


Dear loyal readers,

We would like to wholeheartedly welcome you to our oversized 2011 summer editon of Germinate. We

hope you have fun reading this editon, because making it was a hoot. Seriously though, we hope it provides a counter weight to the crittical and analyttcal 2010 winter editon. You see this editon is packed full of fun, inspiring and motivattng content to help kick start your gear of change making, an excitng report from



Wollongong about resistng war research, a questtoning of non violence, plenty of stencils to copy and a feature length insight into the culture of safer spaces. 2011 is only going to get more serious and intense than 2010, with the European financial crisis, the ever increasing threat of climate change and

liberals slowly taking back control of our governments, so we hope you have strategies for relaxng, having fun and gettng away from all the serious polittcs. More than anything though we hope to see the opportunittes for revolutionary struggle grabbed by the proverbial horns and control over our lives and environment returned to the people.

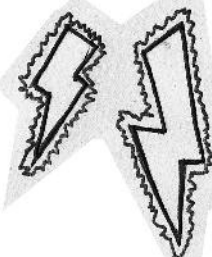
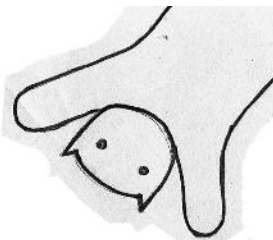
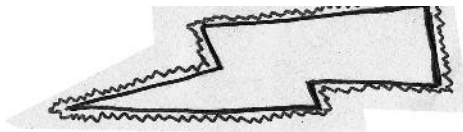
So go on, kick back, put your feet up and have a good read.

The Germinate editors,

Lign, Juliet, Grace, Dom and Alyssa



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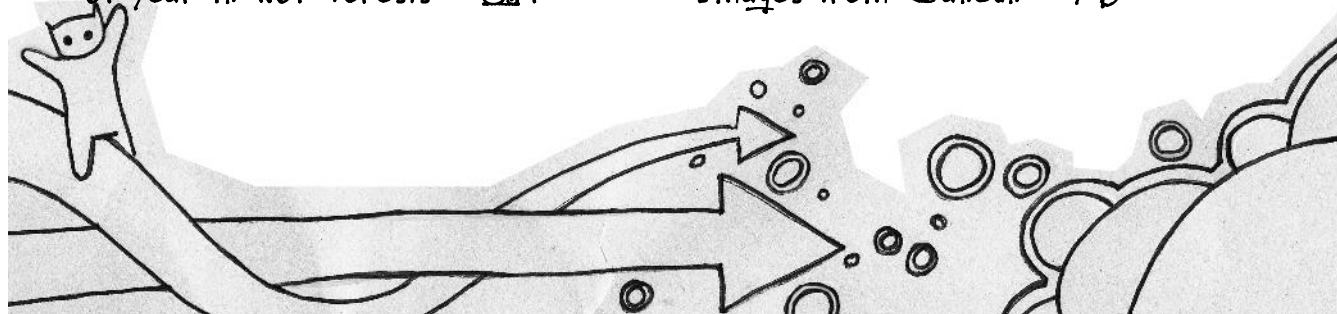
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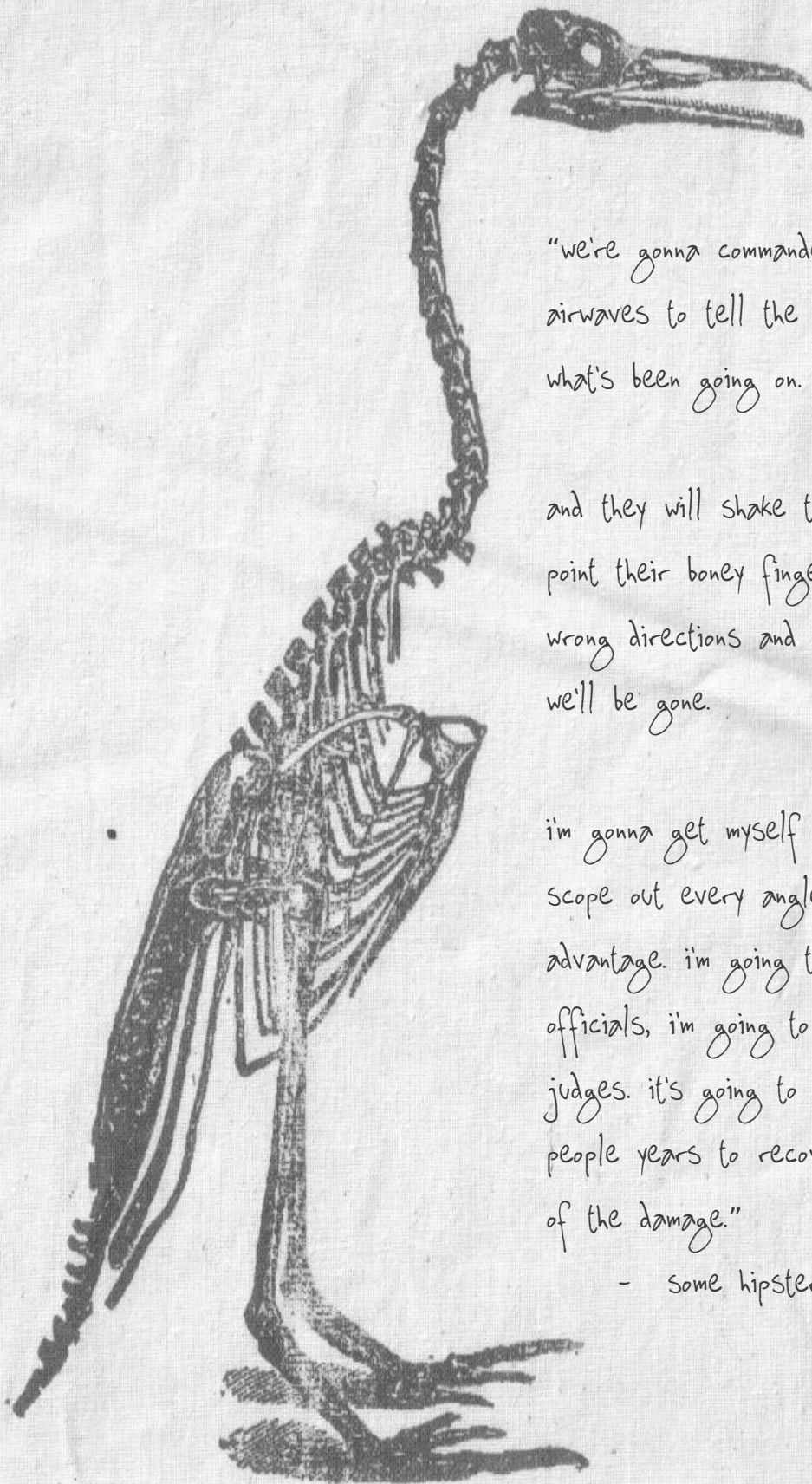
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"we're gonna commandeer the local
airwaves to tell the neighbours
what's been going on.

and they will shake their heads, and
point their boney fingers in all the
wrong directions and by daybreak
we'll be gone.

i'm gonna get myself in finding trim,
scope out every angle of unfair
advantage. i'm going to bribe the
officials, i'm going to kill all the
judges. it's going to take you
people years to recover from all
of the damage."

- some hipster band

NUCLEAR FREE & INDIGENOUS SOLIDARITY

ASEN working group

presents

THE RADICAL RATBAGS TAKE ON BOSS NUKEM

working in solidarity with Traditional Owners
nation-wide protests ♦ direct actions
student campaigns ♦ media
workshops & education resources

to join the e-list
search 'asen nuclear free'
at www.riseup.net /



What Is ASEN?

ASEN is The Australian Student Environment Network.

ASEN is a network that has grown out from the Students of Sustainability conferences (SoS). You see, once upon a time students who were active in environmental campaigns would only meet up on a national scale once a year, at the SoS conference to share skills, knowledge and fun times. Then some bright sparks said "why don't we stay in touch throughout the year as-well"

ASEN is that loose structure that facilitates collaborations, campaigns, sharing and learning across campus ghettos and state borders on a continuous basis.

Activists from **ASEN** organise the Students of Sustainability conference each July, the National Skills Training Camp each January and print and distribute *Germinate*.

ASEN also facilitates national campaign and strategy groups around a Nuclear free world, climate justice and food co-ops.

ASEN spaces are great spaces to meet like minded folk, stay connected and meet your future co-conspirators.

ASEN also has national conveners and other roles. These people are responsible for keeping the network running, kick starting campaigns and supporting your activism.

ASEN has many affiliated groups, from local campaign groups to larger state networks.

ASEN isn't something external, ASEN is US, ASEN is you.

ASEN is the idea that we are stronger when we are connected.

so, sounds awesome huh? well, one crucial way that you could support all of this is by becoming a Friend of ASEN, or asking family, friends, even sworn enemies to join in.

ASEN achieves so much off a shoe-string budget, thanks to the amazing people who make up this network. never the less, this money is difficult to find and we rely on the ongoing financial support of our extended community to cover our core costs and keep the network pumping. Over-leaf you'll find a form to become a Friend of ASEN and make a regular donation...

All that is not to say that we think your participation should be limited to giving money, please get involved in other ways you feel comfortable instead, but also think about us the next time you pull off a bank heist, inherit a bit of dosh or need to relieve your conscience from over consumption.

For more information, visit asen.org.au contact

info@asen.org.au or call Grace on 0424485806

Join Friends of ASEN

Please accept my donation to support the Australian Student Environment Network to engage and empower the next generation of advocates for social and environmental justice!

I would like to make monthly donations of:

- ☐ \$20 ☐ \$30 ☐ Other \$
- ☐ \$50 ☐ \$100

OR

I would like to make a one-off donation of:

- ☐ \$50 ☐ \$100 ☐ Other \$
- ☐ \$200 ☐ \$500

OR

- ☐ I can't donate right now, but please keep me informed of future appeals.

My details are:

Name

Address

Email

I would like to pay by:

- ☐ Cheque / Money Order

Please make cheques out to "Australian Student Environment Network".

- ☐ Direct Debit

Australian Student Environment Network | Westpac | BSB 034 013 | Acc No. 204569

Please label direct debit as "FoA" followed by your name, eg. "FoA A Chan"

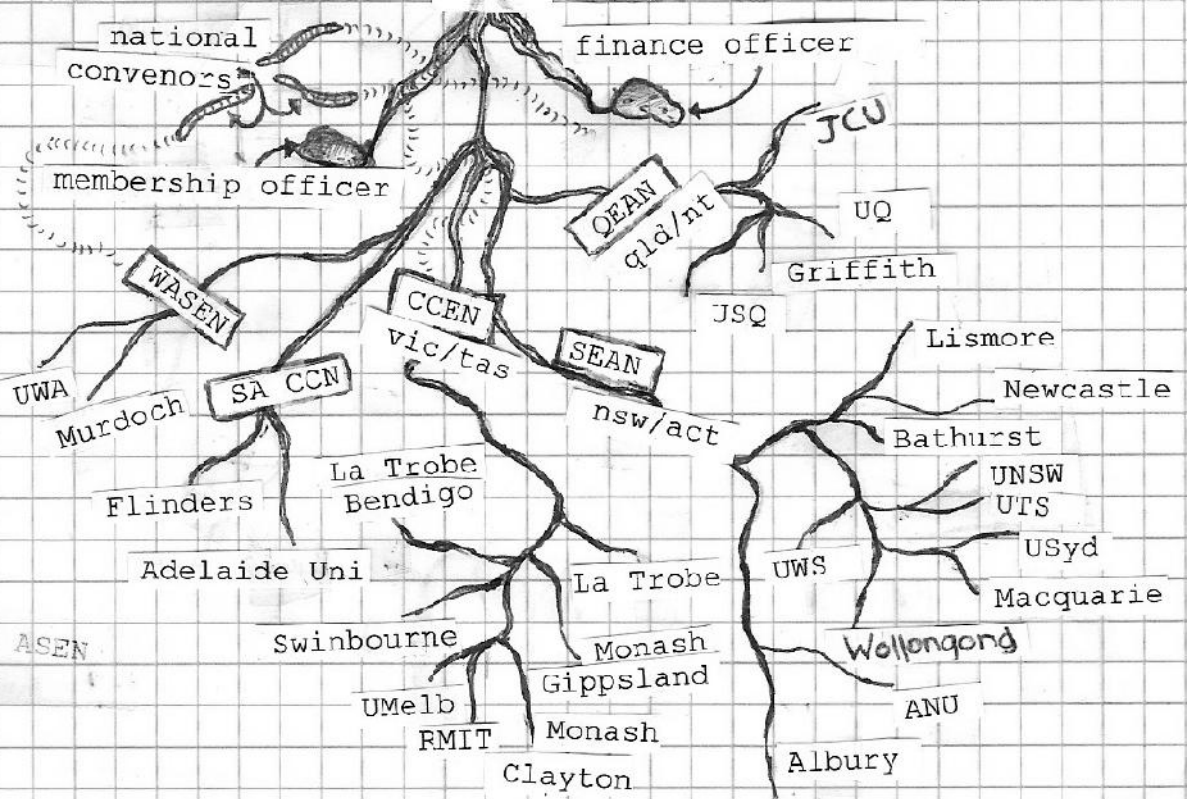
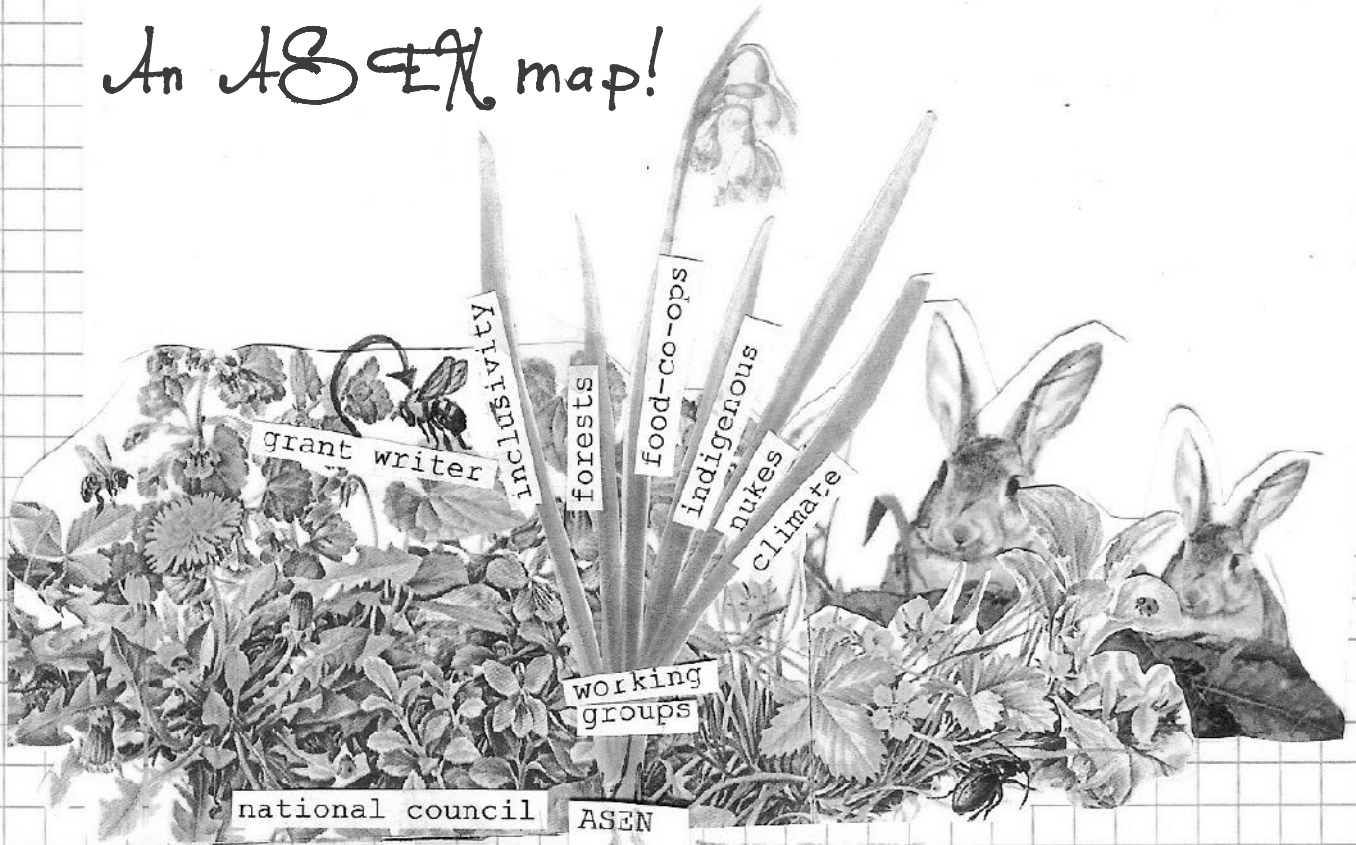
- ☐ ASEN's on-line regular giving system

Go to www.asen.org.au and click on the "Donate to ASEN" icon to become a regular monthly donor through our on-line giving system. Credit cards and direct debits accepted. This will require you to set up a 'New User' account.

Please Note: ASEN does not currently have Tax Deductibility Status.

Please return this form so we can thank you and keep you up to date with the amazing work that ASEN is doing!

An ABE map!



Students of Sustainability 2011

Flows of Change



SoS 2011 will be held on Wiradjuri Country (Albury) from the 5th to the 9th of July. It will be a week full of workshops and forums on a range of sustainability topics, demonstrating how theory and practice can be used to make positive social and environmental change.

Each year students, community members, Indigenous activists, academics, public intellectuals, environmental educators and social change agents of all stripes and from all over Australia are invited to participate.

There is a range of educational, practical and participatory forums, workshops, excursions, entertainment and lots of time drinking chai with new friends.

SoS is a five day camping conference for anyone interested in creating a more ecologically & socially sustainable world.

