spraying peoples' eyes without properly opening them, which spreads the OC around the eyes more and also pushes it around the face.

And another big thing is that we always encourage people to remove casualties from the area where they were hit, to reduce the trauma and also prevent further harm from taking place. But too many people were left at the front, very close to horses and violent cops, instead of being moved a little further back for safer care.

There's more, but those are the big things that can have a really negative impact on protesters and create additional work for medics.

Cam 44, representing Naarm Front-line Medics

The care team were limited in number but boundless in their offerings. The main role played by the care team was collecting arrested people from custody and taking them wherever they needed to go. We can't overstate the importance of this work. Exiting the cop shop to find a friendly face offering hugs, treats, a lift and a chance to vent or cry mitigates the harm of being detained and sets us up to recover well. Some of the care team mobilised at our events also:



## HOSPITALISED COPPER

Cor! What a shiner! What with the increase of cop helicopters, the use of pepper spray, CS gas and long-armed truncheons, and their usual meat-headed violence, you'd expect better than this from the Plod, wouldn't you? However, when WPC Vanessa Greening of

I was acting as part of the care team. I didn't really process what was happening emotionally at the time, but reflecting later it was very powerful to have been standing in front of police lines handing out snacks and water, and making sure everyone had the watch house number. It felt like it sent a strong message to the police as well as providing community care.

Naomi 37

Whatever else we did or didn't manage to do, our caring praxis was exemplary. Some of the care was coordinated, through the kitchen, medics or care team. Then there were multiple spontaneous acts of care. Picking up an injured person, showing another activist a new skill, ensuring that wheelchair users were not trampled by cops, sharing all that we own and all that we know: these actions show us who we really are and what we are capable of. This was a major success story of the DLF mobilisation.

... (this is an extract from a section of a reflection document. For the full article see the link at the top of this article)







Jellis Craig

LAND BACK  
NOT  
LAND BANK

SOLD

WHITEFOX  
CLASSIC

100% STALLS  
FAMILY FRIENDLY

JELLIS  
CRAIG

411  
200

# Kiacatoo

by Kevin Gilbert

On the banks of the Laobhan they caught us  
at a place called Kiacatoo  
we gathered by campfires at sunset  
when we heard the death-cry of curlew  
men gathered for their mulla and spear  
men reached for their mulla and spear  
the curlew again gave the warning  
of footsteps of death drawing near  
Barpoola whirled high in the firstlight  
and casting his spear screamed out 'Run!  
his body scorched quickly on embers  
knocked down by the shot of a gun  
the screaming curlew's piercing whistle  
was drowned by the thunder of shot  
men women and child fell in mid-flight  
and a voice shouted 'We've bagged the lot,  
and singly the shots echoed later  
to quieten each body that stirred  
above the gurgling and bleeding  
a nervous man's laugh could be heard  
'They're cunning this lot, guard the river'  
they shot until all swimmers sank  
but they didn't see Djarrmal's family  
hid in the lee of the bank  
Djarrmal warned 'Stay quiet or perish  
they're cutting us down like wild dogs  
put reeds in your mouth - underwater  
we'll float out of here under logs'  
a shot cracked and splintered the timber  
the young girl Kalara clutched breath  
she later became my great grandma  
and told the story of my people's death

The Yoorung bird cries by that place now  
no big fish will swim in that hole  
my people pass by that place quickly  
in fear with quivering soul  
at night when the white ones are sleeping  
content in their modern day dreams  
we hurry past Kiacatoo  
where we still hear shuddering screams  
you say 'Sing me no songs of past history  
let us no further discuss'  
but the question remains still unanswered  
How can you deny us like Pilate  
refusing the rights due to us,  
The land is now all allocated  
the Crown's common seal is a shroud  
to cover the land thefts the murder  
but can't silence the dreams of the proud.



**I SPEAK FOR THE TREES,  
AND THEY SAID**



**A.C.A.B.**

# Mahikai Ark: Sound System, decolonization, and nature-cultural continuum

**In Melbourne's western suburbs, Porobibi of orquidea collective built a sound system.**

**Using hand tools and some DIY ingenuity, he combined plywood and heavy speaker cones to create a series of speaker boxes. The resulting pyramid of wooden boxes looks and sounds a Jamaican sound system, but Porobibi is equally inspired by his West Papuan heritage and his political and social commitments to the broader Oceanic 'sea of islands'**

(Hau'ofa 1993).

This interview explores the story of the sound system that Porobibi built, called Mahikai Ark. The material form of the sound system, combined with its social role in community events, contain many overlapping meanings. Porobibi explains how the sound system continues West Papuan legacies of using music and sound to promote a shared identification and as a channel for political response to oppression. The sound system, then, is like the garamut (slit log drum) and the kundu (handheld wooden drum) that are used



in West Papua to communicate between groups and mark special occasions. In Melbourne, music brings the small West Papuan diaspora community together. Performances, collective singing, and dances are all regular features of community gatherings. Making music unites members of the community who come from different ethno-linguistic groups in Papua itself. Most songs are sung in common languages of Papuan Malay, English or Bahasa Indonesia (Salay forthcoming, 56). However, several songs are in local languages like Biak or Sorong, and are sung by everyone, even if they do not understand the words. They sing together, reminded of

their different ethno-linguistic origin and their shared West Papuan-ness. Singing together also helps members of the community re-attune with each other

following political disagreements. These tend to occur over divergent allegiances to different methods for advancing West Papua's political situation. Some people advocate for diplomatic attempts to advance the stagnant independence movement while others argue that the guerilla resistance is the only viable option. These debates go in circles, until someone starts humming a tune. Gradually everyone joins in, setting aside their political differences to celebrate their shared commitment to their homeland (Salay Forthcoming, 52-53).

Taking cues from the history of Jamaican sound system culture, and its counter-cultural nature, Mahikai Ark is an intentional political offering in an Oceanic context. In the beginning of our conversation, Porobibi references the final song written by late Arnold Ap before his death: 'The mystery of life.' He composed the song while imprisoned by Indonesia, recording it on a smuggled cassette recorder. Not long after he was released from prison in 1984, he was killed, allegedly by Indonesian special forces operatives. Ap is a symbol for West Papuan collective identification because of his work collecting and disseminating West Papuan music from around the region on his radio program and through his band Mambesak (see Smythe 2013).

Through his work, Ap created a framework for using music rooted in West Papuan traditions as part of a contemporary political movement. Around the same time as Ap, The Black Brothers created a fusion of Jamaican reggae music and traditional West Papuan music, singing about everyday lives in Papuan languages. In their name and intentional engagement with reggae music, The Black Brothers evoked social and political solidarity with global Black movements for self determination (Webb and Webb-Gannon 2016, 64–67; 2020). Ultimately, the band went into exile in Vanuatu to ‘protest Indonesian policies on their home island’ (Lockard 1998, 105).

### **MORE RECENTLY, YOUNG PAPUAN PRODUCERS ARE REIMAGINING TRADITIONAL SONGS AND INSTRUMENTS IN CONTEMPORARY FUSIONS.**

For example, Asep Nayak draws on wisisi music from his home in Wamena in West Papua’s highlands region to create driving, percussive dance music (Kirn 2023). His work demonstrates the contemporary vitality of West Papuan musical practices and their constant evolution.

Porobibi is from West Papua and a member of Orquidea Collective in Naarm, in Australia. There are about 300 West Papuan people in Melbourne, most of whom have arrived in Australia or were born here in the last two decades (Salay Forthcoming, 38-39).

Political activism is strong in the community with regular activities such as a recent 10-daylong series of actions to commemorate the 1 December anniversary of the first raising of the Morning Star Flag or a protest in response to an event that appropriated Papuan culture (Free West Papua Australia 2024a, 2024b). These actions take place in a broader political campaign for West Papuan self-determination (Kirksey 2012; Webb-Gannon 2022). In addition, the radio show on the radical station 3CR called Voice of West Papua shares music and provides regular updates on the situation in West Papua, which has been described as a slow-motion genocide (Elmslie and Webb-Gannon 2014; Banivanua-Mar 2008).





In addition, many members of the community are musically prolific, having recorded several albums and performing at events. Mahikai Ark works at the overlap of these two kinds of activities, aiming to use music amplify the voices and perspectives of West Papuan people and invite other Melbournians to engage with their

stories and struggle

(Salay and Kareni 2023; Salay Forthcoming; see also Webb-Gannon and Webb 2019).

## **DISCUSSION**

### **Sebastian**

Oh yeah, what does Mahikai mean?

### **Porobibi**

Mahikai means greetings and welcome, in Ambai Language Northern of main island, Papua.

It is like greetings/welcome in English. Ambaian people say good morning, good afternoon,

good to meet you, start by saying “Mahikai” it's like that point where you met others. And then you start with Mahikai to welcome them. Hi, how are you?

## **Sebastian**

Why did you choose that name for the sound system?

## **Porobibi**

That's also bearing symbolism of island hospitality. That that's what I call it: 'Great Oceanic

Ethos" or "Great Ocean Signifiers".

Because I mean like through my life. Around the island, and in Australia. And I don't know about the Northern hemisphere, as I never been there, but when you see countries who experience severe capitalist realism coming into the brain of this modern humans through like globalizations, and imperialism... The island is different. You know when you go to the island.

*You know all the BBQ is different, the hospitality is different, the respect and traditional kind of values. Commonalities between each other are pretty similar. Yeah, like when we go to people house, we bring food. We don't bring food back to our house. We bring six bottles of beer it stays there. We don't take*

*back. Some others bring six pack of beers, drink four and take two home. So, this kinda ethos that can kind of like differentiate most of us in the Blue Pacific, to the other community, I guess.*

### **Sebastian**

When you say Mahikai with the sound system. Who are you saying it to? Who are you saying

Mahikai to?

### **Porobibi**

It's to the audience, to people who come into the space. Because she is literally singing for you, you know? And all of you are listening to her singing, too.

### **Sebastian**

What's the connection between the canoe and the water and the sound system?

