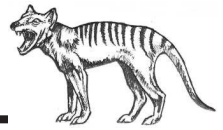


**the wolves
at the
door**

**AN IRREGULAR ANARCHIST JOURNAL.
SECOND ISSUE.
SOMETIME IN WINTER 2012.**

An introduction ...



We are some anarchists writing and living in Sydney. We are interested in exploring the particulars of our situation here while remaining connected to struggle everywhere. We are interested in reflecting on the spaces we inhabit within capitalism, on what cracks appear and what opportunities for resistance are present. When we return to anarchism, it's not as an identity or a creed but as a space we move through, a point of attraction, an accumulation of ideas of liberation and attack.

We are told that there is crisis. That it lurks in the dark, waiting to strike. That we must huddle even closer together and cling to the structures we know and it may just pass us by. That it already exists over there, yet we have a chance if we stay suspicious and vigilant.

But crisis is already here. How could it not be, in a place whose wealth is based on the profits of genocide and violent displacement? And it flows down the line from those brutal origins to our everyday. It is in the daily tasks of keeping those proverbial wolves from the door. Of the struggle to pay the rent, to get what we need to live, to have the time to play when and where we want, to love who and how we want. It is the struggle against the alienation of capitalism that made our lives into a race we never chose to begin. And this struggle leaves us withdrawn and defensive, afraid to take any more risks.

It's not that we are always obedient. We express our frustration and dissent in numerous ways. We look to the spaces where we might be able to connect with others who we know must feel similar. There is 'The Left' and protests and campaigns to be part of and sometimes they do improve our collective capacity to survive capitalism – both in material terms and psychologically. But sometimes these seem to be completely apart from the struggles of our lives.

And they too are imbued with a defensiveness that is the product of this ever-present sense of crisis. Campaigns that end up resembling little more than a collective version of keeping the wolves at bay – whether it's preventing more land becoming a mine or uranium dumping ground, campaigning to end mandatory detention or fighting against job cuts. Important connections are made and we build solidarity but struggle to know how to change gears, how to attack.

And there are times when we do make the sense of crisis more visible and more present. Spectacular explosions of resistance, times of inspiration and genuine excitement... yet these never sustain on their own and we find it hard to make them resonate when we return to the normality of our everyday lives.

We want to invert this problem. We want to bring these moments of collective strength and freedom to the everyday struggles of our lives.

In talking about ‘activism’ it’s tempting to say that we want to break from it completely. But the thing is, it has its moments: it’s just that these moments are in the times it breaks from the routines and limits of activism. When a demonstration about an issue becomes a fight for communal space against police control: for example, a student protest that becomes an occupation that re-claims the university. Sometimes a desire for change that has been focussed onto a single issue breaks out to be expressed as a desire for a whole new life.

The perimeter doesn’t need to be breached, the fortress walls do not need to be torn down because we’re already here. We are the wolves at the door. We are the crisis.

Local anarchist publications:

Mutiny Zine - jura.org.au/mutiny
Long running and excellent bi-monthly anarchist zine

Sedition -
<http://anarchy.org.au/sedition/>
Joint publication of anarchist organisations in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide

Imminent Rebellion - rebelpress.org.nz
Probably the most aesthetically pleasing anarchist journal in the world, published irregularly from Aotearoa.

Contents

p.1 Who are the wolves?
an introduction.

p.3 “There can be nothing more normal than resisting oppression”
an interview with those responsible for the Disaccords blog.

p.10 Attacking the institutions of genocide
an anarchist perspective on solidarity with anti-colonial struggles.

p.21 Apocalypse activism
a review of the film END:CIV

Other things we’ve been reading:

Introduction to the Apocalypse -
Maybe the best thing to read about climate change.

Letter to the anarchist galaxy -
An insurrectionist critique from Italy of moves towards armed-struggle-ism

Work. Community. Politics. War. / Abolish Restaurants -
Illustrated pamphlets on the politics of everyday life: complex ideas in straightforward language. Download them and more from: prole.info

We’re going to be experimenting with themed issues with the hope of making the zine a point of discussion. The next issue will be themed around home: housing/cities/common spaces. Contact us if you have an idea for an article or if you have any thoughts on what’s been written so far:

thewolvesatthedoor@riseup.net



“There can be nothing more normal than resisting oppression”

Disaccords is a relatively new anarchist blog that collates news from around Australia, S-E Asia and the Pacific. It reports on acts of resistance and cracks in the social peace that would often otherwise go unnoticed. Here we interview them via email.

1. What was the purpose of starting this blog in terms of the context of radical politics in Australia and the anarchist milieu here? Where did the inspiration for Disaccords come from and what do you see as its relationship to other similar blogs?

I guess most of us who live in Australia and are anarchists or whatever are pretty familiar with the feeling that not much happens here. We look to places far away: parts of Europe with strong anarchist cultures, or South/Central America with vibrant combatative social movements, even North America. But this is where we live, and so this is where we struggle.

The dominant liberal narrative in Australia is that everything is basically at peace. There might be a few examples of really overt inequality – say, the conditions Aboriginal people live in. And there might be occasional outbursts

of public anger and disorder – say the G20 riots, or the Redfern or Macquarie Fields riots, (or even the Cronulla riot, though more on that later). But these are seen as just exceptions, they're little islands. They function as a contrast that just show that everyone else is generally calm and happy. And therefore any discontent you feel with your life is your problem to deal with as an individual: there's no underlying social unease that might connect your unhappiness to anyone else's.

And this analysis is mirrored in the writings of activists and some so-called anarchists, who see a small minority of conscious activists, or anarchists (and maybe some other rebels) as the only people who aren't just robotic conformist consumers/workers. I just don't have much time for that. As an anarchist, I'm not interested in being part of some select gang of superheroes. I believe in

the possibilities of contagion. I believe that our actions can resonate because I think all of us, not just those of us with some kind of political identity, both rebel and conform as we move through different situations and take different positions. Even if only in our dreams (there's a reason Ned Kelly's a hero).

“Disobeying police is meant to be unthinkable. So I feel it's worth pointing out that it does happen, often.”

So the point of the blog is to try to accumulate examples of these overt breaches in the assumption of calm: to pull together examples of the conflict that already exists, with the hope of deepening/broadening it.

Because the other side of the analysis that sees everyone as passive is that you end up thinking as if capital and state control are unbreachable and absolute.