Theft of a country: The story of Underwood Bushland

*This is the short version of a longer, fully annotated essay. For the whole story and source list go to <http://funwithautonomy.tumblr.com/post/859216944/a-history-of-underwood-bushland-in-the-context-of> *

Existing in the middle of Perth's affluent western suburbs, Underwood Bushland is 32 hectares of Tuart, Banksia and Jarrah woodland. Unique in that it exists in an almost undisturbed state and has not been commodified or turned into a tourist destination it is a vital part of Perth's remnant urban bushland and Nyungah heritage. Nyungah people camped on the land up to the 1960's and it is a part of their Country and Dreaming, the land was created by the Wargul. Traditionally, it belongs to the Mooro family's land, who are Wadjuk Nyungah people.



Photo: A tall Tuart tree standing in the Underwood Bushland.

Together with the Beelair family group, who lived south of the Derbal Yerrigan (*Swan River*), Mooro people were the first in WA to discover the immense costs of European invasion as they lived around the first settlements of Fremantle and Perth, together called the Swan River Colony. As Captain Stirling crudely boasted:

"The camp of Yellowgonga [the Mooro family leader], bearing this name (Byerbrup) stood beside the springs at the west end of town, as you descend from Mt. Eliza; and on this very spot did the 63rd pitch their tents, when they came to take possession. So that the headquarters of the King of Mooro are now become the headquarters of the territories of the British King in Western Australia. On this spot too the King of Mooro now holds out his hand to beg a crust of bread"

This direct theft of land, taking the prime camping spot when so much available land was nearby, can only be interpreted as direct antagonism by the Europeans towards Yellagonga in their quest to assert their superiority and invade Mooro territory. This is in contrast to much of the rhetoric, especially of Captain Stirling's, about not wanting to antagonise the natives. For example Captain Stirling is also quoted as saying:

"They [colonists] knew that their own welfare depended on avoiding hostilities; and it is due to them to state that their conduct, as a body, has been marked throughout by an anxious desire to avoid, on their invasion of this territory, every unnecessary injury to its earlier inhabitants."

In 1886, Tommy Downer, a Perth based Nyungah man who was a "significant member of (Alexander) Forrest's six-man expedition that opened up the valuable Kimberly" applied for ten acres at Claremont as a freehold reserve for the Nyungah community. All the white members of Forrest's expedition were granted private land but Downer's application was rejected, leaving the Nyungah people and Downer himself with no legal land. By 1898 the Nyungah people of the Western Suburbs "Had permanent (but illegal) quarters at Butler's Swamp and two or three temporary camps" In the words of Woolberr, a Nyungah man who camped around the Underwood site in 1908 "We Nyungars are on the fringes, in the shadows, in the no-man's land of white man's ever expanding suburban sprawl" Underwood was a stretch of such 'no-mans' land, located between the Infectious Diseases Unit of the Victoria Hospital and a sewage treatment plant. In 1913 Tommy Pilbar, one of the people camped at Butler's Swamp, revived Tommy Downer's initiative and applied for ten acres for a Nyungah reserve from the council. The council rejected the application but petitioned the University of Western Australia to donate some of its endowment lands with the following reasoning: "thereby benefiting some of the original owners of the soil, who recognise this part of the state as the centre of their tribal district, but have at the present moment no place that they can call their own to live in."

Theft of a country: The story of Underwood Bushland



Enter the University of Western — Australia

Underwood bushland was part of the University's endowment land given to it for free from the state government and it would have indeed benefited Nyungah people to get back some of their land. Needless to say, the UWA declined the petition.

The University of Western Australia first opened in 1913 and became Western Australia's first university. The UWA was famous as the only university in Australia that offered free education for students and hence acquired a valuable reputation and was seen as a responsible member of the community. It was able to offer this free education because of its wealth, based on its endowment land, stolen from Aboriginal people. We have already seen how the University refused to give back some of its endowment to *"The original owners of the soil"*. Ironically, the University's inaction in developing the Underwood site provided the space for Nyungah people to camp and hide on the fringes of Perth until the 1960s and has meant that there is a valuable patch of Nyungah

heritage and original ecosystem left standing amongst the concrete of the Western Suburbs.

The bushland remained forgotten by the University until 29 December 1999 when the University lodged an application with the West Australian Planning Commission to subdivide, develop and sell the land at Underwood. Upon learning about this proposal, many Nyungah Elders, including some who had lived at Underwood bushland, together with conservationists, sought to find out information and to be included in decision making. The University then began a process of negotiation with The Circle of Nyungah Elders, a group of native title claimants because Underwood contains sacred sites. Opposition to development of the land was found to be unanimous amongst the Elders – in the words of Mr. Bodney, who lived at Underwood in the 1960s.

"In your way of thinking you see an ideal spot for buildings here and buildings there. It is sad in a way to us, we are sad about development. It undermines what we are talking about. That is what saddens us the most is, once it is over run it is gone forever

and we become a race of people without a Dreaming, without a Culture. We are forced to assimilate and believe in that fella up there." - Mr. Bodney Nyungah Elder

In rhetoric reminiscent of Captain James Stirling the University assured the Nyungah Elders that it respected their culture and spirituality and:

"He (The Chancellor, Dr. Ken Michael) also assured the Elders that the University would not initiate any action with regard to obtaining planning approvals for development of the land until negotiations with the elders has been completed." - UWA's property manager.

2010, time for

something

completely different

However, just as Stirling's speeches hardly reflected the reality of European and Aboriginal conflict, the UWA continued with its development applications to all



Theft of a country: The story of Underwood Bushland

three levels of government before negotiations had been completed. The group of Elders involved in the issue have publicly denounced the University and attempted to bring the issue to public and government attention:

"At this time, the University of Western Australia is proposing subdivision of Underwood Avenue Bushland. This is a continuation (of the) invasion of our land ... We, Aboriginal Elders come together to collectively oppose this destruction of our remnant cultural landscape which is vital to the practice of our religious and spiritual beliefs and culture." Nyungah circle of elders

This is a clear example of continued colonisation and dispossession of Aboriginal people from their lands. The development proposal has faced many difficulties and after ten years it still has not received approval from state or federal governments. This is mainly because of its biodiversity value and health concerns, Aboriginal significance has seemed to hold less weight with official decision makers. To this day The University has not backed down from its commercial and colonial ambitions. Meanwhile Nyungah opposition remains strong:

"The full bloods have all been killed off. The black cockatoos are part of the ancestors. The same thing is being done to the cockatoos as what was done to the full bloods, being pushed around into smaller land. There was a reserve system for aboriginal people – there is the same thing for all the animals now." Iva Haywood-Jackson



The proposal has been seen as particularly controversial because the bushland contains sacred sites. One of the sites, a scarred tuart tree, was listed on the department of aboriginal affairs registrar but was removed after a fire. Another three sites are proposed and finally, the whole area is also a proposed sacred site. However the whole discourse about sacred sites raises many issues, for example in the words of Iva Jackson:

"What is the difference between a 70,000 year old painting and a 70 year old camp? How can you say one is more important than the other?"



There is no such thing as that categorisation of sites in the spiritual dreaming" Iva Haywood-Jackson

The function of the *Aboriginal Heritage Act 1972* and the Department of Indigenous Affairs is seen to have enabled the UWA to ignore, or to downplay the significance of the sacred sites at Underwood because they have not been approved by a government controlled by White people. So the whole history of dealing with the UWA for the local Nyungah Elders concerned with Underwood bushland has been one of tokenistic recognition and of being sidelined, further disempowered and displaced.

The fight to save Underwood continues to this day, Nyungah people, students, conservationists and others are mobilising to confront UWA on all fronts with the reality of its historical and current brutality.

Written by Lian Sinclair, thanks and to Iva Haywood-Jackson for interviews, guidance and research. Contact the author on lian@riseup.net

A DISCUSSION ON ACTION

A message for folks who are currently involved in the struggle for a
planet that sustains life

Greetings Compañeros,

Hi. We'd like to have a talk - we feel like its been coming for a while. We want to speak and listen, and find ways to do these things well. We want this dialogue to be respectful, acknowledging the place from which the other is coming from... while not forgetting our own place. We want our words to be informed by, and inform our action.

We want to be critical when we speak or write, breaking reactive patterns, breathing and allowing ourselves space to imagine other ways... because we believe that nothing that has been done so far has been enough, and because we are humble, we rebel... that is, because we acknowledge that there are worlds, ways of taking action, ways of interacting that we cannot imagine yet, we strive to open up space for new ways, better ways, to exist.

We have been talking about patterns. We have been talking about how little we ask ourselves "why?" before we take action. We have been trying to do this. And we have been stumbling. We do not know how to do this well yet. But we are beginning. We are beginning to ask ourselves what we take action for. Where are we going? Is it a destination, or a way of travelling?

Regarding climate change, we are asking ourselves why we would struggle against it? What is important to us? Do we actually value life? Do we actually think life (human, plant, animal whatever) is worth struggling for? What about if life is dreary, boring, painful? We have been taking the time to remember the things that make it worth struggling. We have been creating space for our desires to direct our action. We could ask better questions, eg. What will it take?

And we have been talking about tactics. We have been talking about power. About assumptions. About things that we are all taught about how this society works, and stories we have internalised, even if we profess to not believe them. Like how change happens. Like what it means to "raise awareness", or "put pressure on politicians". We have been asking what the importance of raising awareness is when people do not have channels to exercise their power in meaningful ways. We have been questioning why we so often communicate with politician (by "demanding" "asking" "calling on them" to do things) when we do not believe they can or should represent our needs, or our interests.

And we have been asking why we so rarely communicate with people at the roots - with people who do not currently sit in places of institutional power (private or state).



We have been asking what it would actually take to achieve the goals, visions, dreams, whatever that we have. We have been asking if our current actions are the equivalent of trying to stop a tank that is coming to blow up our house by throwing styrofoam at it and then asking it to slow down.

We have been questioning the assumptions of our own communities. We have been making space to define our goals, desires, visions and trying to let these, rather than any abstracted principle (whether it be "Non-Violence" or "Anarchism") guide our action.

We have been asking the hard questions about what we actually think is effective... and realising that sometimes the answers are overwhelming. But we are beginning to stop hoping for shortcuts ("The apocalypse will come soon!" or "At least Rudd won the election!") and asking what our next step should be. We do not feel like we are doing this very well as yet. We feel like our words may reflect what we think is important and effective, but our actions are still patterned, still drawing from what is familiar rather than what we think works.

However, we begin. And we are asking, what do you think is important? What process do you go through to answer this question? When you ask "why?" about the actions you take (eg "why are we shutting down this power station") do you have an answer? Is the answer still a tactic (eg "to get media")? What if you ask "why?" to this answer? Is your response another tactic (eg "raising awareness")?

How many times do you have to ask "why?" before you get to a goal, a vision, a desire, a value? Even "stopping climate change" must be a tactic to realise something else, maybe its "because I think maintaining life on this planet is important", maybe it's something else. This may seem like a difficult and long task, however we believe that until we can define what we are acting for, it's near impossible to decide what tactics are most effective.

This is not a call to government to make a series of policy changes. This is not a call for large businesses to become "greener" under the illusion that profitability and what is socially and ecologically beneficial are not in conflict. This is a call for you, friend, to share your experiences, thoughts, words on three simple things. What are we struggling and acting for? What would it take to realise these things? And are we prepared to do what is necessary? *Maybe everything depends on these answers.*

With humble respect,

Some folks who like their weekends dirty and their habitat clean

Safer Spaces is where it's at: So where is that?

Hello! I'm an introduction

Safer spaces is an infinite topic that encompasses so much of life and delves into the essence of human interaction and existence. So to prevent my rambling off into the distance I'm going to discuss stuff in an ASEN context. I'll briefly familiarise/ re-familiarise ourselves with the concept, then explore it through my own perspective while doing a bit of a critique on where it's at. I'll be talking about resistance to it, the effectiveness of it, how the nature of safer spaces challenges ASEN's culture and how safer spaces transcends culture; as well as relating some of my own experiences and philosophical take on things. So, know where were going? Sweet, then read on if you're interested.

About safer spaces

In a nutshell (possibly a walnut, hopefully I've avoided a coconut), safer spaces aims to improve our collective behaviour; to protect, support and nurture each other so that we are better enabled to express ourselves and grow. So that we feel safer expressing our true selves as much as we can, in freedom from oppression and harm.

Creating safer spaces is basically about accepting personal responsibility and developing sensitivity for others. It stems from acknowledging that our behaviour does affect other people, and so accepting responsibility to self-reflect on how our actions are affecting those around us, and to adjust our behaviour accordingly. In doing so we develop our empathy, and also become more aware of our own feelings and how these relate to our needs. So we take further responsibility to communicate our needs to people, so that we can better relate to and support each other. Who'd have thought that sharing feelings would bring us closer together? Ideally, all of this inspires a lifelong commitment to questioning our behaviour, beliefs and privileges; which enriches our lives.

Sounds great doesn't it? Yay for safety and safer spaces! Yet it must be said, creating and living safer spaces can be challenging for many reasons. Personal safety is dynamic and different for each of us, as myriad interrelated things affect people's feelings of safety; some are caused by others' actions, attitudes & energy and some are self-generated or perpetuated.

Our own thoughts contribute to how we feel, and are interconnected with many environmental factors, such as other people's behaviour, which can be oppressive.

Oppressive behaviour isn't always obvious and can be difficult to recognise and/or acknowledge in ourselves. It's not always your typical sexism, racism or any other such 'ism' either; it can simply be dominating conversation or interrupting, explaining things in a condescending manner or assuming an air of authority (or for the anarchist within us - assuming actual authority) over others. It can also be oppressive to traverse personal boundaries (emotional or physical), or to make assumptions about others.

We can't assume that our behaviour is acceptable or benign for people, especially as we are generally unaware of the personal issues experienced by those around us. So taking responsibility for our behaviour naturally includes practising good consent in our interactions (not just in the sexual sense). Consent is a big topic in itself, but being attentive to body language is always a good start as so much of communication is non-verbal. Sometimes this is our only means of expression; particular when we're not feeling safe enough to mention something verbally (for example indicating when someone is within our personal space). Because of this, it can be especially important to get explicit verbal consent before touching someone in a way that may cross personal boundaries, as touch can be a particularly sensitive issue. It's also helpful to check if people are okay discussing topics that may be triggering (of trauma), such as abuse or violence.

However, we can be generous in assuming the intent of others. Perhaps they didn't mean what we initially perceived them to say. Rather than fervently calling someone out for something, by respectfully questioning what they meant we give people a chance to further explain themselves and to think about what they're saying. Being mindful of our assumptions extends to being respectful of other people's different views and ways and states of being. So, we can be responsible, sensitive and respectful. We can also be generous. We can check in with each other to offer support, ask for consent or just to remind them we care.

So, yes there's a lot to creating safer spaces that can be energetic and challenging. Besides which, no space will be entirely safe for everyone despite our best efforts, even assuming that were desirable. Yet in my opinion it is definitely so very, very worth our effort. There is just so much we can learn and gain and grow from safer spaces. Anyone for some liberation? To me it's not that radical a concept. I think we all practise creating safer spaces to various degrees before we ever 'learn' what it's about, for its elements are innate in life. So I like to think of safer spaces as being evolutionary rather than revolutionary.

Exploring safer spaces

*Disclaimer: I don't claim to know others' realities.

Resistance

The challenges inherent in creating safer spaces naturally results in our experiencing a resistance to it. I'm not just talking about people who may find the concept (or aspects of it) disagreeable or not worth their energy. I suggest that we all experience some form of resistance to it because it challenges our concepts of self-identity, our emotional boundaries and because it can seem counter-intuitive.

Interrogating our behaviour, beliefs and privileges can be difficult because our egos are threatened by things that challenge our identities, which are largely artificially constructed for us to function in society. Our sense of 'who we are' is socially conditioned by powerful cultural forces such as concepts of gender, class, morality, social institutions such as religion and government, our parents, social mores and interaction etc. It follows that our behaviour is also affected by this environmental conditioning. I personally acknowledge that my conditioning implicates me in various forms of oppression, despite my awareness and opposition to it. Are you totally unaffected by the isms of society and culture? When we question and try to transcend how our thoughts and behaviour are affected by such environmental factors, it undermines the foundations of who we have been taught to think we are and how we have learnt to relate to other people. Naturally our conditioned minds resist challenges to this apparent security of 'knowing' who we are and how we should be, as this is how it is accustomed to functioning in its environment (society). This is not to say that we are consciously resistant to overcoming oppression, I am basically describing a reason why our minds are resistant to

change. You have probably noticed how stubborn our minds can be, and also how the mind is linked with our feelings and emotional capacity.

Creating safer spaces is also challenging because it engages with issues that can be emotionally demanding; it can push the boundaries of what we are comfortable with and how much energy we have to give. Enhancing our awareness of ourselves and sensitivity for others can bring up all sorts of issues and discomfort. So part of creating safer spaces is potentially making ourselves more vulnerable to others' pain and to our own. Our feelings are a window into what's going on within us, so engaging with them can facilitate healing and growth. Yet because of their connection with the sometimes unhelpful mind, contemplating them can also lead us in circles or down the proverbial (deep dark) garden path. If being open to our feelings can increase the potential for pain and discomfort, it is no wonder that we may be apprehensive about engaging with safer spaces. It is also easier (in some ways) to avoid thinking about or caring for others because empathy is energetic and affects us personally. If we try to give as much of ourselves as possible to creating safer spaces we will inevitably push the boundaries of how much we can give and engage with. Indeed, there may be a correlation between sensitivity and being prone to burn out and other mental health issues. Creating safer spaces enriches our lives and it can also make things more intense.

A further reason why we experience resistance to engaging with safer spaces is because it can seem counter-intuitive. We tend to feel insecure around formal structured things (such as safer spaces workshops, etiquettes or policies), as we instinctively know things need to be naturally expressed to feel true and safe. Safer spaces can't be imposed, forced or 'organised'; they need to come from within us. Until we can go beyond concern with the methods of creating safer spaces to actually being safer, things tend to feel awkward, unnatural and subtly unsafe. As safety is about expressing our true selves and is thus intrinsically linked with spontaneous expression, any effort that detracts from spontaneity will feel contrived. This is particularly true for practising good consent as it can feel very awkward to consciously and self-consciously ask for someone's permission before hugging them, something that is ideally a

spontaneously joyful expression. Similar to other social etiquettes, practising safer spaces can seem oppressive and confining if one feels expected to conform or adhere to a safer spaces doctrine or policy. So resistance is natural even if we determine that practice or policy is beneficial. Yet we need to go through the processes of learning and practising before we can assimilate/realise that knowledge into the expression of our beings; so that when we leave a workshop, Training Camp or Students of Sustainability (SoS) we can be safer with those around us. All of this stuff illustrates how safer spaces is intrinsically about our personal journey of opening up and connecting with people, about our boundaries, our safety and our personal growth. And for all of the above reasons we may experience resistance to engaging with safer spaces, which also has implications for how effective our efforts at creating them can be.