## **Porobibi**

I want this to be kind of like a start of an institution of this region. Signifiers of sound system. So that's why the southern regions of this Blue Pacific signifiers are the water, the canoe. You know, I mean, you go to Malay, the Malaysian have canoe or you go to Vietnam like they have their own canoe style, everyone in Blue Pacific have their own style canoe: the Māori, Hawai'i, Philippine, Papua, Fiji, Samoa, Tonga, Kanaky, Solomon Islands, and all, everyone's in the water. Which, itself, is representing the elements of in the end of nature continuum values. As she is inspired by the Blue Pacific, I want the look to mimic a canoe which I haven't finished the front and the back hull of it. I finished the jib, that's the jib in there, the sailing jib

## **Sebastian**

Yeah. Can you tell me how you built it? Or built her sorry.

## **Porobibi**

Yeah. Oh so, we have to move like backwards to 2019. When I was in the public housing in Collingwood. I come across the sound system. I have friends as a member of the group.

Called a DIY Hi Fi. Yeah, it's Izzy Brown, Phill Decked and Monkey Marc. Yeah, they bring their rig to public housing. They use it to increase euphoria, imaginations, and like adrenaline through the listening experience like one of the fire or something like it's just...

Wow, it's cool!

At the same time, I think Brunswick St in Fitzroy public housing also General Feelings Sound came to do music event with the youth in the area. This was the second time I saw it.

I was thinking 'Wow. What is this?'

Yeah. And since then, I'm trying to like just research and asking questions really, to the DIY crew and to Izzy Brown. But mostly knowledge comes from research. Yeah, it's hard to find materials like intellectual materials and also materials to like especially like the audio parts and build if you don't have capital really. Yeah. After we search, then go into different online forum and more and more peer learning. Then you see

what people doing going to show and then start deriving some formulas. I found this really good website from a young French man. And I gather every different design. From

different sound system like Institution. Then he put it in there, it's called Plan Systems. And then pretty much people who access the internet probably build their own version of us. And also before that I did events organizing, but I just use a PA [system]. So, I feel like that it's not doing justice in terms of amplifying, especially like our music and also like the voice of the voiceless, that's also important.

So, I feel like yeah, by building one might help, you know, be flying more. You know, the echoes goes further, the ripples go further. And yeah, information travels and we push forward the message of solidarity. And around last year? 2 years ago, yeah. After consolidating with friends around and not having capital as well I start doing some crowdfunding. So yeah, I get \$2500. I started to design to build. Just one sub box, call it the bin. A small one 2 x 15 inch because I couldn't afford anything above 15 inch and that's why I decided the design, it's a selenium design, HB 15 inch sign something I feel like. It's from Brazil.

### **Sebastian**

Yeah. OK. Also took about 12 months to build. Or less.

### **Porobibi**

It's just three months. Three months to build. What's hard is the is the like electrical knowledge and the wood building knowledge. With, you know, tools like you gathered with what you have.

Yeah. Also like, financial. This like I start collecting parts by parts. Everything comes in it so. Yeah. In terms of building the boxes, like I'll finish the boxes like 3 months done and then what dragging is like cabling or you know like I don't have good drivers or the amplifier blow up. I gotta wait for another amplifier. And then get bookings for events. So that's why it's I wanna stick with the ethos of like community gathering. So, like things like this is a matter of communicating and understanding. You know, people don't complain a lot with such expectation as if we are in like commercial trading or something

### **Sebastian**

So yeah, like the operating with and for the community like this.

### **Porobibi**

Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah.

## Sebastian

Yeah. You must have learnt a lot while you're building.

## Porobibi

A lot. A lot. A lot, yeah. Yeah, and since February, she never stopped singing. By this point,

I'M THINKING, SEEING OTHER SOUND SYSTEMS AROUND, AT THIS POINT I THINK MAHIKAI HAVE BEEN AT THE MOST COMMUNITY EVENTS LIKE AUSTRALIA THIS YEAR. THE MANIFESTO FROM THE FIRST PLACE IS TO SUPPORT FOR ACCESSIBILITY FOR THE GREAT OCEAN COMMUNITY, FIRST NATION COMMUNITY, AND THEN OTHERS THAT WANT TO, YOU KNOW, HAVE A GATHERING SPACE. AND ALSO WANT TO USE IT TO SUPPORT ANY KIND OF LIKE PEOPLE MOVEMENTS, LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AROUND.

So, I started our first event at Mama Chen. Mama Chen is a creative owned pub on the corner here that. Just born probably like nine months younger than Mahikai. So that space has become like the new gathering space for like. They also centering for like disability access to their space. So, like, yeah, you see different like subgenres of music and experimental and disability access and the so I'm like, OK. We are new kids on the block,

so let us launch our sound system in your place you like.

Emily the pub owner was happy and welcoming us. And then we start doing events there we doing a fundraiser for the disability access stage there. We are supporting other Galleries and supporting young artists around. Because how funding works for different spaces. So, like, you might get it. Might not. So, you gotta trying to find different, you know, streams on how to support this spaces, which many might not think about. The background works of this, you know art-workers to keep the space running so. Yeah. So, I was supporting like friends and galleries around Naarm. I had residency at Gallery 7. Very big Latin Fiesta to support the venue at The Catalyst. We went further to Castlemaine and there it is like local label there that I come across. The young ones, whose hungry to have the space and like sound system events. So, I'm like cool, let's do it.

### **Sebastian**

How do you move it around?

### **Porobibi**

Yeah, that's the thing I know. I miscalculated the size of the bin, I have that big one. So, every now and then before event I need to coordinate with a friend who has a van.

**Sebastian**

Yeah. It fits it all fits in one van?

**Porobibi**

That's why like with the configuration strategy, I'm trying to think about like a smaller version. That we used yesterday at Shop Bao Ngoc that can fit in the space. It works well, something very good. Everyone's happy.

**Sebastian**

So, you said you burnt the wood - tell me about that.

**Porobibi**

Well, I burnt the wood as I imagine that the Mahikai sound system is erected out of Volcano Mountain.

Why Volcano Mountain? It's because of the "Great Ocean Signifiers" which is the continent within the Ring of Fire. So, a lot of the burning plates, frictions, and a lot of volcano mountains around. And then, I think throughout in human history there's this very, especially in this southern part of the Earth. The story of Krakatau also which is in Southeast Asia, Indonesia, like between Sumatra and Java island. So, like, imagine that echoes, the world knows that echoes. So, any volcanoes from them until now until we until tomorrow until this cycle of times continues.

### **Sebastian**

Yeah, cool. That's the power that you want. What do you want to happen next?

### **Porobibi**

What do I want to happen next with this? Like I'm trying to learning more and more on the engineering, Sound engineering side of it. So, like how to work with all these gadgets like the amplifier and also how to fix them, especially circuit boards and how to fix them. This is kind of like a relevance towards today, capitalist society, which is like one more market to marketing. yeah, promotions. Of you know, decisions of Mahikai Ark. Keep developing towards more ritualistic relevant to rather the technological or capitalist values,

to stick with it, the anti-imperialist, anticolonialist demographic. Is it's not for the faint hearted,

because you make heaps of enemies. Like you being shadowed.

And once I'm good at it I'm going to do Workshop Sessions where I can adapt Mahikai to the other participants, that is, you know, centering for them also. To help people who want to amplify and keep practicing Culture.

On the background, the roots. You know, so like for example like. The Malay already are requesting for sound system building project. So now I'm trying to like developing the methods. So that you know they can build their own Mahikai based on their own, cultural rituals. Traditional principles and values for themselves. Yeah. So, yeah, who knows? Who knows? The Tongan or Fijian, Vanuatu.... So, again like see the canoe. They have different

style, so can you see a sound system in a different style in the region

How beautiful is that? Yeah.

## Sebastian

And I guess what you're talking about is sharing the knowledge and sharing the.

## Porobibi

**YEAH, IT'S PART OF THE GREAT OCEANIC ETHOS, RIGHT? SIGNIFIERS. SONG-LINES, STORIES, ORALITY**

## Porobibi

I think that's the most layers that I can dig to tell you about the what's the future point? This radical dreaming, step by step.



**THE ONLY GOOD BREEZE IS MAHIKAI BREEZE. I WANT TO QUOTE LIKE I'LL PUT IT. I KEPT FEELING LIKE IT'S LIKE BOB MARLEY SONG. ONE GOOD THING ABOUT MUSIC WHEN IT HITS YOU FEEL NO PAIN. SO, LIKE.**

**ONE GOOD THING ABOUT MAHIKAI IS WHEN IT HITS, YOU FEEL NO PAIN.**

**THROUGH THE BREEZE. YOU KNOW?**

**YEAH, WIND IN THE WATER RIPPLES.**

**ISLAND BREEZE.**

Yes. See how things developed and. Yeah, hopefully this story echoes to some other great ocean people out there.

That's the best thing for me. Really. Someone like what you call it. Another speaker box where you connect the cable to so they can help amplify us, help the echo going so like

another mediator there. Feel resonance within. Yeah, I like the fact that the words within sound system terminology is so indebtedly into you know, like humanism, for example, resonance, you know, echoes like vibrations, sound waves and connection.

### **Sebastian**

How do you think about this project in relation to West Papua?

### **Porobibi**

**WE HAVE BEEN STIMULATED WITHIN OUR CULTURE AS HUMAN SOUND – NARRATIVE APPARATUS, AND SONGS, STORIES, PEOPLE FESTIVAL AND CELEBRATION WITHIN MANY OF OUR PAPUAN CULTURES OF DIVERSITY AND MULTICULTURALITY. WHICH INCLUDE MAHIKAI ARK AS THE EXTENSION OF OUR OCEANIA LIVING AND CONTINUITY. SHE HAS BEEN AMPLIFYING DIFFERENT SOUNDS OF US PAPUANS AND EXTENDED TO MANY.**

YEAH, LIKE IN MY DREAM. LIKE I WANT TO, ONE DAY IN THE FUTURE. IF I CAN BUILD ANYTHING, AN AMBAIAN REPLICCA CANOE, I WANT TO PUT THEM ON TOP OF THE CANOE AND THEN. YOU KNOW, KINDA CAN'T WAIT AROUND. PLAY MUSIC IN THE WATER, SO I HAVEN'T GONE THERE YET. I WANT TO BRING IT TO THE COAST SOMEWHERE WHERE YOU CAN JUST PLAY NEXT TO THE OCEANS.

