"We are in a new epoch of breakdown what will it mean to not have a horizon ... to have no map of how act ... to have only shifting sands to cling to and be in a world radically different than that of the last 10000+ years? What does green anarchy mean today."
May solidarity once again become the concrete action of all those who fight to disrupt the mega-machine that annihilates all bodies. A solidarity that is alive and made of hearts that beat in unison with the same spirit and tension for a different world.

Our actions in defence of the wilderness may be fed as much by reverence and love for its beauty and freedom, as for our hatred for the institutions of control, confinement and commodification. In this way it is a nourishing force that complements what can often feel like a personally corrosive rage and despair.

“In the wake of multiple worlds that have already ended, we are living in a post-apocalyptic present following countless genocides and colonialisms”
“Most of the planetary surface would be functionally uninhabitable. Agriculture would cease to exist everywhere, apart for the polar and subpolar regions, and perhaps the mid-latitudes for extremely heat-tolerant crops.” (Lynas on a 6-degrees run away climate chaos scenario)

Entire jails filled with indigenous folks, 230 years later, genocide continues. It is near impossible to envisioning solidarity with potentially millions of displaced people while ecosystems crash. Extinction, theirs and ours? It is ok to feel broken when looking at this climate calamity. We do too.

It is ok to retreat. A world, that is designed to break you, is ending? We all live our own apocalypse, some sooner than others. The crush of the dole cue, while we watch another ecosystem crash. The humiliation of income management at the supermarket or wet feet at the barricade. As we get older, rebels become destitute, others lose their minds, sticking to your guns against A world designed to break you is hard.
But yet… there is wonder, small wins, the satisfaction in small defiance and moments of freedom that can make it worthwhile and joy in letting go of the idea that you have to win, that you will win, that you can flip the world of capital upside down in 10 years, - there is small pleasure in weaponising despairing and righteousness These are dark horizons, hope is for fools but there is dignity in stealing moments of freedom and joy in the solidarity of plotting revenge and as the Chinese say goes, there is opportunity in crisis. This is a book of green anarchist art and creative writing called ‘beyond the Dark Horizon.’

Why art?

Because we want to challenge ourselves to rethink the foundations on which we look to the horizon, a political horizon, visions, dreams, perhaps we can only see anew once we have thrown away history, delusions and hope, maybe we need to rethink how we understand nature, for there may be many new ways. This is paradoxically a book of art that seeks to create the desire to destroy art and return creation to the millions, it is a small grand gesture, or hopes to be.

For those late to the party, we are trying to sculpt directions for a new local, green anarchy - outlooks and action, writings and interventions based in struggle and personal experience. We want to make freedom in ruin, we want to see worlds of freedom, community and solidarity amongst comrades – create fragments for the future.
We want to fight to end all the mines, yes all of them, to destroy the world of cops, prisons, politicians and bureaucrats ruling our lives, we want the end of capital and its commodities shaping our lives, the end of work but not meaningful activity, the end of modern life even and we want to build real relationships of solidarity by centering indigenous struggles. We want to end the idea that we will stop runaway climate change in the next 10 years, we probably won’t, we are here for the long haul, we are not going to stop it but we will fight for every inch of freedom and all the living things. Some of us have views on the dehumanising nature of technology and argue for its abolition, in toto, some thing organisation forms of the past can be reshaped for today, some of us believe that revolution is possible, while or others it only feels like we have space for muted revolt. The future is grim, but I want to get away from the idea of an all at once vision of the ‘lights going out’ kind of apocalypse. There are many apocalypses lived every day islands are going under, displaced people in war zones, killer heatwaves and tropical storm after storm. High tech solar-capitalism is not going to save this world, nor green new deals or the pacifism and naivety of extinction rebellion lobbying via mass arrest and incarceration are dead ends, nor trade unions, nor NGOs are going to create new worlds, they are only at best going to save the world that capitalism has created.
The anarchist Oscar Wilde said; “A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not worth even glancing at, for it leaves out the one country at which Humanity is always landing. And when Humanity lands there, it looks out, and, seeing a better country, sets sail. Progress is the realisation of Utopias.”

To dream of flying a green-anarchist sail for utopia, is the vision of a beautiful loser - particularly in these times it seems. Utopias/dystopias even perhaps belong back in the religious narratives in which they were created... But I would rather demand the impossible and see things move in the right direction, maybe, than die by a million small cuts of reform and never know the moment of comradery in breaking small moral expectations or seeing a cop go down.
These are times of dark horizons, repression looms as states prepare to crack down while the ocean itself rises against us, it is an all to familiar horizon I imagine for those who have suffered the genocide we have benefitted from or who are already displaced by the tide capital made.

... Dark political horizons, dreams of beyond, small hopes, warm sheets reimagined as sails in a lover’s bed, the connection we get as we spit out our dreams over cigarettes with comrades.

What does it mean to be a green anarchist today, amongst ruin, with so little space, without real hope of a happy ending, that happy horizon is gone? Last year I read a book about resistance in the concentration camps called ‘Blessed is the flame’ by a person called Serafinski, what I took from this was inspiration from the stories of resistance in despair, resistance when you could not win, in the face of certain and actual death. If people could slap their executioners in a death-camp then what right do we have to giving up?

Beyond the Dark Horizon (2019)
The imperious nature of the plutarchy is such that it acts as a pied piper, luring the collective away from its “self”, an intrinsically sustainable kinship of biological equilibrium, with the pacification of the individual through commodity fetishism and the beguile of upward mobility.

In the developed world, paid TV subscriptions, vacays to the nearest developing nation and the rampant alcoholism that lines the pockets of our governments are today considered part of “the cost of living”. If confronted with the profligacy of their lifestyle within this dystopian fiction novel of a society we occupy, your bigot uncle seethes “I work hard for what I’ve got!” the average punter slams a fist “I’m working class!” your typical leftist barks “MY lifestyle is irrelevant in contrast with corporate and industrial emissions!” the majority of anarchists snarl “there IS no ethical consumption under late capitalism!”.
Collectively we ignore the hard work of the average Tibetan slave who dies of cancer before 40 thanks to their life spent mining rare earth minerals for our disposable smart phones, the child slaves being crushed in the mica mines of India for our cosmetic addictions and the indigenous peoples having their land and water seized for corporate and political profit off of our upper-middle class consumption.

We choose to view the work we do and the income we generate as something that belongs to us, with which we can strive to “live our best life”, rather than accepting that it is but another commodity for the plutarchy to profit off of, which could not exist without the colonial theft of raw material and labour in the developing world and among indigenous populations.

The elevation of the standard of living among the world’s upper-middle income earners (of which an Australian welfare recipient exists, for context) acts as a pacifier – it keeps the individual from acting out against the system except to reformative ends such as single issue activism, lifestylism and the like. The precarious nature of wealth and security coupled with the allure of high-income status potential prevent this same upper-middle class from taking stock of our privilege within this system. We box ourselves into an identity that can only be likened to the strikebreaking scabs of the industrial revolution, and we tell ourselves it is a position to which we are entitled.
Let us now examine some of the ways in which the economic and social inequity necessary for this status quo presents itself within our civilization. A third of the food produced every year globally is wasted while billions of people live in starvation and food scarcity.

The majority of homes in Australia contain an individual washing machine, and yet billions of people walk miles every day to access water. Wars rage over resources like oil, and yet the roads are a sea of vehicles containing a single occupant on their “daily commute”.

Billions of children are deprived of education and basic medicine while your co-worker complains that their internet shopping has taken longer than 48 hours to cross the globe to their door. And despite the fact that one American person will emit the same carbon as 130 Bangladeshi, or 50 Indian, or 5 Chinese people in their respective lifetimes, we the upper-middle classes attempt to pass the buck and muse about over-population in the developing world while millions of women and girls living in poverty are subjected to forced sterilization every year as a result of this false narrative.
Not only would an equitable redistribution of wealth improve the quality of life for half of the global population materially, it would also improve the quality of life spiritually and emotionally for the “other” half of the global population who currently live in a state of material excess and emotional bankruptcy, and allow more environmentally sound and sustainable practices to be implemented in the place of the current ecocide of modern agriculture, forestry, industry and transport and the fossil fuels that drive it. We cannot petition governments and corporations to do this for us. We can only subsist until they wage the inevitable civil wars upon us, and then we can only stand our ground and wait for them to bankrupt themselves of labour and resources.

Today, we are held hostage by a plutocratic monopoly over food, water, healthcare and technology. We fearfully cling to our employment, rent, mortgages, and so on. To stomach this self-betrayal, we pathologize ourselves and attempt to suffocate the pain of this cognitive dissonance with consumerism and indoor plants, and we call this living.

But the truth is that all that is living, all living organisms, the cells that comprise them and the ecosystems they exist within, are the sum total of our individual life. Just as your body is made up of a co-operative of 78 trillion cells, it is a part of an even bigger co-operative body that we call the biosphere, which its self is part of a bigger body again, known today as our galaxy, and on it goes, as above, so below, as within, so without. When a single cell expires, it is recycled into the macrocosm it exists within. Natural law is one of collectivism, knowing only the labour of maintaining the equilibrium that sustains existence.
And so as we bargain with the plutarchy and tolerate their greed and our own pacification in exchange for the comforts born from pollution, poison and genocide, which severs us from the universal egalitarianism inherent to life, can we really argue that we are living? Resistance has failed, if anything it is often discordant to anti-establishment praxis; we can only release the unhealthy attachment we have formed with neo-liberal globalization and commodity fetishism. We can only now localize, decolonize and detach from our enmeshment with capitalism. Today, the dark horizon is a vision of death from the bottom up. Centuries of wealth hoarding and the continued subservience of the upper-middle classes have secured a level of safety for high-income societies,
who stand to considerably outlive us all. But nothing is set in stone, and we hold most of the power, despite the victim narratives we have learned to tell ourselves. It’s possible that in half a century we will all be dead either way, the earth recycling our bodies into the macrocosm of our life eternal. I only know one thing as a certainty: whether I survive or die, I will do both spitting in the face of this system of authoritarianism and exploitation, and more importantly, building the life-supporting and consensual communities that ought to exist in its place.
It comes in a wave and it dissipates just the same, so how is it possible to continue to place the blame? Are we all willingly playing this game, or are we being dragged by the hair into the depths of despair as we cry, I do not consent! What deranged force could be so hell bent on eating its own tail, and just why is the world looking so pale? As if its lifeblood has been drawn out from the darkness of its beating heart, but never mind that, you pesky upstart! Get a job, that’s what humans are for, get a job and then get some more, put it on your paper, that’ll see you right, or shove it down your throat till your voice no longer touches light, till your earth no longer touches sky, don’t ask why, we need these minerals for growth, we need them ‘till we choke, we need these towers to loom, we don’t need no flowers to bloom, we don’t need no healthy wombs, we must work to build the greatest of tombs! The greatest of all, the greatest yet, you must forget, you must forget, forget the roots that feed your soul, this kind of ambition takes its toll and its a price we appear to be willing to pay because we’re marching towards such horizons day by day, marching straight into the fires of destruction, marching marching marching through the jaws of corruption, but who is that scrambling to get free? Who is that planting seeds?
Back in line, back I said! Get back or it’s a bullet to your head. Oh, oh, there goes another one, oh they give us some fun, and they’ve got every excuse under the sun! Every reason why they shouldn’t join the ranks, really, they should be giving us thanks, be grateful that we don’t run you down with tanks! But they just keep on coming, planting their seeds and humming, tunes of resistance, so very persistent, their numbers reaching out across the distance, but what is their purpose? What is their reason? Life! They cry, and reverence for the season! Life is the very essence of this treason! We must protect it with our collective might, we must keep the treasure of life always in our sight, and we must continue to do what we know to be right. No matter what.
“Gray are the coats of the cops who have imprisoned comrade Bifo, gray are their instruments of death. Gray is the prison where he has been locked up, gray are the bedroom communities, gray are the streets in the business district. Obtuse is the constable who holds in his hand the hoods of his colleagues who rummage through the comrade’s effects, obtuse are the police who for three months recorded the phone calls, obtuse is the television. Dangerous are the organs of repression, dangerous because of the latest submachine gun model, dangerous is the judge who arrests first then looks for proof. Dangerous are the roads and squares infested with the angels of death of a system always more minoritarian, dangerous are the factories and the shipyards, dangerous to decide whether or not to let a child see the light of day.

...But let them say it clearly: It is dada that terrorizes the gray, the obtuse, the dangerous.”

It’s a beast that will not cease even when the cogs begin to disagree, they cry out in misery but they just can’t stop from spinning, spinning, spinning, who is it here that’s winning? For every spoke that turns the wheel, there’s a human that cannot feel, and for every piece of the machine there’s a lost chance for us to dream, to clean this here mess up, time to fess up, we done gone did wrong, we done gone swallowed the song, swallowed it down, till its beauty imploded for lack of expression, so hear this confession lest it fester in our collective gut, we’re stuck in a fast-paced, immovable rut, shut, we just want to shut our eyes, we want to remember the skies, remember the joy, remember life before we destroyed...

So much of it, before we enclosed ourselves in a world of petrochemical perfection, fast jobs, intersections, no space for reflection, no compass, no direction, no stars to guide us home, no place to go when we’re feeling alone, I’m ready to change, can we change? Can we change? Can we plant the trees and honour the seas, honour our lives and honour each other, can we respectfully cry for the ice as she melts into water, grieve
for the mother who has lost her daughter, cherish the children who are losing their future, can we bring it back? Can we gift it back to them? Is it too late to try, or are we already lost to demise? Have you already gifted your revolution back to the skies?

Would you tell me there is nothing more to be done, or would you tell me that this story has only just begun?

Which side of history are you on, because I’ll tell you now that the old world is dying. To say otherwise would be lying. But this is not the end, my friends, oh no, this is but a twist in the tale that has yet much more in store for us all - so get creating, wake into compassion and begin to fashion the narrative that speaks more purely to your soul, because there is just so much more of this story yet to be told.
There is a violence that dominates.
It is gay bashing. It is rape.
It is the clear-cut and the
Vivisection lab. It is the bank and
The local coffee shop. It is the
Patrol car and the prison.
It is your job,
Your late rent, your rotting teeth,
Your wounds that won’t heal.
It is the silence that maintains
All of the above.

There is a violence that liberates.
It is the murdered homophone.
It is the knee-capped rapist.
It is the arson and the mink
Liberation. It is the smashed windom
And the expropriated food.
It is the cop on fire and the riot
Behind bars. It is work avoidance,
Squatting, criminal friendship,
And the total refusal of compromise.
It is the chaos that can never be
Stopped.
What can we learn from billions of years of being part of an evolving ecosystem?

In telling stories of evolution we recognise our complicity, our context, our connectedness, our unity with everything as a writhing, chemical concoction. Evolution is a driving force, a verb of process that weaves chemical cocktails into material entities and simultaneously unravels known certainties into potential futures made up of our ancestral legacies. It helps us recognize that the very first living lifeform is still alive in each and everything that is metabolizing, from bacteria to human. Through a process of reflection and re-situating, an embrace of messy complexity becomes a beautiful unfolding emergence of possibility. Evolution is driven by changes in the variation of genes due to mutations, sex, recombination and gene flow. The outcomes includes organisms and their ability to adapt, co-evolve, co-operate, speciate and to become extinct. The outcome is also a rich matrix of relationships.

Storying our lives with narratives has been a long time cultural practice for building scaffoldings of support and comfort, a way to know, and get to know ourselves, in our worlds for our times. Through a process of reflection and re-situating, an embrace of messy complexity becomes a beautiful unfolding emergence of possibility. The stories we tell shape who we are and who we become, which beckons the question, why do we not tell more stories of our evolutionary lives? Of our ancestral beginnings and becomings?
Exploring the story of evolution can be scary. Filled with mystery and voids of deep time, it takes a giant leap into an eternal earthquake of change, a seismic tremor of existential awe. But, it is in this space of wonder and mystery, that a gentle holding of all things, ourselves as all things, can seep into our being, a momentary appreciation of change as a beautiful sculpting force. Only through the expansion of our imagination attempting to grapple with these immense scales and processes, temporally and spatially, is it possible to attempt the imagining of our own molecular memory: that “our bones were once stone, and our air cycled our eons, shared with our ancestors”. Through these grandiose projections of self into a unifying concept of evolution, can real re-situating of self into a present of interconnection and interrelated life become.

The beauty of evolutionary stories is that they embrace the rigorous, robust science of ecology, whilst also placing every living being into a story. The story that is our story. Where the very first living thing is still alive in each and everything alive. Evolutionary stories evoke patterns, recognitions and connections, a blueprint similar to a multi dimensional mapping tool for gaining perspective into interconnection, biological growth and decay as nutritious decay. Evolutionary stories help us embrace the unknowns of death, by providing the poetic analogy of the chemical matrix of cy cling that situates us, as alive, in an eon long cycle of recycling. It reminds us that we are the ancestors of tomorrow and reminds us of our responsibility.
She’s seen the frontier war right in front of her, leaving traces of her peoples remains. In the ongoing genocide of them, she loses part of herself whenever she loses her peoples. They are one with her and she’s one with them. Siblings then, directing them and solidifying their significance in what is a now a part of her. Their sad now future, I find myself born into this colonised state. A white settler with every step I now take, I’m making a believing the steps back to question myself, my inherent privilege and this colonised state that I have been bred to believe: In an eager process of decolonising myself, my mind and my spirit, as if it were a loving ceremony. It makes me realise that this will be a lifelong process. This brings me great joy. I further see her “now can I be the most truly supportive and solid ally?” and she says to me “listen”

We have heard of your brave stands against pipeline construction across your territories in British Columbia. We wish to extend a small message of solidarity and tell you a little of the struggle here.

For the last year we have been defending the sacred landscape of the Djab Wurrung people against the expansion of the western Highway. The battle is against Major Road Projects Victoria who are contracting to large international contracting companies. Djab Wurrung, indigenous land defenders and supporters have established three camps along the proposed route.

The landscape features hundreds of culturally modified trees. Birthing trees were hollowed and used to bringing generations of Djab Wurrung children into the world. There are also directions trees, trees that have been carved for canoes and altered in other ways. Tools and other cultural artefacts are found frequently, and culture is being practiced today. The area is part of a songline and home to our creator spirit.