Effectiveness

Our experiences of safer spaces are very personal, so we will each have unique perspectives about how effective they have been within ASEN. In my experience, feeling deeply safe around people is a rare thing, an elusive thing. I can barely even conceive feeling safe in a crowded space, yet I have experienced moments that have felt so. For me, safer spaces within ASEN has been most effective educationally in an individual sense, rather than practically in a communal sense. I feel that I have personally grown heaps from exploring safer spaces, yet though I have experienced some safer spaces through ASEN, the spaces I have shared have generally not nearly fulfilled the potential of the rhetoric.

The Learning Better Consent workshop at SoS Adelaide '10 was for me an example of safer spaces really working. Towards the end of the workshop all I could see were honest, true faces; masks were gone, people were just being, listening, sharing, expressing and growing, intent in the moment. It just felt so safe and so, so beautiful. Yet this was a rare space in my experience of SoS gatherings. Of course, such is the nature of safer spaces that someone else's experience could be very different.

A key issue concerning the effectiveness of safer spaces at ASEN gatherings is that the efforts and etiquettes of creating safer spaces are often in conflict with spontaneity and available energy. After all, events like SoS can be pretty intense and challenging as it is.

I certainly feel that this is true for me; I can focus inwardly under pressure, contracting my boundaries and having less energy available for engaging with others. At times I can also find it challenging to be touched or touching others, yet do not want to live in a way that people are hesitant to give me a spontaneous hug. I want both spontaneity and the safety of consent (I believe this is possible but can be complicated - a simple but difficult sort of thing). And if I think too much about consent stuff I tend to feel more hesitant about reaching out to others physically (even for a friendly pat on the shoulder), so that I feel more isolated and less safe. Ultimately, safer spaces is about individual personal growth, collectively. If some are unable to give energy to it, choose not to or are unaware of this stuff then the potential safety of our communal space is diminished. Perhaps like me, ASEN only has so much capacity for creating safer spaces.

It is only natural to sometimes feel frustrated with where we and safer spaces are at, yet it is wise to question where that is. As previously discussed, safer spaces cannot be 'organised', they can only be facilitated. So if ASEN is viewed as an entity, efforts at creating safer spaces can seem ceremonial and even hypocritical despite hard work to the contrary. Safer spaces policies can feel conventional and perfunctory if they're not discussed and communicated within the group as a whole. Policies, grievance crews, care bears, chill out spaces and workshops are all useful, educational and helpful (and awesome!), yet how much of this is permeating throughout ASEN gatherings into our behaviour and interactions? I think it's always safe to say that spaces could be safer. To me safer spaces can seem as if it's just laying there in the background, like a comfy cushion for sitting on. Maybe we should be questioning and discussing this stuff more. Does safer spaces in ASEN feel stagnant? How is it working? Is it working really well in ways we haven't considered? Are we taking it seriously enough? What are safer spaces policies actually achieving, and what do we want them to achieve? How can we inspire more participation and energy for it? Do we want to? Safer spaces is such a personal issue that we'll all have different questions and different responses.

Safer spaces challenging ASEN's culture

A further explanation of why the effectiveness of safer spaces within ASEN may be inhibited is found in

ASEN's culture. ASEN is greatly influenced by anarchist ideals; being strongly autonomous and consensus-based. However, in combination with the limited resources of an essentially volunteer-run organisation, this may have contributed to a laissez-faire attitude within ASEN that is both a strength and weakness. ASEN is supportive and nurturing, but there is not always the capacity for action and there are further problems harnessing available energy due to ASEN's decentralised structure. The autonomous, decentralised nature of ASEN also creates challenges in communication, especially beyond those who are intimately involved. These challenges have had repercussions for creating safer spaces in terms of outreach and education, resulting in it becoming an esoteric aspect of ASEN culture. It often seems left to the individual to discover and explore, rather than being advocated as a vital element of ASEN philosophy (as it purports to be, given the significance of its endorsement into policy). This has limited the reach and effect of the safer spaces concept.

The nature of safer spaces is also challenging to ASEN's culture. Safer spaces interrogates the nature of human interaction and existence. It explores our ethics, perspectives and differences (behaviour that is acceptable to some may not be to others) in a way that questions our own concepts of who we are and how we should be. In negotiating acceptable behaviour we are determining moral (or at least ethical) precepts which are being ratified into policy. This policy is either collectively determined by consensus at gatherings or predetermined and so imposed upon participants. However, what policy aims to do or can achieve depends upon how it is utilised, and how to enact a safer spaces policy is particularly challenging for ASEN's culture of autonomy as promoting safer spaces raises political questions regarding power and authority. Is a safer spaces policy contractual for participants? Is asking someone to leave a space because of violence or abuse an enforcement of moral authority? Can calling someone out for their behaviour be a use of political force? Is ASEN content with policy that's simply a guide to good behaviour, or are there ways to utilise it to proactively promote safer spaces? Is there reticence to promoting safer spaces if that's potentially an imposition of beliefs? Interestingly, ASEN is capable of taking direct action for a political cause but appears relatively passive advocating safer spaces within its internal politics. If safer spaces is culturally challenging for

ASEN then perhaps it would be helpful to next discuss culture itself and how safer spaces transcends it.

Culture & its Transcendence

*Although I'm suggesting a universal truth, it's still just my universe.

Culture is especially significant for safer spaces because it is a medium of oppression. Culture is not inherently positive or negative. However, it is extremely influential in our social conditioning and development, particularly in our formative years before we are mature enough to be aware of its effects, and so become capable of evaluating and challenging it. As previously discussed, our concepts of self and how to behave are shaped by powerful cultural forces including gender, class, political structures and social mores. Yes, we really were that vulnerable, and still are susceptible to culture; especially as the power of cultural media increases through new technologies and domains. So it makes sense to transcend cultural influence as much as we can. By this I mean cultivating a detached perspective and attitude towards culture; so that we increase our capacity to recognise how culture is influencing us and foster our ability to be culturally discriminating (our power of choice about which aspects of culture we embrace and which we reject). For example, just as we can accept and incorporate into our lives those aspects of religion that have meaning for us while avoiding subservience to religious doctrine, so can we assimilate culture without becoming beholden to behaviour or belonging. Is anything cultural so sacred that it cannot be viewed with detachment to question it? Even if something we see or hear is completely true and accurate, we still need to see it from our own perspective to realise it. And with a sense of detachment from our beliefs we remain more open to challenging and changing them. Culture is an integral part of life, yet we do have some control over our relationship with it.

Culture can also be defining, and thus confining, assuming and demanding. This is particularly important if you consider that our ego-identities are simply facades, not really existent except in our minds; they are not who we truly are (not that who we are is something that can actually be 'known' in the sense of understood or articulated with thought). Culture contributes to fabricating our ego-identities which can lead us further and further from ourselves. Have you

ever observed how people can become so caught up in their status, pretensions and supposed identities that it appears obvious they're not being themselves? Notice how this tends to happen with age and cumulative exposure to culture? This is why I try not to identify as anything. I cannot be defined, and anything that tries to - constrains my ability to express myself. We are happier the more we experience and express our true selves, which entails transcending culture as much as we can. Ironically, a culture of 'safer spaces' can help us to.

Safer spaces naturally transcends culture because it's intrinsically about our personal growth. As we open up and become more able to express ourselves we instinctively seek freedom from things that oppress us; whether that's our own thoughts, others' behaviour or some cultural aspect of our environment. It's an introspective journey of questioning not only what we do, but why we do it; naturally interrogating cultural influence. And as we gain a more autonomous perspective towards culture and develop our detachment from it, we also recognise a culture of safer spaces etiquette, policies and structures. These forms still exist but as a means, not an end. Safer spaces isn't really about these things anyway - it's about feeling safer, expressing ourselves and growing; it's about *being* safer together. Ever heard of the expression 'if you love something set it free'? We can love culture. While we're at it, let's love safer spaces and ourselves.

Safer spaces in the future

Clearly the spaces in all sorts of places can be a lot safer, as can ASEN spaces. So how can we facilitate this? While this is a question for ASEN discussions about safer spaces, I'd like to take the opportunity to suggest a few possibilities to add to the brew...

* SoS is an event where a lot of people come into contact with ASEN, often for the first time, yet it's where safer spaces can seem the most in the background. Perhaps an all-inclusive introductory workshop on safer spaces to begin the gathering would be helpful. This could include breaking off into smaller groups to discuss safer spaces and its policy. It would be vital to emphasise that while not compulsory, everyone's participation in the 'opening' (aptly so) workshop is important to create a safer space for the whole gathering.

* For continuity of energy for the growth of safer spaces;

- State networks could commit to regular workshops (even just once a year) to familiarise/re-familiarise people with safer spaces.
- An anonymous suggestion box at gatherings could facilitate thought, discussion and the evolution of safer spaces policy and practice.
- We could even create an office bearer role for safer spaces (alongside the administrative, income and finance etc roles).

Of course, what we can do is constrained by available energy. However, we all have the capacity to live safer spaces ourselves. We can be respectful, responsible, sensitive and generous. Safer spaces isn't something that you learn and so understand - it's a lifelong commitment to nurturing yourself, to giving and sharing with others.

Just the attempt to create a safer space... as a refuge for the soul, to nurture, encourage, enrich and empower... a balm, a beacon, brief in time yet permanent in the experience of our minds to light the way of our lives... is a beautiful, beautiful thing.

Summary & conclusion

This is what I've told you: We can be safer, we can challenge ourselves, we can grow, we can love culture, we can love safer spaces and we can love ourselves.

After all, the phrase 'safer spaces' is just an umbrella slogan that describes natural things. Safer spaces is instinctive and intuitive. Safer spaces is evolutionary rather than revolutionary. Safer spaces is where it's at. Where that is and where that's going is up to us.

Via Rob
robcatomore@gmail.com

ASEN climate update

At the ASEN training camp in January 2010, Sally and Alex and I committed to helping to coordinate the clean energy on campus campaign with the goal of getting clean energy purchased or produced by all the universities where ASEN is active. This campaign has, in the past, been fairly successful, particularly in the major metropolitan universities of New South Wales and Victoria. At some universities (like Wollongong), crew are continuing to work on convincing the university to commit to cleaner sources of power.

These institutions are a vital place for the switch to be made. As creators of culture, the opportunity for universities to lead by example is huge. And as the hub of research and development, the sector can, with investment and support, develop some real solutions. Finally, universities just use a whole bunch of power. High-tech facilities like the synchrotron at Monash make universities some of the highest single users of coal power in Australia.

So after training camp we tried to make contact with crew around the country to see where everyone was at. At the same time, we began work on compiling a bunch of resources that would be useful for folks starting the campaign, based mostly on work done at universities where some change had been made. But reaching out, we found that few people had time or energy for clean power campaigning. And the resource pack didn't seem to suit anybody's needs either, so as the months went by, energy petered out of the campaign. The coal crew, the other component of the climate stream will, I think, have a different story to tell.

Having tried to coordinate the campaign, the sense I get is that nobody is prioritising on-campus consumption. The thing is, when we're planning a campaign, we need to be clearer about what our priorities are. What can we commit to? What can we realistically contribute as one group within a much larger movement? What are our weaknesses, what our strengths?

Personally, I think it was a mistake for ASEN to get caught up in on-campus consumption rather than engaging in broader conversations. I think we should be focussed on radicalising the debate, because other groups better suited to lobbying uni administrations (like AYCC) can do the clean energy campaigning – and because what's missing from the movement in Australia is any sort of revolutionary perspective on the potential co-benefits of climate change adaptation and mitigation.

Either way, I'm looking forward to seeing what comes out of the next round of planning at training camp 2011.

**For more information on training camp
2011 and other campaigns, visit
www.asen.org.au**

Anarchy by a.

Pronunciation: /'anəki/
noun

1. a state of disorder due to absence or non-recognition of authority or other controlling systems: *he must ensure public order in a country threatened with anarchy*
2. absence of government and absolute freedom of the individual, regarded as a political ideal

Anarchism, as an individualist philosophy, is one of the most personally liberating ideologies around, allowing people to conceptualise themselves as autonomous beings, separate from the law, the state, and social norms, so they can live out their true desires and ways of being.* Sadly, anarchism has been sensationalised by the media and spat out as an image of non-descript people wearing black hoodies and gasmasks in the heat of a riot against the police. As if all anarchists believe in violence (some do for tactical reasons, some don't for equally valid tactical reasons), and as if they only exist in the realm of protest (some do, some don't).

"Be exactly what you want to be, do what you want to do...I am me, and she is she. But you're the only you. No one else has got your eyes, can see the things you see. It's up to you to change your life and my life's up to me." – Jeffrey Lewis

When political protests end in violence (some do, most don't), the story in the newspapers is focused on the bloody struggle, rather than the ideology behind the struggle; no one chooses to publish their underlying beliefs; the story is about the punches thrown, and will almost always be spun to sound like the protestors started it (sometimes they do, mostly the police start it).

Maybe, just maybe, the mainstream newspapers choose not to publish anarchist ideas because the papers don't want anarchism to come across as a universal idea that you might relate to. Hey, these people are angry because corporations are controlling more and more of our lives, privatising our food and water and leaving the poorest poor and keeping the rich wealthy.

The truth is, if you broke it down and were open-minded enough to hear it - you are probably an anarchist. There is more than one way to be an anarchist, it is not a homogenous identity or ideal with no movement within it; there are multiple streams, multiple interpretations and people are free to take what they wish from it.

The underlying philosophy of anarchism is to not be governed as an individual, to be free of outside forces telling you what to do, and instead, have your autonomy; live your life how you, as an individual, want to live it. It's about reclaiming space from the media

whose values do not align with yours. Growing up in Australia we're all influenced by the media and mainstream society; the story of heteronormativity, monogamy, profit-driven, hierarchical, non-consensual structures springs to mind.



*For the purpose of this article, when I speak of anarchy and anarchism, I mean individualist anarchist ideals, rather than delving into the complexities of an anarchist state, which is less relevant to people living in Australia, not because it's not possible, but because I'd be wasting my word limit trying to convince you it is. I highly recommend reading about the Zapatistas Army of National Liberation in Mexico.

*A*s soon as you can separate yourself, conceptually, from the state, the law, society's 'rules' and realise that you are a free individual to live your life how you please, the next step is to act on that. The difficulty is figuring out how you really want to live, deprogramming those 'truths' you're fed from an early age and learning about what works for you.

You can be an anarchist as an all-encompassing identity, or perhaps some of your actions could be described as anarchist, but you might not identify as one. You could accept some laws of the state because they actually make sense, while others you will not abide by, because, let's face it, they're not relevant to your life, or they breach your liberty e.g. stop and search laws currently being imposed in W.A. Anarchists can be total individualists or act collectively, working

towards a common struggle they've agreed on. Ideally, if anarchists get together, they do so with the aim to make positive change, instead of just being 'manarchists'; white men who sit around watching riots, and on occasion, fighting with fascists, but never actually engaging with communities which are working towards safer spaces, abolishing violence against women, and encouraging men to work on their patriarchal shit. Don't wanna pay rent so that some bourgeois business owner can pay off the mortgage and retire early? Don't wanna work 40 hours a week in order to pay off your own property? Don't fancy getting married and making babies who'll go and do the same? The life you make outside of these stories, whatever that may be, is your story, and your life; own it.



"I am a fanatic lover of liberty, considering it as the unique condition under which intelligence, dignity and human happiness can develop and grow; not the purely formal liberty conceded, measured out and regulated by the State, an eternal lie which in reality represents nothing more than the privilege of some founded on the slavery of the rest No, I mean the only kind of liberty that is worthy of the name, liberty that consists in the full development of all the material, intellectual and moral powers that are latent in each person; liberty that recognizes no restrictions other than those determined by the laws of our own individual nature." - Mikhail Bakunin

Are we all climate deniers?

Original article by Clive Hamilton can be found online at www.renewableenergyworld.com/renewable/blog/post/2010/05/are-we-all-climate-deniers?cmpid=rss

Editors note: We were taken by the no-nonsense perspective of Clive Hamilton's article 'Are we all climate deniers?' but thought we could make it more relevant to where we think the climate movement should go. The original article has been altered slightly in this issue by the Germinate editors. You know how DJs sample other artists? It's kinda like that.

We also just want to put it out there that we love you and don't want you to burnout, and maybe it's all a hoax, so make sure you work in ways that please you and stay optimistic :)

It's easy to jeer at the climate deniers for their obtuseness and fantastic theories.

But aren't we all, by one means or another, denying the reality of a warming world?

Even a very optimistic set of assumptions about when global emissions will reach a peak and the rate at which they will then decline will see the conditions of life on Earth wholly transformed, ecosystems remade, and humans will be retreating to the poles, with those already occupying the higher latitudes resisting the influx. All this will occur within the life-times of children born today.

Yet almost everyone, even those very concerned about warming, is going about daily life as though the future will be a gradually improving version of the present.

In Requiem for a Species I describe the "maladaptive coping strategies" we all use to avoid facing up to the facts of climate change or to blunt the emotional force of what the scientists are telling us. We reinterpret the threat, engage in pleasure-seeking, shift blame and cling to unfounded hopes.

One of the more pervasive forms of avoidance is the belief that engaging in individual actions, like changing one's light-bulbs, is an effective response. Some green groups base their strategy explicitly on this delusion—"Ten things you can do to save the planet"—unaware that they are reinforcing the individualistic thinking and political passivity that consumerism has so diligently cultivated.

The transformation of citizens into consumers is a strategy beloved of the big polluters and reluctant governments, as it shifts responsibility from their shoulders onto those of "all of us".

**“We cannot
consume our
way out of the
climate crisis**

But we cannot consume our way out of the climate crisis. Yet here we come up against a democratic system corrupted by professionalisation, careerism, spin and money politics.

