

Dear members, shareholders and friends of the Borderlands Cooperative...

Again, high time to let you know how things are evolving around and in the Cooperative and how we're going with the move and whatever other news may seem relevant ... as we've skipped yet another of our regular 4 issues per year, we need to reassure you that we continue to do the work we committed ourselves to 21 years ago: changing the world a bit for the better every positive relational act at a time...

Our books and other 'stuff' are still stored in a few rooms at Victoria University's (VU's) Nicholson Campus in Footscray and still awaiting the rest of 'us' to join them there... Our 'office' is still in the place we occupied about 17 years ago... So we live a kind of a split existence... very much wanting to be part of the relational energy Footscray seems to promise (see below) whilst still holding the 'fort' at Augustine/Swell...

New developments in the moving plans have occurred, however... a few months ago, we have started negotiations with VU about the possibility of us moving into some of their 'spaces'... after visiting their 'community hub', 'Metro West' in Nicholson Street in the heart of Footscray and very much liking that site and its environment, we have now made a proposal about possible collaborations and placesharing there and are awaiting a response and the next steps and timelines and practicalities ... and we start to become really excited... We promise to send you all an 'extra newsletter' as soon as we have reached 'MOU' status and will inform you of the details ... please cross fingers with us!

But we still keep looking forward and plan our hoped for future... and just keep doing the things we have come about for... One really 'new thing' is our upcoming 3CR Borderlands Radio program... It was an idea of long-term and founding Borderlands member Jennifer Borrell who thought of finding ways to more broadly getting our messages out and who was keen to try radio ... since a few months we have become members of 3CR, the Community Radio Federation, located in 21 Smith Street in Collingwood, to which you can listen on 3CRDigital, 855 AM and 3CR.org.au ... We called our program Think Again... and in an era of so much 'fake news' and political misinformation that name should need no further explanation.... We broadcast on Friday mornings 10:00—10:30 starting on the 7th of June, 'this' Friday!

As our first broadcast coincides with the 3CR Radiothon and all programs are supposed to participate in the fundraising effort, please help both of us by **DONATING** using any of the following:

- Paying online at: <a href="https://www.3cr.org.au">www.3cr.org.au</a>; CLICK DONATE
- Calling (03) 9419 8377 OR Text 0448 930 855
- Deposit the money in the 3CR Bank Account Community Radio Federation Donations Account:

BSB: 313 140 Acct. No: 1205 9465

send a receipt and allocate your donation to 'Think Again')

(notify 3CR of your payment by email admin@3cr.org.au so we can

Borderlands Co-operative Ltd. 2 Minona Street, Hawthorn P.O. Box 3079, Auburn 3123 Victoria AUSTRALIA (03) 9819 3239 Fax: (03) 9819 3439 borders@borderlands.org.au

Friday June 7th. 10:00 a.m.

www.borderlands.org.au

Borderlands on 3 CR: Think Again! Talking about 'relating'

Friday June 14th. 10:00 a.m.

Borderlands on 3 CR: Think Again! Talking about economics

Friday June 21st. 10:00 a.m.

Borderlands on 3 CR: Think Again! Talking about managerialism

Thursday 27th June 6.00pm - 7.30pm

Mad Studies: Conversation starters (page 11)

Friday June 28th. 10:00 a.m.

Borderlands on 3 CR: Think Again! Talking about education

Monday July 1st. 6:00 p.m.

@ Borderlands (Augustine Hall) Getting rid of the Post-Election blues...

A conversation... (page 7)

### **Newsletter Deadlines**

This newsletter is to inform you of all the Borderlands happenings.

## We need your input!

Please send articles or details of your latest events etc. (preferably in electronic format) to the Editor at:

borders@borderlands.org.au

Deadline for the next issue: 15th of July 2019

Cont. page 3)

# New Community



#### **CALL FOR ARTICLES**

Volume 17, #1 Issue 65 (now available) Safe Communities for Women and their children

The first issue of 2019 is dedicated to documenting and evaluating/ discussing projects dedicated to community development-based prevention of domestic and general violence against women; co-edited with Dr Liz Orr, the project leader of the action-research support initiative funded and auspiced by Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety (ANROWS), we have received submissions from their Building Safe Communities for Women and Their Children Action Research Support Initiative and others working in this context. This a very important theme for community development and for ongoing approaches to prevent violence because the last several years (indeed, decades) have witnessed a gradual lessening of community approaches to prevention with intervention now more focusing on curative and punitive approaches.

Volume 17 #2 Issue 66 (Submissions due: June 30th 2019) Commercialising disability services: NDIS and the community The voices sounding alarm about the impact of the 'rolling-out' of the NDIS 'system' have gradually become louder and more anxious... The issues being aired in public and in publications like Pro Bono News (probono@probonoaustralia.com.au) may easily being discarded as 'birthing pains' and that all will be OK once the full 'system' will be operating... But the more fundamental questions and objections have certainly not gone away. Apart from the individualistic and 'atomistic' approach inherent in the 'case' and market approach underlying the system, the neglect of 'community' and 'relationship' and of programs featuring social connectivity and the healing and integrating power of community is stunning...