The camps have sustained against intrusions by police and harassment by some local people. In April 2019 police tried to clear some of the camps but were repelled when 300 supporters, both indigenous and settlers turned up from different parts of the country in less than 12 hours and kicked the police off the sites. Currently work has been delayed until 12 June.
ECOCIDE
GENOCIDE
We stand strong, until the end – Djab Wurrung have been here since the beginning of time. There is no compromising of our sacred landscape. The land is our means of survival. It is our food, spirit, identity and culture. Our lands have a spiritual value and not an economic one.

If the land is destroyed so is our dreaming. Our dreaming is our story. It is what connects us to the beginning of time, back to our spirit ancestors, our creators. Today, roads are built on our song lines and our song lines are what connects our stories up all around our nation from one tribe to the next, you could even say like chapters in a book.

Our stories are passed down to teach us to respect Mother Earth, our sacred places and all living creatures. They teach us morals and more importantly the lore, what is accepted and what is not! If we do not take a stand now, our Culture along with our People will be merely a distant memory.

It was never ok for our lands to be taken away. We are standing strong on country again.

We would like to send you love and an invitation, we would like to hear of your struggle, engage in discussion, share ideas and learn from each other. Sovereignty never ceded.

Written by indigenous land defenders and settlers at the Djab Wurrung Embassy.
The fire in her belly is soaring. It's not hurting her though as this is in her fiery nature. Affirming her reality means that she can question and try to answer what a woman is fundamentally. Without the expectations of the patriarchal stigma inflicted upon her at birth, she realises that her eternal mother is always watching over her and embracing her tightly. She's not separate from her mother. She is one with it. As are all people. Her birth waters rush everyday and only some can hear her wails and joy. She cries and only some can hear her. Humans have been playing with the mother for centuries now. What will the future hold? Will it still be turning yet with a drastic change? The colonised state of being is holding her hostage. With a tight grip on her, but not in an embracing way. We drink her tears, yet only some can feel for what she's experiencing in a negative light. The heavily medicated masses drinking her tears as if it's plentiful and nourishing without knowing why the air is polluted with lies and propaganda. They're living in amongst it and somehow don't know it. Part of the ever turning machine. It is possible to break out of this and listen to mother. Yet some don't want to. Part of the machine till the end of their time.
Every wise woman hides some brass between her knuckles

“From the shattered tools and bones of our predecessors, we craft our own weapons.”

Blessed is the Flame: An Introduction to Concentration Camp Resistance and Anarcho-Nihilism by Serafinski
My nana wears her hand tailored suit
pressed and hemmed below the knee

She lights her candles by the thirteen moons
to remember

She tells me
that the boat my grandfather fled on
to reach these shores
was almost swallowed
by the tides before it left the docks

My nana saves the baileys
in the locked cupboard below the menorah
beside the molotov bottles and well oiled rags.

She tells me
She remembers
that those are her stories in their lives
that every wise woman hides
some brass between her knuckles
against the marks left from the cyanide ring
and survives
by any means necessary
Transgender Earth and Other Eco-transfeminist Allusions 2019

This planet we call earth, with it’s crusty folds and molten flows, has always been very gay. And life on earth, so infinitely diverse, it defines queerness itself, also clearly gay. It is the human animal life who have constructed colonial, capitalist, patriarchal, binary gender, and imposed it upon the unimaginably fabulous trans earth, and all the creatures and spirits for which the earth is home, and of which they are a part.

Eco-transfeminism is a simultaneous attack on the bearings and bolts of binary gender, a machine that is embedded alongside environmental destruction, a machine that produces patriarchy, heteronormativity, cisnormativity, and is an important tool of capitalism, colonialism and white supremacy. These structures pipe death from life as an internal combustion engine funnels global warming from old fern fronds.

Through this human smog haze, transgender earth appears as a white and/or cis mother, not old enough to be wiser than the human animals, but young enough to be fertile, feminine enough to be exploited by patriarchy, cis enough not hold trans magic, and white enough to be the property of the coloniser. Trans earth reduced to mother nature, the wife of (white) humanity, and her supposed children of feet and fronds, belonging to the family of scientific kingdoms, to be tested and tortured, farmed and factoried, captured, cloned, capitalised, colonised. But this is not who the earth truly is.
Assigned mother nature at 4.5billion, transgender earth has only recently had to endure internalised transphobia. And so it knows it’s true self clearly, not as a binary myth, but as the power of it’s mass, belonging only to the gravity of our star, a celestial god. It’s atmospheric robes changing with the ages as it pleases itself. Sometimes naked, sometimes shielding itself from meteorites as transgender humans shields ourselves from the cis gaze. Sometimes it’s attire is choked with too much CO2, or so thin it embodies 90’s transparent vinyl, whatever the solar op shop can provide. If it wants, it can choose to boil it’s skin, or freeze us, for life calling the trans earth home are less it’s children than transgender earth is the child of the sun. We, and the flowering plants, and the assertive grasses, may indeed be little more than an annoying virus flung from afar, caught upon transgender earth’s skin.

Like trans femmes through the cis gaze, the earth may also be seen as an alien “it”, a “freak”. Assumed to be the only one of its kind, a deviation from the binary norm of rock or gas type, a trans planet alone in the world. A thing more than a home or a being. A thing upon which made-up borders and nation states can be written upon, as masculinity is written upon our bodies. And through the cis/human gaze also, the probability of trans earth’s cousins, planetary children of other stars, is ignored, erased, lest they find each other through the distance of spacetime, to discover that there are others trans planets, and that they are valid and worthy of existence.
We, as humans, have always known how to relate to transgender earth, though we have been manipulated astray. Transfeminist environmentalism and ecology is a break from the false binaries of human/earth, nature/humanity, wilderness/civilisation, life/death, a negation of the things that we have never needed. The things that only serve a short term gain for a privileged few, that we have been led to believe are true by obscuring what we have always known, and still do. That transgender earth is more than our home. Our bodies it’s waters. It’s minerals our bones.

Like binary gender, we have become part of transgender earth’s language and identity. It doesn’t need us, but we are an undeniable part of it. This is why we are also transgender, infinite in our genders as we are in our numbers. Like the colonial state’s violent police force, attempted protection of the transgender earth is an attempt to protect ourselves from ourselves. A dangerous fiction, when all we both need is liberation. Liberation from the colonial, capitalist, patriarchal, binary gender system. Liberation for trans earth from our multi-celled annoyances. While trans earth doesn’t need us, it could be better with us.

Destruction of this gender system is not merely the liberation of life on earth, but the opening of all the possibilities of our wildest dreams. The potentiality of what we can do together as one planet. Consider what we have achieved under such oppressive structures and imagine what we will achieve once our dreams are freed. We are the transgender earth, a big sphere, spiralling through spacetime. Neither amongst life together here, or in the vastness of our galaxy, are we alone. It is through the power of this togetherness that we will liberate this planet from environmental destruction, and set each other free.
Transfeminist environmentalism & ecology is...

~ An attempt at a political analysis of environmental destruction that takes into account the role of the western, colonial, capitalist, patriarchal, binary gender system in environmental destruction.
~ Critical of environmentalism’s white supremacist, colonial, patriarchal and binary tendencies.
~ Critical of eco-feminism’s gender essentialist and white supremacist tendencies.
~ Asserts an environmentalism that sees our liberation from this gender system as integral to ending environmental destruction.
~ Asserts a queer analysis of binaries to deconstruct constructions of nature, environment, wilderness, humanity, non-human animals, life and the earth.
~ An invitation for all sexually and gender diverse people to validate their environmental work and for more of us to find home in environmentalism and ecology.

I want to acknowledge all the LGBTIQA+ people involved in environment movements all over the world, particularly the trans women, trans girls, trans femmes, non-binary trans people, and QTIPoC (queer, trans, indigenous, intersex, people of colour), who have been living transfeminist environmentalism and ecology in recent years, cultivating a significant transformation of environment movements everywhere. Indeed, we were always little trans seeds waiting to sprout, I wonder how many of us are still germinating :)

Please take this article as a point to leap from and off into the fertile temperate rainforest that is the future of transfeminist environmentalism and ecology, and craft your own thoughts, fiction, sci fi, solarpunk and other liberatory writing.
“Anarchist Santiago Sierra in an act of ‘anti-nationalism/internationalism’ planted the black anarchist flag on the south pole. The polar ice will probably disintegrate in our lifetimes and now shorter shipping routes for freight are dribbled over in boardrooms. Will we sail beyond ‘dark horizons’ and plant anarchist flags ...? What if the land on which we project our dreams, those distant ‘island utopias’ can no longer be found with 20th Century bearings? We are in a new epoch of breakdown, what will it mean to not have sunny horizons?”
Moonee Ponds Creek was once a series of flowing ponds but has been concealed in concrete to maintain an environment which is easy to control and enabled the process of urbanization on the floodbanks.

Floodwaters are swift and carried out to the bay, taking with them the debris and sediment that they hold.

Terra Pulsus is a radical response to this site which aims to slow down the flow of water and mimic what once was, utilizing recycled materials and hold onto the sediment and the seedbank within to restore biodiversity.

At each intersection of where the creek once flowed, is a rupture, like that of a heartbeat coming from the earth, sticking against the concrete and forming a series of ponds.

A gradient runs down the site from minimal disruption to maximum, providing structural diversity and therefore allowing a variety of emergent ecologies and an experience of time and evolution.

Disrupting the concrete form, mimics the natural process of decomposition and aims to bring life to an environment which currently aims to exclude it.

The past and present state of Moonee Ponds Creek are merged to create a new story for this landscape.
DECOMPOSE
THE STATIC
COMPOSITION

Pulse
“life, vitality, essential energy” early 1530s

Pulse
“a throb, a beat,” early 14c

Pulsus
“beating from the blood in veins,” Latin

Pelemizein
“to shake, cause to tremble,” Greek

Pellere
“to strike against,” Proto-Indo-European
Flora, fauna, water and minerals are influenced by the infrastructure of the urban landscape: buildings, roads, concrete culverts, storm water and sewage drains. The build up of sediment, nutrients, organic and inorganic debris (fallen trees and branches, cars, bikes, shopping trollies and plastic) supports an emergent vegetation as the water flows are obstructed. A hybrid combination of native and introduced plant species colonize the channel from the rich seed bank contained within the sediment washed down stream from gardens, nurseries, reserves and agricultural landscapes, feeding off the rich nutrient build up. The drains are home to squatters who are equally part of this emergent ecology, recycling for cash at recycle centers and creating communal bonfires from the debris. They are not alone among the bat colonies, and birds, who nest under bridges, fending off disease as they feed off insects such as mosquitoes which breed in the still waters. Invertebrates thrive in such waters which produce algal blooms from the nutrient rich sewage. It is time to re-examine our relationship with nature, instead of attempting to impose what is considered “natural,” in complete opposition to the current state. Flora and fauna surround us and their interconnections are emerging regardless of our intentions. It is humans who overlook their presence and suppress it with concrete, herbicide and pesticide to maintain a static environment. In order to allow a healthy ecosystem to arise we must immerse ourselves in attempting to understand the complex systems which form before our eyes.
BHP HEX

Defiant hearts dancing against despair and convening ontological cannibalism - eating the other. A zombie or cannibal metaphysical resistance.

# For we are the bastard children running from your nuclear gated utopia of poison, class, false gods and otherings - we are already breaking your gates and already eating your alterity - we will subsume you as you have eaten our world, and over these gates which contains the world - your gates of nuclear hell that have already broken for us - for we will Seeth love, hate and the depth of collective connected spirit against your false utopia and we will never stop moving, running and dragging you down even as we rise - we will break what breaks us and become web of life as we smash your techno-barbarian death. We are not Prometheus or a Phoenix but we want to hear this lore even as our containment breaks it’s runs through our hearts. We are coming as many are already in our hearts and in the heart of your beasts - your domesticate stupor for profit will be killed so all can be truely life. We hold time even as your clocks own us.
#hastag And like the radiation u put in everyone of our bones some of you already feel us coming - rapture happens.

#lizardbitesback As you calculate our value on your queues, algorithms, profit sheets, radiation risk quantification, police buggers, cuts, bells and whistles, predictive searches and alleged willingness to play your game, buy your death - we looked to the red soils and felt the deep waters and swelled in deep time. Yours is not our history and we want not the world u made for there are many natures held in our deep collective memories and forever new dreams of freedoms you cannot dream. We r that nightmare.
HEX - And even if you die and we die we will be reborn in the break and we were free this day and in my mouth I taste new worlds as we slowly devour your deaths into our transcended becoming - at least my dream has been free and I felt myself in taking your death worlds Thru me.

emoji of death --- For we are more possible than you can powerfully imagine and you should fear me when you crawl within your bed at 3am - eternally for we are eternal and perhaps we will win and even if we don’t we will fight for this is to live even in bourgeoise death even amongst your values, value/d numbers and risks bc never again will you poison the possibility of worlds for freedom and hope cannot turn back. We are natureS defending ourselves. I saw such fires at 3am, eternal ;) - wild eyes and dream in the bellies of loose cannons beasts ... I felt an ancient timeless voice carry on winds, despite your humming powerlines, , drones and choppers, we faced your fear and laughed and made a microcosm of communities other.
---- so BHP fuck y’all and the world of yours, for neither the normalisation of terrorism nor the binds of normative vision will hold forever, bc we are already here. I have eaten the roo and the feral camels and your sick dust is probably in me. I saw bones break your border and I can never forget, nor forgive the lest we forgets of nationalist death drives are nothing but bitterness upon the dust you and your bourgeoisie scum have spread into ever person on the planets dna. Big luv to the Arabunna, Kokatha and the lizard! We will stop your Machines, we will stop the machine. xx V
Dear Latteflakes,

I’m so sorry I haven’t written since May, despite not having jobs, being poverty poor, ignoring your numerous invitations to come along to protests, and laughing at you being wound up reacting to storms in teacups on facebook.

We’ve been extremely busy building a new world, and it’s so exciting to see it taking shape without you!

...
Using indigenous fire techniques, we burnt another 20m section of lantana and weeds today, a series of small fuel reduction cool burns alongside the various access tracks the last week has created a number of containment zones and fire-breaks. Combined with this strange wet winter we’ve had finally starting to ease (along with our seasonal depression), the grass is drying out from the cool weather, the wattles are in various stages of flower and seed, the nice gentle cool winds, and with a reasonable amount of moisture still in the soil, things are starting to align on all our various fronts.

We should have the right conditions to start burning down the larger patches of weeds in the next week or so hopefully, which should enable us to physically get into the understory, remove the major weeds by hand, re-introduce and diversify the native species, and more importantly and immediate to our needs, encourage more of the acacias to grow.

We built a seed separator from an 44gal drum, some old bits of wood, and a bunch of nuts and bolts we stole from Bunnings. We now have all the equipment we need to start harvesting acacia seed.

... 

The nursery was surprisingly quick to get established, in the process of clearing the lantana we found about 100m of poly pipe underneath it all, and with a few generous locals donating a substantial amount of shade cloth, along with some old metal shelving racks, we built a fully functional production nursery in a matter of days.
The roof over the 1000L IBC tank took a little while to fine tune for it to catch enough water, but there is a reasonably stable supply of water at last.

After clearing about ¼ of an acre of lantana by hand over the last two months, most of it has now either been burnt or thrown into the mulcher that someone generously loaned us along with many other industrial grade tools, including an excavator which was handy for the terraces and creating a flat area for the nursery.

Having now cleared enough of the insidious combo of lantana, desmodium, and two different kinds of native raspberry. All the native plant stock we started with is now in the ground, is beginning to get established, and now being complemented by the native plants that are rapidly returning.

We have started planting and germinating our next round of natives this week, increasing the diversity and quantity is our focus this time.

....
The vegetable farm is all fenced and we no longer have problems with the turkeys who are beginning to go into breeding season, are starting to congregate in large groups, and make a general nuisance of themselves by digging up anything with starchy carbohydrates in the roots. We might eat a few of the females perhaps?

Cutting down of the first bunch of non-native pines to create the three major terraces in the vege farm went mostly without mishap, along with everyone learning how to use a chainsaw, it’s amazing how some rope, some makeshift pulleys, a few logs as rollers and a star picket can be used to shift a lump of wood that weighs hundreds of kilograms with relative ease.

The localised eucalypts for the koalas we planted to replace the invasive pines have taken well and are already starting to grow in size.

The top terrace is already being harvested of it’s initial crops, and we have a number of vegetables in various stages of growth happening now. The lower two big terraces are taking longer to get established as the existing soil quality isn’t as great as further up the slope is, so we have been collecting cow manure, kitchen scraps, and any easily available carbon containing material, and turning the lower terraces into long composting trenches for now.

Within another two or three weeks, our first stage goal of being able to sell boxes of vegetables to our local community at a cheap price should be complete. The funds generated should enable us to not only self sustain the farm economically, but also expand into other more profitable areas such as native food production, up-valuing produce and a commercial nursery open to the public.

In the meantime, our own household food bills have been drastically reduced, and we’re eating extremely well.

...
Despite our vegetable production still not being up to commercial levels yet due to the timing of when we started and the seasonal change. The family that live on the property seem happy with our improvements to the land and are happy with the rent free agreement in place and have even encouraged further development by funding a mutual project of building a hydraulic ram to move water from the waterfall in the creek up to the water storage tank we use at the nursery and farm.

Scottish folk have an existing and direct understanding of colonisation, our project here feels like a prototype example of settlers actually immigrating into First Nation society. A great example of white privilege enabling indigenous and poorer people to create their own economic opportunities through mutual aid instead of insincere charity.

The large fire pit we started has become a sort of local community hang out with all the neighbours from all walks of life and social backgrounds around the bonfire at the almost weekly bbqs, while all the kids have a ball. We held our little winter solstice gathering there the other week and had an amazing view of the moonless sky to inspire some meaningful chats, even despite one of the rednecks rolling his buggy. Everyone is keen on adding onto the new community vibe by organising a space and the resources to hold regular jam and open mic sessions as soon as possible.
News of our project around the wider community has lead to more opportunities with another awesome person donating the use of their already well established, but no longer used nursery and vegetable patch to us. With it’s existing fruit trees and established herbs, our plan is to quickly revitalize the soil and use it to produce herbs, fruit, and more lower maintenance and slower growing crops to compliment the vege and native food farm.