YEAH, LIKE CREW IN THAILAND, INDONESIA AND VIETNAM. LIKE THEY DOING IT.

Oh my God. In Papua, they carry like from one city to the village on the boats. All this like heavy heavy boxes. The generator and everything.

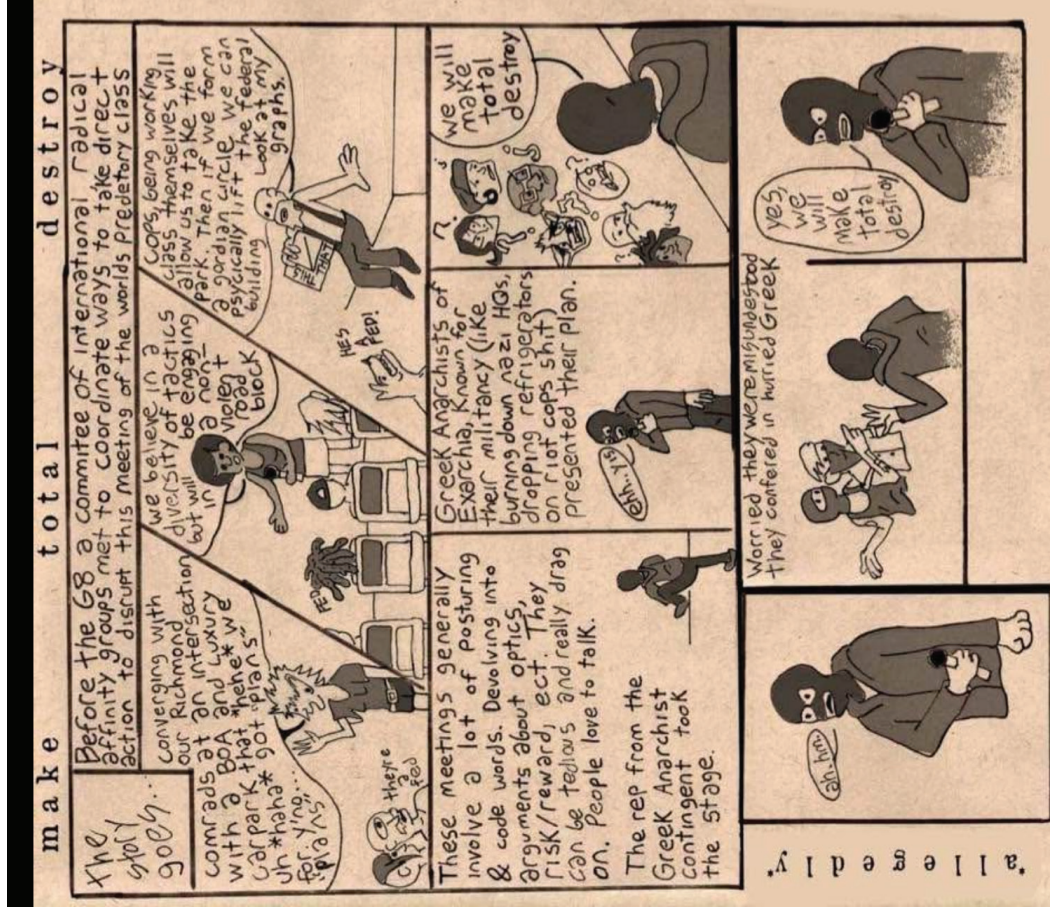
Well, probably the parties are like crazy. Amazing experience. Exciting. Yeah. That's why I've been trying to look for writers for it because. Travelers, the path is not there until you walk.

So, there's no path. So, like this is an invention. I need a manual for it. It's good to have writers come and tell the story from first place.

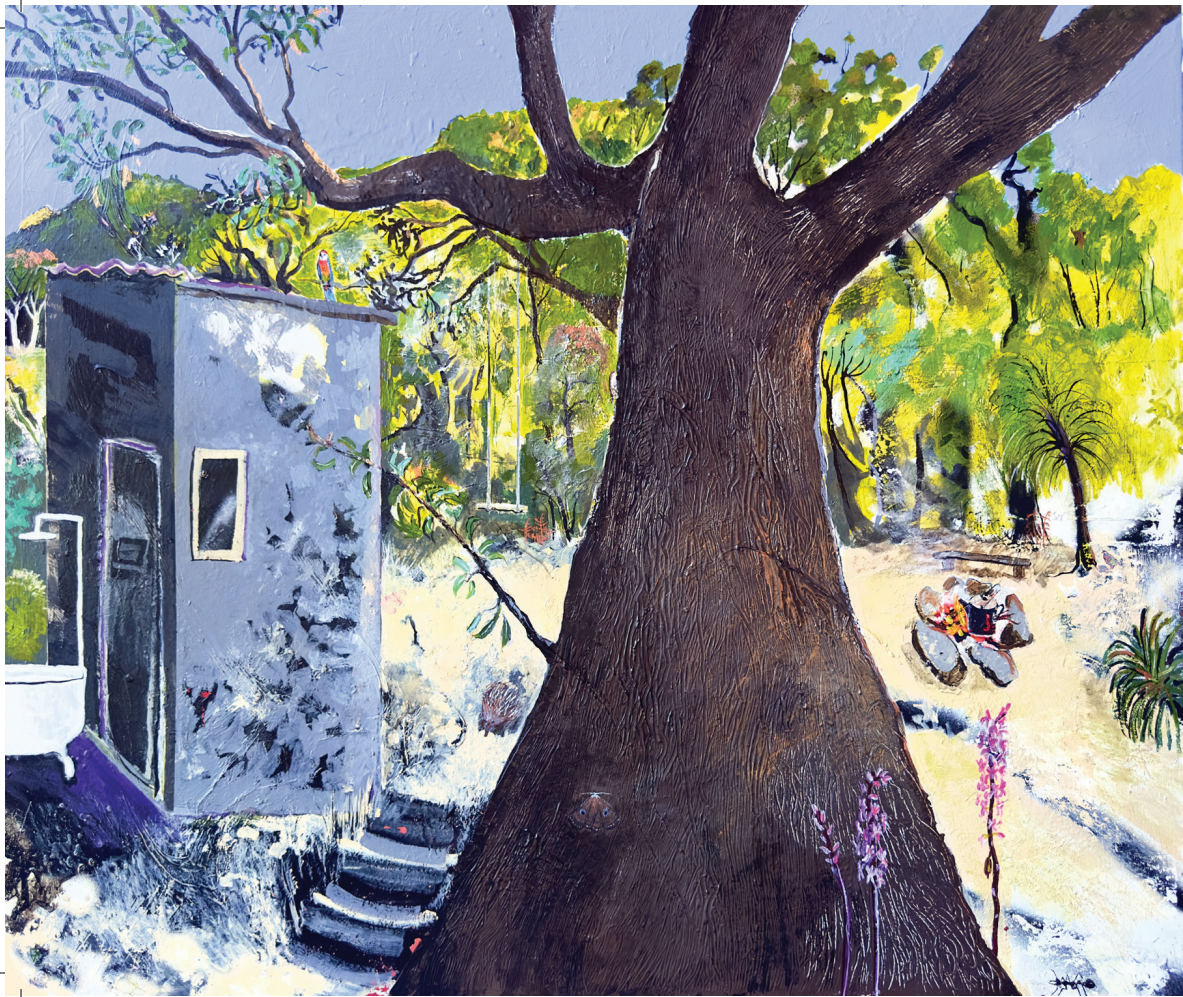
### Acknowledgement

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# Make Total Destroy







## Messmate at the Shack - Bunurong country

I used to go to the shack to sleep and dream. Embraced by the old messmate with its roots below and the canopy above I felt safe.....connected

On the night of a thousand moths my son was born there at dawn

My daughter and step-son delighted in jumping off the roof on the swing but were less keen on the outside pit dunny

The bath was outside too and heated with an electric element, the door was always open and the billy was always on. At night a myriad of interesting insects would flutter round the lights

In the late summer season the Hyacinth orchids would burst out of the bull ant nest at the base of the old tree; White-throated Treecreepers climbed its trunk while the noisy Rosellas dropped Messmate seed and leaf gall remains on the tin roof. A Grey Shrike-thrush called while the echidna nosed around

It still stands, over 30 years older but the same familiar shape and feel

# 88 Mores of modernity (aka coloniality) and Patterns of primality (aka pre-modernity)

While there is no chart showing how to get out of here alive (or, for that matter, dead), and no compass guiding us beyond the stygian horizon, there are approaches to apprehending the modalities of modernity and learning to inhabit the protocols of primality. In the spirit of such sagacity, below are featured forty foiled and forked fulcrums for feeling feedback from the fraying fabric of futurities. As insignificantly whole, but not wholly insignificant, may they attune you to atmospheres of apocalypse while propitiating planetary perils.