#### Volume 17 #3 Issue 67 (Submissions due 15 Sept. 2019) Food security is a community issue!

Given climate change and all that, questions associated with food security and how communities and families and individuals will be able to reach and maintain that security – both in terms of access and quality – will become timely and urgent.

## **New Community 2019**

It would be lovely if our readers would spread the news about this journal and help us increase the number of subscribers...

And please get writing! We need your contributions for this journal to be a true Community iournal.

> Article guidelines or requesting a subscription can be obtained by contacting us by:

Email: ncq@borderlands.org.au Facebook: New Community or call Borderlands: (03) 9819 3239



## **Borderlands Newsletter**

Volume 22 Issue 1-2— May 2019

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Editor: Jacques Boulet Admin. and other support: Martha Hills & Lesley Shuttleworth Please send artwork, articles, letters, poetry,

creative writing, for inclusion in the newsletter.

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We were initially planning to send this newsletter a few days before the election... and good that we didn't... This is how we started: "there will be a new Australian government being formed... how 'new' it will be remains to be seen... here's hoping that the promises of it being declared the 'climate' election (at least by some parties and candidates) will be fulfilled... and don't we need it, together with some good news about things like housing, welfare, health, public transport, etc. and an attempt at improving the culture of the debates and other relationships in the decision-making chambers of government... There's indeed a lot to clean up in this country as the many 'royal commissions' and other enquiries during the last few years have shown... And here's hoping that 'community' and its regeneration gets a better deal in the near future..." It's not that we will stop hoping that any of the above — however slowly and hesitatingly—will start to happen... but still, we had not really anticipated how prophetic our 'how 'new' it will be remains to be seen...' would turn out to become...

As it happens, Belgium had its federal elections as well around the same time we did and the results were similar: wins for the 'hard right' as well as for the 'hard left' and—what they call in Europe—the collapse of the 'centre'... Numerically not much has changed and because it seems as if the Australian 'centre' has still holds (having altogether shifted to the slippery right during the last 20-or-so years), one really has to wonder whether elections are a democratic 'instrument' in the first place... historically, in western democracies, elections—and the elected—have too often suppressed democratic revolutions or people movements... Think about the millions of young people students—who recently urged the 'elected' to start getting serious about the climate and their future... and in Australia—as in Belgium and other European 'democracies' parties who loudly and actively denied climate change and its likely consequence, were elected and grew their representation in parliaments. What comes to mind is J.P. Sartre's remark in 1973 (the 'high noon' of many popular movements—Vietnam, Algeria, student revolts, etc.... yes, I was there and part of them!), pointing out the difference between 'legality' and 'legitimacy'... the legitimacy of popular protests and movements being denied by the *legality* of electoral process and its result... According to Sartre, elections play a role in this... elections are highly *individualised* affairs... only the individual voter by him/herself is supposed to make the 'choice'... no social or collective responsibility, no-one in your community, family, neighbourhood can check; Sartre calls the election booth the 'symbol of the betrayal the 'atomised' individual can commit against the groups he/she is part of...' Existing solidarities and collective interests are too often broken or destroyed by the electoral pseudo-choices and the spirit of many collective movements and action processes gets destroyed...

Again, just think about the presumption of our recent election having been the 'climate election'... think how the tens of thousands of young people who gathered to remind politicians and voters about their responsibilities must feel... indeed: legality over legitimacy!!!!

We need to talk about this... so come and let's on Monday evening, the 1st of July (see invitation on page 7 in this newsletter!

In other news, two of our 'young' new directors had to resign... Daniel De Bruin is now working in China and Monica Knoll is about to leave for extended travelling, her long delayed dream... We certainly miss them and thank them for their contribution... Anyone of you, dear members and readers, who feel that they would wish to contribute in the life of the cooperative—especially with a view of relaunching Borderlands in our new environment... - please let us know, come by or give us a ring! Borderlands will continue to be involved in the initiatives and activities we have been busy with for the last 21 years...

Please get in touch if you have any questions, contributions, ideas and suggestions also for possible projects, events, programs we could start in the coming months.... Looking forward to seeing and/or reading and/or hearing from you!

Jacques Boulet for the Borderlands Board

# News from the Borderlands & Social Developers' Network partnership

Borderlands manages the community grants program for NED Inc. which is closely allied with the Social Developers Network (SDN) with which we have had a long association.