Even if you accept that it is a system that can be recaptured, cleaned out and reinvigorated. At the best of times, system changes like that take many years, years the climate scientists say we do not have. So we need a circuit breaker. In Requiem I argue that civil disobedience is necessary and justified. Will it work? Who knows. Or we may need to go even further, taking the fight directly to the polluters and shutting them down for good.

STUDENTS AGAINST WAR

Occupation at Wollongong Uni By Christian Darby

On the 20th of October last year twelve students strolled into the University of Wollongong Defence Materials Technology Centre (DMTC) and occupied it for two hours, forcing all of the centre's staff to vacate their offices and bringing its research to a complete halt for most of the day.

Defence Materials Technology Centre

Funded to the tune of \$85 million over seven years and operating across five universities (Melbourne, Queensland, RMIT, Swinburne and Wollongong), the DMTC is a military research centre which is conducting metal and materials research to help design weapons for Australian and US military forces, including the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter and the Bushmaster Armoured Personnel Carrier. It works by allowing corporations (including the world's biggest arms dealer, BAE Systems) to contribute a sum of money, have the research performed for them by the relevant universities, and then benefit exclusively from the intellectual property that comes about as a result. Known as a Defence Future Capability Technology Centre (DFCTC), the DMTC is the first of its kind amongst Australian universities, and depending on its success DFCTCs may be expanded so that most or even all universities will in future be involved in carrying out large-scale military research projects.

Students Against War collective

It didn't take much to convince activists in Wollongong that this centre was a fairly undesirable addition to our campus – or to any campus or, really – and almost as soon as we stumbled upon the DMTC in late 2009, preparations got under way to make life very difficult for the university if it continued to participate in the program.

Over the course of two semesters our new anti-war collective threw itself into frenetic activity against the DMTC, growing from two active members to about ten, involving many people in activism for the first time ever, distributing many thousands of leaflets and hundreds of posters and bringing the university's war research into the public domain, pulling off several extremely well-attended events and actions, and appearing in well over a dozen TV, radio and newspaper items.

Morale at the end of the year seemed fairly high and so, with about three weeks of classes left, we decided to cap off 2010 with a bang, and bring the war research to a halt altogether.





After several meetings in which we discussed the efficacy of direct action, worked out the rough details of what our occupation would look like, and devised a plan for dealing with the media, we settled on a day for the action and then, the afternoon before, sent out a press release with the vague promise of a "spectacular protest action" the next day at the university. Literally minutes after this went out we started to receive calls from the media and, as already discussed, we simply gave them a place and a time to meet us and told them they'd have to wait and see what happened.

On day of the action we formed up on the lawns outside the Engineering Faculty building where the research is being carried out, met and chatted to the journalists we'd invited along, took several lengthy interviews on radio, jammed on our musical instruments for a while, and got ready to go.

Completely unbeknown to us, the university administration had been contacted by the media for comment that morning and, ascertaining that we were planning some sort of action, had been thrown into a wild state of paranoia and placed several large buildings on the opposite side of campus in complete

"WELL, IF YOU INSIST ON STAYING, YOU'RE INTERRUPTING MY WORK."

"THAT'S THE IDEA."

lock down, with dozens of security guards sealing all entrances and roaming around refusing anybody permission to enter.

Blissfully unaware of this mayhem at the other end of the uni, we waited for everyone to finally assemble and then strolled down the corridors of the Engineering Building, found the DMTC with its doors conveniently wide open, and simply walked in. We informed the one staff member in the office that he probably wasn't going to be doing much more work, and then he left. Next door was the office of Professor John Norrish, a board member of the federal DMTC program, so we occupied that too. Then Norrish arrived and we had a brief, fairly pleasant chat with him, until he grasped what was actually happening ("Well, if you insist on staying you're interrupting my work" – "That's the idea") and left too. The DMTC was ours.

We occupied the offices completely unhindered for two hours. We stuck up dozens of posters, blasted away on musical instruments, chatted, laughed, sat around, read, and tried in vain to have a conversation with some of the campus security guards sent to supervise us (an endeavour possibly undermined by us subjecting them to hideously discordant flute music at point blank range earlier on).

We had expected the university to immediately call in police to evict us, but this never happened, the spectacular PR disaster that had befallen the university when they called in riot police at 3am to smash a 2004 occupation possibly still fresh in the administration's mind. And so, at about 3pm, feeling that our point had been made and unwilling at this stage of the campaign to stay overnight, we marched out triumphantly, performed a lap round part of the campus, and went off, as one should after any good occupation, to the bar.

Occupying the DMTC was an extremely effective and enjoyable way to end the year. We finished up in exceedingly high spirits and looking forward to a new year of action. Not only was our morale extremely high, we'd gained enormous confidence in our own ability to bring about change by ourselves, without having to meekly persuade decision-makers to listen to us or "representatives" to act on our behalf. Furthermore, militant and effective direct action tactics had been legitimised in many new activists' eyes and in the activist scene at the uni more broadly, setting the standard for future actions.



The participation of several people from other groups in the occupation like our campus' Enviro Collective and the Save UOW Music group was an encouraging sign of the potential for building a much larger campaign next year. Students (and the media, in their reports on the action) made the connection between the university's determination to eliminate its music course, slash arts subjects and refuse to buy 100% renewable energy because of apparent lack of funds, and its ability to somehow simultaneously come across tens of millions of dollars to design components for military hardware.

Over 3,000 students have signed a petition calling on the university to buy 100% renewable energy, and almost 800 belong to Save UOW Music, so if we can manage to combine with activists from these groups and successfully link the so far separate issues and campaigns, we might just have the potential to create a movement large enough to seriously challenge the administration. Even better would be if we could link up with concerned students at the other campuses that play host to the DMTC (Queensland, Melbourne, RMIT and Swinburne) and mount a cross-campus campaign to nip the impending militarisation of Australian universities in the bud.

*So go on, occupy a building at your uni today
- it's easier than you think!*

For more info about Wollongong Students Against War or to get in touch with us visit www.studentsagainstawar.wordpress.com

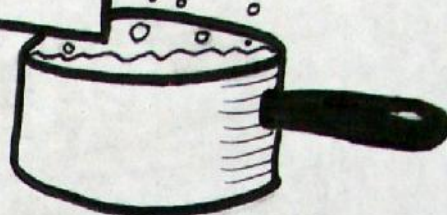
www.studentsagainstawar.wordpress.com

①



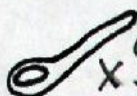
1 cup o' water

get it boilin'...



②

3 table spoons
of white wheat
flour



x3



+



enough cold water to
make a pour-able mixture

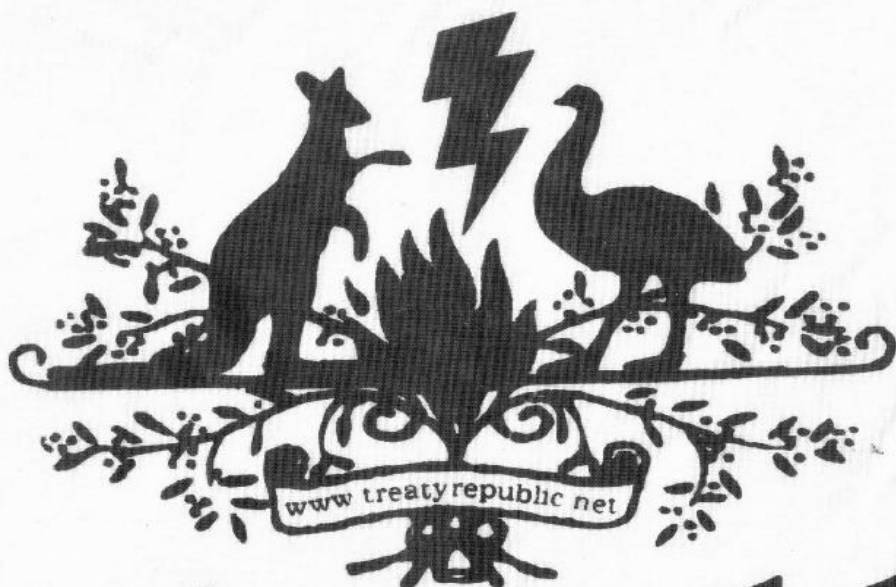
③ slowly add to
the pot, stirring
constantly



④ let it boil til it thickens up,
add a tablespoon of
sugar then let it cool...



Voila! you got y'self
some wheatpaste!



Stolenwealth!

GENOCIDE TO END. SOVEREIGNTY ACKNOWLEDGED. TREATY TO BE MADE.

PHOTOCOPY → ENLARGE → WHEATPASTE!



Population and Climate Change

By Friends of the Earth Sydney Collective

Contact us on foesydney@gmail.com

In recent months, calls for population control policies have come to the fore in discussions about how best to tackle climate change. *We are troubled by the risks associated with calling for population control in the name of climate change.* Such demands can justify the undermining of women's reproductive rights and fuel racist migration and border control agendas.

Already, we can see this playing out in federal politics. One of the first actions of Prime Minister Gillard was to utilise the rhetoric of "sustainability" as a rationale for dumping Rudd's "Big Australia" policy.¹ This clever use of our environmental concerns has been labelled by many as classic "dog whistle politics"; Gillard has appealed to the left with the rhetoric of sustainability whilst subtly placating the right with compromises of reduced immigration and suggestions of tougher border control policies. Whilst the "Big Australia" policy was far from perfect, we cannot let politicians and other power holders co-opt our concerns about sustainability and climate change to push through population policies that are racist and sexist.



As a movement, we should reject population control policies, and instead fight for solutions to climate change that are not only effective, but also just for the global community.

Population control will not solve climate change

A compelling reason to rethink our calls for population control is the fact that population size, growth and movement is not the cause of climate change. Climate change is a complex global issue driven by over-consumption, unbridled economic growth and our dependence on fossil fuels, especially coal. Restricting the flow of people into Australia does not address any of these global root causes of climate change.

Right now, Australia is burning more coal, building more coal-fired power stations, and increasing its export capacity to export even more coal more than ever before. Australia's coal industry is the single biggest carbon emitter in Australia, not to mention the industries' impact on scarce water resources and its effects on the health of communities across Australia and internationally. Therefore, even the most draconian population control policies will not stop dangerous climate change because they won't stop the coal industry.

So, instead of focusing on controlling the movement of people, we should be targeting governments and corporations, to fight for change that addresses these root causes of climate change.

We can't blame migrants for Australia's over-consumption

Many climate groups who call for a sustainable population rely on the fact that when migrants come to Australia they often adopt Australia's carbon-intensive lifestyles, which increases domestic emissions. We suggest that this is simplistic and dangerous argument. To begin with, by merely restricting the movement of people into Australia we do nothing to stop unsustainable levels of consumption by Australians that cause environmental damage.

But more importantly, we must recognise that our way of living in Australia, which is a rich so-called "first world" nation, has created the conditions where people want to escape poverty, labour exploitation and environmental problems in poorer "third world" nations by migrating. Yet it is this very process of "first

world” development that has caused the climate crisis. We cannot then turn our backs on the very people that we have exploited to build our carbon intensive lifestyles; we must recognise our carbon debt and act in global solidarity to stop the global problem of climate change.

As a huge emitter both historically and presently, Australia has an enormous ecological debt to pay. By reducing migration we’re penalising migrants for a problem that Australians have caused. To challenge over-consumption and so-cial inequity, we must target the social structures that are at the root of the problem, not the individuals who are victimised by them.

Furthermore, often arguments for population control overlook the fact that Australia is a colonised nation. The urge to protect “our” food and water reserves, fails to recognise that we are colonisers. We must remember that we are part of a culture that has and continues to disrespect Indigenous peoples and their lands and waters. We cannot demand population control – or any action in the name of climate change– that does not provide space for traditional owners to make decisions about their lives, lands and waters.

Because of climate change there is even more imperative to confront over-consumption and share the world’s resources. What we need to talk about is how to share these resources equi-tably and sustainably.

Demands for population control are feeding racist border control agendas

A side effect of the focus on population, some-times intentional sometimes accidental, is the use of the environmental concerns to push racist agendas. At times, right wing groups have used arguments about environmental issues to benefit anti-immigration agendas (such as in July 2009, when the Australia First Party announced that it would

contest the federal election on an anti-immigration platform for the benefit for the environment and social cohesion).² Although such groups may pay lip service to arguments about sustainability, their aim is to persecute people from different cultural backgrounds. When we, as a movement, talk about limiting population growth, we feed these racist agendas.

Population control policies may open the door for sexist policies

Blaming climate change on population growth helps to make way for the re-emergence and intensification of top-down population policies, which are deeply disrespectful of women, particularly women of colour and their children.

Just one example of this is the PopOffsets project, launched by the UK-based Optimum Population Trust. The project enables predominantly white people in minority (rich) nations to continue to over-consume whilst absolving their climate conscience by paying an organisation to ensure predominantly non-white women from majority (poorer) nations access family planning centres and have fewer children.³ This project effectively pushes the responsibility of solving climate change onto women in the majority world and makes women into an object of control - all in the name of climate change. As a movement, we cannot support such policies. The risks for justice are just too great.



A climate justice approach to population and climate change

We can envision a world with a safe climate that does not invoke racist and potentially sexist calls for population control. Whilst the population size, growth and movement of any community undoubtedly impacts on the relationship between people and the environment, population change does not necessarily mean climate change.

In Australia, many communities are already feeling the pressure from the lack of affordable housing, scarce water reserves, and aging public transport and infrastructure. These are real issues, but we cannot blame migrants for these problems. Nor can we ignore the history of colonisation in this continent, and Australia's ecological debt as a wealthy carbon-hungry nation. Instead, we can help build a global climate justice movement to confront the root causes of environmental destruction and work together to share our resources equitably and collectively so that our world is safe for all people, no matter where we live.

- [1] Bonny Symons-Brown, "Gillard Rejects Rudd's 'Big Australia'", SMH Online, <<http://news.smh.com.au/breaking-news-national/gillard-rejects-rudds-big-australia-20100627-zbov.html>>
[2] Jensen, Erik 2009, 'Right-wing genie out of the bottle', Sydney Morning Herald, 9 July, p 5.
[3] <http://www.optimumpopulation.org/releases/opt.release3dec09.html>

Taking action in 2011

The Federal Government's 'Sustainable Population Strategy for Australia' Issues Paper was recently released and available here: <http://bit.ly/ff26XU> and open for comment until March 1, 2011.

Right-wing environmentalists are mobilising within climate and environment groups to call for huge cuts to migration to Australia. Big business are pushing their agenda for control of migration, with evermore temporary (not permanent) 'business-sponsored' migration.

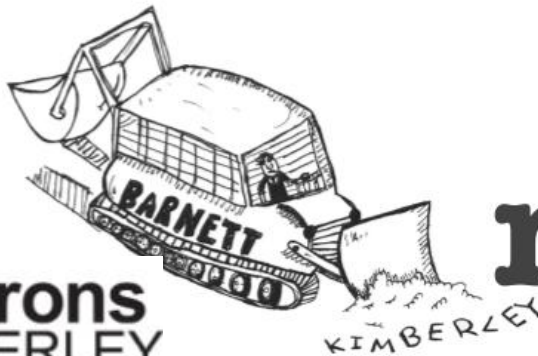
During policy discussions at the first *Climate Summit* of hundreds of grassroots community groups in Canberra in 2009, only two proposals were rejected outright – one of which called to set 'population [reduction] targets'. The grassroots climate movement is relatively new, but is prepared to consider complexities. We can raise questions in social movements on class, racism, borders and climate – we need to.



We are the maggots feasting
on the rotting carcass of
society. We are the maggots
making the fertiliser for a
new generation of tall trees
and shrubberies, out of the
ashes of hierarchical society.
We are the maggots, we are
freedom, we are renewal.

Liquid Natural Gas: Brought to you by the producers of Coal

*We have been thinking for a while: "Isn't it high time someone exposes LNG to be just another fossil fuel that is just about as bad as coal" Then Colin Barnett steam rolls the Kimberly Gas hub development and no-one can ignore the issue any longer. Many east-coast environment groups have been calling for LNG to be some kind of transition fuel to renewable energy... Well I hope those said groups take note of the work being done by Environment Kimberly on LNG. In their recent bulletin *Gasbag* #8 they published a good description of the myths around LNG. We have conveniently reprinted it wholesale here, with this obnoxious introduction. For more information about EK go to www.environskimberley.org.au Keep up the good work EK!*



busting myths ABOUT LNG

Myth: LNG is a clean fuel.

Natural gas is a fossil fuel containing somewhat less carbon than oil or coal. However, compressing natural gas to liquid form (LNG) is carbon intensive. Huge volumes of carbon dioxide and methane are emitted during extraction and processing. Oil, known as condensate, is always extracted with gas. It is estimated that LNG produces at least 70% of the carbon emissions of brown coal (the worst emitter).

Myth: LNG is a transition fuel, taking us from coal and oil to renewable energy.

Rot. Even as we are discussing the proposed gas refinery for our coast, Rey Resources and other companies are proposing to mine thermal coal in vast, open-cut mines in the west Kimberley. There is a worldwide increase in the demand for coal, especially from China and India. Australia is the world's biggest producer of coal. We are selling all we have of everything, and to hell with the future.

Myth: It will take too long for renewable energy to meet our needs.

Not so. Researchers at the University of Melbourne and the Energy Research Institute have shown that, with political will and significant business investment, we could meet 100% of our stationary energy needs through renewable resources — mainly concentrated solar and wind power — by 2020. The Zero Carbon Australia Stationary Energy Plan Synopsis can be found on: http://media.beyondzeroemissions.org/ZCAStationary_Energy_Synopsis_20June10.pdf

Myth: Indigenous young people will get jobs at a gas hub at James Price Point.

What jobs? LNG refineries employ highly skilled and experienced workers, most of whom will fly in and fly out, as Mr Barnett himself has stated.

Industrialising the Kimberley: pipedream or nightmare?

WA Premier Colin Barnett came into office with a mission to turn the Kimberley into the next Pilbara, a new mining province in one of the world's most intact and spectacular natural areas. BUT, it is a place that has captured the hearts and imaginations of people from all over the world.