In the article ‘Signals of disorder: sowing anarchy in the metropolis,’¹ AG Schwartz reversed-engineers the cop

1. August 2010, http://theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/A._G._Schwarz__Signals_of_Disorder__Sowing_Anarchy_in_the_Metropolis.html

theory of ‘broken window syndrome’. The cop version, which is behind the idea of ‘zero tolerance policing’ is that small scale misbehaviour (fare evasion, graffiti) creates an environment that encourages more serious lawbreaking. Schwartz says, okay, we want to encourage more serious lawbreaking – we want to attack social control – and things like graffiti, posters, small-scale attacks are part of this, because they are contagious.

Schwartz writes that the creation of signals of disorder “interrupts the social peace, and creates the indisputable fact of people opposed to the present system and fighting against it. [...] Signals of disorder are contagious. They attract people who also want to be able to touch and alter their world rather than just passing through it.”

Now, that article is about anarchists having a presence in public space in a particular neighbourhood/city. And that's a very different thing from an accumulation of news on the internet. But we can think in similar ways about the general space of possibility.

Both explicitly anarchist attacks/actions and other minor rebellions are not just possible, they're already present. The purpose of the blog is to circulate news of these events and to encourage us to think about how they're connected.

I like the way Hidup Biasa, an Indonesian anarchist blog, puts it:

“The world's not well behaved and there can be nothing more normal than confronting the oppression ...

... It's not really a choice, it's just life

as usual, and that's true wherever in the world we are ...

... This blog tries to share a few of these everyday stories, from life as usual in Indonesia, in the hope they can be inspiration and information for other struggles on other islands ..”

In terms of inspiration, there was a blog a while back, Terror Nullius, which has since disappeared, which was doing a similar thing. I liked that and wanted to keep it going.

2. Why did you settle on a specifically regional focus for what is posted on Disaccords?

It would be weirdly nationalistic to set the Australian borders as the limit of what gets included, but impossible (and repeating work others are already doing) to try to do world news. The joint focus on Australia and Indonesia in particular just kind of grew: there are a few good anarchist blogs reporting on Indonesia, and a number of social struggles and anarchist actions and events that seemed worth paying attention to.

Like I said, I'm interested in stuff happening here. And part of that might involve rethinking, for us in Australia, what 'here' means. The context in Australia is very different from the context in Indonesia. But, you know, Athens and Barcelona and Oaxaca are also very different from Sydney or Melbourne, and we look there for inspiration and with sympathy, solidarity. I don't think solidarity should have regional limits any more than it should have national limits, but geographic proximity does

open up possibilities for direct solidarity that maybe we don't have with struggles in other places. I know there's been solidarity/communication developing between anarchists in Indonesia and Australia over the last few years – for example, the Kulon Progo solidarity group in Melbourne. I hope the blog can help encourage more of a feeling of connection.

I'm learning as I go about the situation in Indonesia. Internet translations only go so far. It would be amazing if anyone who knew Indonesian wanted to translate, especially the various anarchist communiques that are written. (Thanks to the person who did a translation last time there was a call out on the blog!)

3. How do you find the news and how do you then decide on what gets posted and what doesn't? There are various examples of news you posted that weren't necessarily anarchist: the communique from people who vandalised a chicken farm in Canberra, say, or a bikie setting a cop car on fire. What kinds of criteria do you use?

I set up a few google news alerts, so I get emails everyday. I also check indymedia.org.au, anarchistnews.org, hidupbiasa.blogspot.com. Through google translate, negasi-negasi.blogspot.com, kokemi.blogspot.com. Anarchy.org.au, the Jakarta Globe and Jakarta Post websites. Various other counter-information sites. Sometimes people email in links or articles/communiques (though I prefer it when people post things to Indymedia or Anarchist News first, and I can take things off there.)

That's the *how*. The *what* is harder to explain. Though I don't see political identity as fundamental, I'll nearly always repost articles about actions/demonstrations claimed by anarchists. Beyond that, I'm interested in times when things get at least a little bit out of control.

I'm unlikely to post about a standard demonstration where people stand around making demands/expressing outrage and then obey police/get pushed around a bit by police. And the same for acts of civil disobedience that follow the script of getting arrested to prove the point that bad things happen. Though this also depends on what people are saying as well as how.



As for other stuff – vandalism, fighting with the cops, attacks on politicians' offices – I'll post that if it seems, from whatever brief news report, that the action was motivated somewhat by rebellion against authority, or a frustration with the system that we might relate to, and not by, say racism. Explosions of unrest aren't always liberatory – it was only a few years ago we saw dozens of people

in Cronulla fighting the police for their right to keep beating up those they judged to be Muslims. There was an article in some UK paper – Class War, I think – that described the Cronulla riots as working class youth fighting police for their space and being described in the media as racist, or something like that. I hope I don't do anything that stupid (and that readers would correct me if I did).

To take your examples: in one case, some people broke into a battery hen farm and caused a lot of damage to some machinery. That's not the kind of thing that happen often in Australia. While I'm sceptical of many aspects of the animal rights philosophy (and even

more so of many aspects of the movement) I have no love for the egg industry. From my perspective, the fact that people were able to do that damage and get away is a good thing, and it's an action it's worth people knowing about beyond that particular scene. So, while the communique wasn't particularly anarchist, I reposted it because it

seemed disrespectful to ignore the ideas that those people took their risk in order to propagate.

The bikie thing is harder. Biekies are just capitalists who don't want to outsource their violence to the state. A fight between biekies and the cops is just a fight between two armed gangs, with neither on the side of freedom. I assumed that everyone would share this analysis, but I

guess maybe it gets lost, especially when the item got reposted an anarchist news site based elsewhere. But on the other hand, it just made me smile to hear that a cop car had been set on fire – and in inner-Sydney too. That image has a certain appeal

And things like police getting bottles thrown at them trying to break up a party? Aside from the fact that I hate cops ruining parties? Just as one example, when police tasered and killed Roberto Curti, there were a lot of pretty loud voices saying that he just shouldn't have run from police. That disobeying police orders (even if you've done nothing else wrong, and/or all your suspected of petty theft) means that police are entitled to do whatever they think they need to do to reassert their authority and get you to do what they say. Including subjecting you to electric shocks that might kill you. Disobeying police is meant to be unthinkable. So I feel it's worth pointing out that it does happen, often.

I don't want the blog to become any kind of arbiter of worthiness or significance or whatever. I should note here that I do think we have to be careful about glorifying the particular kinds of conflict that make the news. A lot of the everyday rebellions that happen don't fit the media narrative – or only make the news when they go spectacularly wrong. Particular types of violence, for example, are newsworthy, but that doesn't make them more important or strategic or real.