NED Inc. supports individuals and small organisations by funding projects which align with its broad goals of building a life-enhancing, inclusive ethos; improving linkages, mutual acceptance and co-operation; maximising our human potential; steering ourselves effectively and collectively towards a future for our planet, and promoting and supporting Restorative Practice.

NED Inc. favours programs or projects that: "fall between the cracks" of other funding sources; are not associated with well-established organisations with significant reserves and /or who are capable of raising their own funds; and are not eligible for funding from government or other sources.

For more information contact Lesley at Borderlands on (03) 9819 3239 Mobile 0428 488 215 or e-mail

lesley@borderlands.org.au

# Refugee Council Of Australia focuses on human impact of government policies



Highlighting the human impacts of the harshest aspects of Australian refugee policy will be a central focus for the national advocacy of the Refugee Council of Australia (RCOA) following Saturday's re-election of the Liberal-National Coalition government. We will be rallying our supporters and the wider movement to take the case for policy change to new and re-elected Parliamentarians over the coming three years, emphasising that millions of Australians want to see an end to policies which cause harm to refugees and people seeking asylum.

In particular, we will be working hard to advance the policy goals outlined in the Platform for Change, developed in collaboration with the wider refugee movement. This platform draws attention to the pressing need for reform to Australia's asylum, offshore processing and detention policies and the positive opportunities offered by a larger and more responsive Refugee and Humanitarian Program and improved engagement in Asia on refugee protection issues. Last year, we worked with organisations in the refugee sector to set goals for the first six months after the election, under either a Coalition or a Labor government. This week we began reviewing these goals and will work with sector colleagues in coming weeks to have revised strategies in place before the new Parliament sits. A key part of our plan will be to build an even stronger movement of Australian citizens ready to speak up. These are very difficult times for refugees and people seeking asylum, not just in Australia but around the world. We are ready for the challenges ahead and we thank you for your ongoing support, without which none of our work would be possible.

The Refugee Council of Australia is the peak body for around 200 support and advocacy organisations; its "I CHOOSE HUMANE" pledge campaign continues until September 2019. We are seeking support for a better approach so we can represent more strongly the pro-refugee voice to government. Below are the five key policy areas that we must change for Australia to return to a fair, egalitarian nation that will prosper into the future:

- The permanent end to offshore processing
- A fair process for claiming asylum
- Reform of the immigration detention system
- A larger and more responsive Refugee and Humanitarian Program
- Australia's improved engagement in Asia.

And please go to <a href="https://www.givenow.com.au/crowdraiser/public/The Apology To the refugees we say sorry">https://www.givenow.com.au/crowdraiser/public/The Apology To the refugees we say sorry as spoken by David Manne from Refugee Legal at the recent Communities in Control conference organised by our friends from 'Our Community' ... heartbreaking but absolutely urgent!

# "People are dying": Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez scolds Republican inaction on climate change

[We probably could do with a bit of this type of 'feistiness' but also good analysis in Australia... especially after the election... We wonder who of our 'elected' people would be brave and eloquent enough to 'do' a speech like this...?]

US Democratic congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez has fired off at Republicans for discrediting her concerns on climate change, in the process adding another line to her expanding list of searing cutthrough moments. A video of the two-minute long slamdown has been <u>retweeted almost 77,000 times</u> and viewed by more than 11.3 million people since it was posted Wednesday morning (AEDT) (now probably many millions more...).

The Republican-led Senate had earlier voted down the progressive rising star's *Green New Deal* 0-57, with most Democrats voting "present" in protest. At a financial services committee meeting later in the day, a Republican congressman suggested Ms Ocasio-Cortez's legislation would only benefit "*rich liber-als*" – equating the climate change policy with elitist circles.

"This is not an elitist issue. This is a quality of life issue," Ms Ocasio-Cortez said. "You want to tell people that their concern and their desire for clean air and clean water is elitist? Tell that to the kids in the South Bronx, which is suffering from the highest rates of childhood asthma in the country. People are dying. They are dying."

US government agencies last year released a report (<a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/23/climate/us-climate-report.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/23/climate/us-climate-report.html</a>) into the devastating impact of climate change that declared 10% of the nation's economy could be wiped by 2100, contradicting Republican opposition to action. "Because, as towns and cities go underwater, as wildfires ravage our communities, we are going to pay. And we are either going to decide if we're going to pay to react, or pay to be proactive," Ms Ocasio-Cortez added in her monologue. The Democrat freshman later took to Twitter to further admonish the GOP (https://twitter.com/AOC/status/1110913863707447297), criticising their approach to climate change as "a joke" in the wake of ongoing climate change disasters.

Ms Ocasio-Cortez's blunt assessment of Republican inaction on climate change received plaudits among Democrats, and highlighted her rapid ascent since securing an upset victory at last year's US mid-term elections. The 29-year-old New Yorker has 3.7 million Twitter followers and has developed a reputation for adept rebuttals of her critics within political spheres and the media. Ms Ocasio-Cortez's appeal to constituents on social media, particularly left-leaning millennials, extended to Australian audiences most recently in January.