We have also gained the interest of others and have started inviting a select few to join our collective now that we have things reasonably established, their specialist knowledge and outside skills can only add to the collective’s skill base, and the opportunity to access and expand their existing backyard setups into our garden space and infrastructure is something they have expressed is a mutually beneficial arrangement.

Our total expenditure so far has been about $200, how an idea that started over a few beers one afternoon has evolved into something so quickly is quite remarkable, i can’t wait to see how things develop as we come into warmer times. ;)}
Regards from the bush,

A blackfulla, a few rednecks, some aging anarchists, and a few refugees who managed to escape the USSR.

PS. We’re still waiting for you white urban leftie kids to get off your ass, seize the fucking means, and catch up already.

PPS. We don’t really care if you all die in the coming climatic changes, or (un)willing vote yourselves into becoming further enslaved in a capitalist fascist nation-state.

Apologies for the lack of photos, we don’t have permits, do illegal shit, we hate the fucking cops, and we’re too busy to bother taking them anyway. We also can’t be fucked to make a facebook page or a website.
Ourstory: More than Four Decades of Environmental Protest and Direct Action

The following are just some of the hundreds of Ecological Direct Action’s taken in so-called Australia. The entire list will be published elsewhere. We have focussed on some lesser known and militant actions as inspiration. Many of these saw the participants of anarchists.

Bunbury wood hopping facility
June 26, 1969, Melbourne -
The Victorian BLF imposes Australia’s first green ban by preventing demolition work in Carlton.

September 16 1973, Brisbane -
Anti-freeway protestors squat houses in Bowen Hills.

July 19 1976, Bunbury, WA -
$300,000 damage to the gantry structure and sending steel pieces over the Leschenault inlet into a housing estate, smashing windows. The remaining two charges failed to detonate.

August 7 1976, Melbourne -
The city’s ports close when maritime workers strike for 24 hours over a visit by the nuclear powered warship the USS Truxtun.

October 1978 and January 1979 -
Logging machinery vandalised at Eden.

August 12 1979, NSW -
Following a rally against impending old-growth logging at Terania Creek, protesters set up a camp thereby initiating Australia’s first forest blockade.

January 1 1981, Australia -
A total ban on the transportation of uranium and related mining equipment is placed by the Australian Railways Union.

May 16 1982, South Australia -
The Honeymoon uranium mine is occupied by anti-nuclear protesters for 24 hours.

July 21 1982, Northern NSW -
The Nightcap Action Group begins blockading old-growth logging at Grier’s Scrub.
September 2 1982, Northern NSW-
150 people blockade logging at
Mount Nardi with their bodies and
barricades.

December 14 1982,
South West Tasmania- Hundreds of
anti-dam protesters descend on the
Franklin River to begin blockading.

August 6 1984, Queensland-
Protesters erect barricades, bury
themselves in the ground and lock
their legs onto concrete slabs in
preparation for the resumption of
road building through the Daintree
rainforest.

August 19 1984, South Australia -
The second major blockade of the
Roxby Downs uranium mine begins.

March 7 1985, Sydney -
The Sydney Peace Squadron attempts
to block US nuclear warships with
canoes, yachts and surfboards.

October 16 1986, Melbourne -
Anti-nuclear protesters sledgehammer
their way into the Uranium
Information Centre before occupying
its offices.

Survival Day 1989,
NSW Sabotage of Forestry equipment at
Brown Mountain. Removal of survey
pegs, filling of drill holes for rock
blasting.

February 19 1990, Sydney -
A protest flotilla made up of 25
members of the Sydney Rainforest
Action Group delay a ship, carrying
timber from old growth forests in
South East Asia, from docking.

April 9 1990, Melbourne -
A flotilla of 55 activists blockades a
ship bearing rainforest timber from
South East Asia as it attempts to
travel up the Yarra river.
The road to Chernobyl starts at Jabiluka.
June 16 1990, Melbourne - 67 people are arrested for trespass during a protest against the sale of Malaysian rainforest products at retailer Timbersales.

November 9 1990, Adelaide - 100 people attempt to block the shipment of yellowcake to Europe from Roxby Downs.

February 13 1995, Sydney- Over 1000 people blockade Sydney Airport protesting against the proposed third runway.

June 17 1995, Perth - Amidst widespread protests against nuclear testing the French consulate is burnt down.
1979 - Blockade 'against the construction of a bauxite smelter that would need to be supplied with bauxite from beneath the forests to produce aluminium, thereby increasing old growth destruction.' WA
March 5 2002, Victoria- A day after the protest celebrates its fifth birthday, police launch a major raid on the Goolengook anti-logging blockade.

November 16 2006, Tasmania- Having already prevented logging for over a year environmentalists at Camp Weld, situated on the fringes of Tasmania’s World Heritage Area, defy a police raid by immediately occupying a bulldozer.

January 29 2009, Sydney- 1,000 occupy a road as part of the city’s eleventh Reclaim The Streets anti-car culture party in Redfern.

May 10 2014, Newcastle - Protesters opposed to the Maules Creek mine project blockade a coal train as it enters the Kooragang Island terminal.

January 31 2018, Gippsland - Police evict a Goongerah Environment Centre (GECO) forest blockade at Granite Mountain which has halted old growth logging for 10 day
“Glebe Island wharf action – no uranium export blockade 1977” The image is made available via the State Library of NSW. SEARCH Foundation Rights and Restrictions Information: Reproduction and rights for the images are licensed under Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 BY International Licence.
Environmental crisis, which had been warned about for decades is now a global emergency and an inescapable existential risk to the continuation of the human post-industrial civilisation and millions of species. Despite the clear warning signs that the planet had been sending since the industrial revolution two hundred years ago, the ruling classes and elites have brought the planet itself to a critical point under a destructive dominion of the energy companies, the resources extraction industries, mono-crop mass agriculture, the arms manufacturers, religious control systems and methods of mass psychological programming through media, consumerism, spectacle, intoxication and control of sexuality and thought.
We’ve seen in those years we’ve been agitating against this destructive system that nothing is ever achieved without force. We’ve seen decades of activist and citizenist “action”, it’s an almost total waste of time, it hasn’t stopped the ecological collapse in the fifty-odd years it’s been employed and it sure as hell won’t stop it now we have supposedly less than ten years left to avert the meltdown. The damage has already been done and there is nothing that can bring back the species who are already extinct, the biodiversity and landscapes that are already irreparably damaged.

The planet is changing, and for us, the most important thing now is to decisively build for an insurrectional and revolutionary dynamic to overthrow the ruling classes, the capitalists and their world-wide techno-prison society which they are building for us all. The middle-classes, as well as the “working classes” are almost completely embedded in the false opposition of the left and right wings of politics, caught centuries behind the coming technological singularity and so-called “fourth industrial revolution”. We face an era of unprecedented social authoritarianism, exploitation and exhaustion of natural resources. It is going to take more than passive resistance and petitioning of the State to achieve the required changes if we want to see a future that has hope for liberty, freedom and the restoration and rewilding of the environment.
The current counter-culture and the actual resistance to capitalism taking place in UK is at such a weak ebb that reformist activist cults like XR (Extinction Rebellion) operate in an almost empty radical space.

From weekend hunt saboteurs and anti-fascists 9 to 5ers, rent payers or lifestyle squatters, most talking takes places with a pint or a line of Ketamine, either way, the counter-culture is anaesthetised and going nowhere other than to the displays of recuperation of a once-thriving scene, eg. Boom Town, or Glastonbury, or the other crap festivals where people are sold back the culture they lack and once created.

No direction, just places to let off steam, no-one meets in the streets any more and it’s time to start the fires and barricades and attack the establishment and the middle-classes who benefit, and all those who keep the left and right wing racket going.

Fight back? No one carries weapons any more because they are too scared to go jail. All the old punks are dead and we’ve been left with a generation of young people who would rather become victims and argue over how many unicorns can dance on the head of a pin. Where are we at? A very politically correct ambush?
How close and personal do so-called activists/anarchists get? No doorstep challenge?! It’s time that we began attacking the rich and the architects of this prison-society which is destroying everything, and just has to go. If it’s not possible to overthrow this system, then we’re going to die trying to destroy it and our lives will be spent subverting and attacking it in all the minimal ways that we can. Together we’re going to try to push the tension so that nothing can stay the same.

Why aren’t posh privileged Tory fascists and the other class enemies made to feel the shit that they impose on us, isn’t it playing for a very English colonial value that shouldn’t be kept alive? Isn’t that what the XR managers and activist hierarchies want to promote? That “Democracy” is not threatened, and thereby, nothing gets out of their hands in their negotiations with power? They operate in a way that makes you think that they’ve never been touched by poverty; capitalism and civilisation never comes on the agenda. XR isn’t interested in any underclass grudge that looks too ugly for engineered media training. These green cult members steward their demos wearing their sheriff tin-stars as if they’ve been deputised to watch out for anyone who steps out of line and lashes out. Solely designed to hand over well meaning people into the hands of the police, their entire organisation is a liberalist authoritarian exercise of hand-wringing benefiting only their own careers and the State itself which inoculates itself with the fake (and therefore harmless) radicalism.

In this struggle why is it still being played out wearing kids gloves and abiding by their rules, they don’t abide by their rules, so why should we. They send rapist undercover cops against us, brutalise us, beat us, imprison us. We need to follow through, make these politicians, bosses and pen pushers/number-crunchers that make our lives miserable feel the heat from our anger in the embers of their burning cars and houses. Wipe them out.
The “movement’s” outreach is only to the apparently already converted, sprayed on walls of the hip inner cities gentrifying ghettos, declaring that the struggle is not dead and our fallen friends are immortal. But without destructive sabotage and attacks, graffiti is just scribbling on the walls.

The new world-savers (XR, other reformists) are saying look into the hour-glass we hold, we’ll tell you how much time you have left, our professional friends in high places are scientists, philosophers, academics: we dictate the shape of the rebellion, no fighting please.

We don’t need negotiations with the elites, we want to hang them and take everything they have for everyone else. We want a completely different future from the one they envisage and the only possibility that it will happen is if their way of life comes to an end.

Direct actions have been taking place all over our city by small bands of angry individuals showing that CCTV and cops don’t have a grip on spontaneous attacks. The replication of slogans and pointless demos in the inner cities and satellite towns are a paper-tiger. They never follow up with any actions that have any bite. These slogans state that the struggle hasn’t died (and the ecological collapse can be averted) but it’s clear that it is going to take a revolution and the destruction of our entire industrial civilisation, which no-one wants, to “avert” this eco-crisis. The only “Green Revolution” that is coming is an authoritarian and technological one.
This entire world is going down in water and fire. It only takes a few individuals to form an insurrectional and/or revolutionary cell, for anarchist, earth and animal liberation. You don’t need to go to a social centre, you don’t need to go to a bait demo, you don’t need to tell everyone you know on social media, you don’t need to vote for a Green Party lacky or put your faith in any do-gooder or prophet of false hope.

You just need to look after your health, arm and educate yourself and prepare for a serious confrontation, we are looking at an unresolvable future of conflict. You can choose if you want to set the date and time for that meeting now, or you can let the State and civil society decide, as your existence continues to be dragged along by this entire burning civilisation as it disappears into the abyss.

Either way, anarchy is inevitable!
DIRECT ACTION enables people to develop a new sense of self confidence and an awareness of their individual and collective power.

DIRECT ACTION is founded on the idea that people can develop the ability for self-rule only through practice and proposes that all persons directly decide the important issues facing them.

DIRECT ACTION encompasses a whole range of activities, from organising co-ops to engaging in resistance to authority.
DIRECT ACTION is not just a tactic, it is individuals asserting their ability to control their own lives and to participate in social life without the need for mediation or control by bureaucrats or professional politicians.

DIRECT ACTION places moral commitment above positive law.

DIRECT ACTION is not a last resort when other methods have failed, but the preferred way of doing things.
No-one can be surprised about how the first few months of the Morrison government have gone. Any notions of compromise with the centre and left of politics have been dispensed with – it’s the ScoMo way or the highway. The new Senate has left a crossbench of reactionaries and two Centre Alliance “sensible centrists” to guard against the excesses of the Coalition, and so far they’ve shown the resistance of wet paper. The new Progressive Labor Party Under Anthony Albanese’s Leadership has shown us less opposition than the Senate crossbench, caving in repeatedly with the concessions to corporate Australia that Albanese had been talking about pre-election. It goes to show how far the so-called left wing of the ALP have strayed from the flock.
News Corporation has re-energised itself on the back of the election victory, slandering all that challenge the many flaws, lies and hypocritical acts produced by the Coalition and its supporters. Extinction Rebellion is the latest target of their brutal invective, with full-page splashes in The Courier Mail shouting about “feral” protestors holding up traffic and likely putting an unbearable strain on the Newstart purse. Never mind the message, News Corp papers have played the man with nary a discussion on what Stop Adani and Extinction Rebellion have been trying to start a conversation about.

This process of de-legitimisation has worked fairly well, and married up nicely to the new Coalition policy of pretending that climate change action is under control and will definitely not destroy the economy, despite having done zip to stop greenhouse gas emissions rising. It has also been aided by the years of Labor trying to talk out both sides of their mouth on the issue, couching all talk of necessary action within the status quo of capitalist economy and modern society.

Having fallen into the trap of making climate action a trade-off, most people who struggle with the costs of day-to-day living certainly don’t wish to amplify the risk to them, if they’re merely getting more of what the current government is doing. The rest who have abandoned Labor have gone full climate denial or to the Greens, who have co-opted the green capitalism and NGO line of solar powered unicorn cars alongside the kind of targets which are an absolute minimum for averting climate catastrophe.

There is no radical program to be found in Stop Adani, and it’s clear there is no mass appeal for it. The pro-coal political forces have effectively neutralised it, to the point where CFMEU members were down at Clermont hurling insults at Bob Brown’s ill-advised caravan, and the mining branch of the Queensland CFMEU spent the entire election campaign trying to get Labor to unequivocally support the Carmichael Adani mine.
No-one outside of the urban progressives, environmentalists in regional areas and assorted socialists, anarchists and anti-Indian racists oppose the mine in principle, and the campaign has had a desperate air about it. A large fault of Stop Adani, as put by a good person in a Facebook post the other day, is its undeniable liberal character. As it was put by this person, the campaign seeks to shut down one coal mine project; it has land rights for the Wangan and Jagalingou people, and land rights as a principle, as an addendum instead of a front-and-centre issue; and it organises small action groups with a central leadership core, with no links to organised labour in the Galilee Basin, central Queensland and Townsville (as demonstrated by the Clermont incident). Its role within the Stop Adani Alliance, a collective effort of NGOs trying to influence climate change policy, cements it as a dead-end for the revolutionary fervour required to smash our current modes of production that perpetuate ecological destruction.

People on the streets in Brisbane cannot stop politicians signing off on an application, especially when that campaign will never convince anyone whose mind needs changing, that would threaten their hold on power.

The anticapitalist left must begin anew, restoring class consciousness and thinking more clearly about which capitalist movements to lead, co-opt and reject. Co-opting liberal movements that fail to address the real concerns of workers and their families — and miners on six figures are still workers — disconnects us from those who care more about concrete realities than abstract moralising.

The neglected space of allying with First Nations people to fight for actual land rights is an indictment upon our ability to synthesise settler Australian class struggle with the First Nations’ struggle against the enduring colonial state resting upon it.
The dogged determination of the Andrews Labor government to impose its will over Djab Wurrung peoples trying to protect their sacred birthing trees is a perfect example of that inability to build consciousness and support outside the urban setting – I have hardly heard of any socialist action there, apart from anarchists supporting the Djab Wurrung campers protecting the lands. Red Flag has nothing on the embassy, and Green Left Weekly has two reports on it, buried deep beneath plenty of Extinction Rebellion articles. The various NGOs have failed to step in and help W & J people fighting Adani in the courts over native title rights, including the contentious Indigenous Land Use Agreement shrouded in murky backhanded tactics by Adani to get the numbers, preferring to fight the environmental approvals.

Similarly, we cannot fight climate catastrophe by focusing our efforts towards politicians. It is necessary to go to where the visible, concrete struggles are, and support them.

In the Galilee, the Djab Wurrung lands, Deebing Creek, and other sites of struggle against rampant capitalist destruction, there lies an opportunity to build real and enduring solidarity with First Nations people, seize the political narrative on changing our relations with production to stop climate catastrophe, and demonstrate the futility of left liberal pandering to the status quo. It only remains to take it, or we will continue to live in the world of ScoMo – how good are jobs!
“Our land back in Cyprus was like this.” Ali dug at the dirt with his walking stick, parting the top soil and the dusty soil underneath, playing with it, making little circles.

“we couldn’t grow enough on it. There wasn’t enough water for all the village.”

We were sitting in a shady spot on some old fencing. Our walks are the only time Ali leaves the house anymore but he generally doesn’t have to. Between everyone in the street, we make sure that he has enough of everything. Touch one, touch all!

Ali arrive in 1971 because his brother was here. He wrote letters about jobs and big houses. He could come and send money to his mum and younger brothers.
“Ali, what did you think of the meeting?” I asked half knowing what his answer would be.

“We need to get everyone there. More people. why aren't there more people coming along?”, he’s always this blunt. “You don't promote it enough.”

“But what did you think about what we talked about? The food bank for everyone on the street. People have got to eat while we’re all out.”

“People aren't eating now even when they’re working” Ali chortled “We left for Australia because we couldn't get what we needed. People aren't going anywhere now.”
No one needed to explain strikes to Ali. In his first job he had a problem with a foreman and asked the union delegate for help. The delegate said he wouldn’t help him because “wogs scab at the first opportunity and he needed to show he understood unions and what they meant.”

He later went on strike at Ford in the 70s a few times with all the other migrants out at Broadmeadows who didn’t know what unions meant. During one of the strikes, he ran a picket with some Greek and Italian communists. Nothing got in or out of their gate to the point that the union had to call them off.

He understood strikes and refusal but didn’t think this was one.

“What do we make? What do we stop?” he would ask.

“We’re stopping everything! What we produce is everywhere and everything!” I stopped counting the number of times I told him.