4. You don't add anarchist commentary to news stories and there's often no claim of anarchist politics behind the news. What do you see as the

connection between what gets posted and the ideas and practice of anarchism?

I don't add commentary because, when there's nothing but a brief item from the commercial press, I don't really have enough knowledge to comment. There isn't generally enough information to assess any particular incident. Avoiding analysis is also part of keeping my voice out of it. I don't want to hand down some Anarchist Truth. And I hope it's clear from the note on the blog that, unless something is explicitly claimed by anarchists, I'm not trying to say that it was an anarchist act.

Also, incidents don't necessarily mean much on their own: what I think is interesting is the accumulation. When I say I want us to think about how things are connected, it's because I don't know for sure.

Will I lose all credibility if I quote Crimethink? I'm sure they stole it from somewhere else anyway. A few years ago I read something where they were reflecting on their early years of glorifying shoplifting etc, and one thing they said was that the purpose was never to encourage anarchists to take up shoplifting as a revolutionary strategy, but to encourage people who shoplifted to think about what they were already doing and how it connects beyond their own life.

As some old French guy wrote, "People who talk about revolution and class struggle without referring explicitly to everyday life, without understanding what is subversive about love and what is

positive in the refusal of constraints, such people have corpses in their mouths.”¹

5. You previously mentioned posting reports of actions “explicitly claimed by anarchists”. What are your thoughts on the strategy of action followed by communicate as a way of organising and communicating more covert activities? This seems like a relatively new way of doing things for anarchists in Australia.

I don't know how new it is, but I agree that there's a new style. I think it takes time to develop a new language, a suitable language. And by language here I don't just mean the words that people



write, but the language of actions also. And to develop and use it in a way that isn't entirely self-referential or about the creation of an identity.

Some comrades in Italy wrote a text recently called 'A letter to the anarchist

galaxy"², and one of the concerns they raised was the risk of ending up with a circular, self-contained world of anarchists doing actions and making claims on the internet as if this could be an end in itself. To quote a big chunk:

“Because we also choose to attack. We also sabotage the machinery of capital and authority. We also choose to not accept a position of begging and are not putting off the necessary expropriation until tomorrow. But we do think that our activities are simply part of a wider social conflictuality, a conflictuality that doesn't need claims and acronyms. [...]

It seems that today more than a few comrades have chosen the easy solution of identity over the circulation of ideas and revolt, and have in this way reduced affinity relations to a joining something. Of course it is easier to pick up some ready-made product off the shelves of the militant market of opinions and consume it, rather than develop a proper struggle track that makes a rupture with it. Of course it is easier to give oneself the illusion of strength by using a shared acronym than to face the fact that the 'strength' of subversion is to be found to the degree and in the way it can attack the social body with liberating practices and

1. Raoul Vaneigem, *The Revolution of Everyday Life*, 1967, <http://library.nothingness.org/articles/SI/en/display/35>

2. November 2011, http://theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Anonymous__Letter_to_the_anarchist_galaxy.html

ideas. Identity and ‘formation of a front’ might offer the sweet illusion of having meaning, especially in the spectacle of communication technology, but doesn’t clear every obstacle from the road. Even more, it shows all the symptoms of sickness of a not-so-anarchist conception of struggle and revolution, which believes in being able to pose an illusionary anarchist mastodon before the mastodon of power in a symmetrical way. The immediate consequence is the evermore narrowing of the horizon to a not-so-interesting introspection, some patting on the back here and there and the construction of a framework of exclusive self-reference.”

So the question becomes one of strategy, of our own aims and desires in our own time and place. What’s the point of doing something and writing about it? Is the aim to get recognition? From the state? From other anarchists? Recognising each other and developing our affinities and abilities is important, but it’s only the very first step.

6. Why did you decide on Disaccords as the name?

It’s a reference to the Accords, the agreement made between the trade unions and the Labor Government in the 80s with the aim of ending industrial unrest. The unions agreed not to strike in return for the government setting moderate wage increases and some improved welfare. In one sense the name is about breaking from that compromise

and settlement, but it’s also just a nod to history.

Most of the people reading this I’m sure would know about Australia’s violent colonial history and the history of Aboriginal resistance to genocide. It’s also worth remembering that this country was started as a literal prison society. And that there was a very militant labour movement, but also that this has a long relationship with racism/nationalism, and was channelled quite early on into the Labor Party and parliamentary democracy. That legacy really shapes what’s considered militant and also what’s considered possible here. We make our own history but we don’t get to choose the circumstances we make it in.

But there’s also other currents: the IWW was significant, before it got smashed at the outbreak of WWI. The first women’s refuge in the world was set up in the 70s in a squatted terrace in Sydney. Radical history shows us that there was no neat line marching us inevitably to the present – and so there’s no neat line we have to march into the future.

<http://disaccords.wordpress.com>

Note: all images used here are taken from the Disaccords blog. The first two are images of protests against rising fuel prices in Indonesia. The third image shows comrades Billy and Eat who are imprisoned there.

Attacking the institutions of genocide:

an anarchist perspective on solidarity with anti-colonial struggles



This article is written as a prompt for discussion, in hope that many probably more specific and sophisticated analyses can come after: analyses that are not afraid to approach solidarity in ways that recognise that Aboriginal peoples are the most collectively oppressed people within Australia, whilst also growing an anti-authoritarian analysis in relation to all struggles. Including this understanding within analysis of the larger collective oppression helps us form solidarity against these acts of separation.

This article only touches on matters of culture when attempting to name cultural genocide and the resistance to this violence. It is also an attempt to address some components of interaction between struggles. An awkwardness in relation to the recognition of cultural

differences that also seems to tie into a lack of ingenuity around finding ways to express and share solidarity.

Time and hurt are related

Archaeological studies currently show that people have lived in Australia for at least 60,000 years. Culturally there is much diversity in creation or dreamtime understandings within language groups. These cultures have been kept alive for thousands of years, passed down through generations.

This could mean that dreamtime was understood to sit anywhere from five or six generations of people previous to the existing time, or to be much further back. Depending on different dreamtime stories this could mean ancestors were

living in human or another form such as kangaroo people or plant people, one indicator of strong connection of people and country. Ancestors are a living presence in the landscape today.

No culture can or should be fetishised as a perfect social system of equality but it is inspiring that ways were found to facilitate cultural diversity across Australia, coexisting in a decentralised framework with no one culture markedly dominating another for thousands of years.