Having received a torrent of abuse from Republicans after an college video of her dancing resurfaced online, she took to the halls of US Congress to highlight "*Congresswomen dance too*" – her most viral tweet to date. (Rosa Luxemburg re-invented!!!!)

# Calling out those who created a toxic environment for Muslims

Dr Susie Latham is a writer and researcher on Islamophobia and the co-founder of Voices against Bigotry.

[Another strong reminder of the work needing to be done after the election... whoever has 'won'...]

Fraser Anning <u>deserves widespread condemnation for his comments</u> about the massacre of 50 Muslims in Christ-church mosques. But many mainstream voices now censuring him for his views, including Scott Morrison, who has <u>stated</u> that he will "always speak out" about "comments that seek to denigrate Muslims and Islam", created a political environment toxic to Muslims.

I married into a Muslim family 15 years ago, so I've been particularly sensitive to the dog-whistling of the Coalition, some sections of the media and public figures on this issue, along with the silence (with some notable exceptions) from Labor. In 2006, Danna Vale argued against an abortion bill on the basis that it could help Australia become a Muslim nation within 50 years. Later that year, then prime minister John Howard told a talkback radio caller "there is a ... small section of the Islamic population ... which is very resistant to integration".

Anti-Muslim activist Ayaan Hirsi Ali delivered the closing keynote at the 2007 Sydney Writers Festival, receiving standing ovations. Three months earlier, she had <u>proclaimed</u> Islam "a destructive, nihilistic cult of death. It legitimates murder ... not just with extremist elements within Islam, but the ideology of Islam itself." In early 2011, Morrison <u>encouraged</u> his colleagues, then in opposition, to "capitalise on the electorate's growing concerns about 'Muslim immigration', 'Muslims in Australia' and the 'inability' of Muslim migrants to integrate' ". In 2014, Bronwyn Bishop <u>ruled</u> that Muslim women wearing the burqa in Parliament House must be segregated behind a glass enclosure. But the dog-whistling grew much louder shortly after then prime minister Tony Abbott narrowly avoided defeat in a February 2015 spill of his job. Within months he <u>declared</u>, surrounded at times by absurd numbers of Australian flags, "I've often heard Western leaders describe Islam as a 'religion of peace'. I wish more Muslim leaders would say that more often, and mean it." He stood with <u>Peter Dutton</u> to tell the nation of "an increasing threat from those, including those in our midst, who would do us harm" and <u>warned</u> "the Daesh [Islamic State] death cult is ... coming after us ... they are certainly at war with us".

He and most other politicians remained <u>silent</u> while Reclaim Australia and other anti-Muslim fringe groups held rallies around the country, even refusing demands to stop MP George Christensen from speaking at one. Cory Bernardi's Senate <u>inquiry</u> into halal certification was also instigated on Abbott's watch. In the last week of his prime ministership, shortly after the body of three-year-old Muslim boy Alan Kurdi washed up on a Turkish beach, Abbott <u>decided</u> to prioritise non-Muslim refugees in a special intake of those fleeing Syria.

Three months later, he wrote an opinion piece in which he <u>argued</u> that societies "can't remain in denial about the massive problem within Islam". Many of his fellow MPs, <u>including</u> Andrew Hastie, Josh Frydenberg, Andrew Nikolic, Craig Kelly and Michael Sukkar, made similar statements. After Pauline Hanson's 2016 election, Abbott publicly met with and congratulated her. The next year, Channel Nine personality Sonia Kruger told her TV audience, in comments that NCAT recently <u>found</u> encouraged "hatred towards, or serious contempt for, Australian Muslims by ordinary members of the Australian population", that she agreed with News Corp columnist Andrew Bolt that Muslim immigration should be halted because she did not feel safe. Bolt has not been alone in promoting such ideas. A 2017 <u>study</u> found that News Corp publications carried an average of eight negative stories about Muslims a day.

Security agencies and researchers of violent extremism have also <u>concentrated</u> on Muslims as a threat. Defending Christensen's right to speak at the Reclaim Australia rally, then foreign minister Julie Bishop <u>said</u> she had been "briefed intensively and extensively on Islamic extremism" but that "none of the 400 extremists under government surveillance are right-wing, anti-Islam campaigners".

Following the tragic murder last year of Sisto Malaspina in Bourke Street, Melbourne, by a Muslim known to authorities, Morrison and Dutton both said that ordinary Muslims needed to do more to prevent terrorism. Morrison accused them of looking the other way and sticking their heads in the sand. My advice to Morrison and his fellow travellers is to do less. Stop using one of the most marginalised groups in Australia for political gain. Maybe then I'll believe you mean what you're saying now.



