





# MUTINY

A PAPER OF ANARCHISTIC IDEAS & ACTIONS



-  An indepth report on the Copenhagen climate protests by our foreign correspondent Sourdough
-  Analysis of the experiences of the Indigenous bus to the Copenhagen protests by Ana
-  A bunch of revo ratbags look into issues surrounding free speech and confronting fascism
-  A call for solidarity with the workers of Haiti following the recent earthquake

## Upcoming Events

**Tuesday 26th January** 2nd annual Invasion Day "Capture the Flag" competition - Sydney's greatest Australian flag-stealing competition! Prizes awarded for most flags stolen; largest flag stolen and best flag-stealing story. Keep an eye out for fliers, emails and texts for time and location (or email Mutiny kids)!

**Saturday 30th January 2pm-6pm** Jura Books community meeting, 440 Paramatta Rd, Petersham. [www.jura.org.au](http://www.jura.org.au)

**Saturday February 13th** Rally against the Northern Territory Intervention  
**9 am** La Perouse point, Bunnerong rd for the walk against racism to join the Redfern rally.

**1 pm** Rally at The Block, Redfern

**February 6th, 7th** National Abortion Rights Meeting, at the Teacher's Federation Building. 23-33 Mary Street, Surry Hills, NSW 2010, Australia.  
Support and Solidarity with Queensland couple who face jail over accessing an abortion, as well as working towards nationwide action.  
Contact Marg 0407665867 for information about session times and how to get involved.

**Sunday February 31st** Black Rose Books Community Meeting 22 Enmore Rd, Newtown

**Mutiny** is an anarchist collective based in Sydney. We started this zine to explore different avenues of disobedience & resistance, & to encourage people to write about their ideas, actions & experiences.

**W**e meet regularly, please contact us on the address below:  
 mail: c/- PO Box 4, Enmore, NSW 2042, Australia  
 email: mutineers@graffiti.net  
 web: back issues at [www.jura.org.au/mutiny](http://www.jura.org.au/mutiny)

**E**ditors for this month: Max Solidarity, Brassy F. Gnoll, Cynical Smurf, Phoenix, Dumpstered Twin, Exploded Cake, Graf Cat, Mambutu Nizwa & Syzygy.

( *The mutiny zine collective does not necessarily agree with all the opinions of contributors. Contributors do not necessarily agree with all the opinions of the mutiny collective. The mutiny collective doesn't agree with all the opinions of the mutiny collective.* )

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## Reviews – Still Fierce

Still Fierce was an all trans\* performance night for the 11th annual Transgender Day of Remembrance. It was held at Serial Space on Saturday, November 23rd.



Transgender Day of Remembrance is held in November every year to those who have been killed by transphobic violence and prejudice. The event began in San Francisco in 1999, to remember Rita Hester who was murdered on November 28th, 1998. The inaugural Transgender Day of Remembrance saw the beginning of the internet project 'Remembering Our Dead' – an online list of trans folk who have been killed.

Still Fierce aimed to pay respect to gender-variant folks who have come before us, to mourn and commemorate those who have passed on, and to celebrate the fierceness and resilience in our communities.

The night was hosted by the gorgeous Regrette and attended by a large eclectic group of gender variant folks and supporters. The performances mirrored the spectrum of those in attendance – including acoustic performances, poetry readings and spoken word. The walls of the space were adorned with art made by various trans\* folks.

Importantly, Still Fierce attempted to critically engage and participate in Trans Day of Remembrance by questioning the traditional description of transphobia as the definitive cause of violence against gender-variant people. As part of the organising collective, we believe that the various hierarchies of race, class, sexuality and ableism also play a significant factor, and these have somewhat been ignored by many Trans Day of Remembrance events.

by Phoenix

## Avatar



A 3D Sci-fi flick about the corporate exploitation of the Na'vi people, who live on the alien world Pandora (hilariously the American colonialists are attempting to extract the valuable mineral 'unobtainium'). Certainly Avatar is beautifully made. Where most movies have individuals on the credits, it has whole graphic departments. It's not surprising that people are seeing it for this aspect alone. The 3D graphics aren't just a technical excess to lure you in, but are integral to the film and really succeed in bringing the world to life. Plus, there are numerous flying Pterodactyl like creatures! Awesome. The plot is quite well structured and the film flows nicely.

Some conservative critics are outraged by it. Miranda Devine from the SMH claims that it is both anti-American and anti-human. This is a good reason for anyone to see it! Unfortunately its politics are limited by and exemplify standard Hollywood liberalism. Whilst there is a mutiny of a small group of soldiers and scientists who see the wrongs of 'killing the Indigenous', it is ultimately Jake Sully, the white male ex-marine hero, who is needed to 'save' the Na'vi. Such paternalism substantially reduces the agency and power of the Na'vi themselves. While it's good that there is a strong degree of environmental awareness; such politics are once again equated with Indigenous people and cultures. Rather than a radical ecology for our times environmentalism is reduced to becoming spiritualist hippies.