These cultures and belief systems may be hard for people from the present advanced capitalist setting to comprehend for many reasons. It might be helpful to consider that although most of us may know what was going on in the time of our ancestors the same distance back, for example what the 1800's looked like in that time, many of us (especially if our lineage doesn't trace down wealthy and powerful blood) wouldn't know what our ancestors were doing in these past times. With so much individual history lost what then is important to know - in order to inform our current struggles is what the social-political climate was.

Capitalism asks us to be ahistorical and ignorant, the workers and the oppressed that is. To maintain capitalism we must behave as though we have forgotten all of the social conditions past and present that produce our subject positions within capitalism. The cultural genocide of non-individualistic collective cultures is also necessary for this kind of domination.

After over 224 years of cultural genocide people are still connected to these cultures, and aspects of culture

still inform survival and organisation throughout struggle. Connection to place and people isn't only reliant on culture in a traditional sense. Connection may in itself be borne of shared struggles and resistance to colonial oppression.

When solidarity is established in recognition of all struggles under capitalism, across elements of social or cultural diversity, we have a revolutionary dynamic. The approach of working collectively, applied within struggle, is a powerful praxis and way to find common bonds, solidarity and diverse and decentralised means of attack.

It has been the ongoing tactics of the Australian state and the media machine, to propagate the lie that the only people left with any connection to land and culture live in the North. At the same time, they make just as strong a propaganda campaign that portrays communities in the North as inherently destined to self-destruct.

Some groups in the Northern Territory had been fictitiously veiled by the legal subterfuge of governmentally acknowledged land rights. These 'rights' allegedly meant they had achieved the recognition of traditional connection to lands allowing their collective use and control of these lands. However using the same mechanisms of propaganda and genocide, the 'Northern Territory Emergency Response Bill' also termed 'The Intervention', has for the last five years seen these same communities forced by iron fist tactics into 'leasing' back their lands to the federal government for up to 99-years. Many of these lands and resources are to be

mined away, poisoned and lost to these people forever.

Bringing solidarity in this place ...

Aboriginal people's struggles throughout colonisation have shown the most resolute and militant examples of struggle within Australia but it's not only these people that need to fight the systems of domination. Non-indigenous people need to also strongly counterattack the Australian state, in solidarity, and for their own liberation.

Solidarity is the act of joining strengths across struggle. It must be recognised that if non-indigenous people are not to militantly struggle against capitalism and colonisation, that this is collusion with the Australian state, a mechanism of colonisation. From this platform they cannot be more than symbolic allies for Aboriginal struggles.

“Solidarity is the act of joining strengths across struggle.”

‘White guilt’ cannot simply be a residue from the historic violence done throughout earlier stages of colonisation but comes directly from a compliance with the continued genocide. We need to become responsible for our present lives, to learn of what has happened in this country and of what is still happening and to act to fight against the systems of

oppression and advanced colonisation in its current state.

We are only confused by our guilt when we are not listening to what it is actually telling us, when it is shrieking at us “stop slicing small parts off me with a charity mentality, I am rational, I won't go away until you fight me face to face”. It is the lie that we have any choice within capitalism that propagates the feelings of guilt, remaining inert and ineffectual against its workings.

The act of being bought off is the process by which those that accept the bribes, subsequently then have a participatory engagement in the exploitations. All non-indigenous people (whether they like it or not) in this land have benefitted materially by the theft of resources and exploitation of Aboriginal people.

Via the acceleration and violent appropriations of resources by the Australian State, Australia is presently in a false sense of security while other nations are presently exhibiting the extreme effects of capitalism's ‘crisis’. As the oppression intensifies, the Australian State banks on the continued ‘blind eye’ attitude from non-Indigenous citizens towards Aboriginal struggle. To ensure this, living is tight for the working class: high rents, living costs and hard work keep us more than busy.

Capitalism's social and environmental impacts mean that Australia's present economic status is not only environmentally exhaustible and destructive but also genocidal. To overcome this we fight. If non-Indigenous people are to have solidarity with and be trusted by Aboriginal people

in struggle there must be honesty about our different subject positions within a colonial context and a commitment to deconstructing the practical and ideological workings of colonisation.

‘Western culture’, referred to as an advanced culture is a culture that likes to be viewed as ample with ‘rights’ and ‘choices’: freedom of thought, equal opportunity and democracy, a culture where its subjects have a say in the transformations of the culture itself. Western culture is adherent to capitalism, individualism and Nationalism. Any changes that are against these non-virtues can only come about through mutiny.

“Our land is our home, this land belongs to us, we belong to the land, Aboriginal people have been struggling for years; deaths in custody, lack of housing and infrastructure, stolen generations, stolen wages for the hard earned work that Aboriginal men and woman throughout this country have done. They built Australia on Aboriginal hands, blood, they’re still taking our children away today.”

- Barbara Shaw, from Tangentgyere Town camp, Tent Embassy press release 2012

Left ? - up to us!

When it comes to non-Indigenous engagement with anti-colonial struggle and within the Left and activism in general, there is a lot of time spent lobbying- creating campaigns and organising often in hierarchical forms. Hierarchical -who is the most seasoned activist, or which socialist or other group

has stacked the coalition or collective. These methods are largely unchallenged within Australia -the means and the ends are fixed. Of course some very valuable achievements are being realised thanks to these committed activists. For instance they are finding ways to better connect remote communities technologically so as to share information and experiences regarding struggle, creating websites of information that collect current policies of genocide, or prompting people on to the streets to join demonstrations.

But we have to get used to the idea that creating events (people on to the streets) and resources (alternative media) are not intrinsically tied to the favoured discourses and ways of organising. The nature and opportunities within protesting, in a country where demonstrations are poorly attended are guided by more than simply the politics of the ‘organising groups.’ With an emphasis on decentralisation, solidarity between struggles, non-specialisation and collectivity we can promote diversity of tactics to confront the State, establish self-determination and take direct action.

Non indigenous people in Australia who care enough to acknowledge the relative difficulties faced by collective Aboriginal struggles due to being in minority, are challenged by the question of how best to engage with these struggles in the most respectful and meaningful way. This can result in a tendency to try to engage almost subserviently, in an attempt to strengthen Aboriginal activity within struggle. Without including their own liberation in to the picture. Within this ‘single issue’ activist approach it is not the

strongest anti-authoritarian/libertarian acts and voices that are quoted in the 'awareness building' materials that are disseminated. Or when those quotes are included, they are still alongside the reformist discourse because this awareness material is tied to ideas of lobbying. So if you are to read and take it for what it is, there are these hard facts and quotes from people within struggle but the only action to be taken is to ask the oppressor to be nicer. Which is confusing, and defeatist.