# AN OPEN INVITATION TO JOIN US FOR A POST-ELECTION CONVERSATION

We'll debrief a little, regroup a bit, engage in a little structural analysis. Most importantly we'll talk and share and begin to explore what to do and where to go next. Let's think about how to listen to those who don't see things quite the way we do. How can we query some of their mis-understandings? How can we win hearts and minds? How can we build some political influence? Where are the levers and how can we work them? How can the work we do make a difference? How can we open up the cracks so that the light shines in? (tipping our hat to Leonard Cohen)

Please bring comfort food and drinks to share in a potluck meal. We'll have plenty of tea and coffee

**MONDAY 1 JULY 2019 GATHER FROM 6PM** 

THE HALL AT THE AUGUSTINE/SWELL/HABITAT UNITING CHURCH Centre

2 Minona Street, Hawthorn

Parking, while better at night than during the day can still be tight so you may like to catch the train. We're only a few minutes walk from Auburn station.

R.S.V.P. & queries Lesley on 9819 3239 0428 488 215

E-mail: lesley@borderlands.org.au or jacques@borderlands.org.au

# Ocasio-Cortez gave up Facebook, calls social media a 'public health risk'

Rep. <u>Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez</u> (D-N.Y.) said in a new interview that she gave up her personal Facebook account, adding that the move was especially painful because she first organized her successful congressional campaign on the platform. The freshman lawmaker told <u>Yahoo News's "Skullduggery" podcast</u> that "social media poses a public health risk to everybody. There are amplified impacts for young people, particularly children under the age of 3, with screen time, but I think it has a lot of effects on older people. I think it has effects on everybody: increased isolation, depression, anxiety, addiction, escapism."

Ocasio-Cortez also said she "gave up on" Facebook, calling it a "big deal." "I personally gave up Facebook, which was kind of a big deal because I started my campaign on Facebook, and Facebook was my primary digital organizing tool for a very long time. I gave up on it." The 29-year-old progressive often knocks critics and calls out President Trump on Twitter.

She told Yahoo News that she writes all her own posts on both Twitter and Instagram, and is aware of the effects social media has "both as a person with a larger audience but also as an individual user of these platforms." Ocasio-Cortez has also gained popularity for live-streaming daily tasks and habits on Instagram while talking to her viewers.

# Stolen land, standing ground, and the viral spectacle of white entitlement

## Alyosha Goldstein

[Alyosha Goldstein is Professor of American Studies at the University of New Mexico. He is the author of Poverty in Common: The Politics of Community Action during the American Century (2012), the editor of Formations of United States Colonialism (2014), and the co-editor (with Jodi A. Byrd, Jodi Melamed, and Chandan Reddy) of "Economies of Dispossession: Indigeneity, Race, Capitalism," a special issue of Social Text (2018), (with Juliana Hu Pegues and Manu Vimalassery) of "On Colonial Unknowing," a special issue of Theory & Event (2016) and (with Alex Lubin) of "Settler Colonialism," a special issue of South Atlantic Quarterly (2008).]

This article is part of a series of texts published on Public Seminar in the lead-up to the Digital/Debt/ Empire symposium in Vancouver in late April 2019, convened by Benjamin Anderson, Enda Brophy and Max Haiven.

The graphic convergence of anti-Black and anti-Indigenous violence in the name of self-defence emerges with unmistakable clarity in the recent the "stand your ground" meme featuring sixteen year-old Nick Sandmann wearing his "Make America Great Again" (MAGA) baseball hat. The red, white and blue meme appeared on white nationalist and right-wing social media in the wake of the viral online video of the mostly white Covington Catholic High School students from Kentucky wearing MAGA hats and taunting Nathan Phillips, an elder of the Omaha Tribe, on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, DC on January 18, 2019. The students had travelled to DC as part of their school's delegation to a rally against women's reproductive rights. Phillips and those drumming with him were participating in the Indigenous Peoples' March. In the video, surrounded by his laughing schoolmates, Sandmann stands face-to-face with Phillips, blocking his path. Another video highlighted by the Diné/Ihanktonwan journalist Jacqueline Keeler shows a Catholic high school student just prior to the Sandmann-Phillips clash, who declares: "Land gets stolen, that's how it works."

The premise "land gets stolen" and the Sandmann "stand your ground" meme together starkly convey the relentless onslaught of racialized colonization, the fantasy of the perpetrators as the real victims, and the obstinate disavowal of the colonial present's unpaid debts. Here the debt for what has been extracted through processes of colonization and ongoing economies of dispossession shows the inadequacy of current methods of accounting, compensation and repayment. At the same time, to acknowledge that such debt is unpayable is not to forgo demands for restitution and economic redress. These are unpaid debts in the sense that they are an obligation to take responsibility for complicity in what has been done and to contribute to dismantling colonial and racialized relations of violence and possession. By contrast, the spectacle of white entitlement discussed here aspires to remake and exculpate "land gets stolen" as the "your ground" of settler ownership and property. Proliferating across the echo chambers of white supremacist digital platforms, the meme repeats ad nauseam the presumption that "land gets stolen" even as it inverts this theft on behalf of white persecution complexes and defensive paranoia.