No.	Mores of modernity (aka coloniality)	Patterns of primality (aka pre-modernity)
1	Power-over; supremacy and hierarchy	Power to/with(in) and egalitarianism
2	Quantification, measurement, (sub/obj)ectivity	Quality and panjectivity (i.e., consciousness in context)
3	Weaponisation, instrumentalisation, disposability	Kindness, empathy, respect and collaboration
4	Abstraction, violation and force	Situation-sensitive embodiment and co-becoming
5	Applauds the spoken, documented and explicit	Senses into the gestured, ephemeral and implicit
6	Expectations of, and investment in, the familiar and known status quo with a veneer of progress	Respects tradition and embraces productive disruption with a desire to grow via transfiguration
7	Reductionistic knowledge compartmentalising the world into a grid-like flattened box reality	Discernment of the patterns, weavings and braidings of life's irreducible wholeness
8	Amnesic accuracy, impenetrable infallibility, rigid consistency and irremediable rectitude	Ambivalence, ambiguity, paradox and contradiction in a ceremony of radical incoherence
9	Tempo of frenetic speed, satisfaction, stimulation	Cadence and timbre of stillness, softness and silence
10	Craving, addiction and gratification	Contentment, joy and pleasure/able restraint)
11	Venerates the literal, logical and rational	Cherishes dreams, intuition, instinct and imagination
12	Esteems the rectilinear and right-angled	Honours the circular, cyclical, pulsing and rhythmic
13	Craves continuity, immutability and permanence	Dwells within life-death-renewal cycles of transience
14	Innocence, hypocrisy, justification, vindication	Conscious complicity in called-for culpability
15	Standardisation, systemisation and scalability	Nuance, inquiry, contingency and complexity
16	Centres the ego-self (I think therefore I am)	I am because we are (part of life's web)
17	Certainty, surety, mastery and control	Attending and yielding to mystery and enigma
18	Simplistic solutions to complex predicaments	Layered responses to emergent conditions
19	Unrestricted autonomy and entitlement	Relational autonomy and avowed obligations
20	Hierarchical and heroic leadership	Distributed dispositions of situational leadership

21	In authority via moral and political arbitration	An authority among (more-than-)human elders
22	Seeking affirmation of dignity and righteousness	Affirmation through unquestionable inherent worth
23	Separation of mind, body and emotions and from other people/beings, lands, waters and skies	Interdependence of, and vulnerability to, the spiritual, mystical, mythical, sacred, holy and celestial
24	Everyone is responsible for how their life turns out while also needing to do as they're told	Life unfurls through kinship connections, with failures considered gifts of learning and growing
25	There is only one reality and truth – considered more correct in successively discovered iterations	A panoply of perspectives / practices welcomed within a pluriverse of being, knowing and doing
26	Unceasing growth, acceleration, accumulation, acquisition, consumption, waste	Balance, equilibrium and congruence of the radical abundance of life within a finite biosphere
27	Perfection sought and considered achievable	Messy and good enough sufficient and celebrated
28	Time as a linear monetarised equally distributed commodified chronically deficient quantity	Time as a spatial, slushy, spiral, rippled, bent, queer, translucent, textured, everywhen
29	Conformity, coercion, compliance and corruption	Cooperation, co-liberation, caprice and kindness
30	A reality that privileges things over relationships	Existences privileging relationships over things
31	The role of dispassionate objective neutral science as the best / highest form of knowledge	Relational intimacy, embodied feeling and communicative engagement with a sentient world
32	The belief that useful knowledge only come from (suitably skilful and credentialed) humans	The practice of seeking wisdom from a council of all beings within a living conscious cosmos
33	The self-assigned superiority of the modern (hu)man in relation to other peoples, beings and entities	The understanding that our (more-than-)human ancestors were wiser and more discerning than us
34	Relentless merit, valuation and status-seeking within an ethos of purported individualism	Generous gift-giving and ubiquitous uplifting within an irrepressible indescence of individuality
35	Serious-formal (scant singing, dancing, chanting, feasting, music-making, laughing and crying)	Playful-informal (ample singing, dancing, chanting, feasting, music-making, laughing and crying)
36	The proper, functional and secular are centred	The erotic, aesthetic and divine are foundational
37	Strangers, obscurity and anonymity abound	Existing and potential kin are everywhere
38	Shoulds, oughts and orders are normalised	Deciding for others is outside the vocabulary of action
39	Morbid and abiding fear of death and dying	Familiarity and practice with death and dying via ritual forms of revelatory austerity (exertion, fasting etc.)
40	Many questions, queries, answers and retorts	Much absorbing, observing, imitating and emulating

Prepared by Professor Paradies (yin.paradies@deakin.edu.au)

*Cite as: Paradies, Yin. 2026. Mores of modernity and patterns of primality. Beyond the Dark Horizon volume 4.*

You don't hate  
**MONDAYS,**  
you hate  
**TIME.**





# NO LOYALTY TO THE BOSSES



**WORK** takes more out of you than you take out of it. You can purchase numerous commodities, but you can't ever buy back the hours of your life sold to capital. Whether

you get paid in grades for your academic piecework or wages for facilitating commodity consumption, work is everywhere an alienation of your capacity to determine your own life.

# NO LOYALTY TO THE INSTITUTION

# Witness

waiting utter devastation

under the rubble

facing starvation

is ra hell creation

beyond all of our imaginations

hole nation facing forced starvation

blatant plot of inhalation

It dont get more wicked then this

it cant get more crazy then this

as we live stream into the abis

we must do more then bare witness

young israelites lay down your guns

you not in the club and this aint fun

they use you to commit atrocities

for the whole wide world to see

like nazi germany

brainwashed society

arms dealers counting bills

war pigs kids kill

complicity with export deals

drop food not bombs

lets rebuild homes

deliver meds not killa drones

# CEASEFIRE

Whole nation in a concentration camp

Passport stamp black

Entry denied lack of medical supplies  
stacked

At the wall where we wait but can't hold back

But don't expect us to wait quietly

Persistently day and nightly

an international movement against the powers  
that be

That stand between those that r free and

those that should be

Never let complacency cause a vacancy in  
consciousness

From the river to the see

Palestine must be free

# Eagle vs. Drone

Remove the blind fold

and tear it up

Revolution is coming you better roll up

Soundtrack to riot tune it up

Turn up the volume we have had enough

Buzzing in your brain

Buzzing round your home

5 eyes watching you will never be alone

Blowpipes and bulldozers

Tank vs stone

Bring down the empire

eagle vs drone







**SOLIDARITY  
FOREVER**

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**UNITED WE STAND  
DIVIDED WE BEG**

**Anarchist Communists Meanjin**

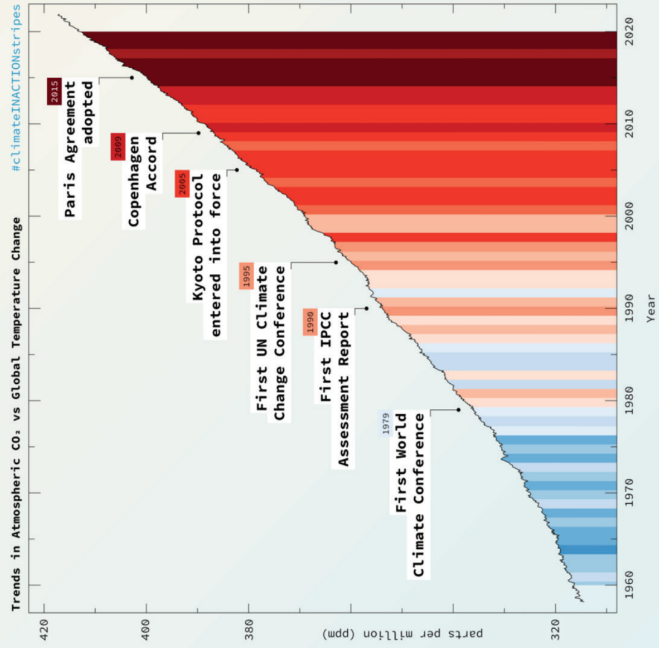
Dear whoever  
lives here, thank for  
owners daughter, it has  
many memories for me, I hope you  
treating this horse well, but fcking treat  
my childhood horse, I have a good time,  
memories for me, but fcking treat  
Thank you &

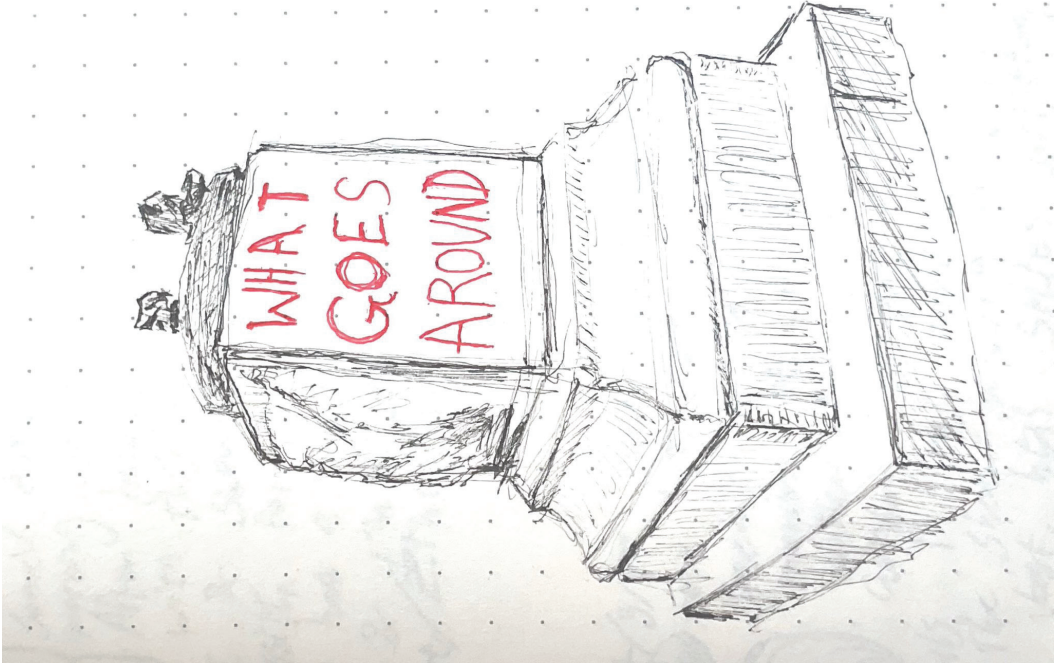


VACANT HOMES  
ON  
STOLEN LAND

80,000  
EMPTY  
HOMES  
25,000  
HOMELESS







Power, Solidarity,  
Stagnation,  
Experimentation:  
Reflecting on  
a Campaign and  
its Manifesto

Lutruwita is a forested island at the bottom of the world. 'Tasmania' is a colonial outpost - one that spent two centuries trying to exterminate the Palawa/Pakana people and processing their Country into paddocks, precious minerals and timber.



But now the idea of 'Tasmania' is interwoven with words like 'wilderness' and 'sustainability'. A quarter of the island is national park. Elites in the cities - 'old guard'-turned-patricians - donate millions yearly to conservation organisations. The environmental movement coexists happily with booming eco-tourism.

A friend from Naarm came down and was surprised how much ‘less ACAB-y’ things were here.

Why?

Lutruwita’s environmental movement is tightly linked with certain kinds of power - old campaigns mythologised into the ‘Tasmanian’ lifestyle; a sympathetic greenie upper class; NGOs with brand-name-recognition and constant revenue streams; wilderness as a major economic drawcard.