The Kimberley has free-flowing rivers and a pristine coastline, and contains part of the world's largest intact savannahs. Kimberley rainforests were first documented in the 1960s and botanical expeditions still return with new species of plants. New frog species were identified last year. Australia's only endemic dolphin, the snubfin, previously thought to be a population of the irrawaddy dolphin of South-east Asia, has been declared a separate species. The largest population lives in Roebuck Bay, Broome. The world's largest humpback whale population, back from the brink of extinction, gives birth in the warm, clear waters between Broome and Camden Sound.

Kimberley society has Indigenous roots. People from around the globe come to learn about the world's oldest living culture, and the Dampier Peninsula has the highest concentration of Indigenous businesses in the country. Tourism here depends on intact ecosystems and marine environments.

Premier Barnett's industrial port and gas processing plant would require the clearing of at least 25km² of woodland and monsoon vine thicket (a rare type of rainforest)

as well as the blasting and dredging of 21 million tonnes of reef and seabed in a Humpback Whale calving area.

The heavy industry would require 6,000 fly-in, fly-out construction workers and a permanent workforce of 600. Supertankers would dock and load LNG for export to Asia 1500 times a year. A supply base would be built for the oil and gas industry at James Price Point — a port facility in the whale calving area.

Bringing a huge energy source to shore in the Kimberley would allow the development of other industries. A report in 2005 by the WA Department of Industry and Resources outlines development scenarios including bauxite mining on the Mitchell Plateau, an alumina refinery and a lead/zinc smelter near Broome. A vast coal province is being touted in the Fitzroy Valley, along with a deposit of uranium.

All this fits into the Premier's vision of industrialisation. Mining companies are ready to go, confident of gaining approval to mine in even the most sensitive areas. Exploration for copper is about to begin at Horizontal Falls, one of the great tourism drawcards.

1,500 people marched in opposition to the industrialisation of the Kimberley in a community rally in Broome recently. In a town of 15,000 like this is the equivalent of a hundred thousand marching through Perth or even more in Melbourne or Sydney.

As more awareness is raised and facts come to light through the work of non-government organisations and community activists sifting through the State Government's drip feeding of selected information, the more opposition there is to a proposal that would change the Kimberley and Broome forever.

Traditional Owners

The land proposed for the gas hub is zoned as unallocated crown land and has been subject to a native title claim for many years. The native claimants were split in their views on the proposal. Despite the split the Kimberley Land Council negotiated an in-principle agreement with Woodside and the State Government on behalf of Traditional Owners for a benefits package if the proposal went ahead. The agreement required an Indigenous Land Use Agreement (ILUA) to be signed by June 30, 2010. The native title claim is now split into two. This means that native title could take years to resolve and that an ILUA can no longer be signed as there is no agreement on whose land the proposal is.

The Premier, Colin Barnett, has compulsorily acquired the land in a move described by Aboriginal academic Mick Dodson, as an act of colonialism and theft.

A Fly In Fly Out Nightmare

Woodside's latest information states that 6,000 construction and 600 permanent workers would be expected for the project, they have also stated that the workers would be predominantly fly-in-fly-out. This kind of experience in Port Hedland has led to:

- astronomical rents (\$2,000/week) and house prices,
- an acute housing shortage, oppressive working and living conditions,
- lack of services such as health care, child care and schools,
- mining companies and contractors have bought up hotels, caravan parks and cheaper housing to accommodate their fly-in, fly-out workforces,
- for anyone who is a nurse, teacher, child-care worker or sales assistant, the rents are even less affordable.

The WA Government continues to pour millions of dollars into this project instead of investing in sustainable industries like eco tourism, cultural tourism, bush foods and ranger programmes.

The Kimberley is one of the least impacted areas on earth and is comparable to the Amazon Rainforests, Antarctica and Boreal forests of Alaska and Canada. With so few wild places remaining, a responsible government would ensure that it continues to be so.



As many of you are aware, Woodside has recently come into our local community with offers of money for community groups and an attempt to win people over by claiming that there is a large amount of misinformation circulating about the proposal. If you get the chance, you could ask Woodside about these concerning aspects of the proposal. I'm sure they would be happy to answer questions such as:

1. Is it true that there would be massive amounts of cancer causing chemicals released from the gas refineries?
2. Is it possible that these chemicals could be blown over the Peninsula and possibly even land in Broome?
3. How much carbon dioxide will be released into the atmosphere through this project and what are you going to do about it?
4. How many ship movements would take place every year at a James Price Point industrial port?
5. Analysts say you could go to the Pilbara, why don't you go there?
6. What have you done for the Pilbara community since you have been there?

Ring the local Woodside office on (08) 9194 3903 or email them companyInfo@woodside.com.au please ask for a response in writing and forward to us.



Save the Nature of the Kimberley

**environs
KIMBERLEY
INC**

Environs Kimberley (EK) is an environmental non-government organisation based in Broome that has been campaigning to "Save the Nature of the Kimberley" since its inception in 1996 due to the threat of the damming of the Fitzroy River. For more details and to become a member and donate go to

www.environskimberley.org.au or ring on (08) 9192 1922.

A year in WA forests

Over the year I have visited forests of all kinds. Black point is one of them, at our camp spot we found a large huntsman spider. It is probably one of the largest species in Australia. At the beach we found a large fish carcass, it was the scariest looking fish I had ever seen. It had a horn sticking out of its forehead. Then we ventured into the sand dunes, there we discovered some feral cat paw prints.

When I am in other forests I look at the trees and shrubs, the largest tree I have ever seen is the king jarrah tree there was a large hollow at the base of the tree, inside where lots of small skinks. A forest is something I can't live without; whenever I am adventuring in the forest I am always alert for strange new sounds.

I think children should be able to take part in actions as well as adults. Kids should also have a say in what happens to our forests too.

There has been lots of action in WA over the last year. Here are a few brief things.

- In January Jarrahdale camp was set up to save Mundlimup forest;
- There was a climate camp in Collie last November;
- There have been five actions at SIMCOA (which burns jarrah wood to make silicone) and counting;
- A meeting was held at Bridgetown community hall after BRL (bauxite resources limited) proposal to strip mine 2.8 million Ha. from Moora to Manjimup;
- There is talk of the possibility of ending jarrah logging;
- Eastern jarrah woodlands have been protected but more coups' added to the south west, swan and warren regions;
- Chester forest has a two year moratorium;
- Negotiations to end native land clearing coming up to the 2013 RFA;
- There has been a win for Dardanup forest against FPC and DEC; and
- Acadia forest campaign under way 'SAVE THE QUOKKA'.

By Sage Cody

12 years old



- Why were all the Germinates Vandalised? -

Dear Germy Readers,

So you might've noticed a few pages in your last copy of Germinate (Winter 2010) had been scribbled on... this is no one-off, in fact all 1000 copies of the zine were grafted by a busy little crew at SOB. This might seem like a lot of work, and a bit of a bizarre thing to do, but let us explain...

With the time crunch and stress at the end of the editing process, some of the editors didn't follow process and seek consent from the author for the way they'd laid-out and commented on the article "Jack & Prison". Through not following good editorial process, we took power away from the author and subject (Jack) of the article. For this we sincerely apologise. The position of editor does entail power and exercising that power fairly and democratically is what we aspire to. Sorry for not realising that aspiration.

The issue is still unresolved. Questions of politics, editorial privilege, accountability and process are all mixed up and difficult to untangle. There is much emotion and deep feelings from everyone involved, however, we don't want these emotions to detract from fair editorial process, rather, they should fuel a debate around the politics involved.

As we found when we sat in the common space at SOB 're-editing' the zines, this difference of opinion is a great opportunity for sparking discussion with people outside of the Germinate crew, which unfortunately wasn't continued outside of SOB. This is why we're opening it up as a key discussion on the Germinate blog to really give it the space and open discussion it deserves - so head along to the blog to read perspectives from the author, editors, and readers like ya self :)

You can find the blog here: www.asen.org/publications/germinate

Tasmania's Southern Forests - a Campaign Update

It has been an exciting few months for Still Wild Still Threatened (SWST) and the Huon Valley Environment Centre (the HVEC) as negotiations continued between ENGOs and the logging industry about the future of Tassie's forests. In October this year, major logging industry and environmental groups signed a set of principles that chart a new future for Tasmania's logging industry. The Agreement includes a commitment to protect identified High Conservation Value (HCV) forests and phase out native forest logging. A moratorium on logging in HCV forests, to be implemented over three months, was included in the Agreement. However, without commitment to the process from the feds, the deal could not stick, and Tasmania's irreplaceable old growth forests continue to be smashed daily. On the 15th December, coinciding with SWST's International Day of Action for Tassie's Forests, Federal Environment Minister Tony Burke and Tasmania's Premier David Bartlett announced the long awaited moratorium on Tasmania's High Conservation Value forests. Logging in HCV forests will start to scale down within 30 days, moving towards a complete moratorium by March 15, 2011 (90 days). 15 December 2010, marks the beginning of the process to deliver, within 90 days, a full moratorium on logging in Tasmania's High Conservation Value forests as outlined in the Statement of Principles. However, we will need to remain vigilant on the ground in Tasmania to be sure that no new logging and roading operations are started in High Conservation Value forests. And at a political level lobbying will continue to be crucial as the decisions for formal legislated protection of these forests will lie with the politicians.

Over the past 6 months SWST and the HVEC have been busy campaigning for an immediate moratorium on logging of Tassie's High Conservation Value Forests leading to formal protection. Here is a load of awesome shit we've been up to:

COMMUNITY TA ANN ACTION

In August 30 community members from the Huon valley joined the HVEC in a peaceful action at the Ta Ann mill. 15 people entered the site and staged a sit-in. "We aim to raise awareness of Ta Ann, a Malaysian company who is using southern Tasmania's High Conservation Value forests to make a huge profit and who is unethical in its international deforestation practices. The Lennon Labour Government welcomed Ta Ann into our community despite their appalling record of deforestation and destruction of indigenous people's lands in Sarawak. Ta Ann is connected to a government which has profited from the misery of indigenous peoples and human rights abuses and the devastating impact on the Orang-Utang, pushing its species into extinction", HVEC spokesperson Jenny Weber said.

CAMP FLOZZA

Camp Floz, located deep in the heart of the Upper Florentine Valley, is a long-running blockade aimed at preventing further logging and roading of this pristine old growth tall wet eucalyptus forest. Camp Flozza turned 4 in November, cementing its place as Tasmania's longest running blockade. Winter is a time of dormancy at the Floz, but camp has remained strong, steadfast and ready. The staunch cold weather crew have done a sterling job of keeping the home fires burning, and hosting a variety of activities including flora and fauna surveying and community information days. Now the summer's heating up, and camp is jumping! Come on out.

PICTON ACTION

Documents found in a logging coupe in the Picton Valley showed that, despite Gunns' claims that they would be moving away from logging old growth, most of the timber from this coupe would be heading to Gunns' Triabunna woodchip mill. In September, a conservationist was arrested in a tree-sit action after peacefully stopping, for the whole day, machines smashing through this amazing tract of ancient forest, once part of the Hartz Mountains National Park



HELP COLLECTIVE

(Helping Environmentalists
Lessen the Pain)

Watching places we fight to save being smashed can affect us in myriad negative ways, and in response to this a new collective has been set up by some concerned forest campaigners who recognised the physical and emotional effects of Direct Action (DA) on activists involved in the southern forest campaign. The collective aims to provide free or low-cost health-care services to activists involved in DA in Tassie's Southern Forests, and to create a database of supportive and non-judgemental practitioners and health-care providers who can meet the needs of environmental activists. The HELP collective have already had a great response from health-care practitioners and have co-ordinated workshops on Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and Deep Ecology.

If you would like to be involved in any way with the HELP collective contact

helpcollective@gmail.com.

Also check out their great website

-
<http://helpcollective.wordpress.com> - for more info about the HELP Collective, as well as links to activist trauma support websites, info on PTSD and details of upcoming workshops and events.

INTERNATIONAL DAY OF ACTION FOR TASSIE'S FORESTS

The 15th December was a momentous event for Tassie's forests with 51 actions in 21 countries with one unified message: 'The clock is ticking for Tassie's Forests'. In Tasmania, four activists abseiled off the side of the Spirit of Tasmania, the passenger ship between Tasmania and Victoria, and unfurled a large banner along the side. The International Day of Action coincided with Federal Environment Minister Tony Burke and Tasmanian Premier David Bartlett's announcement of the long awaited moratorium on Tasmania's High Conservation Value forests.

To view a spectacular slideshow of action images from around the world, go to www.nativeforest.net

Summer in Tassie : Upcoming Events

BE MY FLORENTINE CABARET, 11th - 13th February 2011, Camp Florentine

Year 4 of the iconic Be My Florentine Cabaret at Camp Flozza kicks off on the 11th February for an amazing weekend of stellar circus performers, cabaret acts, live bands and DJs plus pedal-powered films, bar and food all in the lush, pristine rainforests of the Florentine Valley. Bring your Cabaret self and all your mates and then stay and hang out at camp afterwards.

ARTIST CALLOUT FOR SUMMER EVENTS

Tasmania's ancient forests are calling out to all dancers, musos, spoken word performers, circus mob, gypsies, burlesque beauties and performers of all persuasions to take part in the Be My Florentine Cabaret and Picnic in the Park. Please email stillwildstillthreatened@gmail.com if you are interested in performing, working, cooking, installing art, etc. at either events.

CAMP FLORENTINE, Florentine Valley

The infamous Camp Flozza, Tasmania's longest running blockade, is still going strong and is easily the best place to spend your summer. Until there is formal protection for Tassie's forests, activists will be sitting tight and holding camp. Come and join us for a day, a week or however long. There are always people driving out to camp from town so call 0406 101752 or email stillwildstillthreatened@gmail.com for a ride. To get to camp head towards New Norfolk, keep the Derwent River on your right, drive through New Norfolk and follow signs to Lake Pedder going through Westerway and Maydena on the Gordon River Road, go past the turn off to the Styx and keep on going. Camp is on this main road on the right...you won't miss it.

Stuff to bring: you're gonna need a tent or swag, warm sleeping bag, wet weather gear (waterproof jacket and shoes), warm clothes, thermals and good socks. We ask for \$5 a day or \$20 a week to put in a kitty for food provided, if you can afford it.

Camp Florentine is an autonomous, working blockade.....all are welcome.

SOUTHERN FORESTS CONVERGENCE, Activist Skillshare: February 19th - 21st, Huon Valley Environment Centre, Huonville

The Southern Forests Convergence is a great opportunity to get to grips with all the vital issues surrounding Tassie's forests. This year events include: Ta Ann campaign strategy, Deep Ecology workshop with John Seed, Direct Action skillshare and a Biomass Strategy session. There will also be speakers, a film night, music and delicious food. This year, the Convergence culminates with a trip out to the stunning Weld Valley.

Please contact the Huon Valley Environment Centre for more info on directions, camping, accommodation etc.

Still Wild Still Threatened is a grassroots community organisation campaigning for the immediate protection of Tasmania's ancient forests and the creation of an equitable and environmentally sustainable forestry industry in Tasmania. Check out our website at www.stillwildstillthreatened.org. You can email us at stillwildstillthreatened@gmail.com. Follow us on facebook, twitter and myspace. Watch our videos on youtube.

The HVEC is a not-for-profit volunteer run organisation in Southern Tasmania which campaigns for the protection of Tasmania's wild places and promotes sustainable living. The environment centre is based in Huonville, about 40km south of Tasmania's capital, Hobart. Check out our website: www.huon.org

THE INTERVENTION IN THE NORTHERN TERRITORY

An Interview with Barbara Shaw - a Kaytetye-Arrente woman from Mt Nancy town camp in Mparntwe/ Alice Springs, which is one of the 73 "prescribed areas" under the Northern Territory Emergency Response (NTER) legislation.

It's now more than 3 years since the NTER measures were imposed on Aboriginal communities in the NT. Have you seen any benefits as a result in that time?

No. The intervention was brought out to address alcohol issues and child abuse but these issues still haven't changed. People are still drinking, there is still violence and anti-social behaviour and children are still being removed by Families and Child Services (FACS) in worst case scenarios.

How has income management/ the BasicsCard affected yourself, your family and friends?

Income management has made it harder to survive. This is also because of the high price of food, especially in remote communities. The BasicsCard just controls people's spending. Before this welfare reform that came in with the Intervention, Aboriginal women in remote communities already had programs, such as the Centrepay Deduction Scheme, running out of their women's centres for the benefit of children and families. These programs worked for our people. It made women stronger and gave them more control in the communities. The welfare reform is costing about \$352 million over the next five years to implement, yet, it is not achieving anything. Income management was supposed to address children's nutrition but Aboriginal children's health problems have actually increased since the Intervention. The Sunrise Health Service which operates in and around Katherine has reported that anaemia rates among Aboriginal children have tripled in the region in the last couple of years. Also, more teenagers are having babies and there's more depression amongst our people.

Has the Strategic Indigenous Housing and Infrastructure Program (SIHIP) resulted in any improvements in your community or in those you have visited?

At the moment there is all this money being spent on SIHIP, but a lot of the money meant for refurbishments is being filtered through administration. Another issue is that people in communities are not being consulted. The houses being built are designed for small families - with two or three bedrooms per house. This is not helping with over-crowding, and it is not realistic - we often have big families staying in our houses. I had three generations living in my house - two families... They focus on building houses designed for a small family as though they want Aboriginal people to live a "normal" life. There are also cases where waste materials have been dumped on ceremonial ground - like they did in the Top End with cement.

What have been the impacts of the blanket bans on alcohol in communities?

With the NTER came the new legislation prohibiting alcohol in Aboriginal town camps. This new alcohol law discriminates against Aboriginal people. If you get caught with possession of alcohol in a public area of Alice Springs, the fine is only a bit over \$100, but if you get caught with possession of alcohol in a community living area or town camp, the fine is over \$1,000. It is very difficult for people to pay fines when they are low income-earners and are income managed. If there were more rehabilitation centres for our people to access, then they would be more occupied doing programs that would help them get back into society.



Many Aboriginal communities are being pressured to sign over their traditional land to the federal government under long-term leases in order to receive housing. What's your experience of this?

The Intervention legislation is a doorway for governments to pressure communities - and especially the township hubs - to enter into leases. Blackmail is being used to force communities to accept leases. We were told that we must either enter into a 40-year lease or there would be compulsory acquisition of the town camp. Other communities are being told that if they don't consent to leases, they won't receive any housing renovations or any infrastructure.