Media narrations of the Lincoln Memorial confrontation focused on the question of who should properly be understood as the aggressor. Many accounts called attention to the students' racist "tomahawk chop" gestures and mock war cries, and reported that students chanted "Build the Wall." However, other commentators insisted that the students were just children and had been provoked by a small group of Black Hebrew Israelites. From their perspective, Phillips had intervened only to further aggravate an already volatile situation. Sandmann was innocently standing his ground. Indeed, the meme of Sandmann amplifies this reference to the Florida "stand your ground" law that exonerated George Zimmerman in the murder of seventeen year-old Trayvon Martin. It circulated online and as a flyer posted across a number of U.S. high school and university campuses.

Multiple storylines sought to recuperate Sandmann and the jeering high school students as not merely innocent but as those most injured, most violated by the turn of events. They were innocuous youth in ways that young people of colour are rarely if ever allowed. Although the school initially publicly condemned the

students' conduct, the Covington Bishop Roger Foys subsequently retracted this criticism and issued a formal apology to the students. President Trump invited the students to the White House. The Sandmann family hired a PR firm and Nick Sandmann appeared on the nationally broadcast television program *The Today Show*. During the interview he claims that his intentions have been misrepresented and that he has been wrongly vilified. Soon after, his family filed a \$250 million libel suit against the *Washington Post*.

The confrontation, what it made visible, the multiple framings that followed, what elements were displaced, who took centre stage, and what justifications and criticisms gained prominence reveal key dynamics of this historical moment. A focus on the Black Hebrew Israelites as the primary culprits behind the confrontation served to displace or minimize culpability for the anti-Indian racism expressed by the students. In conservative outlets such as Fox News, the Hebrew Israelites were largely emptied of their own specificity and depicted as embodying some spectre of generic anti-white Black militancy. Significant for what this reframing conveys about prevailing racial scripts in the U.S. today, this narrowly construed Black-White racial binary in turn recast the students as targets of "reverse racism."

At the same time, the mainstream media devoted little time to the Indigenous Peoples' March or the epidemic of missing and murdered Indigenous women and the lethal infrastructure of extractive capitalism to which the march sought to call attention. Almost entirely absent from reporting was the fact that in response to the belligerent youth Phillips sang the American Indian Movement song honouring the Oglala elder Raymond Yellow Thunder killed by white vigilantes in 1972. As Lower Brule Sioux scholar Nick Estes explains, "It's a song of resistance and remembrance, and it was sung during the Wounded Knee Occupation in 1973 and at the frontlines of Standing Rock in 2016." These multiple historical instances of anticolonial struggle as commentary on the present remain absent from mainstream representation.

"Land gets stolen, that's how it works" expresses a casual and categorical dismissal of Indigenous land claims. The insistence that "land gets stolen" is remarkable in its unequivocal sense of historical fact and in its passive construction wherein "gets stolen" is a truth without culpability that nonetheless affirms the finality of possession. The assertion presumes listeners take it to be qualified by a shared understanding that the reference is historical and without implications for the contemporary sanctity of private property. It is specifically not suggesting that Indigenous peoples should somehow "steal" this land back because "that's how it works." As well, the proclamation differs from Indigenous assertions that "This is Stolen Land" in that it makes no demand that the crime of stealing be redressed. The idea that "land gets stolen, that's how it works" presumes irrevocability. It provides the presupposition that settlers possess the ground upon which they stand and that "stand your ground" is an unequivocal relation of white settler belonging and rightful ownership of the land. In effect, the statement is an invocation of the "doctrine of discovery," the principle initially formulated in a series of fifteenth century papal dictates and later as a source of emergent European conceptions of international law. The doctrine aimed to minimize inter-imperial conflict by granting title and possession to the first Christian European nation to claim, or putatively "discover," a territory. Although the act of stealing is reimagined as discovery, the parallel remains in the sense that the doctrine simply makes it impossible for Indigenous peoples to have title to the land from the outset.