“Their whole machine made this happen. That’s why we’re stopping it working and it’s why they’re trying to re-start it.”
As he spoke a ute drove past. There were three men sitting in the tray, staring at us with their shirts wrapped around their faces. Scabs likely from another part of Melbourne. We’ve stopped most of the building and rubbish collection in our area they make people do for tax credit. The scabs can’t work in their own neighbourhoods especially people from here. not for tax credit, not for a wage, not anything. You break the strike, you get nothing from the pool and everyone knows this. The hand that throws the spanner into the gears is the one that feeds you.

“They’re going somewhere. We should have stopped that car. Burn it or something!” Big words for someone who has a walker most of the time. “At Ford, we would never have let them pass because we were strong and united.”

They also knew what they were stopping and where. A building with gates and machinery and a company who assembled them their and makes money off their work. The factory and company we are stopping is everywhere.
They also knew what they were stopping and where. A building with gates and ma-
chinery and a company who assembled them their and makes money off their work. The 
factory and company we are stopping is everywhere.

“They go where they want. Their bosses take them here and there to break us like 
they move sheep but people can’t move anywhere. They close the borders everywhere 
but move these people around easily.”

we got up and made our way back to Alis house. All the trees on the street look 
sick and dry. No water, no serious rain for years.

On the way back, we saw another government ad at a bus stop where buses dont stop 
anymore. “taking back control”: new government measures to bring people back to 
work. New taxes to return us back to jobs like good wage earners and to break the 
strikes that have been going for months. The posters we put up said repeal the 
“back to work reforms”, “All out against their taxes “, “Not one cent to the 
climate wreckers”, “The world is ours”. We posted them everywhere at night. At 
first we smashed the lights on the streets so we could poster safely but eventually 
power outages did it for us.
Their thinking was simple, you tax people so they need money. There’s money in private security, guarding water pipes and removing squatters and people on rent strike from their homes and people occupying land. There’s money picking up rubbish in rich peoples suburbs.

Ali’s house was surrounded by fruit and nut trees. Figs, quinces, almonds, oranges, plums, lemons. Every part of the years there’s fruit to be eaten. Ali stopped netting the figs which are in season and left them for animals to feed. The fruit too high up in the tree to be reached from the ground would get eaten by the flying foxes and the possums. The fruit low to the ground were on thin branches and couldn’t support their weight would be taken by Ali and given to everyone on the street.

Ali looked up at some of the half eaten figs higher up.

“Everyone gets their kismet. Everyone needs to eat even the bats and the birds. In our culture we think everyone and everything gets their share in the world. Your kismet might not be here right in front of you. It might be far away but it’s there. Our Kismet wasn’t in Cyprus. It was kept from us.”
FERAL WILDING VERSUS SUICIDE CAPITALISM

From: The Wise Cunts

Once upon a time... we belonged to the Icteric / King Mob milieu and our orientation was always – but always – in and around total social revolution involving forms of direct action spattered with tachiste-style throwaway leaflets related to The Revolution of Modern Art morphing into The Modern Art of Revolution. Content-wise they were jam-packed with allusions to the realisation of poetic form a la Rimbaud/ Mallarme, etc, to Dada, Surrealism, Lettrism to the Anarcho-Situationists peppered with occasional references to the best moments of the old Workers’ Movement from the Paris Commune of 1871 to the Anarchist uprising in Spain 1936-7.
Much of this influence cum subversive history was decades later moulded onto a proposed eco-oriented uprising of ‘possessed’ individuals, anti-party and horizontally inspired, still deploying central axioms from the late 1960s: “Consume More, Live less”, “Cars are Dead” etc, reinforced by Rene Riesel and the Confederacion Paysanne of the 1990s plus the later ZAD experiments in France together with an admixture of the Occupy movements of 2011 etc. Our disposition which has evolved in three decades of nature insurgency has resulted in a growing - and then outright - hostility to a ‘reformed’ essentially monetised Nature Bureaucracy in hock to a rapacious neo-liberal, developmental agenda which in a fiendishly underhand manner prioritises the destruction of wild nature everywhere, ESSENTIALLY INSEPARABLE FROM THE NB’S OWN BANAL DOMESTICATED EXCUSES FOR A PASSIONATELY LIVED LIFE.

Alas, the majority of this crew are made up of the repressive middle and upper classes largely typifying the Little Englander mentality both right and left. Applied to nature their vision is basically one of Ye Olde Englande as pictured on a chocolate box cover. The UKs last wildnesses are ex urban-cum-industrial “landscapes of contempt” and the pervasive mentality - of this perverse crew - is to destroy at all costs these usually fecund arenas of astounding bio-diversity. After all, it’s visual, designer AESTHETICS that rule and these arenas don’t LOOK RIGHT; in short what was outlined in the The Society of the Spectacle in 1967 and now augmented a million fold.
In response our trajectory is one of autonomous, feral wilding on these landscapes of contempt remorselessly pitted against the End Times of Suicide Capitalism…… A fair amount of our history regarding this life-enhancing obsession can be found in various tracts at www.revoltagainstplenty.com. Most of the “landscapes of contempt” we’ve been involved with have involved a fair amount of rough sleepers who we have always gotten on with making no attempt to move them on, unlike the brutal evictions the official green rackets resort to forever bringing in the police. Indeed with ourselves physical work on the land coincide with work we engage with on abandoned buildings to house the homeless often giving them rudimentary training in various building trades.

Yet what we documented was the biggest act of vandalism against nature since the draining of the English Fens during the first decades of the 19th century. A few years later and the ante was upped as prosecutions - aided and abetted by green officialdom - were threatened against us by Bradford City Council simply because we actively defended an amazing nature rich gorge (which we’d “intervened” in but let’s say no more about particularities here) near enough to the city centre. Totally isolated, thugs were clandestinely visited upon us, so much so we had to call on Black and Green legal aid in Bristol and their advice was spot on, mirroring our response: GET THE SHIT OUT! DISAPPEAR!

After all, the bureaucrats were threatening arrest, fines and jail as we cost them huge sums in lost PFI contract but seeing we’ve become adept for at least the last 50 years at deploying hit and run tactics, the bureaucratic arseholes were unable to find us! However, 5 years later and we plan to return to that benighted city though this time in relation to the ecocide that has recently been visited on Woolley Colliery spoil heap (about 20 miles from Bradford), yet again aided and abetted by the official Nature Bureaucracy. Jeez how we hate them; these useless, ill-informed, domesticated, passive spectator, TV wildlife addicted, ultra-dumbfuks. In reality THE ONLY GREEN THESE EXCUSES FOR REAL LIFE WANT IS THE GREENBACK....and we literally put that on posters hung on walls, lampposts and what have you......Within days they were torn down. The usual response!
Recently, one of our aims in clearing an urban wood of invasive bramble - product of growing CO2 fertilisation - growing over an artesian well on Wormwood Scrubs Common in west London was to see if it was possible to reverse the tendency towards making all green spaces (i.e. park and garden adjuncts) into an arena of urban fauvism decked out with useless brightly coloured flowers that have nothing to do with holistic biodiversity reminding us of Debord’s still prescient remark: “A moment of life that has grown old cannot be revived through bright colours”. On this artesian well all this has been sidelined by creating a neo-pasture woodland of vibrant red fescue grass, trefoil, clover, kidney vetch and what have you.

As a result insect life has massively increased along with all other forms of biodiversity. This space now suggests a model to be emulated elsewhere not just in London’s desolate and desolating parks (like Queens Park, Gunnersbury Park and that horror of horrors, Hyde Park near Buck’ Palace, etc, etc) but in every town and city throughout the UK and perhaps other countries too.

As per usual, we cleared this wood without asking permission. For sure authority figures tried to stop us but we simply disobeyed them and got away with it because the ‘ordinary’ (rather extra-ordinary) people were firmly on our side as THEY REALISED WE WEREN’T DOING IT FOR MONEY. Moreover, we just faced the council bastards down and just kept on turning up! Truth to tell, we had in the late 1990s consulted a little with petty officialdom who responded with a GREAT BIG NO which we then ignored. Basically the council bureaucrats (including their bio-diversity depts) think we don’t know what we are doing / what are our specific academic qualifications in natural science / what “doctors of nothingness” (Debord’s description), are we, etc. The point is regarding the enrichment of insect life especially, we REALLY DO KNOW WHAT WE ARE DOING but couldn’t initially prove it. Now, we can, only to be stymied by the cretinus powers-that-be consumed by psychotic envy and spite who STILL go in for the kill!
This re-wilding of domesticated space is an idea we took up with some Extinction Rebellion (XR) members a few months ago. Initially they were very enthusiastic even if lacking in basic ecological, hands-on knowledge but that’s something which can be quickly remedied given the right sort of guidance that prioritizes persuasion over coercion and keeps well clear of the dead hand of the Local Council Parks and Recreation Depts. Certainly as regards insects, particularly butterflies, the wood we have worked on is already knocking Dunnett’s, 2012 Olympics, Queen Elizabeth Park in Stratford, east London into a cocked hat and demonstrates you don’t need huge amounts of money to save nature, in fact, the reverse, down-home, knowledgeable sheer commitment much the most important thing.

Alas in no time Extinction Rebellion morphed into Rebellion Extinction! In a way this was to be expected as the organisation is sufficiently like an updated version of the top down fake revolt of the Chinese Cultural Revolution dating from the mid 60s to early 1970s. Indeed some of XR’s influential lecturer elders were once Maoist aficionados who still remembered their tell-tale gimmicks – i.e. repeat after me the following Ten Commandments, followed by chants, chants and more chants whilst waving a few signatory flags, all the while instructed to smile and smile so as not to upset the emptying apple cart. All this has been readily soaked-up and up by dumbo students who obviously have little knowledge about ecology never mind acquiring any broader history of social subversion as they move on from occasional good direct action (the occupation of London in spring 2019) to opportunism and recuperation without an inkling of what these terms mean. Now via a bureaucratic formation of Citizen Assemblies that have absolutely nothing in common with meaningful workers’ councils composed of revocable delegates, or indeed those assemblies functioning through the 2011 Occupy movements, XR have joined up with local council officialdom who in turn, correctly see them as the patsies they are.
In effect XR refers to this blatant sell-out as a “sortition council process” i.e. bureaucratic gobbledygook which is surely hard to beat? It seems all XR requires is a change in language hoping truth henceforth wills burst forth everywhere from on high! Bradford Council was the first city in the UK to declare a climate emergency. It means sweet fuk all to a psychotic outfit that’ll say anything to get themselves off the hook! Instead XR truly believes their pious pronouncements and the comments some of us put on Bradford/Leeds XR face books regarding the appalling recent history of these councils were instantly deleted by a proud schmuck of an XR “manager”. (Yep, XR loves managers). We were shit in 2013 in Bradford and today XR declares the council was right after all. No ecocide ever happened, (C/F Bradford’s Eco-Peterloo on the RAP web). In the late 1960s the Maoist bureaucracy was riding a tiger as the Cultural Revolution got completely out of hand, dialectically instigating real insurgency. Most likely something similar will happen with XR and we patiently wait subversive fallout from its more promising ex-members.....
Needless to say, none of our experiments have anything to do with traditional nature conservation. Unfortunately, we sadly still remain a small avant-garde trying to combine a creative wild rejuvenated nature inextricably interconnected with rejuvenated people instigating - if you like - a hoped for “communism of genius” first intimated by the surrealists nearly a 100 years ago. The backdrop still is of course total social revolution as we desire thousands upon thousands to join in... Instead we have Mad Frank, Mrs Nosey & Violin, Britty Polly, John the Plank, Eileen of Troy, Posh Boy, etc, etc.....

For sure we’ve created (and are still creating) confrontation all over and increasingly through a form of clandestine sabotage mirroring if you like the skilled engineers of yesteryears’ anarcho-syndicalist workers (C/F Sorel’s Reflections on Violence) who knew via a mass strike how to cleverly remove the nuts and bolts, etc that stopped steam trains functioning and so on. Ours is the knowledge and skill that knows what natural creatures can be deployed to stymie the developmental agenda that wishes to destroy the lungs of the planet. To kill these creatures is an illegal act yet the official ecos won’t respond and get mad with the fuks who destroy them, simply because their organisations are now awash with money c/o neo-liberalisms splashing of the cash that cleverly force these supine organisations to pitifully align with a death-driven status quo.

In response to this ever-expanding horror story we began to sign ourselves off everywhere as The Monstrous Bastards – simply because the response of the Nature Bureaucracy towards us was MONSTROUS oriented around let’s kill the messenger / whistleblower alongside something like a Stalinoid cum Mañana-like Law of Omerta deployed against us time and time again! WE DIDN’T EXIST, MOREOVER WE NEVER EXISTED. At the time – and incredibly ever since – we were the only collective during the 1990s and early noughties that condemned the utterly destructive, ecocidal makeovers of the UK’s colliery spoil heaps and our films were marginalised to the point of non-existence!
For our group / non-group of partisans we’ve also found it BEST TO BE OUTRAGEOUSLY PROVOACTIVE from the get-go even pro-moing ourselves in deliberately ‘crazy’ amateurish-like YouTube films, etc. We’re now preparing a humdinger with real knobs on regarding Wormwood Scrubs and the pitiful opposition against the proposed HS2 high speed rail link to the north. It’s not just a tepid nature film but brings in wildness on a general level which includes all the ‘wild’ individuals who seek solace here, not forgetting the many rough sleepers the Nature Bureaucracy turfs off the land with police assistance. Not forgetting also the liberating Muslim gay sex for both men and women of that culture that goes on here in and among this commons’ wild, extraordinary nature, ADDING BRILLIANTLY TO THE MAGIC OF THE SCRUBS.

Moreover the film shows some of us nicking violet plants from nearby Kensal Green cemetery to be translocated to the Scrubs for the use of Fritillary butterfly larvae. Worse, we’re nicking violets from the graves of the British Imperialist generals who massacred the Indian Mutiny in 1857, so at least these arseholes in death have finally done something good cos’ the violets from their bones are brill! And the music behind this sequence? Why, it’s Whistling Past the Graveyard by none other than Screamin’ Jay Hawkins! FOR SURE THE OFFICIAL GREENS WILL BE HORRIFIED BUT THAT’S WHAT WE WANT.
Elsewhere, in the north on Woolley Colliery spoil heap in Yorkshire it’s true we’ve provoked some of our hideous protagonists—building companies like Wates and Bovis Homes—in this game of eco-war and they’ve responded for nigh on 20 years by being fascistically ecocidal regarding our hands-on efforts. Initially Wates the giant building company were furious about our film on Woolley from the early noughties which high-lighted the developers’ destruction of an amazing wild life site claiming they (Wates) had created amazing “forno” instead of “fauna” (what a slip of the tongue no doubt the company goon who wrote the piece was alluding to “porno” as their must be plenty of that on their new, aspirant estate). Sometime later we put up Skull and Crossbones posters across the site (see below) and the fuks went crazy tearing up trees everywhere. Then we reminded them of the rare small blue butterfly in their midst and a further wrecking spree was the result.

Finally, among other things, (!!!!) in fury plus exasperation we put up posters everywhere over Woolley Colliery broadly saying, “Fuk you Motherfuckers”, etc, in Irish Gaelic, Arabic, Russian, Mandarin Chinese, Japanese, French, German, etc., and all purposefully chaotically intermingled... cos the response was to give a subversive international dimension to a local Backayard in order to blow their fukkin’ minds (c/f the Woolley Colliery Dada below).

Welcome to Future Ecocide!
GREATER
ty che, suka, ohuel, blya?
RATTLE
BLUE
Ulloo Ka Patee
YELLOW
Mrdat, prcat
SMALL
¡Métetelo por el culo!
(FROM THE BLUEBOTTLE CLUB)

DANGER!
WILDLIFE BIO-HAZARD
On the wing at Woolley Colliery besides The DINGY SKIPPER:
MARBLED WHITE
GRIZZLED SKIPPER
SMALL BLUE
GRAYLING
BROWN ARGUS
RED UNDERWING, ETC
The new enemy within: to be destroyed forthwith........
undergroundbutterflies@yahoo.co.uk
The intent was to create an atmosphere of angry, Dadaistic bewilderment throwing together gully-low anti PC-infection insults jumbled up with names of wildflowers / butterflies, etc., that have been destroyed at this locality together with phrases like “abolish the wages system” redolent of the great American Wobblies (International Workers of the World) of yesteryear whilst not forgetting Arthur Scargill, (who worked at the former Woolley pit) and official leader of the great Miners’ Strike of 1984-5!

It was essential that these posters gave the appearance of utterly nonsensical splurges of psychological Freudian ID nutcases-in-motion leaving opponents completely flummoxed yet somehow feeling they were under violent attack as you fukked with their stoopid heads.

It succeeded as the ante was then upped; the companies responding via a False Flag trashing spree making it look like the work of eco-subversives. Alas, it didn’t work out for them (GREAT LAUGH FOR US) and few people living locally have been conned by these developers manoeuvres not even a supine local Green party and that’s saying something! But that was as far as it went as these tepid Green washers weren’t going to get off their arses!
We also handed out leaflets relating to these escapades. A recent article in The Guardian newspaper quoted in full (almost) our leaflet - handed out at an Extinction Rebellion demo in London - on the destruction of the major wildlife site on Wormwood Scrubs Common in west London and a destruction yet again initiated by the Nature Bureaucracy helping facilitate the development of the HS2 high speed rail link alongside 5G cable infrastructure, etc. They didn’t even know this amazing insect-rich site was there as they are so robotised by the dominant spectacle. We have though a lot of film footage that proves just how remarkable this site was and will be included in the aforementioned YouTube film. Virtually the same has happened at Woolley. Again our leaflet denouncing the destruction of the rare Small Blue butterfly and the massive cover up which followed has been published - more or less accidentally yet again by The Guardian.

WE COULD GO ON AND ON…. BUT LET’S END HERE WITH SOME OF THOSE DISGUSTING POSTERS DISPLAYED ALL OVER THE VAST TERRAIN OF WOOLLEY COLLIERY SPOIL HEAP DATING BACK TO ROMAN TIMES

Leadbelly’s Small Dingy Blues
Psychotic Capitalism & the Deranged 1% / Woolley Colliery, Arthur Scargill & the Dark Red Helleborine & Greater Yellow Rattle……..
White & Marbled
Putain de merde & Grayling (Lá breá ag do chairde… do d’adhlacadh)
(The Blurbottle Club)
Miguel Amorós on Anarchism and Anti-Industrialism

“No revolt against domination can really represent the general interest unless it turns itself into a rebellion against technology, a Luddite revolt” - Miguel Amorós (1949-) is an anti-industrial anarchist close to the situationist movement.