Corporate execs are delighted by the possibilities for undermining internet piracy offered by 3D films. Despite Cameron's good intentions this might be Avatar's most important legacy. The plot is similar to Ursula Le Guin's short story *The Word for World is Forest* unfortunately without nearly as good politics. Le Guin's story features an alien species successfully resisting corporate exploitation by humans on their own, without needing help from outside 'saviours'. Watch Avatar for the world and the visual effects, read Le Guin for lessons about genuine resistance.

by Mambutu Nizwa & Syzygy

## Solidarity with Haitian Workers

A natural disaster has descended upon Haiti whose scope we are only seeing the surface of. The Haitian people will be struggling to rebuild their lives and their homes possibly for decades in light of the unprecedented collapse, both physical and social.

Yet despite the unpredictability of earthquakes, this disaster is unnatural, a monstrosity of our time. The extent of the damage of the earthquake is part of the cost of unrestrained exploitation which at every step put profit above the health, safety, and well being of the Haitian people. While the world watches on ready to help, power is being dealt an opportunity. The Haitian workers and peasants have been fighting for their rights to even the most basic level of existence for decades, while the UN-occupying force, the state, and the ruling elites maintain the social misery without relenting.

Now as Port-Au-Prince is in rubble, new opportunities arise for rulers to rebuild Haiti in their own interests, and likewise for the Haitian workers and peasants to assert their right to their own Haiti, one where they will not be forced to live in dangerous buildings, and work merely to fill the pockets of elites, foreign or domestic.

As we move from watching in horror to taking decisive action, progressives can offer an alternative. There is a strong and beautiful desire to do something, to help others in this time of need. Our actions are strongest when we organise ourselves, and make a concerted effort in unity. Right now we can have the deepest impact by committing ourselves to act in solidarity with the autonomous social movements of Haiti directly. They present the best possible option for the Haitian people, and are in the greatest need. At the same time, we are in the best position to help them

out: our common interest as people engaged in struggling against a system that works to exploit us all. We are calling for solidarity people-to-people engaged in common struggle. It is not only a question of money for aid but also an autonomous and independent act of international solidarity that illuminates the bankruptcy of the occupying forces, multinational corporations, and Haitian elites that are primarily responsible for the decayed state of Haiti. There will be aid flowing and money given as a form of charity until the next disaster.

Our act of solidarity should, in no shape or form, be solely an act of humanitarian aid. It should not be an apolitical act, and we shouldn't give the green light to those that wish to capitalise on the suffering of others. It should be an act of solidarity to the struggling people of Haiti and their organisations while at the same time rejecting the totally inept Haitian elites and their state apparatus for bankrupting Haiti.

The earthquake is a natural disaster, but the state of Haiti, the abject poverty of the masses and the vile injustice of the social order, are unnatural. We have a relationship with one organisation, Batay Ouvriye, and are putting our resources and time into helping Batay Ouvriye to help rebuild from the catastrophe and maintain the struggle for a better Haiti and a better world.

Batay Ouvriye is a combative grassroots worker and peasant's organisation in Haiti with workers organised all over Haiti, especially in the industrial sweatshops and Free Trade Zones. We have set up a means to send money to Batay Ouvriye. If others wish to send money to Batay Ouvriye, please email [miamiautonomyandsolidarity@yahoo.com](mailto:miamiautonomyandsolidarity@yahoo.com).

- *Miami Autonomy & Solidarity* and *Batay Ouvriye Haiti Solidarity Network*



web:  
[www.batayouvriye.org/English/Welcome.html](http://www.batayouvriye.org/English/Welcome.html)

## Brief News

### Australia

The raffle to save Jura is over and it was a great success. Thanks to the Australian anarchist community Jura raised \$13,000!

All of this was done by a few dozen volunteers.

Now there is only \$2,000 left to pay on the Jura mortgage!

Through collective action, the crisis Jura faced has been turned into an opportunity and a success for anarchism in Sydney. For details of the prize winners (you should already know who you are) see [www.jura.org.au](http://www.jura.org.au)

### Australia

On the 23rd of December, the indigenous sacred healing tree, known also as the "guardian tree", on Alum Mountain, Bulahdelah, was destroyed by the Roads and Traffic Authority (RTA) to make way for the Pacific Highway upgrade in the area. The RTA won the case in the Lands and Environment Court after 9 years of resistance from indigenous residents. The 500 year-old white mahogany tree was cut down after a protester was arrested from upper branches with aid of a cherry-picker, whilst local indigenous residents and protesters were kept away from the site by police. The destruction of the tree follows months of attacks on Bulahdelah protest camps by locals.