The nexus of ‘Tasmanian’ power, the one that provides a financial safety net for activists, has already budgeted for the economic costs of their actions. The movement can roll on in equilibrium, year after year, beating off development projects here and saving individual logging coupes there, telling the same worn stories, stagnating, centralising, self-isolating.

‘Protect [insertendangeredspecieshere]’ isn’t compelling any more. The old messages don’t reach beyond those already converted. They don’t spark collective action. They don’t capture imaginations.

Power isolates. Environmentalists here can afford to lose connection with others working for change. When eNGOs collaborate with Palawa/Pakana people, too often it’s solely

to provide more reasons for conservation; decolonisation is treated as a justification for saving ecosystems, rather than an end in itself. When the issue moves away from conservation, the solidarity from environmentalists ceases to exist.

So the movement exists in a kind of dynamic stalemate. Our collective had formed in response to that stalemate - we moved to Lutruwita or grew up here and wanted a kind of action that didn't exist. We wanted to work towards decolonisation and towards an ecological world, against Empire and extractivism, in one motion. But even through this we struggled to move away from the status quo message to 'protect wilderness.' We needed a circuit breaker.

We are members of Grassroots Action Network Tasmania (GRANT) - we don't speak for the whole collective, or even necessarily a majority. In January of 2025 we wrote a manifesto to accompany a forest campaign. Now, in April, we reflect.

In October of 2024, Pakana elder Uncle Jim Everett Puralia Meenamatta released two articles titled 'Sovereignty is a coloniser concept. We need Law in Country' and 'First Nations' Law in Country'. In his writing, he called for a national mobilisation - twenty days of action from the 6th to the 25th of January. Our campaign was GRANT's response to his call.

Challenging the 'sovereign crowns,' Uncle Jim practises his Law in Country by defending forests and flaunting court dates. He stands firm in his care for the All-life of Country and the pathway he sees for our collective future free of colonial destruction.

GRANT is predominantly comprised of settlers. We write not to speak for or over First Nations voices, but in an attempt to document our response to the call for solidarity by Uncle Jim, and to engage other settlers to do the same.

We looked to Uncle Jim for his joy and determination, for his knowledge and cultural governing, and always, for his hope. His words, "We know the way, come and we will teach you" called us in. Alongside Uncle Jim, other First Nations luminaries like Ruth Langford Tripuhanna beckoned us to walk with them, to go together as we defend Country.

(Note as of April 5th - a few days ago, loggers moved into the coupe Camp Mangana had been in. Ruth was detained defending Country on April 3rd in the same forest she addressed a crowd of hundreds in a few months before.)

This was never a campaign just to save native forests. This was a campaign to save people's minds, with native forest logging as the terrain of that psychic struggle. Kill the colonist in your head.

We were working in a paradigm where the wisdom has always been (if at all): first we save the forests, then we can give it back to the Palawa people - but the order was wrong. The message we were trying to enact, the one that had been passed down from Palawa voices, was that the forests are only safe when we change from a colonial mindset to a relational one.

Uncle Jim writes that how we care for Country reaffirms our relational knowledge, expanding our ability to experiment, learn, build relationships and think critically about our collective trajectory. Flow with the river and see what floats. Write a manifesto communally and poster it up. Hold your press conferences outside the office of the Minister for Resources. Bring the forest to the people and the people to the forest.

The mobilisation was first and foremost an act of solidarity. The way we did it was a response to that stagnation in environmental movements across this continent - an accumulation of power in fixed hierarchies that recreate Empire rather than resisting it. We dedicated the first ten days of the mobilisation to actions in town, Nipaluna/Hobart, and to laying the foundations for Camp Mangana in the Lonnavale forest. Moreso than any other part of the mobilisation, camp was an invitation. On the first day, Forest Fest

brought in hundreds of folks who were attracted by the music, panels, ecological walks and community. Later, people stayed. They stayed to cook and paint banners, collect water and letters of love for the bunnies, learn through doing and share through listening.

In our outreach, media and actions we sought to make clear our values and true intentions; that our actions were not a means to an end, but part of the end. We saw that to follow in the way of Palawa and many First Nations, we had to shift our own narrative. How we went about the blockading was more important than its direct consequences in the immediate future.

Our media in particular was less reactionary, more independently deployed and in doing so took power away from the institutions which wield it. In orchestrating our own press conferences we spoke for ourselves on our own terms. In writing our manifesto and organising our actions collectively, we hoped to remove both the symbolic and hierarchical power of lone representatives of knowledge within our community. Our messaging, actions and conversations were directed by a desire to engage with our own un-comfortability, dichotomous thinking, insularity and responsibility towards creating a future that is truly for the All-life.

A mobilisation was scary ground for GRANT. It was a new way of doing activism as a collective and came about at a period of very heightened reflection on our structures and processes. Mobilising was a beautiful experience for us as individuals and as a

community, but that beauty was heralded by a confrontation with the conqueror mindset, and came with its challenges.

Experimenting with new modes of activism de-invisibilised the hierarchies of knowledge, experience, social bonds and capacity that have become ingrained in our routines. We encountered bottlenecks of information dissemination, organising capacity and the confidence to make hard decisions. Particularly in times of heightened emotions it was difficult to be confronted with the reality of these structures, and then come together and attempt to overcome them by planning for the long-term.

The 'long-term' is also new ground to us as a collective. We are amazingly resourceful and adaptive but have lived our life as GRANT in a place of constant reaction, and in the safety of a tight-knit support network. The mobilisation, but Camp Mangana in particular, was draining for many folks as we supported each other through a very embodied form of learning and caring. But that practise of care is what remains with us from a period where we amplified Palawa voices, stopped work, built community and experimented in our

communication and media. The mobilisation was radical love. It was standing in reverence of the All-Life. It was practicing Law in Country.

The following manifesto is an artifact of the mobilisation.

Protect Lutruwita - Dismantle the 'Conqueror Mindset'

Global crises and global powers

We are living in a time of unprecedented environmental crises. Climate change and ecological collapse - driven by extractivism, land clearing, pollution, and 'development' - threaten all life on earth. We have passed 1.5 degrees of warming, extinctions are 10,000 times the pre-industrialisation rate, less than 3% of land ecosystems are intact, and toxic chemicals and plastic are widespread through lands, waters, skies and our bodies. Of course, this devastation of the Earth's ecosystems has not come about by chance, but is the result of structures that rule over us all.

Capitalism, colonialism and imperialism violently control every aspect of our lives - our education, jobs, and leisure; our healthcare, relationships, and mental wellbeing; the

planet we inhabit, the water we drink, the air we breathe; even our very identities. So pervasive have these powers become that, for most people, they have no name. They seem unavoidable, they are presented as natural law. These structures fuel a worldview that divides humanity from the rest of the living world, frames the environment and ourselves as resources to be exploited, and seeks always some new 'horizon' for 'growth'. This mindset is that of a conqueror - a disconnect from place and people.

### A catastrophe in Lutruwita

Colonisation is the greatest catastrophe in human history, resulting in the destruction and dispossession of countless worlds and ways of being. One of the most violent dispossessions on our planet is occurring here, on the far southern island of Lutruwita. With the arrival of the British Empire, genocide and mass extraction began immediately. The land was stolen, First Peoples were massacred and forcibly assimilated, and species and ecosystems were destroyed for 'profit'. The colony of 'Tasmania' - a conquering arm of the British Empire - in alliance with private interests, have continued these modes of domination and exploitation until today.

Environmental destruction increased to new levels in Lutruwita since the spread of neoliberal capitalism in the 1970s. The island has since lost much of its old forests to

ongoing clearfell and burn logging; all but one wild river have been dammed; mining has swallowed valleys and ranges; salmon farms now occupy inlets and bays; and industrial use of herbicides and pesticides has stripped biodiversity and poisoned the land. The repercussions of these acts are extreme - once glorious ecosystems are now monoculture deserts, waterways are dying, countless species are threatened with extinction - and yet still the onslaught continues. Today, new threats continue to appear in the name of eternal 'growth': increases in logging and salmon farming, new exploration for minerals, gas and hydrogen, Project Marinus, 'carbon credits', and the ever reaching call to 'develop' at all costs.

The reality: Lutruwita is being parasitised by 'Tasmania'. Government and large corporations fuel the myths of 'Tasmania' and 'growth' for the purposes of domination and profit. As long as these ideologies and actors remain in power, 'Tasmanians' will always occupy the position of conqueror. A conqueror can never truly belong.

There is a way forward

What has been done can be unravelled. There is another way. We commit to deep-seated change that can only begin through dismantling the 'conqueror mindset' - both in the world around us and within ourselves.

We stand for Lutruwita - its lands, forests, waterways and skies. We are in reverence of the All-life - the ecosystems that we are not only part of but rely on to survive - and commit to fighting to protect them from extractivism and exploitation. We acknowledge the necessity of telling the truth of the history of this island. We recognise that to begin to belong it is essential that we undertake Treaty with the First Peoples, who have cared for and lived in relation with Lutruwita for millenia. We stand in solidarity with Palawa / Pakana and their plight for justice, we recognise that their Law is in Country, and we support land returns, reparations and their self-determination.

We also stand to face hard truths. The reality is that the resources on this island, continent, and planet are finite. Continual 'economic growth' is a fantasy. Thus, we call for resistance to 'business as usual', and the end of a system of governance based on domination. We stand for a future for everyone, where no one is exploited or faces injustice. **Uncle Jim Everett Puralia Meenamatta has called us all to action, saying: "We know the way, come and we will show you". We acknowledge our responsibility to protect Country. We wish to become caretakers, not conquerors. We have answered the call.**

Resisting together

These commitments are not taken in light, but through deep hope for a just, free, and truly sustainable alternative pathway for our society. Our response to Uncle Jim's call is to act, and to bring you, the people living on Lutruwita, with us. We must continue to collectively listen, learn, and speak the history of this island, at every opportunity. We also must commit to deconstructing ourselves as 'Tasmanian' conquerors so that we can rebuild our connection with the All-life. Further, we are embarking on a campaign to disrupt the colonial capitalist machine that is driving the collapse of our planet's life support systems. We have already begun a mobilisation to protect all native forests in Lutruwita, and we invite you to take part. Together, we can create a movement to inspire a different path forward. There is another way - join us.