In the 1970s he was involved in setting up anarchist groups such as Bandera Negra (Black Flag) and Tierra Libre (Free Land). Jailed by the Spanish Franco regime, he then went into exile in France. Between 1984 et 1992, Amorós was involved in producing the post-situationist review Encyclopédie des Nuisances and became known for combining full-on revolutionary anarchism with anti-industrialism. In an article entitled ‘Where Are We Now?’, inspired by the essay of the same name by William Morris, he wrote: “The most basic task ahead of us is to bring as many people as possible together around the conviction that the system has got to be destroyed”. He added: “Technology is an instrument and a weapon because it benefits those who know best how to use it and how to be used by it. The bourgeoisie have used machines and the ‘scientific’ organisation of work against the proletariat. (2) No revolt against domination can really represent the general interest unless it turns itself into a rebellion against technology, a Luddite revolt”. Amorós mused on the disastrous own-goal scored by the 19th century anti-capitalist movement when it decided that industrial development offered the best route to liberation. He wrote: “Contrary to what Marx and Engels claim, the workers’ movement condemned itself to political and social immaturity when it abandoned Utopian socialism and chose science and progress (bourgeois science and bourgeois progress) instead of community and individual flowering”.

In the essay ‘Elementary Foundations of the Anti-Industrialist Critique’, he insisted that “factories, machines and bureaucracies are the real pillars of capitalist oppression”. He added: “Our critique of science, technology and the industrial system is a critique of progress. And in the same way it is a critique of the ideologies of
science and progress, not least the workerist ideology, in both reformist and revolutionary guise, which is based on taking over, in the name of the proletariat, the bourgeois industrial system and its technology”. In the article ‘We Anti-Industrialists’ he wrote that in the previous phase of capitalist domination people had worked so that they could consume, whereas in the current phase we had to constantly consume so that work existed. The anti-development struggle was based on the negation of both work and consumption, in a bid to break this vicious cycle, he explained. Rather than abandon the traditional anarchist class struggle in order to embrace an anti-industrial perspective, Amorós has often stressed that they are one and the same fight.

“The anti-industrial critique does not deny the class struggle, it preserves and surpasses it and, moreover, class struggle cannot exist in today’s world other than in the form of anti-industrial struggle”, he wrote in his ‘Elementary Foundations of the Anti-Industrial Critique’. In this essay, he also made it clear that humankind will know no happiness and no future unless we can destroy the prison of industrial capitalism, writing: “An existence designed by technocrats according to industrial norms is, in effect, a life of slavery … The struggle against capital is not simply a struggle for a free life, but a struggle for survival”.

Strike, Blockade, Shut it Down!
Reflections on the Wollongong Global Climate Strike

By Mark Gawne & Nick Southall (with contributions from Sharon Pusell & Rascal Rowe)

The Wollongong Global Climate Strike on September 20 was the largest protest in the city since the 2003 anti-war demonstration. The Climate Strike fits into a recent series of protests in the region, specifically coming off the back of the earlier school climate strike in March, and the climate action demonstration in May, with some other smaller protests taking place over the year as well. Of these actions, the Wollongong Global Climate Strike was by far the largest and drew together a vast array of groups and individuals. It was organised by open meetings composed of people from several organisations and groups, as well as individuals, all working together. The largest meeting had over 50 people participate, and there was a consistent number of at least 25-30 people attend each meeting. The Strike itself expresses the latest moment in a process of radicalisation in the region’s climate movement and provides a basis for ongoing struggle in and around Wollongong, most clearly demonstrated in the newly formed Illawarra Climate Justice Alliance (ICJA). We offer here some reflections on why the Strike should be understood as an important growth of struggle in the Illawarra, on the ecology of the strike in Wollongong, and the politics of the Strike, as we look forward to the next steps in the movement.
Stirrings of the Strike

In the face of growing environmental, climate and extinction crises, there has been a process of radicalisation in the Illawarra over the past year. This process has arisen from conditions specific to Wollongong, but it is also inseparable from the global context. On the one hand, the Wollongong Global Climate Strike has drawn inspiration and taken its cue from the student led school strikes for climate. Extinction Rebellion both overseas and in Australia has also had some influence on the movement in Wollongong. This reflects one aspect of the global context into which the movement in Wollongong fits. On the other hand, and at the same time, there have recently been several regionally based struggles developing around Wollongong. For example, a campaign has been building against various tourist developments on Mt Keira. The Illawarra Escarpment Alliance (ESCAR), involving a range of organisations and individuals from over 15 environmental organisations and the Illawarra Local Aboriginal Lands Council formed early in 2019 to campaign against destructive development on the escarpment. Early in 2019, Protect Our Water Alliance (POWA) held an open forum on the effects of long wall mining under the water catchment attended by over 200 people, and there have been other events and a growing campaign built by this group. Actions on the university campus and the occupation of GHD’s local office, as part of the stop Adani campaign, have also characterised growing radicalisation in the lead up to the Strike.

Learning to move together: debates, decision-making, democracy

The Climate Strike, and the organising processes that led up to it, have established a firm basis for ongoing collective activity which involves a strong cross section of groups and individuals and has demonstrated the importance of open democratic meetings and decision-making processes. This basis, now realised in the formation of ICJA, grew out of the months of organising the Climate Strike.
The student demonstrations were probably most significant in terms of generating the basis for the open organising meetings that built the Strike. After the first school strike in March, high school and university students formed the Youth Environmental Alliance (YEA), in part to maintain a politics of protest and movement building, as one pole in a spectrum of active youth organisations in the Illawarra. YEA was pivotal, both in terms of maintaining a space for the burgeoning militant politics of the movement, as well as in terms of generating the basis for the open organising meetings. It was YEA who organised a large protest on May 25th that led to blockading the main intersection of Wollongong city, and it was from YEA that the call for the first Wollongong Global Climate Strike open organising meeting came.

The first Strike open meeting, held on June 28th at Wollongong city library, was attended by about 40 people, with many more giving apologies due to the city being blocked by a major traffic incident preventing their attendance. While not as well attended as it otherwise would have been, the first meeting captured what was to become the character of all subsequent meetings.
There was a wide cross section of individuals, groups and organisations present, including community activists and organisations, high school and university students, workers, Greens members and an ALP councillor. There was a wide array of political perspectives in the room during the first meeting, and this remained the case over the subsequent months. But from the first meeting on, a practice of open and comradely debate was established. For example, there was immediate agreement on organising together to build the Climate Strike in Wollongong. The meeting debated and then decided that the Strike should be organised around five demands – Stop Adani, 100% Renewables, Sustainable Jobs, No New Coal or Gas Projects, and No Mining in the Illawarra Water Catchment. Even on more contentious tactical issues, strong debate led to decisions reflecting and building commonality.
For example, the decision to hold and blockade an intersection during the Climate Strike was one such contentious issue. Contention about this drew from the experience of the climate protest held earlier in May, which decided to hold and blockade the intersection of three major roads of the city, and to do so without notifying the police in the march’s permit request. Overall, this was a successful action. Many left the action energised and more confident and this contributed a great deal to the process of radicalisation mentioned earlier. However, at one point a car attempted to drive (not speedily, but dangerously) through one of the blockades. This created tension and conflict between protestors and the car driver, police and protestors, and between some protestors, as we decided on the fly what to do. After the demonstration, a variety of views on how to address this type of danger were expressed. Criticism from sections of the movement and pressure from the media and conservative forces made an impact on these discussions. So, when organising meetings for the Global Climate Strike turned to the issue of a street blockade, a variety of different views on the safety, effectiveness, and purpose of the blockade were debated. This was the most contentious issue raised at the Strike organising meetings and resulted in two fairly lengthy debates. Both ended with the organising group endorsing a blockade, with no voiced dissent.

Another example was some tension and discussions about the leading position of young people and the fact that the organisation of the Strike could involve everyone. This issue was considered and clarified via open deliberation, where everyone’s perspective could be heard, and the crucial role of young people was acknowledged and respected. While a reasonably strong practice of debate and democratic decision making characterised the organising meetings, apart from some of the discussion around blockading an intersection and open participation, there was a lack of political debate. On one hand, this reflected the interests of the organising group to mainly put aside areas of disagreement, instead concentrating on our commonalities, and focusing on the functional tasks required to organise a large demonstration.
On the other hand, it will be important that as the movement develops it generates more space for broader debates concerning the politics of the movement, its composition, different actions, strategies, tactics and experimentation with a variety of approaches to dealing with the climate crisis. Open meetings were held fortnightly from late July through to the September 20 Strike. Many different things were done to build the strike during this period, including producing posters and going on paste-ups, individual and group leafleting at multiple sites and events, social media posts, working bees, and making videos. Some tactics recently taken-up by Extinction Rebellion in other places inspired formations here, such as the Red Rebels and a die-in on Crown Street mall attended by over 50 people. Banner drops, local-market stalls, posterising various outer suburbs and train stations all built toward the Strike. School groups formed and organised contingents, and some trade unions supported the strike. At UOW, students organised in their classes to pledge to attend the strike, while community organisations came out in support, different organising contingents were publicised by the open meetings, speak outs were organised, adverts placed in local newspapers, along with successful efforts to push local media to cover various angles and topics related to the climate crisis and community action.

Another component of the organising meetings was the formation of working groups. These groups were organised as the following: fun, promo, speakers, schools, media, and one to organise smaller decentralised actions earlier on the day of the Strike before the rally and march. The later group resulted in the organisation of a rally at UOW, a chalk-up and speak out in the Mall, and the picketing of coal company South32’s offices. In general, the organising group encouraged and supported individual and decentralised initiative. Having a range of actions helped to encourage diversity in tactics/strategy, the development of autonomous organising and a focus on the interconnections between local and global concerns. Rather than creating conflict and competition between those wishing to do different things, there was a flourishing of diversity and a breadth of activity, fostering empowerment, encouraging solidarity, and accommodating differences.
Climate strikes, social strikes: disrupting business as usual

Strikes usually involve the collective withdrawal of labour in order to disrupt businesses and exercise class power. However, the word strike is also applied to other forms of disruption that don’t involve the withdrawal of labour, e.g. ‘Rent Strikes’ or ‘Debt Strikes’. Strikes can include a range of work stoppages, walkouts, marches, pickets, and blockades. A ‘Social Strike’ is a strike that takes place across the whole society, not just the workplace. From Tunis to Buenos Aires, from London to Khartoum, from Hong Kong to Paris, we have seen that this type of Strike develops various forms of action, helping to promote alternative ways of organising things and different ways of relating to each other and the world around us. Social strikes allow us to find each other and to work around common concerns, bringing us together in collective action and shared territory at the same time as we disrupt capitalist normality. As a strategy, the social strike reflects the fact that capital depends on our leisure time, our domestic activity, and our social spaces, not only to circulate goods and services, but also to create relationships suitable for capitalism to continue to exist. In the space of the social strike, we can make ourselves available for each other, we can disrupt the ordinary flow of things, we can craft our own forms of organisation, and foster structures of care.

As well as the commonly understood global concerns around the environmental, climate and extinction crises – here in the Gong we’re living alongside the infrastructure that’s digging out the coal, that’s pumping the gas, that’s draining the water catchment, causing climate change and destroying Country. This means that an important aspect of a society-wide strike around climate concerns must involve the enactment and demonstration of our collective power. A social strike helps us to investigate and understand our strengths and weaknesses, our concrete conditions and struggles, commonalities and differences, existing resources, bases of support, and helps to expose those opposing us.
Ecology of the Strike

Of the thousands of people who took part in the Wollongong Global Climate strike the majority were young people – school kids, both high school and primary school, as well as groups of friends, uni students, workers, as well as family groups, and so on. The rally and march were a colourful assembly festooned with home-made banners, placards, t-shirts and props, which began and ended with musical performances. The Radical Drum Corps, Rising Tide Street Band and other musicians added to the joyous and defiant celebration of resistance and hope. During the occupation of the Kembla and Crown Street intersection, local ‘hillbilly punk’ group The Lurkers led the strikers in a rousing rendition of ‘We Shall Not be Moved’. The Red Rebels also performed their special brand of silent street theatre throughout the day.
The composition of the Strike reflected decades of local environment activism, including the hugely successful campaign to ‘Stop Coal Seam Gas’, protect the local water catchment, and defend regional eco-systems. It also included a deep ecology framing, evident, for example, in 8 year old Lilly Callaghan’s popular speech, when she declared “I believe the earth is worth more than money!” and called on us to be the strength, reach and resolve of a tree. We also saw this expressed in the many home-made placards voicing the material interdependence of human life and ecology.

Many of those who attended were part of a local sustainability ecosystem; a network of environmentally concerned people, community groups, ecological and counter-culture initiatives. This web of activity includes environmental movements opposing fossil fuel production, and/or seeking to protect the local air, water, land, and sea, as well as a growing network of alternative production, distribution, and exchange experiments. Many social movements are now concerned with the creation of healthier environments, focused equally on humans and the non-human world in a dynamic of interdependence and love. They are fighting for progressive political, economic, and community transformations and self-organising the growth of sustainable living experiments, reducing ecological impacts, and devoting more time, energy, and resources to what’s most valuable – our relationships, environments, and communities.

The importance of Aboriginal struggles for self-determination and stewardship in these times of crisis was expressed by many who spoke at the rally. The powerful welcome to country given by Jade Kennedy highlighted that for over two hundred years Aboriginal peoples have fought the destructive path of colonialism and capitalism. Several other speakers spoke about traditional knowledge of Country and the need for non-Aboriginal folks to learn from and centre local knowledge in the fight for a liveable future. Yet, while there’s a growing attention to a decolonial politics, there’s a lack of concrete strategies about what this might mean in practice being articulated within the movement in the Illawarra.
This presents us with the challenge to demolish climate apartheid and to implement practical measures of decolonisation. This will involve continuing to build relationships of solidarity and orienting to the everyday, as well as key moments of struggle led by Aboriginal communities. It also involves reflecting on and complicating the emphasis on youth leadership of the climate movement, which should not stop us from learning from Elders, and from hundreds of years of resistance and struggle that Aboriginal and other Indigenous peoples have waged against a system that forces almost everyone to rely on wages, seeks to disconnect us from everything that sustains us, and pits us against each other.

There is also space for a more attentive ear that listens to what Torres Strait and Pacific Islander communities living in the ‘Gong’ are saying and doing, as their ancestral lands are particularly affected by the escalating climate crisis. Even though Indigenous people have custodianship over just 25 per cent of the world’s land, they protect 80 per cent of the world’s biodiversity. Indigenous land management practices both mitigate climate change and protect environments from its impacts. Indigenous people have been on the frontline of resistance to fossil fuel projects and their care for Country stretches back tens of thousands of years.
In keeping with Wollongong’s recent history as a place where people from all over the world have come and settled, Wollongong has an active pro-refugee movement and networks which organise protests, campaigns, and coordinate everyday support for newly arrived refugees. Climate-related displacement and migration is set to be one of the greatest challenges of our era. It is widely estimated that, by 2050, between 150 to 300 million people risk being forced to leave their homes as a result of desertification, rising sea levels, and extreme weather conditions. After the Strike, many people have been drawing links between climate change and the forced displacement of people. Another positive development has been the organisation of an ICJA contingent for the latest Wollongong Rally for Refugees.

Many unionists participated in the Strike. However, only a few unions publicly supported it, such as the National Tertiary Education Union (NTEU) and Australian Services Union (ASU) who had visible contingents on the march. The support of the NTEU, in helping to organise the Strike, was especially important. The local NTEU branch was pivotal in providing resources, developing relationships within the Strike and participating in the open organising meetings, providing a good example of how other unions could participate in future.

However, the absence of other unions in support of the Strike signals some weaknesses in both the event’s organisation and the local labour movement. None-the-less, although a union presence was generally lacking, it’s important to note that this doesn’t mean workers didn’t take part in the Strike. Workers were participating from a range of industries, but they were doing so in a broadly self-organised way. This raises a few questions concerning the composition of the Strike and where to go from here, in terms of deepening the significance of a social strike, building self-organisation, and also addressing the general lack of union presence in the movement so far.
After the Strike
The Strike was a wonderful achievement and the success of the Wollongong Global Climate Strike open meetings encouraged those involved to maintain and build this organising space. So, during the Strike, leaflets were distributed, and announcements were made encouraging participants to attend the next public organising meeting. The perspectives of those in the organising group and those striking were varied – these included calling for politicians to do ‘something’, a rejection of politics as usual, calls to continue building our own power, etc. and the future direction of local climate action remains largely undecided and varied. The debates about what comes next include a vast array of proposals, viewpoints, strategies, and new forces getting involved.

The inclusion of a demand for ‘No Mining in the Illawarra Water Catchment’ in the Strike’s publicity material, along with the targeting of South32, and criticism of Bluescope’s massive carbon emissions, introduced an important local dimension to the Strike. It also challenged the proposed expansion of the local coal industry and the impact of the steel industry. After decades of defending the jobs, wages and conditions of local miners and steelworkers, progressive movements in the Gong must now face-up to the dangers of a rapid deindustrialisation process dominated by the power of multinational corporations. For example, South32 has been arguing that without the expansion of mining under the water catchment, the steelworks may have to close. At the same time, the Illawarra Local Aboriginal Land Council has opposed the Dendrobium mine expansion, clearly outlining many of the social, economic and cultural heritage issues of coal mining in this region. Ten days after the Strike, the South Coast Labour Council (SCLC) launched “a campaign to put their workers at the forefront of climate action.” The unions involved are demanding “that the Morrison Government take immediate action on climate policy to ensure our workers are not denied the opportunity to build the multi-billion-dollar renewable technologies and systems required to transform Australia’s energy landscape,” such as the steelworks building “wind turbines made from the coal mined from the Illawarra.”
So far, the response to the ‘Green Jobs’ launch has been mainly positive. However, there has also been concerns expressed about mining in the water catchment and a defence of the coal industry. So far, those involved in the ‘Green Jobs Plan’ have not allayed these concerns and it seems they may try to avoid the water catchment issue – ‘because it is not about climate change’. There are some key differences in the various media reports regarding the ‘Green Jobs’ push and the local coal industry. For example, the Illawarra Mercury article (link above) reports SCLC Secretary Arthur Rorris saying: “ramping up production of coal mining and steel products was not incompatible with the growing pressure on governments to set carbon emissions targets and become carbon neutral.”