### New Zealand

Approximately 200 people attended New Zealand's first Climate Camp on 16-21 December 2009, in Moonshine Park, Upper Hutt, 40 minutes north of Wellington. The Camp offered a model of sustainable infrastructure, educational workshops and space for people to meet and have discussion about real solutions to climate change. Daily morning meetings were also held where participants met in their local 'neighbourhood' to address any issues relevant to the Camp, on the whole modeling grassroots democracy in action, which many activists see as an important ingredient for climate justice.

The neighbourhood structure also helped to facilitate the formation of 'affinity groups' that together organised the direct actions on the last day of the Camp. About 14 groups formed to organise action around the general message that 'Our Climate Is Not Your Business', targeting profiteers of climate change. Activists converged on the New Zealand Stock Exchange in Wellington, as a symbol of the failure of market-based mechanisms to address climate change and of those benefiting from pushing mechanisms like emissions trading. The energetic and colourful protest caused disruption of the NZX for a few hours, and there were also two separate banner drops. The actions resulted in 10 arrests (though these did not lead to charges or fines), wide mainstream media that commented on the actions in the context of the failure of the Copenhagen negotiations, and a general feeling amongst participants that Climate Camp was an important step in the development of a climate justice movement in Aotearoa.

See [www.climatecamp.org.nz](http://www.climatecamp.org.nz)

### Copenhagen

Protestors at the Copenhagen climate summit, demonstrating against false solutions to climate change like 'green capitalism', carbon offsetting and emission trading were subject to significant state

repression. There is a continuing need for solidarity. Around 1800 people were arrested in total; many through 'pre-emptive arrests'. Undercover cops abducted one person the day before the final protest.

Some are now being absurdly prosecuted for "shouting push" during the Reclaim Power action (people pushed at the summit's fences). At the moment 2 are still in jail, one from Belarus and one from France, and have been for over a month. 8 others were in prison for 3 weeks.

In an open statement several of the prisoners argued that: "We are just temporarily docked, ready to sail again with a wind stronger than ever. It's a matter of love, justice and dignity".

Information and the latest updates can be found at: <http://www.cop-enhagen.net/index.php/Main/Support>

### Italy

A racist attack on African migrant farm workers in the Southern Italian region of Calabria by a gang of local youths armed with air rifles has provoked a series of actions in the town of Rosarno. Hundreds of cars were damaged and set on fire as the migrants sought revenge for the attack that left several of them injured.

Some migrants erected road blocks on the main roads into the town, whilst shop windows were smashed as up to 2,000 immigrants gathered to protest outside city hall, chanting "we are not animals" and waved placards saying "Italians here are racist". They demanded to see the town's government commissioner, Francesco Bagnato, Nearby locals clashed with police and the situation was further inflamed when a local fired a rifle to apparently try and scare the migrants off.

Interior Minister Roberto Maroni, in typical fashion, sought to exploit the situation, saying, "In all these years illegal immigration has been tolerated without doing anything effective, an immigrant that on the one hand has fed crime and on the other has led to situations of extreme

squalor such as that at Rosarno". The migrants are exploited both by the local farmers and by organised criminal gangs, and many are forced to live in squalid conditions in empty factories.

### Iran

28th December: Following mass anti-government protests on Sunday 27th December, armed, plain clothes government forces arrested Mahin Fahimi in her home. Fahimi is a member of the group "Mothers for Peace. Two other left-wing student activists – Omid Montazeri (Fahimi's son) and Ardavan Tarakameh – were also arrested.

In an apparent effort to stem leftist protesting, on the same morning as these arrests, government controlled tv stations broadcast programs recalling the mass-murders of dissident leftists in 1980s, when up to 30 000 leftists and freedom fighters were executed by government forces. These broadcasts are perceived to be a blatant threat by the Iranian government to leftists – a reminder of what will happen if dissent continues.

### Egypt



December 27th – 1,360 international activists from 43 countries gathered in Cairo for the Gaza Freedom March – to commemorate the 1 year anniversary since Israeli operation Cast Lead; to break the ongoing siege on Gaza; and to highlight the Egyptian complicity in the siege, as Egypt has kept their border with Gaza mostly sealed since Hamas took power in Gaza in June 2007. Egyptian authorities initially refused to allow protestors to travel up to the Gaza border, before making a token gesture and allowing 100 of the group to

peoples, we will oppose REDD and REDD+ and carbon offsetting projects, including CDM projects.

The fundamental aim of COP15 negotiations was to find ways to fund businesses who continue to pollute the planet and make outrageous profits by robbing the poor to pay for their excesses. Its no surprise to me that Climate Change Policies and Treaties (supposedly designed to address real emergencies, like rising sea levels, for peoples like the Kiribati) are being used to facilitate and create the structures for a new round of capitalist, imperialist primitive accumulation (i.e. where wealthy nations and multinationals accumulate profits off the backs of poor, and indigenous communities around the world).



Unsurprisingly was another white wash.