# Switch Off! - The System of Destruction

(extracts from the 'manifesto') <https://switchoff.noblogs.org>

**About 20 people storm a construction site of the Coastal Gas Link pipeline in western Canada. They are armed with axes and flares, threaten employees, hijack heavy construction vehicles, destroy the site's building and ultimately the vehicles themselves. The damage amounted to millions. That was almost a year ago. It is still unclear who sabotaged the construction of the pipeline in the province of British Columbia. Fracked gas was soon to flow through the pipeline, which runs right through indigenous land, to the West Coast, from where it would be shipped on to Asia.'**

A call...

Whether you occupy universities, schools, trees or streets. Whether you spend your nights worrying or sabotaging. Whether you strike or write about it.

The certainty that the current system will result in the collapse of the massively damaged ecosystem has already inspired countless people to resist. Tens of thousands are taking to the streets against the "business as usual" of the capitalist machinery, people are resisting

the destructive large-scale projects en masse, the infrastructure of the system is being blocked and courageous fighters are setting fire to the machines that are being used to rob them of the very basis of life. What we need in the struggle against the destruction of nature and the resulting social misery is the shared pursuit of real revolutionary rupture and freedom of all. Pursuing an initiative that rejects all compromises and cosmetic corrections of the state and brings about a transformation of our social relations. Because the destruction of the planet by the neoliberal economic system is inextricably linked to patriarchal patterns of thought, racism and colonialism. The initiative for this must necessarily come from below. From the struggles of the excluded. From the struggles of those who enact a self-organized solidarity against the state's promises of salvation. From the struggles of those who see that there can be no compromises in the fight against the systemic destruction of the biosphere.

We are certain that self-organized struggles are the only realistic answer to dealing with climate change and ecological crisis. Not because our ideological stance urges it, but simply because there is no evidence, no experience, no showcase example of how states and corporations have taken effective action against it.

A few hundred years of state capitalist rule and humanity is on the brink of the abyss. Radical movements against environmentally destructive development, on the other hand,

have often proven that they have the power, creativity and perseverance to at least partially halt the gigantic machinery of destruction. And even if they don't succeed, these initiatives are experiences we can build on. These experiences of struggle, in the Hambi, in the Danni, in Bure, against Castor transports in Wendland, on the ZAD – have proven the effectiveness of leaderless, offensive and solidarity movements. These struggles have also proven that we can build horizontal connections with other people who have different experiences and methods of struggle, and that we can reject the attempts of the state to divide us along the question of violence.

*If we let our gaze wander to more distant territories, we see, from northern Canada to Patagonia, from Colombia to Indonesia, how indigenous groups, communities, villages, and organizations have been struggling for hundreds of years against the colonial domination of states and against the destruction of nature. These struggles are often invisibilized in their effectiveness and militancy. We want to break through this and be inspired.*

Local struggles against climate change also emphasize with their actions the necessary urgency of action, even if they often stop short with their demands and appeals to the ruling politics to implement this action.

The problem is that the climate catastrophe is the logical consequence of this very policy. And this policy continues to adhere to the logic of financial profit for the few, the ruthless exploitation of people and nature for this goal, and competition as the driving force for continuous technical progress.

We think that we can really achieve effective successes if we manage to bring our struggles closer together; if we deepen links of solidarity and points of reference, if we fight for spaces for ecological projects, spaces for counterattacks, sabotage, spaces to learn about the history of struggles. Many are aware that it is a question of ending the entire capitalist mode of production. It is not about tightening our belts, but developing a perspective for an eco-social revolution.

La Araucanía Region, Chile – In the early morning hours of Friday, July 8, 2022, on the road from Traiguén to Lumaco. The driver of a logging truck of the company Forestal Mininco is stopped by five armed people and forced to get out. The group then sets the truck on fire and disappears. The CAM (Coordinadora Arauco Malleco), a Mapuche organization defending their habitat on Chilean territory, subsequently claimed responsibility for the action. In a similar attack on Forestal Minico in 2021, 29-year-old Pablo Marchant Gutiérrez was shot dead by carabinieri. A year after the murder, dozens of attacks are taking place against logging infrastructure, its operators and security forces.

## **The Same Game in Green – Technocracy and Geoengineering**

The narrative that we will solve climate change and ecological destruction technologically is naive at best, but much more likely it is a deliberate strategy to profit even further from the problems generated by earth exploitation.

The world economy's hunger for energy... the already existing 'regenerative' energy sources – sun, wind, water – are integrated into production and expand the supply... the so-called rebound effect. This effect has been occurring in capitalism for over 150 years: the steam engine burned coal more efficiently than before, but it was with it that industrialization really took off. And so – despite more economical technology – significantly more energy was consumed overall.

**A green capitalism, i.e. climate-neutral and sustainable, is simply impossible. ...**

The search for effective measures to mitigate climate change is also limited to technological solutions instead of addressing the root cause of the problem.

Currently, these are mainly technologies that can be grouped under the term geoengineering. This time with intentional human intervention in the climate system, global warming is to be reduced. In “solar radiation management,” for example, tiny particles are

to be released in the stratosphere and reflect some of the sunlight back into space.

Scientific warnings of unforeseen interactions with such a massive intervention in the climate system are brushed aside with the claim that this is the only way to preserve our current economy and prosperity ...

For us, this approach represents a technique of domination for imposing new technologies without regard to the consequences for people, nature or society. With firm faith in technical progress, reference is made to future technologies that are to be created by the same actors who caused the previous problems in the first place. In this way, the ruling technocrats flaunt their solution-oriented ability to act.

The economic system, which is responsible for the destruction of our capacity for life, is not questioned. Just as little as the positions of power these actors hold.

## **WE CAN NO LONGER AFFORD THE RICH**

Who are those who have always been able to profit from the crises and wars of recent years and secure their supremacy? Who is responsible for the majority of emissions of climate-damaging gases? It is not those who are already excluded, the refugees and the

poor. It's the energy companies, banks and defense contractors. It's the rich, whose way of life can only exist at the expense of others. And on a global scale, it is the lifestyle of mass consumption and the waste produced by societies in the Global North.

And so the struggle against climate destruction is inevitably a struggle along 'class lines'. The richest 1% of the population in Germany emits significantly more CO2 than the poorest 50% of society. The appeal of those in power in connection with higher fuel and energy prices, "we all have to tighten our belts", is a farce. The majority of the emissions is caused by the subsidized car, gas and coal industry, industrial agriculture and the jet-set lifestyle of bosses and managers. No change in consumer behavior toward electric SUVs and vegan sausages will help.

... Those who now remark that this ultimately amounts to expropriation hit the nail on the head and have grasped the systematic magnitude of the climate problem.

### **Colonialism – eternal cornerstone of capitalism**

Countries of the Global North are responsible for more than two-thirds of historical greenhouse gas emissions, but countries of the Global South are two to three times more vulnerable to the consequences of climate change. These figures alone indicate that the

## **climate crisis is not caused equally by all people.**

The wealth of the North, which created this inequality in the first place, is based on the colonial exploitation of raw materials and human labor through slavery ...

... Copper and lithium from the same colonial mines in Latin America for the batteries of e-mobility, uranium from West Africa for “green” nuclear power plants, cobalt and other rare earth minerals from the Congo for cell phones and other advanced electronics, and finally “green” hydrogen from the wind- and sun-rich deserts of Namibia.

...

May 2016 – During a protest action against the lignite industry in Lusatia lasting several days, the opencast mine and the rail network are shut down in several places. Thousands invade the plant site and sit on rails, conveyor belts and power plant access roads. Contrary to the will of the organizers of Ende Gelände to limit the actions to sit-in blockades and lock-down actions, several hundred people invade the site of the power plant “Schwarze Pumpe”. At the access tracks to the power plant, the track bed is removed, through this “graveling” the tracks become impassable. In the power plant, doors are broken open, distribution boxes are sabotaged and emergency stop switches are pressed.

As a result of the interplay of the various actions this weekend, several power plant towers have to be completely shut down. This is a much larger outage than the two-day shutdown planned from the outset by the operator Vattenfall.

### **Compromise and radicalization**

... The initiative for this must necessarily come from below. The state is committed to a dystopian 'business as usual' for the economic system, except for cosmetic corrections. Holding on to this ecologically devastating, capitalist way of doing business is tantamount to an ignorant acceleration towards collapse.

...

A dynamic and broad climate justice movement would do well not to allow any identitarian and thus divisive notions of 'militancy' or 'nonviolence' to be imposed on it...

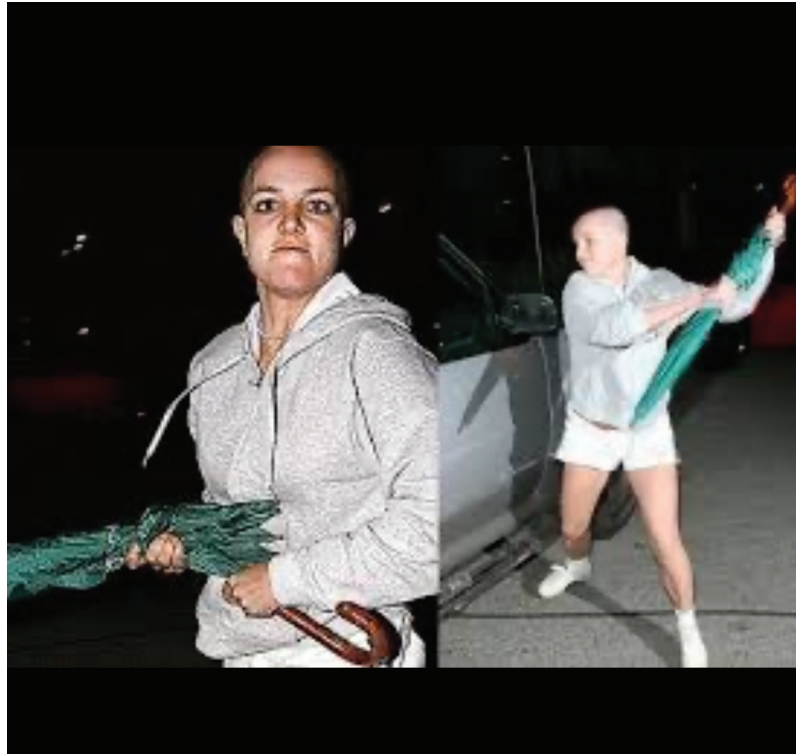
(Regarding appeals to political leadership) ... No, it is not worth it – and it raises false hopes that can make a movement dependent and paralyze it.