This intervention by local unions/SCLC, directs the climate action agenda away from criticism of the coal and steel industries towards a defence of the local coal industry, coal related jobs, and steel production. Rather than supporting a ‘just transition’ away from coal, it poses “the big question” as “whether Australian workers will have the chance to forge this change in production, or will it fly out overseas like other manufacturing jobs?”
In the past, Wollongong has been hit hard when coal mines have been closed-down and manufacturing jobs have gone offshore in search of cheap labour and more favourable conditions for capital. The deepening of this process is a legitimate concern and the union campaign is a challenging intervention that has to be engaged by the local climate justice movement. Meanwhile, the Australian Workers Union (the main union for those employed at the Port Kembla steelworks) is now supporting the Morrison Government’s emissions reduction targets. According to the Union’s national secretary, Daniel Watson; “The reality is, for the steelmakers of the world . . . they are focused on keeping their high-paid manufacturing job and I don’t think they were ready for the journey to talk about a transition.”

While unions like the AWU and their political allies in the ALP move further to right, in order to defend their fossil fuel and corporate pay masters, we should seek to clarify the current social divisions over climate action. It’s also important to note that Daniel Watson is dishonestly portraying the views of steelworkers, since, in fact, many are concerned about emissions, climate justice, a ‘just transition’, and some of them supported the Wollongong Global Climate Strike. When even a fairly conservative body like the International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) has made it clear that we must now rapidly and radically transform development, work, the economy, and life in general, it should be clear to those seeking climate justice – there can be no support for coal expansion, coal mining is a dying industry, emissions must be rapidly cut, in the near future the local steel industry may shut down, and we need to focus on a just transition. These concerns have led to the formation of a Just Transition working group by the Illawarra Climate Justice Alliance.
The perpetual growth of capitalist accumulation is a death machine heading towards extinction and the development of a viable ‘just transition’ requires an understanding of the breadth and depth of the challenges we face. This is not just another issue, where we can roll-out the usual progressive transformative agenda with a green emphasis. In order to defend life, we must completely restructure, retool, and decarbonise production, exchange, and consumption. The environmental, climate, and extinction crises is so immense that it will be a fundamental dimension of struggle for the rest of our lives. Tackling this issue will require sharing ideas, building movements for change, educating ourselves and others, popularising and promoting sustainable alternatives, and building climate justice.
Many of those concerned about the environment have sought to accommodate the capitalist system’s need for perpetual growth by embracing a view of sustainable development which reforms rather than challenges the economic and political status quo. A danger here is that power is left in the hands of the corporations responsible for environmental destruction, while measures that might reduce rates of production and consumption are avoided.

Another way of looking at sustainable development is by considering a production level which can be borne by the earth’s ecosystem over the long-term. What is emphasised here is the sustainability of the ecosystem rather than capitalist development. This version of sustainable development looks at development from the perspective of life on the planet, rather than continual growth. An important related concept is just sustainability. Just sustainability is concerned with addressing the ‘equity deficit’ of environmental sustainability. It stresses the need to ensure a better quality of life for all, now and into the future, in a just and equitable manner, whilst living within the limits of the earth’s ecosystems.

A genuinely just transition will require us to fight for a rapid redistribution of wealth and power, moving away from industries in their death throes, away from damaging and ‘bullshit jobs’, towards socially useful work that sustains life. With the phasing out of coal and other fossil fuels, these sectors and their jobs will disappear completely, whereas industry will have a key role in a just transition. A just transition of industry will need to be embedded in broader efforts to transform society – production, exchange and consumption. This will entail developing new ways of doing, new skills, new types of work, new technologies, converting how and why things are produced. Decarbonising industry will require massive investments of time, energy and wealth. Steel plants have long lifespans, so change needs to start now. This change should be informed by the need to lower demand and to reuse, replace, and recycle. This should include research into potential alternatives to steel, as well as potential alternative forms of steel production. There is no sustainable alternative to a radical transformation of the steel industry.
Bluescope’s Port Kembla steelworks is the biggest of its kind in Australia and is a major emitter of CO2. Up to nine percent of global greenhouse gas emissions come from the steel industry. The steel sector is failing to reduce emissions at the rate required to keep global warming below 2°C. In fact, last year emissions from Australian steel production rose by 10 per cent. Bluescope has previously stated it could save one million tons of greenhouse gases a year through power generation from waste gases at Port Kembla via ‘cogeneration’. Currently, the decarbonisation potential of the Port Kembla steel making process is limited due to the integral role of coal in this process, which can only be partially replaced by lower carbon fuel sources. Yet, rather than taking-up this challenge, Bluescope is investing in its North Star plant in the United States. In 2015, Bluescope delivered an ultimatum to local unions, demanding $200 million in cost savings, of which $60 million had to come from workers, or the steelworks would be shut down. The unions were told, ‘it’s up to you to save the plant’ – and if they didn’t, five thousand people’s direct and ten thousand people’s indirect jobs would go and $3 billion would be lost from the region’s economy.

In response, steelworkers, the union movement, the ALP and the Greens demanded that the Federal and State Governments defend the steel industry, by requiring that Australian-made steel be used in all state and federal government infrastructure. Local steelworkers eventually agreed to savage cuts to their jobs, pays, and working conditions, to help BlueScope save $40 million. The New South Wales government also gave BlueScope a $60 million reduction in tax payments and the company saved a further $100 million through what it termed “worker flexibility”. Taken together, these savings provided the $200 million BlueScope were demanding to keep the steelworks open. Shortly after, BlueScope announced a six-month profit of $180 million and the full acquisition of North Star Steel for $1 billion. According to BlueScope’s major shareholder, Perpetual Investments, the decision to keep Port Kembla open was only an “interim measure”, before eventual closure in the next few years.
When asked about their future plans for Port Kembla, Bluescope management said they would be making a decision about the steelwork’s future in a few years, when they have to decide on whether to reline the blast furnace. As has occurred for the past 40 years, the company expects the local community to put pressure on the Government to subsidise their operations. Yet, globally there is over-production of steel and global competition in the steel market is part of a rapacious ‘race to the bottom’. This involves ramping-up pressure on communities, workers, and governments to see who is willing to sacrifice the most in terms of wages, working/ living conditions, and environment. Multinational corporations seek to play one part of the world off against another, dividing workers, and communities in order to maintain their rule. Local fossil fuel corporations and their political lackeys also try to turn us against each other and will blame us for any loss of jobs/incomes. Instead, as we face widespread and growing crises, those seeking to accommodate the wealth and power of corporations should be asked – How low must we bow down to their intensification of exploitation and environmental destruction? How much of our lives and how much of our futures should we sacrifice to maintain their profits? – These concerns must be swept aside by exerting community control over resources, production, and consumption, in order to drive the radical changes required to respond to climate change with a truly just transition.
Climate barbarism, disaster communism and solidarity adaptation

In recent years, the mainstream debate concerning the climate crisis has been framed primarily in terms of mitigation and adaption. Mitigation is the idea of preventing climate change in the interests of preserving the existing mode of production and accompanying social relations. Energy sources might be substituted, and green technologies developed to replace non-green ones, but ultimately mitigation rests on the assumption that the climate crisis can be averted based on the existing capitalist and colonial systems. Arguments about mitigation therefore tend to take for granted that the current political, economic and social arrangements can continue largely as normal. While the issue of climate crisis has shifted from one of debate to accepted norm, or in other words to a general acknowledgement that the possibility of complete mitigation has passed, the implications of this shift, and the fundamental transformations that follow from it, are often left unstated.

As Naomi Klein recently argued, the ruling class is not in fact denying the climate crisis, but rather implementing measures of adaptation on their terms. Indeed, as Klein says “they’re building border walls. They are adapting through this unleashing of white supremacist ideology and creating the intellectual rationale for allowing millions of people to die...that’s...climate barbarism.” However, adaptation is not only taking shape as climate barbarism, there is a counter-power within the politics of adaptation currently shaping the possibilities for the future, which sees various forms of solidarity adaptation and adaptation from below opening new political horizons.

Solidarity adaptation, or adaptation from below is a way of naming the tangible ways people develop relationships of support and solidarity to sustain and amplify not only resistance to climate barbarism, but also for creating spaces in which new forms of sociality can thrive.
Solidarity adaptation is the organisation of resources and relationships that meet existing material needs of those on the frontlines of the climate crisis, those living through or displaced by drought in communities with no water, those displaced by sea level rises, floods, fires and so on. It is also the organisation of these resources for the extension of collective control and decision making in the hands of those struggling. The challenge of solidarity adaptation is to move from a mechanism of survival to a logic of decolonisation and communisation.

In so-called Australia, current struggles over water, the self-organised collective provisioning of water to towns that have run dry and had water stolen by capital, demonstrate forms of solidarity adaptation that will be fundamental to struggles going forward. Deepening these processes and relations of commonality is one dimension of solidarity adaptation. In response to the daily individual and collective disasters of capitalist society, the desire to help others, to make a difference, to aid recovery and healing, to share and care, to make life more wonderful, and to construct a better world together, already inspires a vast amount of powerful social action. When disasters hit, people responding in caring ways reach out to each other, take direct action, re-configure spaces and relationships, get to know each other, and develop more democratic, loving, and egalitarian social processes. These horizontal network forms of organising, a type of disaster communism which replaces the usual corporate and state forms, are shown not just to be more inclusive and democratic, but more efficient and more productive. Skills or attributes that are often under-valued; healing, caring, flexibility, self-sufficiency, counselling, local knowledge and community connections are suddenly understood as crucial. As people come closer to each other they are better able to share resources, knowledges, ways of doing and experiences, enriching lives and communities, opening-up new horizons for creativity, and further deepening interactions. This is a process of building the foundations that can better weather the coming storms.
Grass roots planning for disasters involves a wide variety of responses, such as moves towards energy democracy, emergency preparedness, the creation of social hubs/meeting places, and transforming urban infrastructures in ways that challenge inequalities and deepen public participation. The more we help each other and meet one another’s needs, the greater our likelihood of survival. We are the most important alternative powersource and our community’s resiliency is a product of our social connectedness and organisational abilities. Wollongong’s adaptation to climate, environmental, and extinction crises is already demonstrating how we can overcome isolation, alienation, atomisation, and despair. We are not alone and together we are building a local eco-system of relationships of care for each other, for all living things, for the earth.

Being the Change: Our Response-ability
During the Wollongong Global Climate Strike, we stopped doing what we usually do; we didn’t go to work, to school, to university, or stay at home. By organising the Strike and by striking we created the freedom to connect, to engage in communal activity, to unleash our imaginations, to figure out for ourselves what to do, how to do it, and organise to get it done. The Climate Strike gave us a glimpse of the utopias that exist within us and our communities every day, but which tend to be under-valued and neglected. Maintaining the Climate Strike, not as an event but as a new way of life, may seem impossible. But taking back our time, our communities, and our relationships – freeing them from of a system heading for destruction – is our real challenge.

We don’t know what technological breakthroughs, large-scale social changes, or ecological feedback loops will shape the next 20 years. But it’s clear that we must prepare for disasters, which to some extent are unavoidable. In the face of environmental, climate, extinction and social crises, we can see more clearly that we’re unable to rely on corporations, governments and bureaucrats, and in response many of us turn to each other for support, building respect, camaraderie, and trust. These are the social relations we can rely on when faced with future crises.
Wollongong is a city with a long radical history of class solidarity and intersectional struggle. The struggles for climate and environmental justice intersect with all other struggles for social and economic justice. Increasingly these struggles must confront the clash between the priorities of political, economic and social elites and those of the vast majority of people. So, we need to build our own power, whilst also holding political institutions, corporations, and governments to account, putting pressure on them by using a range of tactics and strategies. The revolutionary transformation of society we require involves developing our own strength, increasing people’s ability to organise their own lives, as we sweep aside the economic, political, and institutional obstacles standing in our way.

As this post was being finalised, the Illawarra Climate Justice Alliance responded to Greta Thunberg’s announcement of another Global Climate Strike on November 29 by calling a Strike in Wollongong on that date. You can find more details here – https://www.facebook.com/events/414436109105114/

isolation, alienation, atomisation, and despair. We are not alone and together we are building a local eco-system of relationships of care – care for each other, for all living things, for the earth.
Since Chernobyl, attacks in West Germany against nuclear plants, military bases, and other megatechnic projects have increased. Targets include firms supplying nuclear power stations, construction companies, energy suppliers, technology firms, banks and department stores, the railways and post office, and the army and police. The decentralized nature of the attacks is illustrated by the varied groups claiming responsibility. The Wolfsburg-based “Cut the Crap Now!” threw rancid butter bombs into bank foyers last summer, and shortly afterwards the “Eidelweiss Bandits for the Formation of a Bavarian Guerilla Force” blew up an electricity pylon near the atomic plant at Grundremmingen. Another group, “Bugs Bunny and the Digger Killers,” set fire to a Caterpillar bulldozer at Muenster.

Apparently, not a week goes by without such attacks, and many electrical pylons have been toppled. One such target is the proposed nuclear reprocessing plant at Wackersdorf, a town in Bavaria. If construction goes on as planned, it will go on line in 1995.

Last spring there were mass demonstrations at Wackersdorf, in which local, ostensibly conservative Bavarian farmers joined with radical ecologists, autonomies, and anarchists in battling the police at the site. On the first day of the demonstration, two to three thousand people gathered and attacked the fence. An electrical pylon was knocked down.

In an account in the anarchist paper, Black Flag (BM Hurricane, London WC1N 3XX England), one participant described the several days of violent confrontations as partially a reaction against Chernoby, which “had made us angry and gave [the police] a bunker mentality.” By noon on Saturday some ten thousand people were by the fence, including a thousand masked militants. As helicopters flew overhead, the crowd approached the fence and attacked about fifty cops, driving them back inside the compound. The account follows:

Right from the start stones flew over the fence. Inside were 40 water/gas cannons... and literally thousands of pigs.

We set out to cut the fence, made of half-inch steel rods, criss crossed with steel bars and solid metal posts every five meters. The cannons blasted us with water and CS gas mixture, but received a veritable hail of stones, paint, wood, catapulted ball bearings and the odd molotov cocktail in return. Police with bullhorns appealed in vain for the “respectable” demonstrators to spilt from the terrorist radicals, as local farmers got the stone supply well organized, and while families began masking up to fight.

Piling tree trunks, metal sheets and...
The planet is in a very peculiar crisis, the influence of corporations is becoming ever more insidious. So before taking action it's important to take a stance. To say nothing is to be complicit; to remain silent is to take a side. Living in such turbulent dangerous times, our responsibility, as citizens of the world, is to have an active voice in society & to look for solutions to these kinds of problems.

- Capitalism: the idea, a constant in the media, that this schizophrenic formula is the sole means to living a happy life has become part of our culture. More money, more possessions, more trophies, more disposable information. You feel obliged to try & improve your life, materially speaking, & if you are unable to do so, then you are a failed human being. Capitalism only exacerbates this absurdity by creating a doctrine that feeds on our vanity, promoting the idea that profit, accumulation & economic growth are natural processes rather than being culturally constructed. When you accept what is on offer, you are not only accepted more easily into society, but you also feel that you are playing your part—staying informed, being conscious, critical, productive.

We live inside a problem concealing machine, & anyone who dares to point out a problem becomes a conspiracy theorist.

- Stephan DottschnoFF
A 2006 interview with the Spanish group, Los Amigos de Ludd, that published a journal of the same name until 2006, on leftism, environmentalism, revolution and utopia.

2006 Interview – “Los Amigos de Ludd”

1. In the last issue of your journal you explained the reasons for your group’s decision to cease publication of your journal and you evaluate the degree to which you fulfilled the goals you had set for it. One notable aspect of this evaluation is the abandonment of the label, anti-industrial, which you connect with your attempt to clarify one of the main criticisms that have been directed at your group: that you idealize certain aspects of the world of the past.

On the one hand, we see the danger that anti-industrialism could become banalized and transformed into a new intellectual fashion and, on the other hand, it is hard for us to understand or to grasp your critique....

First of all, it is not so much the banalization of so-called anti-industrialism that worries us, but its ideological instrumentalization, which takes the form of a discourse reduced to simple-minded slogans and formulas typical of the dull routine of the college undergraduate. Of course, if this has taken place, it has not really extended beyond the borders of two or three anarchist groupuscules; we do not think you could call it fashionable....
In fact, the anti-industrial label, as we know, has not been adopted by anyone around here. But what matters is quality, not quantity. That is why, although it only affects a small minority, we prefer to clarify our intellectual standards. Hence, as a secondary consequence, the abandonment of any and all labels.