It was the stance of the indigenous peoples in Copenhagen that was inspiring to me. The hard work of the indigenous environmental network demonstrated the political strength that occurs when peoples determine their own struggles in relation to climate change.

The public face of activism and anarchism at Copenhagen and throughout Europe is mainly white. Shocking really when there are so many peoples from the 3rd and 4th world that have been in Europe for generations. My main criticism of the organising I saw in Copenhagen is that it was Eurocentric,

driven mainly by Anglo and American activists. Climate justice seems to be a bandwagon that everyone is jumping on.

We are fighting for the survival of our mother earth. In the Pacific our fight is for our lives and the continuation of us as peoples. We are in a time when we have to stand up fight for it, or lose it for ever. I dont want to see another worldwide-struggle neutralised by the control of western liberal activism.

By the end of my time in Copenhagen, I was tired of activists patronising the peoples from the third and fourth worlds ( the global south). What use is there in talking to disengaged Europeans? What will they do to forward to struggles of the peoples in the Pacific? Only our people will free themselves.

The Pacific is facing huge stress and huge regional pressures. Climate change is a clear and present danger to the Pacific peoples: land, lives; culture and peoples are at risk. Climate change is no distant threat: it is happening now. Rising sea-levels are eating up the land of the islands; salination means more and more arable lands for cultivation become untenable. The human face of climate change in the Pacific is heart-breaking; land is close to the heart of all indigenous peoples.

The Pacific is in crisis now. The west will not sacrifice a fucking thing to ensure the survival of my peoples into the next century and beyond. They never gave a fuck when they invaded the Pacific and committed genocide to steal our land and resources, they dont give a fuck now.

I came to Copenhagen with a heavy heart and anger as Pacific peoples face the loss of their lands, genocide desecration of their whenua, and our culture, traditions. We are not climate victims in the Pacific - we are fighting for our survival. But I know that the west will not give up its exploitative way of life to ensure the survival of the lands if indigenous Pacific Islanders. Our only allies here in Europe are those peoples who close down coal stations and those people who directly confront racism, capitalism and exploitation in their own communities.

# Baylon

by Ana

Representing Te Atiwhāteahi, I took part in the Trade to Climate caravan, which took 60 activists from the global south to the WTO meeting in Geneva to COP 15 in Copenhagen.

**In Geneva** for the WTO protests (and ten years since WTO Seattle), the state has refined the art of how to contain & neutralise mass protests. The protest on the day was your typical symbolic march, until different groups decided to take direct action and burn cars and smash the windows of banks. At an evaluation about the protests our organisers on the caravan were apologising for the actions of the black bloc. The majority of my brothers & sisters from the global south, however, recognise that direct-action works and had no problems in supporting the black bloc and the direct action on the day.

**During my time in Switzerland**, the Swiss government had decided to ban the building of new minarets. I am shocked at the growth of racism and a virulent form of anti-Muslim racism and Islamophobia that isn't the preserve of racist right-wing extremists, but is being propagated in the parliamentary democracies of European parliaments.

In response to that racist decision in Switzerland, Muslim youths led a spontaneous candle-light demonstration where they built a paper minaret and publicly stated that they refused to be marginalised and treated like second-class citizens.

**In France** its becoming obvious to me that the French do not like being reminded about their colonial history and current presence in the Pacific: nuclear bomb testing; their current military occupations of the islands of Tahiti & Kanaky (New Caledonia) their recent joint military exercise with Tonga; and their continuing colonisation and exploitation of peoples. I'm not impressed with the architecture, because of the deep denial that the wealth of their nation is built on the back of the blood of the peoples of the third and fourth world.

## Cops in Hagen.

As soon as our bus was on the fringes of Copenhagen we were met with a heavy police presence that escorted our bus to a school car park where they came on-board to check our documentation. Clearly, this was a psychological ploy on their part to intimidate us. It didn't work, but it gave us all a clear idea of the policing we would be facing during COP15.

Leading the march with other indigenous peoples on 12th December was a highlight for me. I marched with Malia Noberg and Fiu Elisara and was honoured to support them, as they have been tirelessly fighting for indigenous rights in the Pacific over the past 25 years. The NZ government, with the support of the Maori, passed an emission trading scheme during the COP15 conference. Why would some Maori support the dairy industry that has been irresponsibly polluting our rivers and environment, rather than the lives of our cousins in Tuvalu, Kiribati, Tokelau and the other many small island communities in the Pacific? Putting the interests of the dairy industry and tribal capitalists out to make a quick buck before the lives and homes of small island communities should be condemned around the Pacific, and by Maori who believe in the values of whanaungatanga and kaitiakitanga.

Within the global indigenous community there has been widespread support for the idea that indigenous peoples rights needed to be protected in any agreements that come out of Copenhagen.