... A serious internationalism must connect our struggles here, also with the struggles against the destruction of nature worldwide, e.g. LNG production in Canada. We can only

fight against a global system of destruction if we relate to each other internationally and meet at eye level. An anti-colonial perspective for our efforts for climate justice is necessary for this reason alone.

...

***Even if the sky falls on our heads...***



It should be clear to us that we cannot completely prevent the creeping collapse of a massively damaged ecosystem, not the loss of biodiversity, not the depletion of resources. We will not be able to prevent the climate catastrophe because we are already in the middle of it.

It's a question of habitat loss for billions of human and non-human life. 'Human' life is already a privilege and will be possible primarily for those who can afford it.

Limiting global warming to 1.5 degrees is already out of reach, yet global greenhouse emissions would have to be reduced to zero within a few years. The rulers repeatedly show that they are not willing to do so and we are not (yet) able to realize such a change.

**ADMITTING THIS – WITHOUT ANY DOOMSDAY PATHOS – DOES NOT PARALYZE US. ON THE CONTRARY: IT SHOULD OPEN UP FOR US AND OUR CONTEXTS THE QUESTION OF WHAT OUR LIVES AND OUR REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLES MIGHT LOOK LIKE IN THE FUTURE.**

...

We think that we can only become a serious threat if we seek communication with each other. We propose to relate to each other under the slogan **“switch off – the system of destruction”** and thus put our struggles in a shared context.

Our actions must make clear that there can be no capitalist green alternative, no peace with existing conditions. We choose the means ourselves and no one stands above another in a hierarchy. We would love it if many would take up this idea.

This is not meant to be an attempt of absorption, but a call to go further on the offensive and strengthen existing struggles. **Let’s ignite a long-term wave of action towards revolt.** Take care of yourselves and be brave.

For a struggle of solidarity under catastrophic conditions – worldwide!

**the future is still unwritten!**

Anarchists, Autonomists and Social Revolutionaries from German-speaking countries

May 2023



What price a view - Bunurong country

Moonah is a forever tree

It's twisted form clinging to the dunes to avoid flying off into the sky in the swirling wind

This ancient tree at Duwurnnandju (Cape Schanck) sits at the edge of the old fault line where the basalt and limestone merge

It's being destroyed by people searching for a view

Signs and barriers removed

Its branches cut to protect a path

I feel its pain...I feel its decline

The shells and charcoal underneath its sprawling branches tell the story of many generations of Bunurong sharing its space with respect and caring

With respect and care this tree could revive and continue

Time will tell







A few days ago was the 18th anniversary of the start of the NT intervention.

**Eighteen years since the Intervention rolled in, a military operation against our people, we're still living under its shadow. This isn't a reflection. It's a warning. Everything they did back then- the control, the coercion, the lies, it's still with us. Repackaged, renamed, but just as violent. The cracks you see today, the suicides, the housing crisis, the joblessness, the mass removals of children. They're not failures of policy. They're the intended consequences of a renewed war declared on our communities in June 2007.**

From Gough to modern ground troops, the state keeps redrawing the same battlelines.

In the 1970s, Whitlam poured red earth into Vincent Lingiari's hand. A powerful gesture. A signal that maybe things were starting to shift. Then Fraser backed it with the Aboriginal Land Rights Act in the NT, embedding communal freehold, land returned not to individuals but to our people, together.

But into the 80s and 90s, that promise of self-determination slowly got poisoned. Mutual obligation began to creep in, turning our rights into conditional grants. Neoliberalism

sharpened its teeth on our communities, rebranding our survival as inefficiency, our cultures as obstacles, our governance as dysfunction. The tone shifted from partnership to paternalism.

Then came the 2000s, and Howard's era hit like a hammer. ATSIC was dismantled, and any platform we had to speak for ourselves at a national level was erased. Instead, he offered "practical reconciliation", all performance, no power. **When the Little Children are Sacred report landed, a report stating that endemic levels of poverty create environments where abuse "can" flourish (a known fact in every community across the country) they didn't use it to protect kids. They used it to launch an invasion.** Soldiers rolled into communities. Land was seized under five-year leases. The permit system scrapped. CDEP shut down. Income quarantined. And the media played along, painting Black communities as nests of violence and dysfunction.

When Labor took power, nothing changed. Rudd apologised to the Stolen Generations, but kept the policies creating new ones. Stronger Futures came dressed in softer language, but carried the same tools of control. Another name, same war.

In 2014, Andrew Forrest dropped his "Creating Parity" report. It read like a mining executive's dream of assimilation. It pushed income management nationwide with added

coded language of “making land productive”. Dismantled what little was left of Black-designed employment schemes. Talked about equality, but built a blueprint for obedience. White hands shaping Black land and futures, again. Today Andrew Forrest is celebrated as Australia’s biggest philanthropist to “Indigenous Issues”.

By 2015, WA began defunding and closing remote communities, saying they were unviable. Whole communities erased from maps. Families forced off country, culture disrupted, children removed. The state tightened its grip while calling it reform. And when criticism of these closures grew, especially from our communities, government tried to rebrand the conversation whilst in the other hand opening brand new privatised all Aboriginal prisons labeled “cultural facilities”. WA Mandatory sentencing laws guaranteed many of the new homeless were funneled to their new homes for the most minor of infringements, In Adelaide influx’s of people fleeing interstate policies, Australia’s own internal first peoples refugees were reframed as homeless undesirables and swept up in strengthening park and dry zone laws — we know a tightening net and Gulags when we see it.

and that’s where the “Statement from the Heart” came in.

At a time concentrated attacks across the country, the government feigned to “listen”. It had rejected outright the delegations that had come to their door in 2015 to discuss

the very issue with them but to drown out the noise they created the Kirribilli house meeting with Howard and Pearson in lead was called, which led to the recognition council the rest is history you probably weren't watching. The process was never clean it was marred by rushed and exclusionary consultations. The culmination was held at Yalara not Uluru, the later a place of profound trauma, where our people had fought long and hard to regain some control only to have it ripped from them again. We were at the former, a luxury resort while our own families still starved down the road. Many delegates rejected constitutional recognition, half the east coast walked out entirely. They were sick of being dragged back to symbolic politics while real power and resources kept slipping away. They saw through it. Yet the same grinning suits of the referendum council would later parade the name "Uluru" in front of cameras, using the site as branding, while ignoring the actual people of that community who asked for the name to be removed from the statement. They took a signed empty canvas and promised to add the agreed statement later then whitewashed it and called it unity. We saw how that all ended, something to unpack another time.

In the 2020s, the language shifted again. Now it's about crime. About youth. Every state and territory rolled out their own brand of fear: curfews in Alice, harsher youth sentencing in Queensland, stop-and-search blitzes in Sydney, racialised policing in Victoria. And the ACT — the so-called progressive heart of the country — quietly rose to the top of the

list for Indigenous incarceration and Indigenous youth detention. Barely a whisper about it. They all claim to care, but none stop the bleeding.

All this while land continues to be taken. Federal laws, once used to give land back, are now twisted to take it again. Five-year leases, mining licences, bureaucratic tricks that bypass consent. What was returned one decade is revoked the next. The state plays god with land rights, using the same pen to give and to steal.

2025 Eighteen years later, we live the consequences.

***Kids are dying by suicide in numbers that would make international headlines if they were white. Children still being removed from homes not because of abuse, but because of poverty, the same justification used in 2007. Housing is worse than ever, overcrowded and crumbling, but now also weaponised as justification for more intervention. Income management lives on in “smartcards” and “compliance frameworks.” Community services once run by us are now contracts handed to white-run NGOs. And unless our words echo the state’s talking points, they are ignored. The rate of child surveillance and removal the highest in Australia’s history.***

The crackdown on youth crime isn't about safety. It's a diversion. A smokescreen to justify more surveillance, more punishment, more prisons. Black kids are being turned into scapegoats so no one asks why the systems around them have failed. It's not dysfunction — it's design.

This was never about mistakes. It was strategy.

Ostracise, penalise, provoke, imprison.

We were labelled ungovernable, so they governed us with force. They erased culture and called it progress. White Australia got to feel moral while tearing our foundations apart.

Normalisation, they called it. Howard said it. Macklin repeated it. Forrest rebranded it for the corporate world. But it always meant the same thing: abandon who you are, or be punished.

And still they talk about equality. But what they really want is uniformity. Submission. Their idea of help looks like surveillance. Their version of opportunity looks like erasure.

Income management was never about support, it was about control. Killing CDEP wasn't about jobs, it was about dismantling autonomy. Five-year leases weren't about service

delivery, they were about state control.

They said they were lifting us up. But every move held us down.

I've seen it all. From the Aboriginal Embassy on their lawn to homelands closed and forgotten. From the front lines of uranium mines to holding space in communities torn apart by government plans. I've watched cops snatch uncles and aunties away in front of crying kids. Listened to elders recount the moment tanks and soldiers rolled in.

I've seen Australia take away everything they ever claimed to give back.

We see the pattern. Missions. Ration cards. Revoked permits. BasicsCard. It's always the same hand, just wearing different gloves.

We are not passive. We've survived their policies, and we remember.

Eighteen years on, let's tell the truth. These are not cultural crises. These are state creations. Seeded in 2007, nurtured with bipartisan support, and now harvested as trauma. 2007 and 2015 were not isolated incidents just part of a long pattern but if people can't even remember and reflect on these then we might as well give up the conversation.

Honestly, it blows my mind every time. We see what's happening in Gaza, the brutal dehumanisation of children, their criminalisation, the way entire communities are punished and bombed and murdered. The world rightly calls it genocide. And yet somehow, we don't look at our own backyard. At what's happening here.