Secondly, it is true that the critique we have elaborated—with the help of a lot of external contributions, as well as some of our own—is hard to swallow, since its radical denunciation of contemporary society is obvious: really, what can you hope for? What can you believe in? When parliamentary democracy, from its very origins, has nothing really democratic about it and with each passing day what lies concealed behind the parliamentary façade is more clearly revealed as a mercantile technocracy with perfectly totalitarian ends, which functions by means of mass indoctrination and consumerist brutalization; when parties, trade unions, environmentalist groups and other associations (or state institutions) work together for the economic and technological progress of society, that is, disaster management; when our awe-inspiring productive system brings in its wake all kinds of harmful and destructive effects (which are now clearly visible on a planetary scale) and does away with the material independence of many peoples; when it is plunging us into a terrible universal emergency; when civic morality can be summarized as a cowardly blindness towards the consequences of modern life and a preference to sacrificing what is necessary on the altar of the superfluous. The existential and moral collapse of many individuals is an accomplished fact. It often happens that some people feel like they are being used, but that is as far as it goes. In reality, all of us are being used to a greater or lesser extent. This is the truly monumental victory of the current system.
The historical moment we now face is hard to define. We refuse to provide a characterization that would claim to be comprehensive. We obviously focus on what we think is of fundamental importance. We believe that the last few years have led to a radicalization of recent tendencies. These tendencies are expressed in the new wars, the climate emergency and the environmental chaos that is already manifested in a thousand ways, in the worry over energy supplies and fresh water.... Many would say that the situation is not so different from the situation that we experienced during the early 1970s. That is true, but now the situation is more disturbing. For example, the predictions that were being made during the 1970s about global warming or the depletion of energy reserves are now announced as proven facts. The victory of the modern, industrial, growth-oriented economy is imposed on nations like China and Poland, which were traditionally largely peasant societies. Since the tumultuous seventies, we have witnessed a gradual resurgence of technological expectations: the development of computer technology, communications, the role of science in development.... But, once again, it is this progressivist and innovative quality of the new society that renders the character of its destructive advances on other terrains more frightful.
The power enjoyed by today’s ruling elites dwarfs that of their counterparts in the decades that immediately followed the war, because at the present time there is no consistent and significant political opposition anywhere in the world. The concentration of power in the West has not followed an autocratic course, as many people had predicted, but has simply been reinforced by the consent of the great bulk of the population, and this should be food for thought for those who are attempting to rejuvenate a political practice that has been deprived of its base. The militarist and police tensions of our time are for the purpose, above all, of assuring control over markets and the sources of energy and raw materials upon which our daily existence depends. It is not enough for us to speak of imperialist war to denominate these new phenomena of global control and international aggression; what we really have to reflect upon is the fact that the industrialized West cannot renounce this control without destroying itself, and this includes, of course, the most trivial daily routines of every inhabitant of the so-called highly developed countries. What is most terrible about our era is not the scale of the disaster, but the absence of a collective force that can understand it and act accordingly.
3. What is your criticism of leftist progressivism?

What today goes by the name of ‘the left’ is something as banal as it is a caricature. The most unfortunate thing about it is that those of us who do not participate in activist leftism or trade unionism are reproached for having comfort-loving, abstract or inapplicable views. In general, we respect the leftist views shared by thousands of persons in this country, but we do not share their obsessions or their causes. We shall cite a well-known contemporary example: the discourse concerning so-called “precariousness”. In our view, what lies behind the complaints about precariousness expressed by many well-intentioned leftists is the very language of the Welfare State, which does not allow the expression of any other critiques other than those that take the form of the false needs established by the State.

The discourse of precariousness is the apologetic song of the current system, which has been established by way of propaganda and coercion, calling for the compulsory administration of the “poisoned abundance” of industrial capitalism. It gave rise to the vulgar discourse of “dignified housing” for the youth, stable full time jobs, etc. All these demands express the collective feeling that it is impossible to escape from the system’s blackmail.
Trade unionism created the language of precariousness and has made it its own. We cannot deny that in other eras purely material or economic demands, or demands for labor laws, etc., formed part of the strategy of the struggle of the working class masses, but then, during the 1930s, the situation was very different, since all these efforts flourished in the soil of a culture of workers struggle and with a conflict that directly affected everyone. But we have to determine just what results were obtained by the struggles for improvements of the workers standard of living and what these results actually imply from a wider perspective. In Michael Seidman’s article, “The Birth of the Weekend”, published by the Etcétera Collective as a pamphlet, it is interesting to note how the consequences of the workers struggle of that era for time off on the weekends, together with other reforms, were already situated within a strategy of adaptation to consumer society.

Seidman describes how the free time conquered by the workers was susceptible to being rapidly assimilated by tourism and the leisure industry. It was during this period that the French trade unions began to manage workers vacations, speaking of leisure and calling for the workers’ “right to snow”. While it is true that Seidman applies a positive valuation to the struggles for the weekend of that era, pointing out their subversive potential, for us it is easy to discern in these struggles one of the many steps taken toward the justification of the workers Welfare State as the final goal. On the other hand, we have to take into account the broader context of the workers’ demands, since George Orwell during his time complained about the fact that the wage increases won by the British miners in their trade union struggle presupposed a higher degree of exploitation of the colonial proletariat in India. This is not mere demagogy, for it is often said that the workers economic demands constitute the only terrain of concrete struggle upon which the struggle can be built. That is the theory! After more than thirty years of trade unionism, radical or not, in this country, one can clearly see that the struggles of the workers have only led to the glorification of the system as we know it: division of labor, technological change,
ersatz foods, mass urbanism, alienation in leisure, education and health administered by the State or private capital…. It must be acknowledged that everything the workers can obtain today with their wages binds them more firmly to the system of alienation and brutalization, and makes them complicit in neo-colonial exploitation and the destruction of nature. By fighting for individual survival it is impossible not to fall into this trap, all of us are imprisoned within it, but what we denounce is the attempt to transform the workers economic welfare into a political cause.

This is, however, only one aspect of leftism. Over the last few years we have had to witness the rebirth of a self-proclaimed utopian and radical left, which was conspicuous in the so-called antiglobalization or global resistance movement. This movement’s rhetoric lacked visible social articulation, and had a perfectly predictable intellectual leadership (Toni Negri, Susan George, Bové, Klein, Ramonet, Manu Chao, etc.) and a militant core composed of professional activists. And we must call attention to the fact that not only is the social base of this movement lacking in quantitative terms, but even more so in the qualitative sense; for how do the demonstrators against the war or the disaster of the Prestige live in their everyday lives?
There were brainless fools who had “Say No to War” stickers ... on the bumpers of their SUVs! Many people who participated in the demonstrations were not prepared to acknowledge any relation between the war and their particular lifestyles, they were just anxious to vent their desperation about the government, Bush or the multinationals and, of course, the organizations of the left took advantage of this vague feeling of indignation on the part of the citizenry in order to try to recruit them for their own purposes. We are not such purists that we demand an absolute consistency between one’s ideas and one’s lifestyle, since we are also trapped in this system, but what really interests us is the fact that political struggles are revealing as clearly as possible the dependence that ties us all to the system.

On the other hand, on the side of real radical contestation, some writings, like those of Miguel Amorós or Carlos García, are even now dotting the i’s, to the dismay of many people, in order to prove that the anti-war movement was reduced to the symbolic plane and was incapable of resorting to instruments of social struggle like the general strike…. This anti-capitalism of the anti-war and the anti-globalization movements was actually a revisionist Leninism, third-worldism and eco-populism, all dressed up in the discourse of the new freedoms of the internet and State assistance (not in vain, the intellectual vanguard of the global resistance movement called for, among other things, a basic income, free software and freedom of movement across borders, as if it was a matter of issuing revolutionary slogans, when in reality all of these demands quite accurately reflect the operative mechanisms the system will need—and already needs—in order to administer and regulate the new economy....). In Spain, the maximum limit of foolishness was crossed in the elections of March 2004, where this whole banal left, which was raised to stardom by the opposition media, came to naught. There are still cretins who believe that the defeat of the Popular Party was some kind of victory, and that cell phones were the subversive technological means that contributed to such a glorious end....
We appreciate ecology as a science of the earth, as a discipline devoted to the study of the history and the equilibrium of natural systems. In fact, we think that without ecology, a future politics would be unthinkable. What we reject is environmentalism, that is, the series of citizen’s movements that, since the 1950s in the United States and later in Europe, have appropriated the ecological question, separating it from the social question on many occasions, or combining the two after having previously evacuated the social question of any contents, a choice whose disastrous consequences are still being felt. It is certainly the case today that those who are now speaking in the name of “social ecology” only express a timid reform-oriented leftism, which is not at all threatening to the State and its institutions. The integral perspective of a society organized on other foundations and with a different relation to nature, a perspective that was grasped at certain times during the first decades of the 20th century within some libertarian currents, has been completely lost. And the environmentalist organizations, which negotiate with the State over the “environmental” conditions in which we must live, are those with the most interest in preventing the recovery of this integral perspective of ecology and society. This is at least in part due to the fact that environmentalism has become a way of life for them, but also because of laziness or ignorance.
Institutional environmentalism, which was recently the object of a critique by Ramón Germinal published in Ekintza, along with trade unionism, are today the two great pillars upon which the capitalist propaganda to obfuscate consciousness and to prevent the formation of expressions of radical critique rests. On the other hand, the role of the institutional environmentalist is established as the environmental expert of the future, in the new stage of ecological and social chaos that is approaching: less biodiversity, great droughts, climate disorder, energy shortages.... In the midst of these emergencies, the environmentalist, the environmental journalist, will have his place, as he already does, as the official expert upon whom the classes in power will rely to interpret the destructive processes in terms that are acceptable for the purposes of population control.
5. Are there any contemporary struggles or initiatives that you find interesting?

Many people belabor us with the cynical reproach that our ideas lead to defeatism or paralysis. To the contrary, if they are interpreted correctly, our ideas are almost a desperate appeal to take action, although, of course, not the kind of action that leftist intellectuals, trade unionists or internet activists like.

First of all, it must be stressed that theoretical activity, understanding and the diffusion of ideas are indispensable. The ideas we have advocated in our bulletin were already discussed by others before us. In our view, there are two key texts that appeared at the end of the 1990s. One is “The Machine Breakers” by Christian Ferrer, published in 1997, if our memory is correct, which must have been one of the first texts in Spanish to rehabilitate the perspective of the Luddites; the other is the well-known 1999 pamphlet by Miguel Amorós, “Dónde Estamos” [“Where We Are”], an indispensable handbook that summarizes many of the theoretical positions that we have since adopted. We think it is necessary to mention these two works. Besides them, there are the old journals like Ekintza itself, or the one produced by the Etcétera Collective of Barcelona, which are still bastions of libertarian thought.

Other publications have appeared, such as Ecotopía, Buruz Buru and Pimiento Verde, of disparate views, of course, but which share the desire to combine the ecological critique with the social critique. The publications and initiatives of such publishers as Alikornio, Octaedro, Muturreko, Virus, con.otros, and Pepitas de Calabaza, which, generally with modest means, have made important texts relating to the critique of industrial society available to a wider public, are also welcome. Finally, we shall mention the journal Resquicios, which is attempting to carry on the anti-progressivist critique from Bilbao.
Ultimately, all of these examples refer to the spread of ideas. We also believe that we have to pay attention to and support the few anti-developmental struggles that are being waged in Spain. The examples of Itoiz and la Punta, in Valencia, are vivid demonstrations of the great lengths to which the ruling system will go in its brutality. Other struggles have been carried on in the shadows, like the anti-TAV Assembly in Euskadi, or the anti-GMO struggle being waged by elements of Transgenics Fora! in Catalonia. All of these struggles necessarily involve small minorities, but they are today the only examples of anti-developmentalist opposition of which we are aware.
6. You reject the idea of revolution, but you reclaim the need for utopia….

It is not that we totally reject the idea of revolution, but that the circumstances we have examined above render revolution impossible. Another question that could be examined is the significance of past revolutions, since this term embraces very different phenomena…. The revolutions prior to the 19th century, like the American or the French revolutions, have no relation, or very little relation, to the social revolutions that took place after 1848, and which were constantly perfecting their means and their goals: the Paris Commune, the 1905 Russian Revolution, the German revolution of the councils… The culminating point was reached, for us, between 1936 and 1937, during the Spanish civil war, particularly in Catalonia and Aragon, where all the forces of reaction—bourgeois, Stalinist and Fascist—shared the goal of crushing the libertarian social revolution. By means of the extermination and forced dispersal of the revolutionary elements of that era all memory of the emancipatory social project of Iberian anarchism was erased, which constituted an enormous victory for the current system of domination.

What came later, the uprisings in the Stalinist countries, or the revolts of the autonomous proletariat, constituted the last outbursts of the struggle against power, since they were trapped in the contradictions of the capitalist-technological system and in the mechanisms of consumption and compensation, the leisure industry, etc. All of which forms an insuperable obstacle for any revolution in the old style, whether we like it or not. But the fact that revolution has been rendered almost unimaginable does not necessarily imply that we must renounce the attempt to preserve a desirable social ideal. Without this social ideal, all struggles will lack meaning. This ideal, as we said in our last bulletin, constitutes a horizon towards which we must always direct our efforts, even if we know that it is unattainable. This is for us the meaning of utopia.
We would like to pose for your consideration a concrete example that concerns the difficult transition from critique to practice. Economic globalization has, in the West, generated phenomena like industrial reconversion or relocation. Faced with such a sensitive problem, we see how the defense of their jobs and the fear of unemployment is generally the sole mobilizing factor for workers and trade unions (including the most radical ones). In many cases, however, the enterprises in question manufacture automobiles, weapons, chemicals and other unnecessary products whose disappearance would seem to be one of the preconditions for the creation of another kind of society. How do you think that this logic can begin to be broken and new perspectives opened up?

We will try to be brief. We think that the place for struggle and reflection will continue to be the workplace, but not in the way it is conceived by leftist ideologies, in the form of the dialectic of capital/labor. To the contrary, we think that the latter perspective is dead, and that labor and trade union struggles, etc., the struggles that have nourished the left for decades, are, for us, a null terrain for action and reflection. We think that reflection on labor begins precisely with the negation or the supersession of these questions…. This is why the logic you mentioned is so hard to break.

We hold a belief that is very unpopular and disturbing for the left, which is that the majority of the individuals of this society, who are exploited to one degree or another, largely share the values of their rulers and that, for that very reason, their subjection to the system is based more on their beliefs than on real material necessity. Millions of employees obsessed with their mortgage payments, with buying a mountain of absurd commodities and services for themselves and their children cannot be taken seriously when they complain about the poverty of the system....
Faced with all this, we speak of reestablishing human life in a framework of cooperative, self-managed labor, of making production simpler without opposing it to the metabolism of nature, of recovering knowledge that could help form a basis for autonomy…. But we are realists: most people are not prepared to reinvent new ways, they will continue to protest and to fight, those who will still fight, to consolidate their hold on the very things that are enslaving and destroying them: harmful production, industrial food, wage labor, higher salaries, paid vacations, dreadful housing, etc.

We do not want to become dreary prophets of what the workers have to do to save their lives. In our everyday lives we will continue to try to be consistent—which is not always easy—and we shall continue to look for a way to make contact with all those who have chosen ideas and follow paths similar to ours. We must all make a great effort to preserve the values of authentic social emancipation of past eras, combining them and contrasting them with our present experiences and knowledge.

Los Amigos de Ludd
December 2006

Translated from the Spanish.
Source: http://www.nodo50.org/ekintza/spip.php?article440
From the Basque journal, Ekintza Zuzena, No. 34, April 2007.
Arauco / in a communique sent to our site www.werken.cl, ORT Leftaru of the Mapuche Coordination Arauco Malleco claimed two acts of sabotage in the middle of Mapuche land against companies linked to the forestry industry.

In their letter ORT Leftaru claimed the first act of resistance, which resulted in the burning of 2 trucks in the locality of Pilpilco, Los Alamos municipality, in the Arauco province. The other action was carried out on the Choque estate, and resulted in the destruction of a state-of-the-art piece of machinery used for biomass production, and the destruction of two containers belonging to the forestry company Minico, an action that took place in April and never mentioned by the press. It should be pointed out that this agricultural estate is claimed by CAM.
We reproduce the public communique integrally:

To our Mapuche people nation and public opinion in general, ORT Leftaru of the CAM communicates the following:

– Kiñe (one): We claim the incendiary act of resistance carried out at dawn on Wednesday 16th May in the locality of Pilpilco, municipality of Los Alamos, in the province of Arcuato; two trucks were totally destroyed.

– Epu (two): At the same time we claim the act of resistance carried out in the Choque estate resulting in the total destruction of a state-of-the-art piece of machinery used for biomass production, and the destruction of two containers owned by the forestry company Minico, an action which took place in the month of April and was never mentioned by the press. It should be pointed out that the agricultural estate is claimed by our organization.

– Kula (three): the action is part of our permanent campaign as pu weichafe (warriors) of direct conflict against the forest industry, which continues to exploit and plunder our ñuke mapu (mother land). Both actions are part of our stand for resistance and the reconstruction of our Mapuche people nation.

– Kechu (five): At the same time the actions are meant to build concrete support for Mapuche Celestino Córdova’s just request to return to his rewe (sacred altar).

ORT-LAFKENCHE LEFTRARU
FORESTRY COMPANIES OFF THE MAPUCHE LAND!
FOR AUTONOMY AND THE TERRITORY!
AMULEPE TAIÑ WEICHAN!! (May our struggle continue!)
WEUWAÏN!!!! (We will win!!)

17th May 2018
Werken Noticias
Inter-indigenous exchange tour reportback

This is a brief summary of the Cultural exchange that occurred in 2017, held in Wallmapu, Mapuche Indigenous land (occupied Chile) between February and March 2017. The exchange was organised and co-ordinated by MASIL (Mapuche Aboriginal Struggles for Indigenous Land) & LASNET (Latin American Solidarity Network) It was a truly inspirational and altering experience for all of the delegates involved as we all worked towards our ultimate goal of Global Indigenous relationship building and the overall strengthening of the resistance against Capitalism and Imperialism worldwide.
Representatives arrived in Santiago, representing the following peoples & organisations:

From so-called Australia:

- Adnyamathanha Nation, Australia Nuclear Free Alliance, Friends of the Earth
- Gamilaraay Nation, Warriors of the Aboriginal Resistance, The Black Rising, Brisbane Aboriginal Sovereign Embassy, Voices of the 3% and GMAR (Grandmothers Against Removals)
- Barada, Barna and Kabalbara Nations and Warriors of the Aboriginal Resistance
- Volunteers of Mapuche Aboriginal Struggles for Indigenous Land (MASIL), Latin American Solidarity Network (LASNET) and other human rights organisations.
- English, Spanish and Mapudungung translators
- Huilliche – Mapuche Nation

From Latin America:

- National Council of Ayllus of Qullasuyu (Consejo Nacional de Ayllus del Qullasuyu; CONAMAQ) representing Bolivian Indigenous peoples
- Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Peru (Confederacion De Nacionalidades Indigenas Del Peru; CONAIP)
- Peoples Congress (Congreso de los Pueblos) Colombia, grassroots organisation of Indigenous, afro-descendents and peasants.
- Landless Rural Workers Movement (Movimiento Sin Tierra), Brasil
After arriving and meeting in Santiago the international representatives travelled south by bus to Wallmapu, Mapuche territories, to begin the cultural exchange. Representatives arrived in the host community of Temukuikui, near Ercilla in the south of occupied Chile. There we were greeted and formally welcomed onto land in the process of being recuperated from multinational forestry companies by the community of Temukuikui. There we were welcomed by leaders, community members, men, women, children and elders, with speeches and traditional musical performances from Mapuche artists and Chilean artists performing in solidarity.