This was articulated by the Indigenous Peoples caucus at the lead-up meeting in Bangkok, when they said: "The recognition of our rights must be in accordance with international human rights law and standards including the UNDRIP and ILO Convention 169, among other human rights instruments. If there is no full recognition and full protection for Indigenous peoples and territories, including the rights to resources, lands and territories, and there is no recognition and respect of our rights of free, prior and informed consent of the affected indigenous

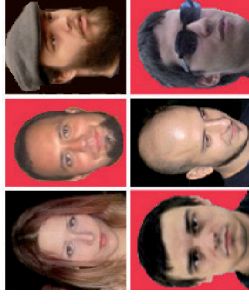
enter Gaza. The remaining activists took to the streets to protest over following days, which met with Egyptian police repression, as public protest is illegal in Egypt. The Gaza Freedom March had hoped to enter the densely-populated Palestinian territory with humanitarian aid for water purification, school materials, medicines and other much needed supplies.

## Palestine

On Sunday 10th January Israeli occupation forces demolished 16 homes and the schoolhouse of the village of Khirbet Tana, near Nablus in the West Bank. 5 bulldozers and 15 jeeps stormed the village, destroying it for the second time since 2005, when all but one of the buildings in the village were demolished. The village has been deemed to be within an "Israeli Closed Military Area" since a military post was constructed in the area in 2005.

## Belgrade

On January 3rd, over 100 people protested in Belgrade to demand the release of the six prisoners, known as the Belgrade Six. The demonstration went from the Ministry of "Justice" to the prison where Tadej Kurep, Ivan Vulović, Sanja Dojkić, Ratibor Trivunac, Nikola Mitrović and Ivan Savic where they have been in custody for the past four months.



People carried signs with slogans such as "Our friends are not terrorists" and "obstructionist injustice".

The Belgrade Six are awaiting trial with outlandish charges are "international terrorism" in connection with minor vandalism which occurred several months ago outside the Greek Embassy in

Belgrade, during a solidarity demonstration for then-imprisoned Greek activist Thodoris Iliopoulos. The Belgrade Six currently face 15 years prison.

More information about the case:

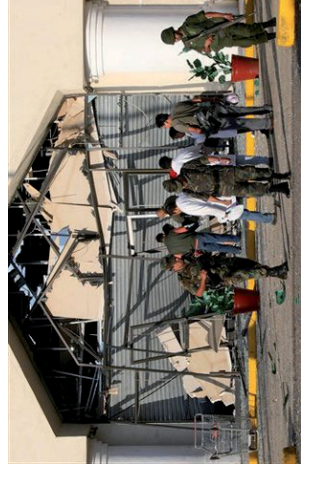
[www.belgradesolidarity.org](http://www.belgradesolidarity.org)

## Mexico

An anarchist group in Mexico has claimed responsibility for 9 recent bombings in Mexico City, Toluca and San Luis Potosi. They targeted ATMs, banks, Nissan,

another car company and Telmex (a telecommunications conglomerate). A statement by the group said: "within our ranks fear has not penetrated, but rather, our hatred of their system has grown

tremendously for many reasons: the torture and detention of young people who are sympathetic to the idea of freedom, for this "crisis" that now keeps us surviving in misery, the laying off of thousands of workers, condemning them to starvation and neglect, for NAFTA which causes peasants to starve, for the killing and disappearing of more than 60 people in the Oaxacan conflict of 2006, and the continuing massacres of peasants and Indians in the south. For the murder of nature through the production of machines, by the indiscriminate killing of animals to feed the capitalist system. These reasons could fill sheet after sheet... anarchists believe that society requires building anew, new methods, ideas and a clear and precise guidance of creative action." The full statement is online in Spanish: <http://conspira1970.wordpress.com/&anno=2/>



## Free Speech and Fascism

written by a bunch of  
revo ratbags

In October and November 2009, two community protests took place outside the Humanist House building in Shepherd St Chippendale. Local residents had recently discovered that a group calling themselves KN (Klub Naziya) were meeting there each month – holding an open discussion and social group. The group exists as a coming-together space for nationalists, white supremacists, fascists and neo-Nazis.

The community demonstrations sought to shut down the meetings, with the aim of having KN kicked out of the space, as well as to draw attention to their presence. The neighbourhood was letterboxed, and postered, and the local community turned out to let this group know that they were unwelcome. Passers-by joined in, as did folks from the local pub. The demonstrations were a success, and in December, KN were kicked out of Humanist House. (In the process it was discovered that many of the far-right had infiltrated the Humanist Society and attempted to sell the \$3 million building in order to use the money for an “education fund”).

In the process of these actions questions were raised by some as to whether these demonstrations were in themselves a form of fascism – advocating that everyone is entitled to free speech, and that by shutting down their meetings we were denying them this.

What follows is a discussion of the ideas around these questions. It's not exhaustive, and we are not experts, but it goes somewhat to addressing the argument.