It is generally seen as natural to ask for reforms of government, it is just the language that it is believed must be spoken. If asking for reforms there must be a view that the State needs to continue to make decisions over people's lives. It needs to be acknowledged that this is the underlying political view. It is coercive to expect that this is the political arena that people must conform to. Also any point that any government function/ policy would be potentially reforming from is already a 'reform' or coercive 'reorganisation' of people's lives. The false democratic system of oppression has forcefully imposed itself. It is assimilationist and paternalistic. Must we also work towards maintaining the legitimacy of the very institutions, which perpetuate genocide?

The angle that what people need most is help to get into mainstream media and politics can be simply creating a means to boost political standings of the parties involving themselves in these campaigns. Other activists may be earnest but it is still ignoring the fact that there are systemic reasons why these voices in struggles are not received,

welcomed or acknowledged and are constantly manipulated within the institutional mechanisms of an advanced colonial state. This is also often without addressing the part in their own lives that non-Indigenous people can play in the social war against inequity, towards individual freedom and social-political equality.

“There are these hard facts and quotes from people within struggle but the only action to be taken is to ask the oppressor to be nicer.”

There are many examples of struggles against capitalism to be seen both past and present that demonstrate the social war at hand. Non-Indigenous people within Australia can consider this when critically reflecting on forms of struggle against the forces of domination - capitalism - the state - colonisation within Australia. Intensifying resistance against the systems of domination by creating libertarian counter information and making counter attacks are strong forms of solidarity and from this position comes a potential to form trust and affinity within struggle.

One thing that will be interesting to see in Australia is how things may change in relation to struggle in this time of mass uprisings in other parts of the world. Using the rhetoric of ‘unforeseen collapses’ and ‘austerity measures’ the systems of capitalism intensify the exploitation of people for its own survival, however this is being met with intensified resistance of mass insurrections and other forms of defiance. It is worrying to see Australia continuing on with our low level resistance to capitalism and neoliberalism in this time of heightened revolutionary potential.

Embassy

This year was a coming together for the 40-year celebration of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy in Canberra. The Tent Embassy is a meeting place for people of differing experiences and praxis within struggle, which cultivates a stronger anti-colonial resistance. In resisting together, in solidarity, a culture inclusive of diversity in struggle is fostered. The struggle against the Intervention in the Northern Territory is clearly different to the struggle against gentrification in Redfern but there is always potential to share knowledge that can be useful across struggles. Many people, who have experiential history with the tent embassy as an act of resistance, are also people whose parents were in the civil rights movements who told them stories of ancestor’s struggles in frontier times before. Those who established the tent embassy were connected with struggles across Australia and were learning more of other ‘black’ resistance

movements abroad, and their kids can and do continue this praxis after them. This cultivating of resistance shared inter-generationally is a direct attack on institutions of genocide that angle their lathes between the generations.

“We wish for the Australian people who are here sharing our land with us that we have to think, we have to work our strategies as peoples about the terms on which we coexist in the future, for our children, for our grandchildren and your grandchildren.”

-Paul Coe, an initiator of the Tent Embassy, press release 2012.

Solidarity stronger than sovereignty...

The people who initiated the Tent Embassy across from the Australian parliament house desired a certain nature of political voice to come from all things connected with the Embassy. A question for this particular gathering was how could this be satisfied in a way that strengthens the Tent Embassy while having solidarity for diversity of actions?

The Tent Embassy is one example of resistance, an incredibly strong voice and form of resistance spanning 40years. Spokespeople from different Aboriginal groupings in 1972 came together to represent collective ideas regarding the oppression and genocide of colonisation. The original messages from the tent embassy were about sovereignty and self-determination and were a statement on the colonists’ government making the decisions that rule people’s lives. These same issues apply today.

The government, no matter which party is in power, tries constantly to present their distractions as if they are something new: the latest being that the constitution of Australia is to be altered to present the illusion that the law can be used to address Aboriginal oppression. Of course none of this will ever give people what they want, as the legal system is upholding the existing power structures and any small symbolic gesture like this is only to distract people from struggle.

Drip-fed 'rights' are not self-determination, but a way to prolong relationships of dependence. And so Parliament House has no new meaning for any Aboriginal person in struggle. It remains the same colonial, capitalist centre of oppression and genocide. Perhaps it has new meaning for those who will play the reformist game, those who buy into their own deception, wish to become politicians and benefit themselves but it has no new meaning for people collectively in struggle.

“Drip-fed ‘rights’ are not self-determination, but a way to prolong relationships of dependence.”

People marched up to the doors of parliament, strong in numbers and voice. Later that day by surprise it became apparent that both heads of the false democratic ruling system were enjoying themselves in a café nearby, soap boxing and clearly not expecting any unpleasant interruption to their occasion. This isn't surprising considering the reality of the ruling class politic is that it doesn't encounter any real political opposition - this is why we can call it a 'false democracy'. People coming from the Embassy gathering made noise around the café, banging and yelling at the two heads of the snake. They startled the politicians and their lackeys, disrupting for a moment the stasis of the system of our oppression. This though small, was direct and meaningful.

The consequences of this action were widespread attacks by the mouthpiece of the system -the media, and divisions amongst those converged at the tent embassy. Not all consequences are inherent and we can choose how to deal with the ones that we are subjected to. We do not have to buy in to the media's rhetoric by trying to play the good protester. This is a political choice that is made.

You and Me and Them

This was a confrontation with the puppets of 'Intervention'. I refer to the 'Northern Territory Intervention' - this year renamed 'Stronger Futures' and extended for a further ten years with even more harsh and punitive measures, which perpetuates the genocidal project

that began in 1788. But I also refer to every part of the State's political charter, historically and in the present, as an intervention into our free lives.

If we are honest with each other, how do we really feel about a situation where nothing really ensued but a simple flash of fear instilled for just one moment in their whole lives, lives that they have dedicated to fucking us over? If we can talk freely with each other away from surveillance and manipulation, in the trust of each other's company, could we then feel safe to say that we would love to see them stripped of their powers in our lifetimes, left to deal with the world in a realistic way as apposed to as an abstraction at our expense?

Nobody was arrested that day, and there was no raid on our camp. This could not have been due to the denouncing of the action to the media. Creating our own media is one of our strengths, our dynamic revolutionary action against the controlling media, which as it currently exists, as always is our enemy.