Representatives all had the opportunity to formally introduce ourselves, our people and the struggles that we represented in the cultural exchange, each speaking our traditional languages with interpreters in Spanish, Mapudungung and English. The activity carried on late into the night, as we talked amongst each other and the Temukuikui community members, sharing stories and cultural exchange, cosmovision, our communities and struggles. At the same time as this warm and fraternal environment, we were strongly aware of presence of the Chilean police monitoring and harassing the cultural exchange. Representatives witnessed what the militarisation of Mapuche communities looks like in practise, as unarmed Mapuche people, including women, children and elders, who live in their homes and small communities, face on a near-daily basis the helicopters, tanks and guns of the Chilean state, who violently invade and raid the communities. This police harassment was witnessed even on the first night, when police interfered with the power supply to the community, at one stage switching off the lights and speakers – this did not stop the Mapuche performers who continued playing loudly into the night, and eventually plugging in their own generator!
The day after, Temukuikui community leaders had a meeting with all international delegates to explain to us the schedule planned during the three weeks of cultural exchange. Each visit and activity planned was with the objectives of the cultural exchange, to show examples of the Mapuche struggle for self-determination and autonomy, perspectives, ways of organising and living. This was to include visits and meetings with Mapuche communities currently in the process of recuperating the land from multinational corporations and foreign land occupiers, visiting Mapuche political prisoners incarcerated by the repressive Anti-Terrorist Law from the Pinochet era, visiting families and communities affected by the violence of the Chilean police and state, attending traditional Mapuche ceremonies, participating in a conference in Santiago among many other activities. The cultural exchange was also organised to provide time and opportunities for delegates to reflect, write, discuss and autonomously organise amongst ourselves and the communities we visited.

The next day representatives travelled with the interpreters and cameraman to nearby Collipulli to meet with 17 year-old Mapuche warrior Brandon who was shot in the back at close range by Chilean police outside his house on December 18th 2016. We met with Brandon and his mother at Collipulli Hospital where he was receiving medical attention and later in their family home in Curaco, Collipulli.

One important aspect of the exchange was that all international delegates were able to document, record and develop contacts in order to send information back to our communities about the oppression of the Chilean state. One example was when we met with and listened to the testimony of Brandon and his family, a recent case of violent repression from the Chilean police, one representative from the Warriors of the Aboriginal Resistance conducted an interview for The Black Rising Magazine, in order to denounce and inform Aboriginal people and the Australian and international community at large, about Brandon’s story which symbolises the reality of violence from the Chilean state against all Mapuche people.
After spending time and talking with Brandon and his family, we were motivated to research more about this incident and discovered that Brandon’s case is in no way an isolated one, there have been multiple shooting and killings with impunity of Mapuche young people, other examples include Matias Catrileo, Alex Lemun and Macarena Valdez and in many cases the result has been relocation and promotion for the officer responsible. We decided as a delegation to collectively write an international media release, denouncing the human rights violations perpetrated by the Chilean police and standing in solidarity with Brandon and all Mapuche warriors.

During that first week we then travelled to Mapuche communities in the region of the Lleu Lleu river, one of the last remaining water systems in Latin America protected from contamination, where Mapuche communities are in the process of recuperating and defending the ancestral lands from forestry, tourism and other multinational companies including the construction of a highway to build a fishery industry. The Lleu Lleu community and other Mapuche communities, who live along the river, rely on the river as a water source and work to care for and protect it for the future generations as their ancestors did for them.
We were welcomed with food and hospitality by the Lonko (community leader) and community members from Lleu Lleu region, including women and men who had been targeted by Chilean police with some imprisoned for up to 11 years under the Pinochet-era Anti Terrorist law, the arms law and other repressive laws of the Chilean state which are used to criminalise the resistance of Mapuche people. We travelled in the following days with community members from the Lleu Lleu region to visit Mapuche political prisoners in jail in Lebu.

We also met with some of the lawyers defending the Mapuche political prisoners in court, who explained the illegality of the Chilean state’s actions, which have been denounced by the United Nations and many international human rights bodies for unjustly imprisoning Mapuche leaders including spiritual leaders such as the Machi Francisca Linconao. We also learned of the harassment which the lawyers experience for defending Mapuche political prisoners.

Our international delegation then travelled to the mountainous Alto Bio Bio region, to one of the Pewenche Mapuche communities who were in the first year of their process of recovering the land from foreign land owners and hydroelectric companies, who in the past have dispossessed so many Mapuche communities of their homelands including building dams on top of Pewenche cemeteries.

Our bus was stopped by Chilean police and a Mapuche leader who was driving at the time was questioned as we neared the entrance to Pewenche territories. After this delay, the delegation continued by bus and then crossed the river by hand-pulled barge and continued on foot until the top of the mountain into liberated Pewenche territory where we were met and were welcomed by the leaders and community. During this historic day and night we heard the story of how the community organised themselves to return and recover their homelands after generations of displacement, the response of the police and state, how they have connected with other Mapuche communities and shared with the delegates many experiences and lessons learnt in the
struggle. After this powerful cultural exchange and discussion of commitments for working together and solidarity into the future, we farewelled the community and began our return to Temukuikui.

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However, this return trip was again interrupted by Chilean police who intercepted our delegation bus in the Los Angeles region, detaining a Mapuche leader inside the police premises and all other members of the delegation outside waiting for PDI (federal Chilean police) who demanded to see all of our passports. The delegation in conjunction with some lawyers who defend the Mapuche political prisoners, immediately vocally denounced the racial profiling and harassment of the exchange, this, as well as the fact that the delegation was mostly comprised of foreigners, put pressure on the PDI to eventually release the Mapuche leader and the delegates after over four hours of detention, still without valid justification and with ongoing charges and summons for court hearing for the Mapuche leader. This was one of many instances typical of the constant harassment, surveillance and restriction of Mapuche people’s movement that we witnessed throughout the cultural exchange. In response to this incident of racial profiling and police harassment, we wrote and released a public statement and video.
For the next meeting representatives travelled to Temuco where we visited and listened to the family and community of Matías Catrileo, a 22 year old Mapuche warrior who was murdered by the Chilean police in 2008. The police officer responsible for his death was promoted and reassigned to another area and continues his normal duties without trial. This was another powerful example of the impunity and extreme human rights violations faced by the Mapuche under the Chilean colonial regime.

We continued visiting other jails in which most of the inmates are Mapuche political prisoners. It was our surprise that the prisoners were waiting for us with political banners and messages and shared with us their stories about the length of time they had been in prison, many of them without a hearing or trial. The solidarity of the prisoners with us was very strong, in discussions as representatives from many countries, knowing that their stories will travel overseas to denounce the injustice they are facing from the Chilean state.
In the last days we were in the south, we were invited to the Temu Lemu region to attend a Guillatún (a traditional Mapuche Ceremony) with community members from Temukuikui. The Guillatún is a Mapuche ceremony held once a year at a harvest time and is led by a Machi, a Mapuche spiritual leader. Communities are brought together over two days to give thanks to the spirits for the past year and receive guidance for the year to come. We were invited to this traditional ceremony, dance and prayer around the Machi – who communicates with the spirits, passing the information to the community. The ceremony is followed by a huge shared feast where food that each community has prepared is gifted to each other.

During the Guillatún, as in other points during the exchange, Indigenous representatives shared our cultural understandings, dreaming and cosmo-visions, and learned of the differences and also of the strong similarities amongst our peoples ways of thinking and living – our understandings that humans are part of nature rather than separate to it and are that we are to strive to live with the natural world, rather than against, striving to conquer or dominate it.

We learnt that the word Mapuche is made up of two Mapudungun words ‘mapu’ meaning land and ‘che’ meaning people – together ‘people of the land’. By definition, in Mapuche world vision a Mapuche person, without connection to the land, cannot be Mapuche.
These were continual themes of discussion throughout the exchange and related to the ways as Indigenous peoples, our struggles are frequently misunderstood as simply wars between different groups over territory. The major lack of understanding about the relationship of the people to that land, how the land is viewed. Colonialist and capitalist world-views think of land as property and territory to conquer and plunder to build the empire’s power and wealth. Whereas as Indigenous we often have shared understandings that the land does not belong to us, rather that we belong to the land which sustains us and thus we have the responsibility to care for and protect it.

Different steps of this process of communities care and protection of land was witnessed during the exchange, in the lake near the Lleu Lleu region that now is recuperated by the community and is not longer for wealthy tourists but open without fees to all that will respect and care for the lake, for example motor boats are no longer used to stop the pollution and erosion that was occurring previously and enabling the ecosystem of the lake to regenerate, including allowing populations of species of plants and animals in the lake to increase. In Temu Lemu, we were shown the soils, which after years of forestry plantations, had been severely desertified and destroyed, that is now after being recuperated by the community slowly being regenerated by the community’s planting of native trees and shrubs which are gradually restoring the organic matter and life in the soil in those areas.
Another continual theme through the exchange was that of language, Mapuche people we spoke with throughout the exchange spoke various levels of Mapudungun, along with Spanish and other languages. The importance of language education for our communities was frequently discussed and exemplified in the pride of the young generation in speaking Mapudungun. Learning, speaking and reviving Indigenous languages is part of passing on the cultural understandings, values, Indigenous world-views, to our future generations. Language education is also a powerful act of resistance to genocide and colonisation, valuing Indigenous ways of being, knowing and communicating which are so violently devalued, repressed and erased through the processes of colonisation.

This pride and spirit of resistance was most powerfully expressed by the children of Temukuikui, who one night, organised a performance for the representatives. The poems, raps, songs and dances of the Mapuche children – talked about the violence of the Chilean police, the raids in their communities, the incarceration of their parents, the deaths of family and community members – disturbing content for the songs of children – but while it was very emotional to hear the traumatic experiences of these children they also expressed their incredible strength and courage, their pride to be Mapuche and pride in the strength, survival and resistance of their people.

The children ended their performance with loud group cries of ‘Marricheuwei!’ – a Mapuche chant meaning ‘for every person who falls, ten more will rise’.
When the delegation left the Temukuikui community, with many emotions we said good
bye but before leaving the three Aboriginal representatives painted a mural in the
community with the message “Keep the Fire Burning” to mark the unbreakable solidarity
between Mapuche and Aboriginal people now and into the future.

When returned to Santiago, we attended the International Womens Day march, rallying
with thousands of people through the city centre. We then participated in the final
Encuentro (conference) “Encuentro en Solidaridad con el Pueblo Mapuche – En defensa
de los Derechos Humanos y por la Tierra” (Encounter in Solidarity with the Mapuche
People - In Defense of Human Rights and for the Earth) held on the 10th and 11th of
March at UTEM University in Santiago. In Santiago we also met with human rights
advocates and political organisations to discuss what we had witnessed and
experienced over past three weeks.

During this conference we joined with Mapuche leaders from several communities
visited throughout the cultural exchange, to discuss the reality and struggles of the
Mapuche people and all Indigenous peoples across Latin America and Oceania.
Participants in the conference developed a statement of commitments and resolutions
as a product of the cultural exchange and reflections and discussion of the
conference, to further strengthen and develop links of solidarity and action between
the struggles of each of our peoples represented in the cultural exchange into the
future. The 2020 second phase of the cultural exchange was also discussed, in which
Aboriginal nations will host Mapuche and other Indigenous representatives from Latin
America and the Asia Pacific in solidarity with the struggles of the Aboriginal
people.
The final activity of the cultural exchange was a closing ceremony and dinner at a Mapuche health centre in Santiago where the International delegation was welcomed with a traditional ceremony. Representatives gave closing reflection on the three weeks exchange, our gratitude to all involved, and our hopes and strength going into the future with struggles more internationally connected.

Some members of the delegation stayed in Latin America to follow up with and confirm some of the commitments made during the exchange and to pass on information to Indigenous communities who were not able to attend. This included visiting some incarcerated Mapuche political prisoners and confirming ongoing international support for their cases and the campaign for their freedom. Some delegates met with Machi Francisca Linconao, spiritual Mapuche leader currently under house arrest to confirm the ongoing solidarity with her campaign and demands for freedom. Delegates also met with the Mapuche political prisoners including the Machi Celestino Cordova held in Temuco jail. Delegates then returned to Temuco jail to bring a wood-working tool for political prisoners to create woodcraft for their families’ survival from inside the jail.
A delegation member met with Lonko Victor Queipul of Temukuikui who was unable to join the delegation to pass on the messages of the exchange and express the commitment and ongoing relationships forged. In a strongly emotive moment the delegate passed on to Queipul the Aboriginal flag from the Aboriginal representatives of the exchange, which the Lonko received with tears. This moment strongly demonstrated the power of the exchange and international solidarity for Indigenous communities on the ground, in the process of fighting for our survival and human rights.

Delegates also travelled to Lleu Lleu to inform and confirm with community members there about the commitments made by the delegation, especially in relation to the international campaign for the liberation of Mapuche political prisoners.

Delegates also met with and passed on information about the exchange to Mapu Nuke, an autonomous Mapuche cultural centre in Temuco, the only centre of its kind supporting political prisoners and the struggles of Mapuche communities for human rights and self-determination. Another result of the work done during the delegation was the development of a collective of Mapuche and non-Mapuche organisers in Santiago, who will continue in direct link and support of Mapuche struggles in the south in connection with the new international co-ordinating network in support of popular and Indigenous struggles.

Other members of the delegation travelled to Argentina and Brazil to pass on information from the exchange and invitation for the communities to Mapuche people from Chubut region of Argentina and Indigenous peoples of Brazil including the Terena and Guarani Kaïowá peoples, to further participate in the international campaigns and in exchange to be held in April 2020 on Aboriginal land in so-called Australia.
Summary of conclusions and agreements, Encounter in Solidarity with the Mapuche People - In Defence of Human Rights and for the Earth:

- Calling for international vigilance to the serious human rights violations of the Chilean state against Mapuche people
- To promote an international campaign for the liberation of Mapuche political prisoners.
- Urgent transfer of Mapuche political prisoners from LEBU prison to CAÑETE, to be closer to their relatives.
- Demand the immediate release of the sister Mapuche Lorenza Cayuhan
- Sanctions for Chilean police and state’s attacks on the human rights of Brandon Hernández and all Mapuche children
- End the criminalisation of Mapuche leaders through accusation regarding the Luchsinger-Mackay case.
- Immediate freedom for the Machi Francisca Linconao
- Immediate release of the Machi Celestino Cordava
- Stop harassment, criminalization and prosecution of the just demands of the Mapuche people and their political prisoners
- Accountability for crimes committed by police in Mapuche communities and trials to be held in the Civil Courts and NOT in the Military Courts.
- Accountability for the police and responsible for the murders of Alex Lemun, Matías Catrileo, Macarena Valdez and others killed by Chilean police.
- Demand accountability and response of the Chilean/Austrian hydroelectric company RP Global in relation to the murder of Macarena Valdez.
- Demand the demilitarization of all Mapuche territories.
- Demand the closure of the police-military base in Pailahueque
- Demand the reopening of the Mapuche polytechnic institute in Pailahueque
• The removal of all police personnel from the educational units in Ercilla region
• End to raids into Mapuche communities, that cause trauma and injury for children, women and the elderly and cause unjustified detention of men and women that only defend their family and land
• Repeal of repressive laws that criminalise Mapuche struggle, including the anti-terrorist law and the arms law
• Expulsion of multinational hydroelectric and forestry companies from Wallmapu including the Matte and Angelini consortiums families.
• We demand that Chile bring their legislation in line with international agreements to which it is a signatory such as the Declaration of Human Rights (UN), the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UN), the American Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Americas (OAS) and Convention 169 of the International Labor Organization (ILO).
• Participation of delegates as observers in the Mapuche political prisoners’ trials.
• Translation and dissemination of the poetry of Matías Catrileo
• Support of the sister of Matias, Catalina, to travel to speak in a public meeting in so-called Australia in October 2017
• Support Mapuche youth publication (communities near the Lleu-lleu river).
• Develop network of communication to disseminate news on Mapuche reality at the international level
• The creation of the international co-ordinating network in support of Popular and Indigenous struggles
• Organise four events in so-called Australia in solidarity with the Mapuche people.
• Participation in the formation of the Council of Indigenous Peoples of Tahuantinsuyu (03-04 November 2017, Cusco Peru - Responsible CONAIP) and Abya Yala (June 2017, Canada - Responsible Nation Metí of Canada, CICA and CONAIP)
• Participate in the Encounter of the Condor and the Eagle (indigenous peoples of the North, Center and South), on June 20, 21 and 22 in Tiahuanaco - Bolivia, in 2018. Responsible Ministry of Decolonization of the Plurinational State of Bolivia.
• Demand an immediate cessation and response from the Chilean State regarding the violence against the Mapuche people and an effective solution to the Mapuche demand for the recovery of land.
The poem “This Ancient Country” was written during the exchange, inspired by the similarities of the struggles of both the Mapuche people and the First Nations people of so-called Australia. It was translated into Spanish by the translator that accompanied the Aboriginal delegates around Mapuche lands so that everyone of the exchange could read and understand it.

This Ancient Country
Then they came with their sounds and their drums,
Speaking in a language that nobody knew.
The animals’ ears pricked What kind of sound IS this?
And the ancient country shuddered WITH her wisdom -
She knew what was coming.
This same ancient country watched while her children were slaughtered.
Hundreds of thousands were massacred.
Their spilt blood WAS reabsorbed by her waters.
This same ancient country would then raise the daughters of those murderers.
Generations and generations of pain.
Continually exploited for capital gain.
They never saw what was inside of her as part of HER ENTIRETY but split her into smaller pieces to COMMERCIALIZAE AND SELL HER.
How hard it has been to survive this invasion.
Because survive SHE did. Despite all efforts to the contrary.
And maybe this is the thing you have never understood about this ancient country of mine, about SHE ... As long as this ancient country exists, so do we.
BEYOND THE DARK HORIZON

2019

‘Art, poetry, rants and ideas from the frontlines of green anarchist direct action in ‘so-called Australia’ and beyond.'