**Why can we shut down summit meetings without question, but fascists somehow deserve to meet unhindered, under the auspices of freedom of speech?**

Protests in Seattle, where communities realised their collective power by shutting down the 1999 WTO conference, were celebrated by the radical left throughout the world. Even in Australia, the shut-down of the World Economic Forum in 2000 is seen as the largest victory of the left in recent years. Blocking businesses, occupying offices, and shutting down pulp mills and coal mines are seen as standard actions for the left the world over. But suddenly when it comes to shutting down meetings of neo-nazis, folks start worrying about their rights to “freedom of speech”. Summit conferences, pulp-mills, coal mines etc are shut down because of the dangerous activities in which they are engaged. But neo-nazi groups aren't sitting around debating how they can raise the most funds for the local homeless shelter. Their ideologies are specifically focused on causing harm to people who are non-white, homosexual, transgender, Jewish, Romani. These are folks who wear swastikas; have “88” tattoos (H is the eighth letter in the alphabet – the numerical equivalent of HH, or “Heil Hitler”); use “Heil Hitler” salutes; and actively celebrate Hitler's birthday. They don't do this as part of some cute anachronism, but as expressions of their politics, which are part of a continuous trajectory from 1930s Europe.

It's these politics that mean that even if KN were a group of fascists gathering in Chippendale in order to raise money for the local homeless shelter, their act of gathering would still itself be a violent one. Before even a word is spoken between them, to be seen together: a strong group of neo-nazis, their presence threatens those in the community they see as their enemies: non-white people, trans-people, queers; and adds backbone to the people in the area who may subscribe to aspects of their ideology.

nothing of divisions of class, status and power to name just a cursory few. It is also confounding in terms of what it means say for indigenous people in Australia or North America, as well as obscuring the presence of large communities (both relatively new and more established) of non-white migrants across Europe – a presence that was perhaps not as reflected in Copenhagen as it should have been.

I mention all this now because use of 'people of the global south' did have practical effects in that it permeated discussions on action tactics as well as strategies for the future at the same time as cutting across all groups present – from the liberal left to revolutionaries. It became a pole from which to hoist the flag of whatever your ideology was. If certain values or positions could be aligned with these 'people from the global south', then surely they could not be questioned. And so pacifists would argue against militant action because of the presence of 'people from the global south', an insidiously moralistic and paternalistic line which was not effectively countered because of the authority it drew from presenting itself in such a way.

This leads me to conclude this article with what people in Copenhagen were looking to as the next step in fighting climate change. Just before this and whatever the failures of advancing a revolutionary climate politic were, I have to say that personally, being in Copenhagen was positive for the reason that such gatherings will always be somewhat positive – the chance to meet and be inspired by many amazing people. However, I did find it slightly depressing that after the actions finished a lot of focus shifted towards the next

COP (16) meeting in Mexico in 2010. We seem to have a penchant for the grandly symbolic over the difficulties of grassroots organising, even when it is now clear that such symbolism has little payoff. Surely, we all know by now that always looking to the next summit or gathering of world leaders to practice our radical politics always comes at the expense of being able to practice these politics in a more solid, day-to-day form within the communities we actually live in.

Ultimately, the most significant practical outcome in Copenhagen for the future of the climate change movement was the failure of world leaders to reach any agreement. Unlike at the protests against the WTO in Seattle in 1999, this failure was in no real way brought about by our presence there on the streets. However it does give us space to move and we must fill this space with more than just planning to be in Mexico for another summit protest. Our aim should be that next time we gather we are doing so in a way that reverses the current logic of the movement – that is, instead of gathering in the hope of building a larger movement, we will be gathering because the force of an already existing movement compels us too.

★ the issue of Turbulence newspaper released just before Copenhagen is fantastic. Read it for revolutionary visions of a sustainable world and reflections and analysis about summit protests and tactics. <http://turbulence.org.uk>

★ probably the most inspiring actions of the week were inside the cages built to hold those arrested as spontaneous riots by those held within tore them apart.

### “Opposing fascism in all its forms”

Some folks have expressed concern with the approach of shutting down neo-nazi meetings/activities as a form of fascism in itself. Bound up in this concern is the possibility that it could be them doing it to “us”. In essence this is a classic conundrum of anarchist tendencies. What happens when the advocacy of freedom for all comes up against those who would deprive others of lives, safety, homes? But it becomes ridiculously obtuse to suggest that communities should stand by idly in the face of violence against people because of skin colour, ethnicity or sexuality, in order that they should not interfere with the freedoms of the perpetrators. Similarly, to suggest that shutting down neo-nazi meetings through community demonstrations is necessarily fascist, seems a gross misunderstanding of the nature and extent of fascism.