Chief Justice John Marshall's 1823 opinion in *Johnson v. M'Intosh* revivified the doctrine of discovery as an ongoing premise for U.S. federal Indian law. Neither the fact that *Johnson* is now known to have been a result of collusion and fraud by land speculators, as well as ulterior motives on the part of Marshall, nor that the Chief Justice's own subsequent 1832 ruling in *Worcester v. Georgia* contradicts the precedent established in *Johnson*, has diminished the opinion's enduring status as a cornerstone of U.S. jurisprudence. According to Marshall's opinion in *Johnson*, as much as he and his contemporaries might wish to recognize Native rights based on, as he put it, "abstract principles of justice," the doctrine of discovery was nevertheless accepted by all European powers as foundational to the Law of Nations. Therefore, in Marshall's words, "Conquest gives a title to which the Courts of the conqueror cannot deny." As a result of this ostensibly irrefutable fact, Marshall argues that although Indigenous peoples should be understood as "occupants" of the land, "their rights to complete sovereignty, as independent nations, were necessarily diminished, and their power to dispose of the soil at their own will... was denied by the original fundamental principle, that

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discovery gave exclusive title to those who made it." This exclusive title was supposedly transferred from England to the United States following the War of Independence, and now provides the ground upon which the political authority and geopolitical solidity of the United States is founded.

In the shadow of the Lincoln Memorial, the January 2019 confrontation also evoked the manifold legacies of the Civil War. The consolidation of the U.S. nation-state in and through the war and the "*Indian wars*," where Union soldiers and the so-called Black Cavalry or Buffalo soldiers were transferred from campaigns against the Confederate Army to wage war against Indigenous nations in the Great Plains and Southwest. Here Lincoln's authorization to hang 38 Dakota men remains the largest government mass execution in U.S. history, and the quickly recanted redistribution of land and extension of citizenship and civil rights to formerly enslaved African Americans become historically entwined.

Not unlike the "Lost Cause" narrative of neo-Confederates, the Sandmann "stand your ground" meme champions a defensive white nationalism. The meme projects the violence of colonization and racialized predation onto Indigenous and Black peoples, imagining white people to be under siege. Most significantly, the meme pointedly links the symbolic stand-off between white youth and Indigenous peoples to the justification of deadly force by "standing your ground" as an act of self-defence — an effectively anti-Black defence accorded George Zimmerman but not, for instance, Marissa Alexander or other African Americans in Florida. Florida's 2005 "Stand Your Ground" law was largely the work of the National Rifle Association and the American Legislative Exchange Council. Such "Stand Your Ground" laws were based on interpretations of English and early U.S. common law that jettisoned the "duty to retreat" in favour of violence as first recourse, and were given further legal force in the context of westward colonization and Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.'s often quoted 1921 ruling in Brown v. United States that "detached reflection cannot be demanded in the presence of an uplifted knife." At the same time, in the Sandmann meme, Nathan Phillips vanishes into the empty space of the meme, completely erased from the confrontation.

As with the passive construction of "land gets stolen" that normalizes and absolves settler taking of Indigenous land, the meme inverts the perpetration of racial and colonial violence to make the claim that white identity and the United States are under attack and must be defended. This is a restorative project, a making great again, that in the specific terms of the meme actively conflates the ostensible threat of Native and Black peoples to the ground upon which a supposedly historically authentic America must stand. The meme is thus also an invitation to anti-Black and anti-Indigenous violence, a reactive and regenerative violence driven by feeling the precarity and peril of the United States.

It is precisely the actual historical and ongoing violence of colonialism and racism that the Indigenous Peoples' March aimed to address. The march focused on missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls and the expansion of the fossil fuel infrastructure. The march itself was at once a deliberate address to the role of the United States, held as it was in Washington DC, and an effort to signal how and why such issues were neither exceptional to nor simply enclosed within the United States. Taking place almost a month into the federal government shutdown, some marchers likewise noted the brutally uneven consequences of Republican intransigence for Native peoples whose pay-checks and basic services are routed through federal intermediaries. Although convened in Washington DC, the Indigenous Peoples' March assembled participants from throughout the hemisphere. Indigenous rights and land claims were frequently asserted in terms of international law with the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as a rebuttal to the imperial conceit of rights by "discovery."

The iconic "stand-off" between Phillips and Sandmann, and the white nationalist bravado of the meme, are symptomatic of the profound misgivings of the colonial present. Anti-Black and anti-Indigenous antagonisms converge in "land gets stolen" and "stand your ground" with such clarity in part because of the very real threats to white settler prerogative posed by anti-colonial and anti-racist coalition building. This crisis of entitlement is compounded by the nihilist greed of the capitalist planetary death drive and its predatory acceleration of upwardly redistributed wealth. The disayowal of the colonial present's unpaid debts has

been historically accompanied by the weaponisation of debt against Indigenous peoples, the formerly enslaved and differentially devalued people of colour. As the forms of debt and indebtedness that have long served as colonial mechanisms for Indigenous and racialized dispossession have become ubiquitous features of finance capital, the logics and logistics of debt itself are not only contested by social movements, but the specific work of debt in colonization and neo-colonial disciplinary entrapment must be central to anti-capitalist organizing.