You want to mark this date and not make it 20? Reckon with what it really means:

**END COERCION. RETURN CONTROL. FUND BLACK-LED WORK.  
SCRAP INCOME MANAGEMENT. STOP CALLING THEFT REFORM. AND  
START HONOURING THE INTERNATIONAL LAW YOU CLAIM TO STAND  
BY.**

This isn't dysfunction. It's the shadow of 2007 and longer

Every state and territory in this country is running its own war against Black kids. We lock them up. We chase them down. We criminalise their poverty. We funnel them into jails before they even hit puberty. And we've made that normal. We've turned it into policy.

This is what intergenerational dispossession does. This is the face of our own ongoing war.

This is the legacy of **“Intervention” and “Protection”**. This is the reality of settler colonialism home and abroad, just another day in the Colony.

This is not a commemoration. It’s a call to end the violence.

Albo today might as well have proclaimed he does not hold the hose of indigenous affairs after distancing Federal government from the role but that’s a cop out he holds more power than he wants to talk about and his office holds the responsibility for fixing the damage of prior administrations, were sick of paying for your failures.

**It’s time for a very difficult conversation.**

What are you really afraid of, our Skin or your Shadow?

Rox,

tired, just some memories from the centre.

[-o-]

Written by Roxley Foley.

June 25, 2025



# Community Pickets in Wollongong, the Campaign Against Bisalloy Steels, and the Movement for Free Palestine

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF COUNTRY**

These words were written on unceded Dharawal and Yuin Country. Gong Commune acknowledges that the first condition of emancipatory struggles in so-called australia is Aboriginal self-determination and that the struggle for a free Palestine is inextricably bound to decolonisation and land back. This is, was and always will be Aboriginal land.

## **WHO ARE BISALLOY STEELS?**

The city of Wollongong is the site of an industrial port, a steelworks, and two operational coal mines plus closed and abandoned mines. Bisalloy Steels, based in the suburb of Unanderra, manufactures armour grade steel that the Israeli occupation forces use on military and paramilitary vehicles, as well as emerging product lines of apartheid infrastructure—cells, watchtowers, and panic rooms. Bisalloy steel can be seen in use across



Occupied Palestine—in Merkeva tanks in Gaza [link], and in armoured vehicles thundering through Jenin and Tulkarm refugee camps [link]

The community picket at Bisalloy Steels is connected to the climate and environmental movement, and resistance to further militarisation of the region. Coal mined here is used in the manufacture of materials used by Bisalloy Steels while a transition to renewable energy and manufacturing continues to be deferred. Bisalloy have also profited from the AUKUS treaty through contribution to the SSN-AUKUS supply chain [link].

Due to their direct complicity with the genocide in Palestine, Bisalloy has been the site of multiple actions and pickets as part of the global Palestine solidarity movement.

## **PLANNING THE PICKETS**

Community pickets of Bisalloy have been organised through public open organising meetings held after rallies for Palestine in Wollongong. Meetings have been attended by a range of community members, many of whom have never participated in political organising before.

We have found that the planning of our community picket works best when it is just as

participatory, transparent and democratic as the community picket itself. Decisions are made through discussion and, where possible, consensus. Meetings include debate on everything from images used to promote the picket, to how decisions are made at the picket. We think about how we can support each other to defy intimidation, and how we might need to resist the police or others trying to break the picket lines.

We try to be guided by our aims for mass militancy and upholding a diversity of tactics; these aims often provide a way forward when members disagree with each other. We try to consider how multiple visions for the picket can be realised at once.

## **PICKETING BISALLOY STEELS**

Community pickets at Bisalloy Steels have included a range of ideas, viewpoints, experiences, and things that people are 'up for' in a picket or blockade. No form of action is more important than another. The organisational question is primarily one of how to be as disruptive as possible, to have as many people participate as possible in ways they see fit, for organisation before, during and after to be as democratic and participatory as possible, and for debates, discussions and disagreements about tactics and strategy to be had honestly and openly within the movement.

Though we all share the goal of shutting down Bisalloy for as long as possible, picketers have identified a range of additional goals. These include increasing public awareness about the company and its role in the genocide supply chain, building skills and confidence in taking 'risky' action in the Free Palestine movement, and empowering workers at Bisalloy and elsewhere to take their own actions.

The Bisalloy pickets are their own democratic political space, organised by the Wollongong community, not by trade unions. While the trade unions that have coverage at Bisalloy have been consulted, as has the South Coast Labour Council. Picketers share a common goal to blockade Bisalloy, but there are many ways to do this. Different tactics are seen as a strength. We aim for mass militancy, democratic decision making on the picket lines, as well as creating space for a diversity of tactics: a practice of mass action with an internal articulation of autonomy.

Hundreds of people have participated in the pickets of Bisalloy, successfully disrupting or completely shutting down operations on each occasion. This has involved people blocking the gates in picket lines, while Pram Jams create a space for children to participate in the picket, Food Not Bombs providing meals and snacks, and arts, crafts and music ensure

the pickets are vibrant and support the experience of solidarity and collective power on the picket.

Many people choose to come to the pickets in an affinity group of friends or people who share political and tactical ideas. A mass protest made up of groups of people who trust and support one another can be dynamic, making decisions quickly, ready to take on different parts of the action. Though we regularly meet as a whole to share information and make collective decisions, affinity groups can also act independently while being respectful of others' tactics and safety.

### **A BRIEF HISTORY OF COMMUNITY PICKETS IN WOLLONGONG**

Our pickets couldn't exist without the many radical actions that have taken place on this Country. The pickets at Bisalloy and their organisation are the latest instalment in a tradition of militant, democratic, mass action. Examples include:

M1 Carnival Against Capital: Community Picket of Port Kembla Copper (2000)

Port Kembla Copper was the focus of an anti-pollution campaign. The M1 picket took place on May Day and brought the local struggle against Port Kembla Copper into rela-



tion with the global revolt against capitalist rule. It was organised through a subcommittee of the Wollongong May Day Committee, but involved around 100 people from a range of groups, organisations and the Port Kembla and Wollongong community, blocking truck access to the site. Nine arrests were made on the day. At its strongest, the picket was decentralised and non-hierarchical, evidenced by the meetings held on the picket lines themselves about tactics, responses to police and so on. Port Kembla Copper is now closed.

### **JOY MINING: PICKETS AND SITE OCCUPATIONS (2000)**

The Joy Mining Machinery campaign was based around the employment conditions of workers employed in fossil industries. Joy Mining tried to scrap their enterprise agreement, but this attempt was rejected by the union and workers. Joy Mining threatened to close the site, issuing lockout notices, which lead to the pickets. Joy Mining issued a Supreme Court injunction against the unions, “preventing them from blockading the site.” In this situation the unions could not legally prevent the movement of jobs and machinery off site, but ‘concerned citizen committees’ were formed to participate in the pickets. This involved direct action and blockading the site to prevent its operations. When the company moved production to two Wollongong suburbs, Coniston (where scab labour was operating) and Unanderra, pickets were established at these locations and the strug-

gle broadened. These were community pickets in support of the workers struggle, but practically organised and run by the picketers themselves. They helped keep the struggle going, and increased its militancy. The campaign also received international attention, and international solidarity actions. Community pickets have been a tactic utilised by unions in order to defy laws prohibiting the organisation of pickets and were powerfully and successfully used in the MUA dispute in 1998.

### **SANDON POINT ABORIGINAL TENT EMBASSY (SPATE)-KURADJI, SANDON POINT COMMUNITY PICKET AND BLOCKADES 2002**

In 2000 Stockland Constructors Pty Ltd (Stockland), submitted development applications to Wollongong Council for a 1200 house residential plan for the Sandon Point. Aboriginal connection to the area goes back to time immemorial, and the development was planned for a known sacred Aboriginal Burial site where remains had been located in the 1950s and 1970s, and remains of a 6000-year-old Kuradji were exposed in the beach in 1998.. The area was also one of the last green corridors connecting the escarpment to the ocean and was a significant wetland ecology inhabited by unique and endangered species.

In December 2000, a Sacred Fire was brought to the Kuradji site from the long-established Tent Embassy in Canberra, establishing The Sandon Point Aboriginal Tent Em-



bassy (SPATE) and the beginning of a long-term campaign and struggle. SPATE had widespread support, but it also faced harsh opposition, vandalism and arson attacks on multiple occasions. On another section of the development site, a 24-hour community picket was established with permission from SPATE. In February 2002, the 'Valentines Day Blockade' was . involved over 200 picketers physically using their bodies to prevent the entry of heavy earth moving machinery. On the 14th the police began a massive operation" to get through the blockade. Seventy people were arrested on the day. However, the picket stalled the progress of the development long enough for a court injunction won by SPATE to delay the development.

The second major direct action at Sandon Point occurred just three months later, in May 2002. As earth works began, about 150 people broke through the fence at Sandon Point. Contractors and equipment withdrew to a fenced inner compound, and the fence of the inner compound and the perimeter fence were then pulled down. Two days later, another mobilisation occurred, with fences pulled down , building surveyance plans sabotaged, and a 'lock-on' to machinery. Sixteen people were arrested over those two days.

These actions demonstrated how the practical experience of struggle and militancy forges common experiences, solidarity, and commitment across different interests. While a smaller development was eventually built at Sandon Point, Kuradji, located on McCauleys

beach, continues to be a sacred Aboriginal site and a gathering place.

### Stop Russell Vale Mine Community Pickets 2021-2023

Stop Russell Vale Mine (SRVM) formed out of Protect Our Water Alliance (POWA), a group using a range of organisational methods and tactics to stop all mining in the Sydney and Wollongong water catchment.. SRVM had a specific focus on direct action at the mine.

Direct actions included mass community pickets, a lock on to block entry, and during covid restrictions a range of small-scale actions at the mine gates. The mine has now gone into 'care and maintenance', with no coal currently mined at the site.

## **CONCLUSION**

These are the things we have thought about and talked about as we planned the Bisalloy Pickets in 2024-2025 on Dharawal Country, the latest installment in a long tradition of militant, democratic, mass action that has typified struggle here— against job cuts, against the poisoning of our air and water, against genocide— and for the making of a better world.

## **FURTHER READING:**

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