### Is freedom of speech something we even want to defend?

Freedom of speech refers to the freedom to speak without limitation. An often synonymous term: freedom of expression, refers to the act of seeking, receiving and imparting information or ideas, regardless of the medium used. Under capitalism, freedom of speech and freedom of expression do not exist for all, despite the rhetoric used by the ruling class. Ideas of freedom of speech are cloaked in those of ‘democracy’. It serves to legitimize and consolidate liberal democracy by creating the illusion of freedom. The existing hierarchical class society ensures that it is only a few who have access to the various forms of media and the planning of what is taught in our schools - these are controlled by the government and rich. It follows, that it is the institutionalised racism, sexism, homophobia and transphobia that is apparent in both the media and education systems which guarantees that a completely unobstructed access to voicing of opinions on the radio or in the newspapers, for example, is limited to the ruling class.

The idea of freedom of speech has long been associated with impartiality from the government, and as being a somewhat of a beacon of truth and justice. However, we only need to look to the historical examples from the civil rights movement to see how freedom of speech is, and always has been, state sanctioned and state controlled. Clearly freedom of speech is related to a person’s right to vote, yet Aboriginals have only had that ‘right’ for just over 40 years. Freedom of expression also has clear links to a person’s sexuality, yet it was only in 1984 in Hobart, Tasmania that the last gay man was arrested for having sex with another a man on the side of the road in car – he was jailed for 8 months.



A more current example is around the war on terror and the subsequent rise of racism and hate towards Muslim communities. The rhetoric surrounding the war on terror has also ‘justified’ the introduction of new laws that highlight the role that the state plays in determining who does and who does not have the right to free speech. It is now the case that if you are a white, Christian, middle class person, you apparently have more of a right to free speech than, for example a Middle Eastern born Muslim now living in Australia. . In anti-terrorism trials in Melbourne and Sydney Muslim men have received jail time for ‘radical talk’; whereas Alan Jones, the radio host who incited the Cronulla riot, received a \$10,000 fine (less than a day’s pay).

There are a multitude of examples throughout history that reveal the central role that the state plays in sanctioning who is afforded the right of free speech.

Freedom of speech is not an abstract value that can exist in a bubble separate from everyday life, and relations of power; it is something that only exists in practice, and only insofar as societal relationships work to create it. Rather than unthinkingly defending these so-called “freedoms”, we need to adopt a critical relationship to these notions, in order to develop spaces of genuine freedom.

‘actions’ that we organise and the more passive ‘demonstrations’ that everyone else has. Such a distinction works against what I most hope to be part of when I attend a summit protest, that is, mass direct action. It also plays into the hands of those who draw a line between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ protesters. Unfortunately these people were in Copenhagen in some number too, failing to pay any attention to what was actually happening on the streets and worrying more about the presence of a black bloc than of the violence of the police. However, we shouldn’t simply accept this – instead we should be agitating for greater disobedience on those larger, more passive demos. And so I was disappointed that the fairly interesting (if not completely politically solid) idea of creating a peoples’ assembly just outside the COP 15 by breaching the fences was reserved for the last day of action. By then most people had left or were just too tired and over it. Surely it would have been worth attempting this on the occasion of the largest demo (100, 000 people), which apart from its size was a completely redundant 3 hour stroll into nothingness.

One other thing that was particularly striking about the organising in Copenhagen was the use of the term ‘people of the global south’ as a conceptual cover-all referring to all non-white folk who weren’t from rich, industrialised nations. While often used with good intentions, I found it to be a lazy discursive practice that effectively ‘othered’ the majority of the world at the same time as compartmentalising it in a way that failed to recognise the very different experiences, histories of struggle and spaces inhabited by those it was supposedly referring to. The term is completely hollow because it tells us

Having said that, I also think that most people, especially those already in affinity groups, who arrived from out of town had not prepared enough or weren’t interested in bringing their own exciting ideas and plans of actions into a larger collective space. That is to say, we didn’t take enough responsibility in making the functioning of everything – the communal space, the meeting, the actions – our own thing. Maybe this was for security reasons or due to some skepticism about the point of another summit protest, but it meant the failings of this space to effectively practice and propagate a revolutionary climate politic was mainly our own fault, as the opportunity was there.

In terms of the actions themselves, and how they reflected an attempt at practicing militant, revolutionary politics, a few old problems arose. Many of the attempts at direct action were ill-focused and poorly-judged – although I want to make clear I really respect us for having a go. It’s just that at some point we have to learn from past mistakes. Actions that were meant to be affinity group-based with hopes of being the most militant had centralised starting points, making it too easy for the police to surround and arrest us. The brutal efficiency of the police clearly also had an effect, with pepper spray, tear gas, batons, attacks dogs and the ‘kettling’ tactic used over the week and resulting in about 1800 arrests\*. But this is a problem we must be aware of if we keep choosing to gather outside summits and we must learn and strategise if these moments are to have any worth at all.