What's the situation like with employment in communities?

There are people on the Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) working long hours - at least 16 hours a week - yet merely receiving a New Start allowance and often having their pay income managed. I recently visited the community in Ti Tree where people are doing the same work as someone on a paid wage, yet they are only getting paid [money by] Centrelink. People are also being told by Centrelink that they have to do an activity to stay on Centrelink, but there aren't many activities available in remote communities because there is no employment.

We need more jobs created in communities and we need employment programs for our people to receive educational training. This will allow us to maintain and develop our communities so that they become more viable and safe for our people - young and old.

What has been the effect of NT Housing's take-over of control of housing in the communities and town camps?

NT Housing has taken over control of all housing in the Northern Territory. This has caused an increase in rent; low income-earners on Centrelink are being forced to pay market rent if their house has been refurbished or re-built. Territory Housing's rule is that they have a benchmark and everyone who receives an income has to meet it. They are also making people pay six weeks bond on top of rent, which would be hard to save up.

How do you feel about the amalgamation of community-run councils into the Shires? Do you think this has had positive or negative impacts?

The problem with the Shires when they were rolled out is that people were confused about the shire councils. The Shires are not providing services for Aboriginal people and have been withholding assets. In the case of MacDonnell Shire, before the Shires, a transport service was provided by council workers and it was really affordable. But now these vehicles that provided transport to community members have been seized. Now people can't go to funerals, ceremonies or sport events, they have to pay up to \$3,000 to use the buses.



What do you think is the overall agenda of the government in imposing the Intervention?

I believe it's assimilation and a land grab, and people from communities will agree with me on saying that. In the townships, it's more focused on development and real estate, and then out in remote communities it's focused on economic development through mining. You can't change the family orientation that Aboriginal people have - they're not going to change. You can't break families up just because you're building a two-bedroom house. It's not about closing the gap - the gap has actually become wider. Kevin Rudd admitted that there were no paedophile rings in remote communities and no rivers of grog flowing into communities. So what the government actually should have done is fund all the existing programs properly - that were successful. Aboriginal community councils. Rather than looking into protection of children, they should have funded these services better. People are happy to have houses fixed, but you didn't need the Intervention to do this.

How has the Intervention constructed the notion of Aboriginal people?

People's attitudes have changed. The Intervention, by suspending the RDA, has opened the door for more racism and opened the door for non-Aboriginal people to treat Aboriginal people worse. Not only here in Alice Springs - in many places in the NT racism has increased. We see it in shops, with the attitudes from checkout people and other customers. We often experience shop assistants following you around to check if you're going to steal something.

You have been actively resisting the Intervention since it was first imposed in 2007. What kind of approaches have you been taking?

Over the last 3 years, I have done speaking tours, I have travelled to New York for the 7th session of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and I have travelled to Geneva to make a CERD complaint. Here in the Northern Territory I have visited many communities and we have formed PAPA - which stands for the Prescribed Area People's Alliance, which helped put statements together for the CERD complaint.

What is the vision you are fighting for?

I am fighting for the reinstatement of the RDA (Racial Discrimination Act) and putting the articles of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples put into practice. The Intervention contravenes over 30 articles in that declaration. It also violates other UN treaties, such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the Convention on the Rights of Women.

What kind of actions do you think are needed by allies/ grass-roots people?

Now people just need to start speaking out about it - whatever stories they know. If the workers know there are problems in their communities, they should talk about it. We need to let the government know that these things exist.



What activist stereotype are you?? Another Germenate this

1 What do you think of revolution?

- I'd do it right now! But the masses don't care enough, or they're too scared.
- We all want to change the world, but you had better change your mind instead. Don't you know it is gonna be all right, all right, all right.
- The capital R Revolution is a myth that can never materialise. revolution is a continuous dialectic evolution of human social relations.
- managing to look good while the city burns down around you

2 Anarchism is...

- i've got the t-shirt, the badge and the hoodie
- chaos man
- The evolution of Bakuninist ideas... the anti-authoritarian answer to Marxism.
- stealing Kerouac from Boarders

3 What are you doing this weekend?

- Bad Day Down gig followed by Cyndi Lauper party.
- a deep ecology retreat facilitated by a movement elder; i hope the organisers created the muesli themselves and supply enough tahini!
- readings, essay writing, regurgitating other people's ideas and a spot of the room-cleaning/facebook-trawling style of procrastinating..
- hours of scouring op-shops for all the retro/vintage fashion that pulls off that 'effortless' look



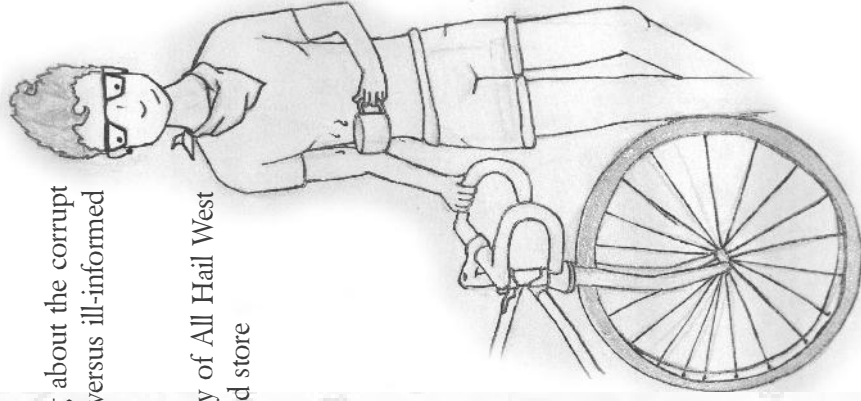
1. Where did you fall in love?

a. when our piercings got caught up in the mosh pit at that zombie-leopard gig

b. our hands brushed during a collaboration on an exquisite piece of eco-art

c. over double-shot espresso arguing about the corrupt short-sightednesses of government versus ill-informed apathetic consumers.

d. when we fought over the last copy of All Hail West Texas at our local independent record store



2. What are your favourite things about the environment?

a. You don't have to shower when you are camping

b. Trees, flowers, love and peace. Oh and bush doofs.

c. I wrote an essay about that once

d. Brunswick street and King street

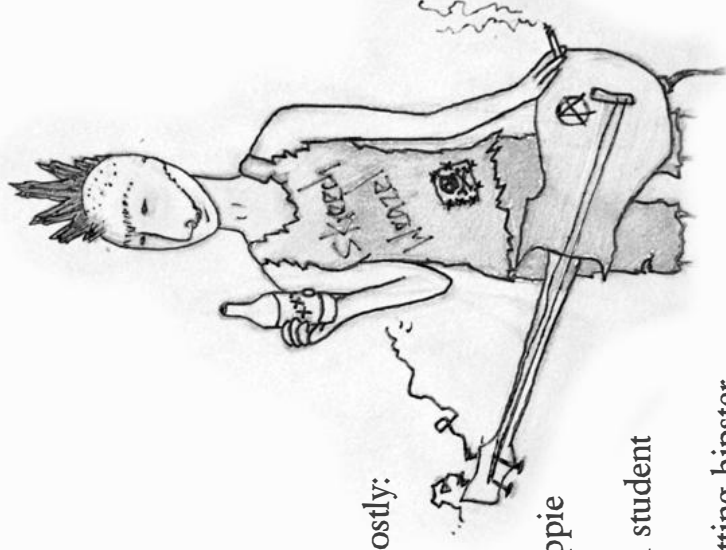
3. Your Ideal Form of Direct action?

a. Fuck Shit Up

b. Locking myself to trees, using my body, centred in love to end the destruction

c. Occupying a building suitable to hold large, never ending meetings about the politics of revolution. Hopefully a building that has amnesty from police.

d. anything where a good folk/political/indie/alternative band will be playing





If you answered mostly:

A you are punk as

B you're a flaky hippie


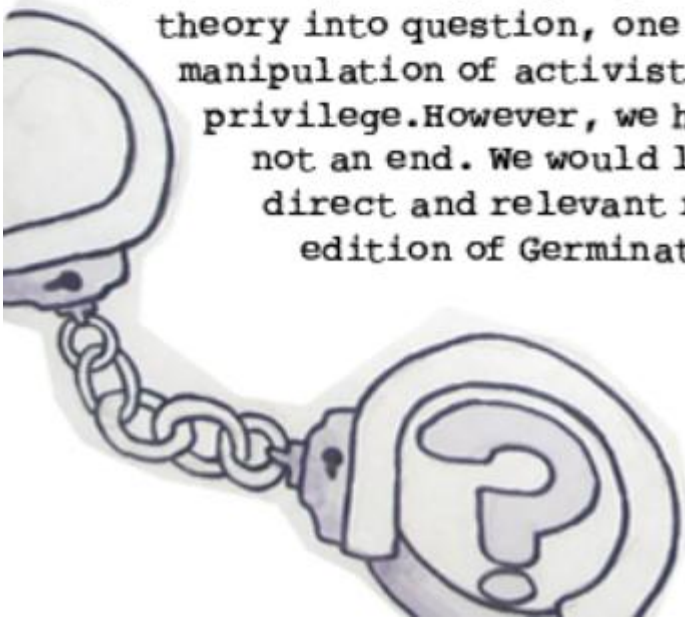
C you are a radical student

D you are trend setting hipster



The Great Non-Violence Debate that wasn't.

If you have been around activism, especially environmental activism or student activism, chances are you have heard the term Non-Violence. But what is non-violence anyway? And why do so many insist upon it, why do others argue passionately against it? We Germinate editors thought it would be nice to see a personal human scaled discussion about non-violence, with detractors and proponents of the theory answering each other's concerns directly and honestly. We wanted to take the debate out of the vitriolic exchange that occurs online and from various barricaded journals. For better or worse, we have failed to deliver. No-one we approached who advocates non-violence responded to our invitations. Instead here are two different perspectives that call non-violent theory into question, one because of it's authoritarian manipulation of activists with less power and privilege. However, we hope this is a beginning, not an end. We would like to see people submit direct and relevant responses for the next edition of Germinate.





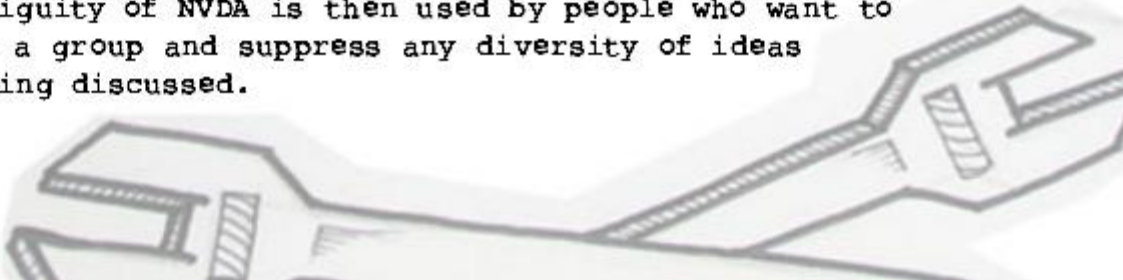
Submission #1

the notion of NVDA and the effect it has on enviro/social justice movements is something i really care about, and an issue which has lead me into many intense and draining conversations over the last couple of years. there are heaps of reasons why i disagree with it, but the way it effects me most directly is when it's used by people who are part of collectives/groups/whatever to control what that group does and cement themselves at the top of an unofficial heirarchy.

'violence' is a loaded term - it's highly emotive and highly subjective, which is an explosive combination. literally every NVDA workshop i've been to has highlighted how everyone has very different notions of what constitutes 'violence', and yet the term 'NVDA' is thrown around like it has a concrete meaning and it is the only valid famework in which to think of action.

whenever i try to bring this up with people who relentlessly stand by NVDA they get incredibly defensive, and immediately steer the conversation towards how such-and-such a tactic is 'irresponsible'. this isn't what i care about so much - sure, create petitions or organise rallies, go for your life. Maybe we can chat about why we think different tactics are effective in another conversation, what i'm talking about here is dogma and domination, so the way you're using your privilege to silence my opinions is really just proving my point. 9 times outta 10 it's someone who's older than me, more connected and experienced in activism, and who doesn't have a problem with patronising and talking over me - reinforcing a blatantly uneven power dynamic and silencing any decent discussion.

this silencing and invalidating has been a massive problem with proponents of NVDA in my experience. rather than entering discussions about tactics which are based on what people are comfortable with and creating an inclusive, consensual and anti-heirarchical space in which to plan actions, i find the majority of activist spaces have a blanket 'NVDA' rule. The ambiguity of NVDA is then used by people who want to control a group and suppress any diversity of ideas from being discussed.





Submission #2

I think within the more progressively radical social movements in Australia, there is a growing division and debate around strategy and tactics to bring social change and more specifically around Non-violence and more militant and/or diverse strategies and tactics.

I believe in liberation. Liberation from social and political hierarchies, from oppression, the state and capitalism. Liberation for my people(s), my identities and all other oppressed peoples and identities. And I believe these need to be accomplished by any means necessary.

Now, one of my biggest problems with non-violent rhetoric is that non-violence as a strategy reinforces everything/a lot I'm against. Because non-violence as a strategy and philosophy conforms to the social-political power structures.

Let's take the climate/environment movement as an example. Non-violence has been the environmental movement's central tactic. From petition signing, rallies held by the most liberal segments of the movement to civil disobedience, blockading and NVDA by the most radical segments of this "movement". It is all about using the Current political structures to achieve any changes. Therefore validating the system and the current structures of oppression. Even the most radical segment and it's NVDA approach is no more than dramatic lobbying, because it still depends on the political system. And I think that one of the biggest problems with the environment movement, is that it hasn't achieved much. Not real (social) change. Because yes, you locked on to a conveyor belt at a power station and stopped some tonnes of greenhouse gasses from being emitted, but reality is that nothing has been achieved, at least noting big term and significant.

Another important thing to think about is how ideological-tactical perspectives play a role in being in solidarity with other struggles. When we are in solidarity with a struggle we need to respect the road/shape the struggle takes. Only the oppressed will lead their own liberation, and if we are allies we need to respect that.





Meaning that if the people are looking for a reform of a policy or a change in the system, and we are in solidarity with them, we need to respect that and continue acting in solidarity. The same needs to apply if it is a militant and/or "violent"* struggle. I get really angry and annoyed at a lot of (mostly white) first world activists who tend to invalidate and criticise struggles that are armed and/or militant in the third world. They don't have a right to criticise our struggles in the third world. They don't understand our reality and got no idea of our situations. This reflects a first world supremacist/colonial mentality. And at the same time I also hate how a lot of people in the first world romanticise our struggles or find them valid just because they are militant, as this invalidates a lot of the work or issues surrounding these struggles.

When it comes to making social change I don't think that it's possible to achieve real radical change or liberation through peaceful means. Reality is not like that, the social and political structures wouldn't allow it. And I don't think that liberation is going to be achieved by armed struggle and militant resistance alone either. But I think that militant action is important to fight the reactionary forces, to destroy a lot of the oppressive social conditions which exist, and to defend the resistance and our communities . They are necessary, because we need to wage social war, a war against oppression and the oppressive structures and political system waged by the oppressed.

But at the end liberation won't come from the gun, it will come from the people. we have to look at revolutionary organisations like the Black Panthers, like the Brown Berets to see that they had what's necessary for a social revolutions. They had the militant side, but also had the most important part, which is the community organising aspect. The BPP-SD was considered Amerikkkas #1 threat, not because they were armed, but because their community programs which were about focusing on what the Black community needed. So in order to liberate ourselves we need focus on our current social problems and solve them autonomously and horizontally.





We need to create the alternatives we want to see. Establish alternative institutions. My point is that we need the armed resistance aspect for the social war, and the social revolution. But most importantly we need to bring the change in our communities and in our own lives. In our lives through challenging oppression within us, oppressive behaviours we perpetuate. and although there is so much to learn from revolutionary organisations all around the world, we also need to learn from their problems and mistakes, like the BPP and the Brown Berets , as they were organisations with sexism and queerphobia. We need to challenge all oppression both in our communities and individually.

Another aspect I really dislike and disagree with non-violent philosophy/rhetoric is the "turn the other cheek" concept. This is something I have a problem with, both politically and personally. Politically because as I said I believe in the self-defence of our communities. And most importantly personally. These is by reflecting and thinking about my everyday life and my experiences in this oppressive society. I'm a third world brown faggot, living in a society that is racist and heterosexist. I experience harassment by the pigs. I experience abuse from people, being called faggot, told to go where am from, called a nigga. I feel unsafe in many situations, like for example once at a refugee rally I was at the front of the rally with a banner and this young racist white yobbo kid came up to us yelling, and then he looked at me and starting pushing me and yelling at me "are you a refugee?". It was a mostly white rally an I don't think no white friends of mine ever realised that I was targeted cuz am brown and I was feeling really shit and unsafe. And this is just some of the things I go through.

This is violence, it's the violence of oppression, and I feel I have the right to self-defence. To bash back, because I'm tired of being passive, the more society pushes me the more I feel like ima blast. And I think these are valid feelings. And it is important to relate everything to our life and experiences.

* I think that when talking about these issues there are different definitions and forms of violence. Not all violence is bad. Or maybe it is (depending on personal beliefs), but it might be necessary. I think that we need to differentiate between the violence of the state/social structures/society/the oppressor with violence that people use to counter these forces. When I talk about this violence of the people I mean self-defence - countering reactionary and oppressive violence, with revolutionary liberatory violence.



food for thought...

So if those articles got ya thinkin', please don't hesitate to send any thoughts/responses our way! You can contact the germ editors by emailing germinate@asen.org.au.

And in the interest of the Great Debate we thought we'd pose a few questions to get those brains whirring...

1.

there are many struggles taking place around the world which use tactics often criticised by non-violent proponents (e.g Zapatistas). how can non-violent advocates act in solidarity with these struggles?

2.

Many people criticise non-violent promoters for twisting history for their own benefit - a prime example being the fall of Slobidan Milosovic in Serbia. While some claim that the 'Non-Violent' (but American military funded) student group 'Otpor' was responsible for overthrowing Milosovic, many remember watching the news as armed Kosovo Albanian militants defended themselves against Serbian police and military (this was then followed by NATO 'intervening' by bombing Belgrade with depleted uranium). Why do non-violence advocates need to rely on blinkered and altered accounts in order to support their theory?