After Aboriginal people met together in different groupings of people present from all over Australia there was a decision made to speak to the media. The people that spoke were very strong in their assertion of the real issues at hand: of land theft, genocide, deaths in custody and of a government organisation that continues to violently control Aboriginal lives through every policy. They also chose to speak of the collective and grass-roots organising within struggles and their refusal of representation by government or any other self nominated representatives.

Kids attacking the institutions of genocide

As opportunities for direct action can present themselves unexpectedly and with little time to make a choice it is impossible to receive approval before or even after from all those involved in struggle. This is a part of our diversity of struggle and diversity of tactics within a social war. If we do not wholly agree with certain forms of struggle it is still possible to engage in discussion, to be honest about our critiques or preferences and ideas on tactics.

On the third day a march took to the streets and to the steps of parliament house. A lot of people participated and some of the Aboriginal fighters had dancing, words and symbolic gestures that they wanted to animate.

Burning the flag has significance as a symbolic gesture in Australia, as resistance to the genocide and pain of colonially asserted nationalism. Nationalism is glorified by a day of celebration that is celebrated across all of Australia and exists every single day through institutionalised racism and ongoing genocide. This nationalism is the ongoing mechanism of colonisation's inclusion and exclusion process.

We can also note symbolism, familiarity and tradition in the burning of the flag in other struggles around the world. The flag is a symbol and so it is a symbolic action to burn it. This communicates a meaning and we recognise that it is but one symbolic reference to struggle. It was a young girl who burnt this flag and also showed amazing strength in the

words she chose while explaining her need to burn and spit on the Australian flag. Direct action is meaningful for the kids of this society. To refuse from very early in life the institutions of hate that we are supposed to inherit carries deeper meaning almost than we can say. A culture of resistance becomes cross generational and there are many things to be learnt from the generations before and those still to come, not simply from the top down from older to younger. The challenge is to foster autonomy across all the ages that would try to resist. To grow solidarity to support actions practically in a situation where adults are also kept as children by the state. We need to think of how minorities can foster strong direct action, stay strong against the repression and counter-insurgency of the state. This will always be a question for Anarchists/anti-authoritarians and Aboriginal people also.

There is a lot to be learnt from the history of Aboriginal struggle; the Tent Embassy was a strong, militant, act that has also facilitated and ignited many other tools of struggle; the Wave Hill Station walk off that the Tent Embassy was initiated in solidarity with, the insurrections that occurred after T.J Hicky and Mulrunji Doomadgee's deaths at the hands of the police and so much more.

Our time together: shared not stolen, invested or spent

This time at the Embassy gathering there was a reduced presence of political parties and big trade unions and this allowed decisions to be made autonomously. It is important to recognise political

opportunism and entryism but also to distinguish between this and real solidarity between struggles.

Many people expressed analysis of the role of Aboriginal government officials and representatives being disconnected to the collective struggle, and this kind of analysis is really important for strong anti-colonial struggle. A clear analysis of any of the mechanisms of colonisation, the 'native police' for example would include the limited opportunities for survival within colonisation as a reason that people would find themselves in these positions, that tie in to their own and others oppressions. The potential of inter-cultural collectivising and solidarity within Aboriginal struggles has been formed via organising in decentralised ways in this time of coming together at the Tent Embassy and within Aboriginal struggle generally. This could never be established through top down representation by politicians, for the latter only brings dilution and betrayal of struggle.

People speak for themselves in struggle from their own subject position, although it is also symptomatic of the systemic functions of oppression, and the frame-work of reformist politics that the most oppressed people find themselves in a position to 'ask' for the least. After all how much can you really ask of the powers that oppress you? For people who have to deal with terrifying facts such as rampant and constant deaths in custody, it would be understandably hard to conceive of carrying a political discourse that embraces an end to incarceration altogether. This would be a point of collaboration- a nexus between

Anarchist and anti-authoritarian philosophy and Aboriginal struggle. To ask for equality within the penal system, the very language of 'rights' being used as a government abstraction when people will continue to be locked up and tortured, and the difficulty of finding a political language are bypassed when people find ways to respond directly against the root cause of the harsh realities they face every day.

Capitalism is in no way beautiful, but burning it is

Nobody should be homeless or dying in prisons. These are gross inequalities caused by capitalism; the state -the enforcer will never turn around and be accountable. We need to remain strong and refuse to buy into the state's rhetoric,

“Solidarity binds stronger than chains; practical, down to earth and dignified solidarity is our strength as we intensify the class clash from below”

believing that it will reform. The state, the abuser, is the problem; the obstacle between a person and what they need, unless you are part of the middle and upper-ruling class is the state.

It is the nature of domination and class oppression and also of the limitations of any 'recognition' or 'reconciliation' of Aboriginal life within a capitalist society, that what is forced upon all the underclasses as goals to be achieved keeps us further away from what we really want. We must work to buy a house or pay the rent and to find and keep the job and we must conform to society in many other ways. This is consuming and total.

Within this same power structure, Aboriginal people have a better chance of striving for these same 'achievements' than of having autonomy duly recognised. This example illustrates the impossibility of the situation because as we know Aboriginal disadvantage within this game is virtually still just segregation from even participating in it, yet with no exit point. With an entire society based on a one dimensional competition, all players chained to each other intrinsically, we are expected to believe, no matter how low in the system, that the only way to affect our differences is individually, to do 'better' within this society, via changes to government or receiving charity or finding individual success. This is also an oxymoron, as buying land, land that was first stolen, is still a massive exploitation by the colonists therefore it would surely be hard for any Aboriginal person to recognise as an achievement, even after all the work and struggle involved in obtaining it.

Capitalist society cannot exist without this class tension, no matter the differences in class presentations according to the different powers at play. Solidarity binds stronger than chains; practical, down to earth and dignified solidarity is our strength as we intensify the class clash from below. To be true to collective need we begin to engage with the acts of equal re-distribution of wealth and resources; for example taking over work places towards an end to class inequalities. Some inspiring examples, though they vary greatly and each has had limitations, are -the Aboriginal Medical Centre, a community controlled organisation initiated in 1971; Tranby College for its philosophy of communal ownership and self-management, shared working and learning; the Tanengtyere council of the Town camps in Alice Springs where before the Intervention people collectivised in many ways including moneys for community needs; two recent (2012) hospital occupations by workers in Greece where the hospital workers who had not been paid for six months decided to continue to run the hospitals how they wanted -turning the hospital into a free public health facilities.