Part of the problem seemed to be a distinction that I had never encountered before between the direct

# COP15 Report

## SourDough

Anyone who followed what happened in Copenhagen in December, with the protests against the COP 15 summit on climate change, may have been greatly overwhelmed in terms of the action from the streets that they saw. If so, that feeling is one mirrored by many of us who were there. Despite this, overall events in Copenhagen were significant enough to necessitate proper reflection.

For my contribution to that, I mainly want to focus on the politics articulated in Copenhagen along with what purpose there was for revolutionaries to gather there, what we can take away from that gathering with only a minor amount of reporting on the actions themselves.

Compared to the WTO, IMF, World Bank or other global financial gatherings, COP15 was a more open and transparent meeting. Obviously not nearly open or transparent enough that we should consider it in any way "democratic", but with so much attention from all corners of the world the COP 15 process was meant to provide a veneer of legitimacy for a liberal capitalist way of dealing with climate change. And any agreement reached at it could only have set such a course because the majority of powerful and rich industrial nations made clear beforehand that they would not accept anything that might negatively impact on their economies.

In fact, with capitalism in crisis across the globe, any agreement at COP15 that could be seen as moving forward on the problem of climate change (and that would require very little at all) would provide

a moment of salvation for the current global system. Especially because it is the inclination of many green, middle-class, liberal-types to look to capitalism to provide a solution so as to ensure their status and privilege are not at stake. But with figures of 1.5° Celsius, then 2° and eventually 3° being discussed as the aimed for cap on global temperature rise, it has become clear that the necessary action cannot be provided for under capitalism. Capital requires constant growth of markets and economies, something that cannot be sustained if carbon output is to be reduced.

It was for these reasons that there did seem to be a purpose for radicals with a solid anti-capitalist approach to climate change to gather on the streets of Copenhagen in December. And across the majority of various groups/organisations/tendencies that were in Copenhagen, the slogan 'system change, not climate change' was in common usage. While for many of us the intent of such a line was definitively revolutionary, if a bit rhetorical, for many others it took on no more than a protest call for 'our leaders' to sufficiently reign in the market economy so as to solve climate change. Still, with an overall healthy skepticism about the capacity of capitalism to play a role in creating a sustainable solution to climate change, this was an opportunity for alternative options to be put forward. This was especially important in the face of the worrying trend within sections of this movement to call for an increase in government intervention in daily life. Amongst other things, such reactionary calls could lead dangerously towards stricter and more racist border policing.

In the enormous communal accommodation space that I was

staying in there were nearly 1000 anarchists, libertarians, autonomists from all over Europe and beyond. There was an immediate spirit and energy from all these folk bringing their involvement in a myriad of different struggles to the climate change movement – an energy that suggested there would unavoidably be spaces created at these protests where revolutionary alternatives to climate change would propagate. Instead of the ongoing destructive failures of capital, a non-hierarchical, community and workplace-based control, organisation and distribution of goods and resources could be part of a more sustainable, climate-friendly rethinking of society\*. Even as climate change increasingly becomes the dominant issue, it is crucial to not allow it to be a single-issue movement – moving towards a sustainable society is inherently tied to the emancipation and empowerment of workers, farmers and all oppressed classes.

However, despite an obvious revolutionary spirit amongst those who had gathered there, the focus was so overwhelmingly on action, action, action (six days straight of actions, often complete with mass arrests) that there was no real space created for critical reflection or discussion. While clearly the purpose of going to Copenhagen was to take to the streets, there surely was also some purpose in taking the opportunity of being there together to discuss how we might take action that is more strategic both in the short and long term. We might have asked ourselves what our own roles would be in a revolutionary climate movement.

Our inability to create in Copenhagen these spaces of radical engagement allowed the far too liberal, NGO-focused

and mainstream Klimaforum to preside over all such matters. While there were some good workshops on its program (I went along to two good ones – one a critique of green capitalism and one about climate refugees) there was an overwhelmingly reformist edge to it all. So much of what was there in terms of workshops and stalls reduced the matter to individualistic, lifestyle choices and in doing so propagated green capitalism as a viable solution to climate change. I find myself increasingly wary of how much energy is spent building alliances with this part of the movement, often at the expense of forging stronger bonds with folk who are more likely to be the actual proponents of the 'system change' that is necessary. This is exactly the type of issue that I was hoping that there would be space to discuss with other comrades in Copenhagen.

Part of the problem that existed was the way in which everything from the logistics, to the meetings, to the actions were organised. Firstly, I need to say that the people who put a lot of time into preparing everything in Copenhagen for those of us arriving from out of town did amazingly well. However, there's a difficult balance to reach when you've done most of the organising of an event, and that is knowing how to let go of the influence that comes with being in that position and letting the event be shaped by those who are coming to it. I reckon an overly bureaucratic structure – at times scarily similar to my dealings with student politics – inhibited the potential for actions to be organised that would reflect the militant politics of those who were there, as well as making it difficult to be adaptable in a way that the heavy-handedness of the policing called for.