3.

There are countless allegations of 'Non-Violent' activists using violence against other activists to protect corporate and government property and people. Why don't we see Non-Violent activists denouncing violence against activists?

Where's your gender at?

OK, so first's first- I wanna make the difference between 'gender' and 'sex' clear. I'm not a girl, and I'm not a boy either, but I was born with a female anatomy.

the way I see it is that the social construct of binary gender (girl/boy, woman/man) in the anglo-english/australian culture I grew up in is quite separate from our physical sex/anatomy.

Gender involves these categories of personal attributes being assigned to correspond with the two accepted types of anatomy (which, btw, aren't as distinct as people think), but there's no real causal relationship.

So through this social construct (gender) people are oppressed - we're seen as 'deviant', 'weird', 'weak', the 'lesser other' if we express parts of ourselves that don't fit with the gender we have been assigned according to our perceived anatomy. We are coerced to fit into a social gender norm whether we like it or not.

And I don't like it. I don't fit neatly into the tiny box I was assigned. And the more I talk about it, the more I realise that so many of us feel like this.

But this is MASSIVE, gender permeates so much of our social interactions, it's way more than just the odd time you have to choose between Ms/Mr on a form. Where do we start?

Well one thing I've found really useful is looking at the language I use. In english, someone's gendered right from the get-go through pronouns (e.g. she/he), and in the dominant culture people get no choice - in just a split second of looking at someone's body their gender is assumed, and along with it comes so much social baggage, how they should talk, what they like to do, how they should dress, how they should dance; it's already decided before they even get to open their mouth.

But every now and again, someone will ask me (preferably one-on-one)

"What pronoun do you want me to use for you?"

And I can tell them that I prefer gender neutral* pronouns,
and they'll try their best to do that for me, and for once I won't
feel so choked and anxious about being boxed in as a 'she'.
(not that preferring she is a bad thing at all, lots of people like it for
lots of reasons, it just doesn't fit me)

So that's why I wanted to write this for Germinate -
Coz this isn't just about debunking oppressive social constructs;
**it's about consent, community, and respecting each other
and our self-expression.**

*my fave pronoun is ey/em/er. There are lots of binary-alternative
pronouns tho. you can check out this site for more info:
gendeneutralpronoun.wordpress.com



Some further reading:

Tan tum zine
zinelibrary.info/tantum-trans-jewzine

That's revolting
www.mattidabernsteinsycamore.com/thatsrevolting.html

Queer Zine Archive Project
www.qzap.org

GenderFork
genderfork.com

So Wanna tell peeps your preferred pronoun at the moment?
I have one of these posters up on my fridge to remind my mates and
introduce the concept to new friends who come over,
it's been really handy!

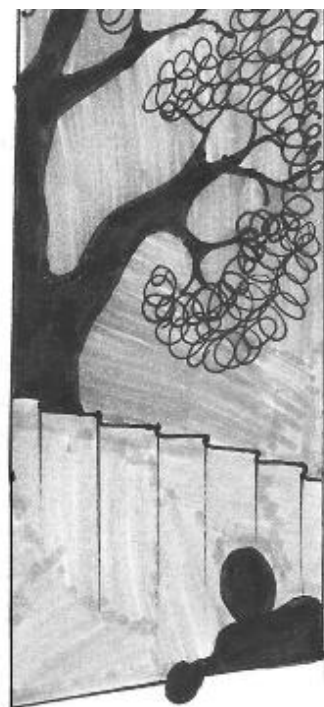
My preferred pronoun is...

/ /

e.g.
ey/she/he's gonna fix
eir/her/his bike, then we
can go for a ride
with em/her/him.

Dump Star Diving -

Madeline Hudson

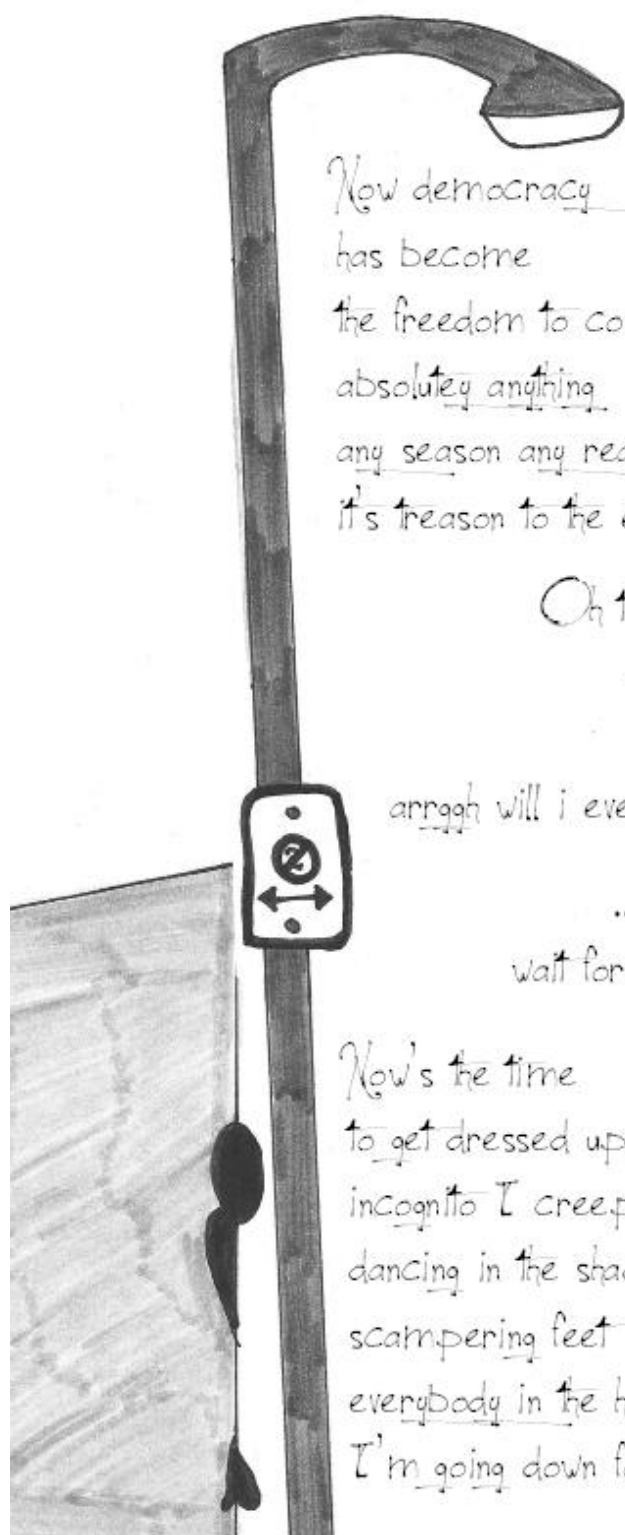


Now democracy
has become
the freedom to consume
absolutely anything
any season any reason
it's treason to the earth

Oh the miles of miles of aisles and aisles
and the packets if people don't stop
pummelling through the turnstiles
arrghh will i ever get out of this supermarket alive?...

...Well its best to take a step outside
wait for the sun to set and the moon to rise
high - so high....

Now's the time
to get dressed up in your little disguise
incognito I creep down the street
dancing in the shadows
scampering feet
everybody in the houses seems to be asleep
I'm going down for a midnight feast...



Look around for cars...

It's just you now alone under the
'smoke smuggared' stars
time to go shhh - opping
at the DumpStar!



DumpStar diving - dive right in,
We are thriving - living out of the bin!



Oh the miles of miles of aisles and aisles
they're all lumped together here in a mountainous pile
Hey this is one hell of a way to survive!

oh the humanity
oh the insanity
diving deep at the dumpster...

Well it's the redistribution
of wealth by stealth!

To hear the full song visit:
www.myspace.com/madelinehudson





BANANA BREAD!! YUM!!

2 large or 3 small very ripe bananas*
¼ cup apple sauce
¼ cup canola oil
½ cup sugar
2 tablespoons molasses
2 cups all-purpose flour
¾ teaspoon baking soda
1 teaspoon ground cinnamon
¼ teaspoon ground nutmeg
½ teaspoon salt
Handful of chopped walnuts (or for a bit of decadence, chocolate chips - vegan or otherwise)

Preheat the oven to ~180C and lightly grease a 9 x 5-inch loaf pan. In a large mixing bowl, mash the bananas really well. Add the sugar, apple sauce, oil and molasses, and whisk briskly to incorporate. Sift in the flour, baking soda, spices and salt. Fold in the walnuts (and/or chocolate chips). Transfer batter to the prepared pan and bake for 45 to 50 minutes. The top should be nice and golden and an insert knife will come out clean when the bread is done. Remove from the oven and allow to cool on a rack. Enjoy with good company and chats, if possible!

This recipe comes from *Veganomicon* by Isa Chandra Moskowitz & Terry Hope Romero (a really really cool vegan cookbook which I would highly recommend)

♦Preferably dumpster-salvaged bananas



words

lyrics

by

jacob

fiebig

of

the

irie

knights

a candle with no flame gives no light
a question with no answer can't be right
a forest with no leaves gives no life
a world with a disease is going to fight

words without actions are just words!

a river with no flow won't reach the sea
and divided we won't reach our destiny
a journey with no end will not cease
a system ruled with violence can't bring
peace

words without actions are just words!

so many distractions
to keep us from action
occupied in every way

so many illusions
to keep us in confusion

docile for another day
the body without water cannot survive
knowledge is like water but for the mind
the sky with no clouds gives no rain
a lion in the jungle can't be tamed

words without actions are just words

www.myspace.com/irieknights



josie - band dog

Climate Justice and its Anti-Capitalist consequences

by Apocalypse Anonymous

The whole political landscape of the climate 'debate' has changed immensely in the past year particularly in the wake of the UN climate negotiations in Copenhagen. This article attempts to stake out some of the new terrain and present some of the ideas that are now appearing at the level of grassroots social movements for climate justice.

Capitalism is crisis

The governments of the world have been unable to act to avert climate disaster; this failure reveals the contradictions inherent in a system which is responsible for causing this crisis. Many people are now seeing the climate crisis as one of the symptoms of the general catastrophe we call capitalism. Climate change stands alongside the current political-economic crisis and the impending energy, food and water crises as problems caused and exacerbated by the capitalist system of social relations. Ruling elites are consequently seeking to legitimise a system which is the root cause of these socio-ecological crises; using "crisis management" as an opportunity for capitalism to re-assert itself, creating a new round of accumulation and enhanced social control. The green capitalist project of 'ecological modernisation', through false solutions such as; carbon trading, agro-fuels, nuclear power and carbon capture and storage, will continue to concentrate political and economic power to the hands of the ruling class. These elites have a vested interest in maintaining economic growth and business as usual, despite ever increasing destruction of our planets ecosystems and widening inequality between rich and poor. Climate change is evidence of the limits faced by a system of infinite growth on a finite planet. However our political systems are institutionally unable to respond to the scale of this challenge due to their commitment to serving the neoliberal agenda. Solutions must come from people themselves through an emancipatory transformation of social relations, in order not just to save the world, but to create a better one.

The post-politics of carbon reductionism

"...the issue of climate change is often perceived as a question of science rather than politics [...] the problem [...] is exclusively or predominantly framed as a problem that has to be dealt with globally, that is from above, with Western knowledge and through the techniques of scientific and economic management rather than through social or political transformation. Such an approach obscures the many local conflicts over scarce resources and land use that are as constitutive of 'climate change' as any abstract figure expressing the amount of CO₂ in the atmosphere...[The] invocation of urgency, its basis in scientific discourses notwithstanding, narrows the room for a critique of existing global climate change policies and politics; goes hand in hand with a 'technocratisation', that is, de-politicisation, of climate change politics; and places our hopes in the discovery of some as yet unknown silver bullet-technological solution that would simply 'fix' the anthropogenic greenhouse effect." (Contours of climate justice 2009)

Implicit in this "post-political climate consensus" is a climate politics that seeks to re-establish neo-liberalism out of its current crisis of legitimation. Viewing the climate crisis through the lens of the dominant political ideology of hegemonic neo-liberalism, it can be seen that the solutions offered by corporations and governments serve simply to promote the reproduction of capitalist social relations; which are the very structural cause of the climate crisis and of course the driver behind a multitude of social injustice.

"What is climate justice?"

There are 3 main ways in which climate injustice occurs. Each of these can be analyzed with respect to the conditions of capitalist and colonialist domination that give rise to them. This is instructive in understanding exactly why the struggle for climate justice is consequently a struggle against these forms of political and economic domination.

Climate change is a problem for all life on earth that has been caused by the historical emissions of the rich industrialised nations. Climate injustice results from one class of people having benefited from industry despite it harming everyone to some extent. There is a differentiated responsibility for having caused this the problem; climate change is not “human induced” but capitalist produced. Rich nations have the greatest responsibility in mitigating climate disaster by bringing down emissions.

Climate change will affect the poorest the most, exacerbating pre-existing conditions of poverty. This inequality in the ability to adapt is one of the reasons why climate change affects people to different extents. Given that this inequality was created by that very same exploitation that caused climate change there are now demands for this climate debt to be repaid in the form of reparations for adaptation.

Many of the false solutions advocated by governments and corporations cause even greater injustices, through for example; the land grabs of carbon colonialism, the introduction of GMOS, agro-fuels exacerbating food scarcity, austerity measures, population control etc. Many of these injustices have greater impacts for people currently than the impending climate disaster.

Climate Justice seeks to unite multiple emerging perspectives towards a new political approach which sees climate change as a social justice issue. This can be viewed as more than environmentalism and social justice coming together finally but as a new cycle of discourse that sees the relationships between the causes of multiple impending social and ecological crises and seeks to forge new forms of political encounter in order to respond adequately.

Social movements are currently in a process of articulating a climate justice agenda which is antagonistic enough to challenge the hegemonic agenda of the G20 governments and the institutions of transnational capital. As the system again attempts to assert its control over the discourse the fledgling concept of climate justice must be defended from recuperation and discover how it can inform a new consensus on climate change. It is important to understand just how antagonistic climate justice is and how its emergence represents a significant development for the anti-capitalist project.

Cop 15 - Copenhagen

The COP15 was an encounter where these political forces were played out. With the rejection of the G20's neoliberal agenda at the climate talks, the movements that mobilised began to manifest an alternative climate politics to this post-political consensus. An emancipatory climate justice agenda is emerging in the space created by this fracture.

Many people who took action demanding climate justice also displayed an outright rejection of Green capitalism and social control. It was difficult to differentiate these protests from the myopic cheerleading for leaders to get a deal, in this way the fracture was not entirely perceivable to the outside world.

Prior to cop 15 it was difficult for the rejection of the G20 agenda to be heard over the noise of the re-legitimisation exercise undertaken by capital and the international institutions to promote Capitalism 2.0 and rejuvenate multilateralism. The UN climate negotiations are one of the arenas where the G20 is asserting its global hegemony. “Tackling climate change” has been used as a front to promote a whole range of policies linked to trade, development, energy security, land and resource control, militarisation and social control. The urgency to deal with this “threat” is a crisis narrative that plays into the hands of institutional power. Climate change was often not quite seen in relation to other struggles but as an extra-ordinary priority that came to eclipse all else. Demands for action have played into the rhetoric of those in power, merely reinforcing the post-political consensus while lacking any serious confrontation against the domination of capital.

The G20 power block hijacked the UN negotiations by agreeing its own terms then holding held the rest of the world to ransom. (In a move that indicates its willingness to flex its muscle the US has now dropped its aid commitments to Bolivia and Ecuador because it refused to endorse the Copenhagen accord.) However with the failure to get a legally binding agreement the public faith in its leaders has evaporated, the G20 has damaged the UNFCCC and the COP15 failed to re-legitimise governments, the UN or trans-national capital.

Most importantly we began to see that there is an emerging movement for climate justice which re-articulates the climate issue at the interface with a multitude of related struggles. People are beginning to reject the post-political consensus and find the emerging re-politicisation of the climate issue as the common ground for a new cross-fertilisation of global social movements which has been viewed as the maturation of 10 years of alter-globalisation struggle.

With climate justice alter-globalisation comes of age!

Climate Justice represents a confluence of a multitude of different struggles which are discovering their interrelatedness. Significantly there is an encounter between those from the anti-capitalist tradition who are articulating a confrontation with green capitalism and radical environmentalists who continue to develop an analysis of the political and economic causes of climate change. To separate them would be either 'carbon reductionist', neglecting of social issues, or court an anti-capitalism which neglects to consider the imperative to stop climate change.

Climate change has been problematic in its potential to become a totalising narrative, arguably this has in the past limited the extent to which other struggles can see themselves in relation to it. Now that the discussion has moved beyond the carbon reductionism that predominated, there is scope for more holistic analysis to be developed in our encounters.

This multitudinous confluence of struggles is still in the process of articulating the affinities and links between respective movements and has yet to cohere entirely as a unified agenda. Demands for climate justice have been around for several years and have mobilised considerable political force as such there is a contest over what it actually means. The argument of this paper is that for climate justice to have meaning as a uniting concept it must avoid recuperation by establishing a coherent theoretical foundation. If our conception of climate justice can sufficiently describe and integrate the multiplicity of demands that are now converging under its use, then we must defend this concept from attempts to would subvert it.

The climate justice agenda may be thought of as a coherent set of strategic objectives which have emancipatory implications. The practical manifestation of climate justice can be found in the solidarity between movements as they work together to achieve their strategic goals as part of a generalised struggle. What follows are some of the key strategic objectives of the climate justice agenda outlined by documents like the KlimaForum declaration and by networks like Climate Justice Action, Climate Justice Now!;

- Prevent catastrophic climatic destabilisation
- Confront the structural causes of emissions
- Rejection of market-orientated and techno-fix false solutions
- Promoting socially just and ecologically sound alternatives
- Democratic ownership and control of economy
- Resource sovereignty (energy, food, water, land etc)
- Leaving fossil fuels in the ground
- Reparations of ecological debt
- Protection of eco-systems eg forests
- End to militarisation and authoritarianism and social control



The increasing irrelevance of liberal environmentalism

Reformist approaches to tackling emissions support strategies for; strong regulations of corporations, a strengthened UN, “green” jobs and a tax on carbon. For each of these reformist approaches we can envisage alternative strategies that achieve better results without contradicting the rest of our emancipatory vision of climate justice. Addressing these departures is instructive of the challenges inherent in articulating broad political pacts where there are underlying strategic tensions.