What are under attack are, as always, our strongest weapons: collectivity, solidarity, sharing, trust, un-surveilled communication and self-determination. This is visible in the struggle up until now and of course evident in the Intervention/Stronger Futures and other vicious acts of our later years of advanced colonisation; a clear attempt to finally deal with 'the Aboriginal problem'. For example in the case of Palm Island's Lex

Patrick Wotton, who was charged with inciting a riot following the death in police custody of Mulrunji Doomadgee. On his release after six years, his parole conditions stated that he was not allowed to speak to the media and needed to gain permission before he could attend any public meeting on Palm Island.

“What are under attack are, as always, our strongest weapons”

It is only when we continue to strike ever-escalating fear in the minds and hearts of those who orchestrate our suffering, exploitation and oppression that we know we are beginning to win. Together let's create a bigger Aboriginal and non-Indigenous 'problem'. To win is to render all the systems of our oppression no longer serviceable by those that would otherwise continue in using them, as with the bush fire burning off refuse, we make way for the work of attaining, fixing and living our own free lives.



Apocalypse activism: a review of the film *END:CIV*

END:CIV is a film doing the rounds of radical spaces and a distillation of certain currents of thought. It's a propaganda film, and quite a well made one. But it's primarily a film that wants to convince activists just to be more hardcore activists: and therefore I don't think it's going to get us anywhere much good at all.

The film is based on the writings of Derek Jensen, in particular the two-volume *Endgame*. It's made up of talking-head interviews with Jensen and other activists/writers from the North American anti-civ/radical environmental/anti-colonial/anarchist milieu. Interspersed with these are case studies of a sort: particular key examples of environmental devastation and systemic violence and, sometimes, resistance. It's well put together in a Rage

Against the Machine video clip kind of way: pictures of western decadence and war intercut with images of clearcut forests and the hard working/starving brown bodies of the global south (more on that problematic later.)

The film names the system responsible for its footage of devastation as civilisation. Now, the general response to the idea of opposing or bringing down *civilisation* tends to be something like 'fuck that, I don't want to live in the forest and eat berries.' For the moment, however, I want to step around the idea of being *for* or *against* technology (which isn't really what the film is about) in order to look at what else the film says about how we live and how this could be changed. That is, I want to talk about people (and the organisation between us), rather than talking about things.

END:CIV defines ‘civilisation’ as a form of social organisation: life based in cities, such that groups of people need resources from outside the area they live in. However the film primarily talks about ‘industrial civilisation’, which isn’t defined but which I take to mean the oil-based economy: our present capitalist order. I don’t want to ignore the very real differences in analysis between those of us who name the problem as ‘capitalism’ and those who name it ‘civilisation’, but I do think that generally we are responding to the same set of structures and problems.

Environmentally-friendly cluster bombs and other wonders of the world.

It’s a film about the devastating effects of the current system and the failure of partial responses to the ecological crisis this system has created. The film is strongest in its critiques of the illusion of ‘green capitalism’. There are certain things that bring the horrid absurdity of the whole system unto sharp focus, and footage of Obama launching an ‘environmentally friendly’ fighter jet (it’s called the Green Hornet, it runs on biofuels) is one such key image. Similarly, the list of heads of major environmental lobbying organisations who have moved to head logging/mining/petroleum companies is also revealing of certain key truths.

The problem, as the film points out, is that all of this corporate environmentalism – and the argument that change can come through individual consumer choices of ‘green’ versions of products – takes the

industrial economy as something that must continue, while life on this planet is more optional.

It’s easier to imagine the end of the world than the end of capitalism.

“It seems to be easier for us today to imagine the thoroughgoing deterioration of the earth and of nature than the breakdown of late capitalism; perhaps that is due to some weakness in our imaginations.”

- Frederic Jameson, *The Seeds of Time* (1994)

The film looks to and dreads apocalypse. Hanging over us is the threat and promise of a future event: peak oil and collapse and the tipping point of global warming all combining in one imminent moment. This creates a sense of urgency. We’re out of *time*. We have to *act now*. There isn’t enough time to convince the majority of people to change so we just have to *do what it takes*.

Now, I have sympathy for some iterations of urgency: for the idea that we don’t wait for the perfect (future) historical moment but strike now, in and for our own lives. But this is different from an urgency that says that we have no time to make choices. There’s also a difference in starting from our own lives because that is where we are, because we recognise that we’re fighting for our own lives, and making an assumption that we will forever be a minority: the only people able to work out that action is needed.

Give up activism

“We have to accept and internalise that the majority of institutions, the majority of people, are never going to be on our side. So we have to sit down as individuals, as activists, as communities of resistance, cultures of resistance and say, ok, what will it take to stop this culture from destroying the planet.”

- END:CIV

This is the core problem of END:CIV. It ignores social organisation and just divides the world into three types of people. There are the bad people who have too many interests in the state of things and won't be convinced by anything but force. There are activists, who care and do things but aren't doing enough. And then there's everyone else, the masses, who are kind of bought off, kind of miserable, but neutral.

The aim of the film is to convince activists to accept and use more militant tactics. However, rather than doing the same thing but more, maybe we need to question more deeply how we see the world and how we imagine changing it.

Although there are useful critiques of aspects of it, 'Give Up Activism'¹ remains an important commentary on the activist mentality, especially of the continuity from single-issue campaigns (say, environmentalism) to a revolutionary movement (anti-capitalism, or an attempt to 'bring down civilisation').

By 'an activist mentality' what I mean is that people think of

1. 'Give Up Activism', *Do or Die* #9, 1999, <http://www.eco-action.org/dod/no9/activism.htm>

themselves primarily as activists and as belonging to some wider community of activists. The activist identifies with what they do and thinks of it as their role in life, like a job or career. In the same way some people will identify with their job as a doctor or a teacher, and instead of it being something they just happen to be doing, it becomes an essential part of their self-image.

The activist is a specialist or an expert in social change. To think of yourself as being an activist means to think of yourself as being somehow privileged or more advanced than others in your appreciation of the need for social change, in the knowledge of how to achieve it and as leading or being in the forefront of the practical struggle to create this change.

[...] The activist, being an expert in social change, assumes that other people aren't doing anything to change their lives and so feels a duty or a responsibility to do it on their behalf. Activists think they are compensating for the lack of activity by others. Defining ourselves as activists means defining our actions as the ones which will bring about social change, thus disregarding the activity of thousands upon thousands of other non-activists. Activism is based on this misconception that it is only activists who do social change - whereas of course class struggle is happening all the time.

There really isn't that much difference between blockading infrastructure with a mass of bodies and destroying it through sabotage if both interventions are isolated acts carried out by a group of specialists. People will be moved on, things will be rebuilt. Either act only has meaning as part of a broader web of activity, as something that spreads. It is not easy to be certain how an action will resonate and echo – but this is no excuse to give up any consideration of what an act means and to whom.

Violence isn't the issue

END:CIV's critique of an ideological commitment to non-violence is one of its strengths.² It makes the point that the

2 I have to step away from the film for just a minute, as we can't really ignore Jensen's participation in the recent debates around violence and the Occupy movement. Jensen was interviewed by Chris Hedges for the notorious article in which Hedges calls the Black Bloc a 'cancer' in Occupy. Jensen's participation in this article is quite a contrast to the critique he makes in the film of the ideology of nonviolence. Hedges' article performs the same ahistorical glorification of Martin Luther King that the film criticises. Jensen says that it's ok for people in Nigeria to struggle violently, because they've tried to work within the system and that hasn't worked out for them. But people in the US, he says, have to try working within the system first. This doesn't just go against the arguments he himself has made in his books and writing, it's also a fairly standard neo-colonial double standard: brown people far away can't be expected to hold to the same moral standards as 'us.'

Jensen's about-turn seems to be because he got pissed off at some anarchists who criticised him for going to the FBI after

maintenance of the current system relies on (often hidden) violence. It also places the historical figures often (re)cited as proof of the success of non-violent activism – Martin Luther King and Gandhi – within a historical context, and shows that they were actually part of much broader movements which included other tactics and other figureheads – Malcom X and Bhagat Singh.

Jensen relates a conversation he had with a friend in which he explains the violence hidden in our everyday life. He says: 'why do you pay rent? Because otherwise you'd be evicted by force. Where was your shirt made? Bangladesh.' But what does it mean to equate 'Bangladesh' with violence while clearly addressing an audience that he assumes is far away from such violence? Or rather, whose violence is he referring to here? The violence used against Bangladeshi workers? Or the violence of the workers who burn down their factories?³ People are not simply recipients of the violence of capital, nor passive beneficiaries of its violence. Capitalism is only violent because it has to be: because of resistance. But where do factory-burning workers fit in an analysis that says that 'we' won't have time to convince most people that things need to change?

In making the point that petitions and demands will not be enough to effect real change the film makes the argument

receiving death threats: so he now wants to criticise all anarchists (which he, like Hedges, equates with the Black Block Organisation).

3. For example: <http://libcom.org/news/short-fuse-50000-workers-streets-50-factories-burning-bangladesh-30062009>

that change will not come through moral persuasion. And it's true that the wealthy and the powerful will never be talked out of their wealth and power, no matter how nicely formatted the letter. However, the analysis that change doesn't come from persuasion alone is then extended to an understanding that there isn't time to convince most people of what needs to be done. The activist idea that it's all about us, the people with the right ideas, putting these ideas in people's heads is mixed with a pessimism that suggests that most people will never grasp 'our' ideas. When you add to this an analysis that sees force as separate too – and more important than – ideas, and throw in the urgency of the end of the world, you get a confusing and dangerous mix.

We have not been invaded by aliens – the apocalypse is already here

"There is no coming apocalypse to be caused by climate change. We are living in the midst of the apocalypse today. [...] Yet every moment in history yearns to be insurrectionary. However, making the insurrection generalise and succeed is a question not only of our subjective desire to overthrow capital and the state, but also of objective conditions in which such an overthrow of the existing order makes sense to people in terms of their survival and the survival of their children. With catastrophic climate change, the objective conditions have never been better."

- Introduction to the Apocalypse¹

1. Introduction to the Apocalypse, December 2009, <http://www.politicisnotabanana.com/2009/12/were-only-partially-responsible-for.html>

“Capitalism isn't an external invading force. We all keep capitalism going everyday.”

The film's tagline is: "If your homeland was invaded by aliens who cut down the forests, poisoned the water and air, and contaminated the food supply, would you resist?" But the problem is, while all of these things are happening, they are not being done by aliens. Similarly, speakers in the film use metaphors of fascist occupation and colonisation: but capitalism isn't an external invading force. We all keep capitalism going every day.

We can see the same thing in two ways. One way of looking at it is to see the system as a giant machine in which people are fixed and powerless. Or, we can see that people are more powerful than the machines of civilisation because without us they would simply be things. It's our work (in all its forms) that keeps the system moving. As someone wrote on a wall: 'The boss needs us. We don't need the boss.'

Capitalism isn't its things. It's an anarchist truism to say that you can't blow up a social relationship. However, there's certainly destruction involved in the process of restructuring social

relationships. But what is created (new relationships, new spaces, new senses of possibility) is as important as what is destroyed.

'Realism' and 'success'

"Organised resistance means facing power head on"

- END:CIV

"...it shows all the symptoms of sickness of a not-so-anarchist conception of struggle and revolution, which believes in being able to pose an illusionary anarchist mastodon before the mastodon of power in a symmetrical way"

- Letter to the anarchist galaxy⁵

The film suggests that if we're going to be realistic about making the changes that are needed then we need to adopt a certain structure for the movement. Now, I am always sceptical of calls to be realistic, because they always involve accepting certain elements of the current state of things. The things I want are impossible.

END:CIV suggests that we need to look at 'successful movements' from the past and follow their model of specialisation into an above-ground and a below-ground wing⁶. But what do they mean

5 November 2011,

http://theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Anonymous_Letter_to_the_anarchist_galaxy.html

6 Other critics have noted that of course the talking-heads and theorists of this model (ie those featured in this film) assume that their place is to be an above-ground leader, rather than one of the people taking the risk of putting the ideas into practice. I do think that saying all of this publicly does involve a

by a successful movement?

The key example given of a movement that followed this structure is the ANC, the African National Congress in South Africa.⁷ However, is the ANC really a success? Yes, the apartheid system was ended and that's a victory that deserves to be celebrated. But when the ANC took power, they instituted neo-liberal policies that mean that the majority of Black South Africans are actually worse off than they were under apartheid, and that inequality has increased.⁸ So holding the ANC up as a success is very historically ignorant for a film that is very good, elsewhere, and analysing movements of the past. Either that, or it's revealing: perhaps the film is suggesting that the movement to be created can abolish civilisation on behalf of everyone else, and if they then put something even worse in place, that's just too bad.



certain amount of risk.

7 I can't remember if this example was given in the film or by the film's director after the Sydney screening.

8 See, for example, 'Amandala! Ngawethu!', Jeremy, *Mutiny 64*, March/April 2012, http://jura.org.au/files/jura/MZ64_Print.pdf



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