Strategies for strong regulation of corporations fail to question: the fundamental crime of private property, the exploitation inherent in the capitalist system or the social value of that activity. Regulation simply serves to sanction this activity making profit under ‘business as usual’ slightly more sustainable. Only through democratising the economy can we achieve the necessary shift in productive relations towards a sustainable future.

The UN is a corrupt institution that is committed to neo-liberalism and neo-imperialism; it serves to promote the interests of hegemonic states and the corporations they serve. From past experience it is inconceivable that the UN could provide a space where the interests of climate justice were put before governments and corporations. We may need to organise an alternative dual power which is capable of adequately responding to the crisis with its own “peoples’ protocol”.

The Green New Deal is a grand project to kick start Capitalism 2.0 and re-legitimise governments as the appropriate managers of the economic, energy and climate crisis. It is the social face of green capitalism and seeks to create a new social contract that has crisis management at the centre of a new political consensus. “Green jobs” are still a form of wage slavery; only through democratisation of the workplace and direct ownership of the concrete value produced by workers can work be useful and socially just, and only when this is embedded within principles of ecological stewardship can work become ecologically sustainable. Such a profound transformation of productive relations must come from workers organising themselves and cannot come from bankrupt politicians.

Finally taxing carbon is a highly problematic strategy with respect to climate justice. It fails to challenge the underlying rational for burning fossil fuels, (often unnecessary activities driven by profit). Taxation is not equitable and so will merely create austerity for the poor while the rich can continue contributing to emissions unhindered. It is also problematic in that as with all taxation it creates an income stream which can be used to back the investments of transnational capital, under the auspices of “mitigation and adaptation”- arguably the new paradigm economic development. The emissions reductions now necessary are so dramatic and structurally far reaching that aggressive taxation is woefully inadequate. What is needed is a planned complete phasing out of fossil fuel exploitation all together; in a way that is swift yet doesn’t entail intolerable austerity for the majority. For such an objective to work it is necessarily linked to a radical change in social relations.

Anti-capitalist approaches to Climate Justice

The state and the corporate interests it protects are responsible for maintaining the structural causes of emissions. The climate justice project must go beyond the narrow focus on rejecting the takeover of climate solutions by these interests to attacking these interests as the very cause. Put simply, we must smash all capitalism; confronting green capitalism is just one part of that.

Overthrowing capitalism through a revolutionary process is the only way we can actually stop catastrophic climate change and ensure climate justice. This social revolution must also be an ecological revolution otherwise it is impossible to conceive of humans sustaining any quality of life into the long term.

What follows are a number of interrelated approaches uniting anti-capitalist struggles for climate justice. This illustrates that there is definitely enough common ground for movements coming together that we can be confident in confronting politicians and business as usual. The sooner this seismic shift occurs where the social and ecological meet the sooner this urgent revolutionary process can emerge.

Green Anti-capitalism

Capitalism directly generates emissions through; overproduction for overconsumption, the cost externalisation of pollution, the global transportation of goods, the unequal distribution of wealth and growth in unsustainable economic activity generally. Wage slavery and resource consumption may both be thought of as *exploitation*, this system which creates value through exploitation for short term profit is necessarily destructive. For these reasons environmentalists challenge capitalism as the root cause of climate change but there are of course other reasons to challenge capitalism...

Climate change is one of capitalism's many symptoms.

Capitalism causes multiple crises which are mutually re-enforcing. The climate crisis is one of a number of immanent convergent crises, including energy, financial, economic, political, food, water crisis. Significantly capitalism's addiction to fossil fuels causes specifically; climate change, conflict, militarisation and imperialism. Crises are being used to maintain political dominance, crisis management is the systems *raison d'être* and must be confronted.

Anti-Green-capitalism

Green capitalism promotes false solutions that create profit but don't solve the problem. Climate change is used as a rationale for more capital accumulation but green capitalism not only fails to solve the problem but squanders investment that might have been useful elsewhere, and give people a sense that something is being done, while at the same time actually exacerbating a whole range of social and ecological problems and even creating new ones.

Anti-green authoritarianism/Eco-fascism

Climate change used as a rationale for enhancing social control measures such as the border regime, ID cards, austerity and economic oppression, not to mention surveillance and repression of climate activists.

Social movements and direct democracy

The governments and corporations insist that climate change can only be solved by a technocracy of specialists, scientists and bureaucrats; that solutions will be top down and based on techno-fixes and market mechanisms. In this way capitalism attempts to prevent people from becoming empowered to solve the climate crisis as this would threaten their power.

Social war and dealing with the crisis

The conditions of capitalism and climate change will increasingly exacerbate each other. On the one hand capitalism will prevent people responding adequately to the problems faced, mitigation and adaptation cannot happen properly while capital has a hold on human and natural resources. On the other side of this climate change will magnify the social conflict between rich and poor as life for the majority becomes harder.

Climate Debt

The historical responsibility that the industrialised nations have for causing climate change is an ecological debt the north owes the south. Compensation and reparations can only come around if the north recognises that it has historically exploited the south and is responsible for the climate crisis. Such a revelation cannot come about without the simultaneous alleviation of the current system of political and economic exploitation.

Community and worker solidarity

Huge emitting industries are usually sited near marginalised communities; Environmental justice seeks to empower the resistance of these communities. Climate change is being used as a rationale to undermine worker solidarity; Workers Climate Action seeks to put workers and communities at the heart of a just and sustainable transition.

Ways forward

Climate Justice represents a significant development to both the climate debate and the anti-capitalist discourse; here are some of the potential ways forward.

Experiences from Europe suggest there is great potential for Anti-Militarist, Anti-fascist, No Borders and Climate Action networks to work together more closely and find new forms of convergence that support general leftist anti-authoritarian struggle. There doesn't seem to be much of a problem with the capacity for resource mobilisation, the question is more one of finding common points of contestation where collective strategic affinities can be more effectively articulated. The document "*What does climate justice mean in Europe?*" is a useful discussion paper in terms of exploring this terrain.

Conclusion

Through the attainment of transitional demands we can transform climate politics such that it is "politically unfeasible" for politicians not to make concessions. As a confrontational climate politics manifests with increasing confidence, the inaction that has so dominated the climate politics of the past must surely give way to the urgency that is desperately needed. It is almost as though the emergence of an emancipatory climate justice agenda is the beginning of a climate politics that is fit for purpose.

There is now no time left to repeat the failed strategies of the past. Maintaining unity is very important yet this must not come at the expense of effective strategic action against capitalist domination. However unless these forms of action are forthcoming then this discussion is largely academic. A revolutionary praxis that includes Climate Justice is desirable but until there are more manifestations it will remain difficult to envisage the viability of such a project in having substantial resonance with people.

In the past the climate movement had to focus on movement building in order to grow. It seems that its development must now be more qualitative than quantitative in order to keep pace with the radicalisation of those who already take part. What is desperately needed is for people to take forward the concept of radical direct action and push the envelope outside of anything that can be mistaken for militant lobbying. There is now a global movement that can manifest a significant amount of material action yet this potential will remain latent until people begin to see what they are doing within the context of collectivised strategies. As this movement coheres further we can better see our actions as part of the bigger picture. What is not needed is just more people telling us we need to act, only by taking personal responsibility to act immediately can we really hope to inspire others.

Climate Justice seems to inform a movement praxis that implies a level of militancy and radicalism few who rhetorically endorse it seem to recognise or act upon. When we talk about climate injustice, we are really talking about the burning of the Amazon, the desertification of sub-Saharan Africa, the collapse of human society around the world, the eventual extinction of all vertebrate life. When we talk about climate injustice we are really talking about planetary ecological genocide perpetrated by the rich against all life on earth. It is of benefit to all life for those of us who burden ourselves with the responsibility of confronting this to reconsider our level of commitment in attacking climate injustice. When urgency is viewed in the context of this confrontation, it no longer leads to paralysis but to a profound immediacy that could just spark the revolution we desire. We have 10 years left at the most, there is now no margin of error, so let's get on with the hard work implementing strategies for planetary survival. Another world is still possible but only just...

'Apocalypse Anonymous' has had a long involvement in UK environmental and Anarchist movements. This is an abridged version of the essay found at <http://notesfrombelow.wordpress.com/2010/04/20/climate-justice-and-its-anti-capitalist-consequences/>

Upcoming events

2011 International Year of Forests

Students of Sustainability conference, July, Albury VIC
www.studentsofsustainability.org

Camp Betty, Queens Birthday Weekend 9-13 June, Sydney NSW
www.2010.campbetty.org

Queer Collaborations, 4-10 July, Curtin University, Perth WA
Search "Queer Collaborations WA 2011" on Facebook

WildEndurance team trek challenge, 31 April - 1 May, Blue Mountains NSW
www.wildendurance.org.au

Adelaide Fringe Festival 18 February - 13 March, Adelaide SA
www.adelaidefringe.com.au

World Environmental Education Congress 19 - 23 July, Brisbane QLD
www.weec2011.org

Regular events

Community Bike Workshops:

Loophole Community Centre, 670 High St, Thornbury,
Melbourne 3-7pm Wednesdays & Fridays (for womyn and trans
only)
www.loopholecommunitycentre.org/bikerepair

Melbourne Critical Mass

Cnr Swanston and La Trobe, CBD Melbourne last Friday of every
month
www.criticalmass.org.au/melbourne

FERN Soup i (Community Dinner)

Fremantle Environmental Resource Network
Cnr High St & Montreal, East Fremantle, WA
Every Monday, help cook at 4, serves at 6.30
www.fern.org.au

RADICAL GROUPS AND OTHER CONTACTS

FEELING INSPIRED? WANT TO GET INVOLVED IN SOME ACTION? THE CONTACTS BELOW SHOULD HELP FACILITATE YOUR TRANSITION FROM PASSIVE READER INTO SUPER ACTIVIST IN NO TIME.

ASEN

THERE ARE ASEN AND AFFILIATED ORGANISERS IN EVERY STATE, AND ON MOST CAMPUSES, AS WELL AS NATIONAL AND LOCAL CAMPAIGN WORKING GROUPS THAT YOU'D BE MOST WELCOME TO JOIN.

FOR FULL CONTACT INFORMATION SUSS OUT

[HTTP://ASEN.ORG.AU/CONTACT/](http://asen.org.au/contact/)

RAD LIBRARY

A MOBILE LIBRARY OPERATING OUT OF A VAN.

APPEARS AT REALLY REALLY FREE MARKETS, ALSO EVERY SUNDAY 3-5PM IN HYDE PARK, STAGE AREA, NORTH EAST CORNER.

[HTTP://THERADLIBRARY.WORDPRESS.COM/](http://theradlibrary.wordpress.com/)

INDYMEDIA

PEER NEWS, ANALYSIS AND INFORMATION FROM AROUND THE WORLD. HAS COLLECTIVES IN MOST LOCALITIES. TRY STARTING FROM OCEANIA.INDYMEDIA.ORG OR [WWW.INDYMEDIA.ORG](http://www.indymedia.org)

BLACK KITE PRESS

INDEPENDENT QUARTERLY PUBLICATION FOCUSING AROUND DIFFERENT THEMES EACH QUARTER.

[HTTP://WWW.BLACKKITEPRESS.ORG/](http://www.blackkitepress.org/)

LOOPHOLE

COMMUNITY CENTRE, WITH MANY DIFFERENT EVENTS, PROJECTS AND PEOPLE INVOLVED -

670 HIGH STREET THORNBURY, VIC

[LOOPHOLECOMMUNITYCENTRE.ORG](http://loopholecommunitycentre.org)

STILL WILD STILL THREATENED

FIGHTING FOR TASMANIA'S OLD GROWTH FORESTS

[WWW.STILLWILDSTILLTHREATENED.ORG](http://www.stillwildstillthreatened.org)

FRIENDS OF THE EARTH SYDNEY

ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE AND CAMPAIGNERS

[HTTP://WWW.SYDNEY.FOE.ORG.AU/](http://www.sydney.foe.org.au/)

BLACK ROSE ANARCHIST LIBRARY & BOOKSHOP

22 ENMORE RD NEWTOWN, NSW

[BLACKROSEBOOKS.ORG](http://blackrosebooks.org)

JURA BOOKSHOP, LIBRARY & FOOD CO-OP

440 PARAMATTA RD PETERSHAM, NSW

[WWW.JURA.ORG.AU](http://www.jura.org.au)

FOOD NOT BOMBS

A GREAT PLACE TO MEET FOLK OVER YUMMY VEGAN FOOD. FOR YOUR LOCAL CHAPTER LOOK HERE -

[HTTP://WWW.FOODNOTBOMBS.NET/AUSTRALIA.HTML](http://www.foodnotbombs.net/australia.html)

INTERVENTION ROLL-BACK ACTION GROUP, ALICE SPRINGS

[ROLLBACK THEINTERVENTION.WORDPRESS.COM](http://rollback.theintervention.wordpress.com)

ARID LANDS ENVIRONMENT CENTRE, ALICE SPRINGS

[WWW.ALEC.ORG.AU](http://www.alec.org.au)

LATIN AMERICAN SOLIDARITY NETWORK

[WWW.LATINLASNET.ORG](http://www.latinlasnet.org)

ENVIRONS KIMBERLEY

OFFICE 9 BROOME LOTTERIES HOUSE 642 CARLE BEACH ROAD

[WWW.ENVIRONSKIMBERLEY.ORG](http://www.environskimberley.org)

HUON VALLEY ENVIRONMENT CENTRE

3/17 WILMOT RD, HUONVILLE, TAS

FORREST ACTIVIST RESOURCES

[WWW.HUON.ORG](http://www.huon.org)

FRIENDS OF THE EARTH BRISBANE

[HTTP://WWW.BRISBANE.FOE.ORG.AU/](http://www.brisbane.foe.org.au/)

JOIN TEAM GERMINATE

IT'S BETTER THAN HOUSEWORK

So we (Lian, Grace, Julietta, Alyssa n Dom) are currently engaged in the finishing touches of this gathering of caring and sharing and inciting for ASEN's twice yearly zine GERMINATE.

I want to encourage another crew to take it on next year, so here's a bit about what it meant for me... I reflected on what ASEN does, how well it does it, what's happened this year, and what's planned for next. But mostly, by working on a concise piece of bizo that is communication (and to me communication is life) on the way to ending all oppression and having fun getting there; it helped progress my thinking about effective ways to make change. I got to work with people who really seem to know their shit, while deepening friendships and making new ones.

Some of the roles we played were: finding people to write articles n chasing them up, finding people to submit art, or finding pictures ourselves, editing the articles, laying out the articles and pictures, writing the bits about ASEN, fundraising, organising a printer, organising phone link ups and skype meetings, and then some...

It's not a mind boggling proposition (like stopping climate change), itz compiling 2 zines, released July 2011 and at training camp in January 2012. So if you'd like to get involved, contact germinate@asen.org.au or go to www.asen.org.au for more info.



Penny for your thoughts...

Submit to Germinate! We want your articles, poems, artwork, cartoons, recipes, campaign updates, puzzles, or whatever else you may have lying around!

Send in your stuff to
germinate@asen.org.au

www.asen.org.au

Big thank you love to..

♥ all our passive readers who will one day get involved in local publishing themselves

♥ anyone who contributed artwork

♥ all the authors

♥ each other for being awesome

♥ Tim for the beautiful cover!

♥ CCEN, SASEN, WASEN, Newie for dosh

♥ tempeh

♥ ASEN conveners for keeping shit together

♥ skype (for NOTHING)

♥ OpenOffice.org

♥ The invisible people for all their invisible work...

Want to write for the next Germinate but don't have any ideas?

If any of these topics get you thinking, get in touch with the Germinate crew...

1) "Breaking down oppression is the responsibility of both those who are oppressed and those who do the oppressing." What are implications of this statement to those wishing to smash the patriarchy? Discuss with reference to conflict, support and education. Draw on your personal experiences, particularly within ASEN.

2) "Safer Spaces are impossible to achieve through workshops, formal discussions or written agreements as these only create a culture of fear of 'fucking up'. The only thing that will create truly safer spaces is commitment to community building in a long term sense." Discuss, drawing on your experiences and observations of how "activists" and "radicals" try to create Safer Spaces.

3) We have been asking if our current actions are the equivalent of trying to stop a tank that is coming to blow up our house by throwing styrofoam at it then asking it to slow down. Do we need more effective tactics? tactics?

4) "ASEN will simply fail to attract people if we continue to view what we do as work. Play and fun need to be incorporated into every aspect of our work and vice versa. Activism should be and can be fun, exciting, playful and dynamic. We do not have to copy the models of work the we learn from bourgeois society, but unlearning them is difficult." What is your view of work and play in activism and life?

5) ASEN members are overwhelmingly privileged university students. We have access to resources, education and power that the majority of people in the world will never have. Is there a dichotomy between ASEN "reaching out" to less privileged people and inviting them to join our network and acknowledging and accepting who we are, then doing a better job at building alliances with groups and networks made up of less privileged people?

A Page for notes
(maybe plan your next submission to Germinate)



'THE BARRI IS NOT FOR SALE!

“The failures of the UN talks in Copenhagen have been compounded in Cancun.”

“From the opening day to the closing moments of the talks, our voices were censored, dissenting opinions silenced and dozens ejected from the conference grounds. The thousands who rallied outside to reject market mechanisms and demand recognition of human and Indigenous rights were ignored.”

“There is another way forward: the Cochabamba People’s Agreement represents the vision of everyday people from all corners of the globe who are creating the solutions to climate change from the ground up, and calling for a global framework that respects human rights and the Rights of Mother Earth.”

Photos and quote from the
Indigenous Environmental Network.
To read their accompanying article
“Cancun Betrayal: UNFCCC
unmasked as the WTO of the sky”
and see more photos, go to:
[http://www.climate-justice-
now.org/cancun-betrayal-unfccc-
unmasked-as-wto-of-the-sky/](http://www.climate-justice-now.org/cancun-betrayal-unfccc-unmasked-as-wto-of-the-sky/)