When "land gets stolen" can no longer evoke the semblance of permanence and impunity, when its plausibility as an alibi can no longer deflect the scrutiny of contestation, the "stand your ground" pretence of innocence gives way to the frenzied desperation of white supremacists and the fragility of settler common sense. The certainty of "land gets stolen" and "stand your ground" trembles before the prospect that racist entitlement will be dismantled and the time has come to return the land that has been stolen.

[Lots here that we can all learn from this, I believe... especially how the need for de-colonisation—whilst 'typical' here for the US as it is for all former colonies including Australia, settled by the invaders—remains actual and very necessary... there are strong parallels that can be drawn here especially how language and other symbolisms need to be checked and how we all have a great and difficult job to do in our personal, relational and systemic de-colonisation trajectory... Editor]

## **Mad Studies: Conversation Starters**

Date: Thursday 27<sup>th</sup> June 6.00pm - 7.30pm

Venue: Our Community House, 552 Victoria St, North Melbourne VIC 3051

RSVP: Jacques Boulet, Borderlands.

Email: borders@borderlands.org.au Phone: 9819 3239

**Mad Studies** is an emerging discipline that explores critical ideas, history, context, philosophy and politics of "mental health". It's grounded in the experiences of mental health service users/consumers/survivors/ Mad /neurodiverse folks, but draws on many other disciplines and intersections.

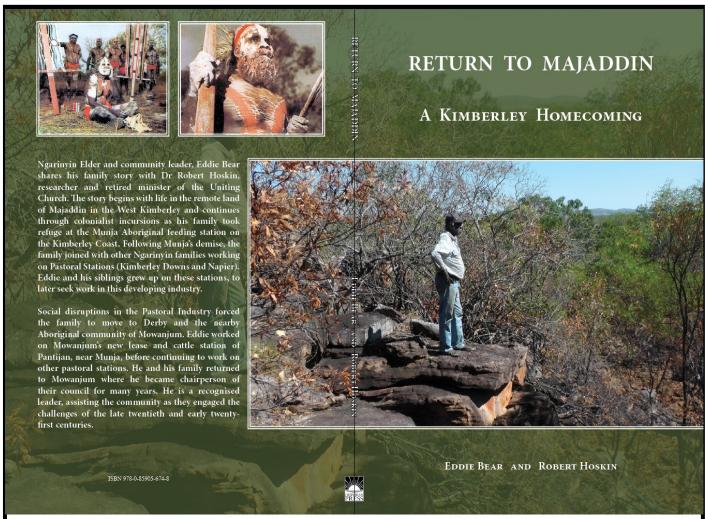
You are most warmly invited to the launch of Our Consumer Place's *Mad Studies Conversation Starters Guide*, which includes many fantastic cartoons, ideas and resources, and the **RMIT Mad Studies Network**. Come hear about how you can get involved in Mad Studies (all welcome!) and play with Mad ideas together.

#### Speakers:

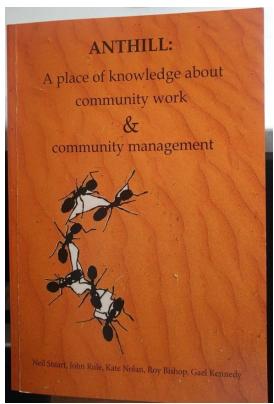
- **Flick Grey** is a sociologist by training, lives with multiplicity and seeks the meanings and insights in madness. She's an Open Dialogue practitioner, Intentional Peer Support facilitator and Peer Support Manager.
- **Dr Chris Maylea** is a lawyer, social worker and academic with a lived experience of mental illness diagnosis. He lectures in Social Work at RMIT University and researches in the area of mental health law.

**Kath Thorburn** has over 20 years experience working as a mental health Occupational Therapist. She cofounded inside out & associates, to promote more effective and inclusive responses to mental distress.

Let me begin by saying that I came to theory because I was hurting-the pain within me was so intense that I could not go on living. I came to theory desperate, wanting to comprehend-to grasp what was happening around and within me. Most importantly, I wanted to make the hurt go away. I saw in theory then a location for healing. — bell hooks (1991) Theory as Liberatory Practice.



to purchase a copy: <a href="mailto:borderlands.org.au">borderlands.org.au</a> call 03 9819 3239 or visit us at 2 Minona Street Hawthorn... It's a really good read which introduces the reader to a story which is still too often ignored or forgotten in this country!



# A place of knowledge about community work & community management

Anthill brings together the writing of a range of community activists on the local as a focus for social life. It stands in the great tradition of popular empowerment, where multicultural and working class communities discover a strength that arises from solidarity. Anthill points to the pressures that governments place on communities, seeking to use them as nodes of control and oppression. This tension, between state power and people power, marks the pathways that lead to and through the Anthill.

Available from Borderlands for \$30.00 including postage. To purchase a copy: **borders@borderlands.org.au** call: 03 9819 3239 or visit us at 2 Minona Street Hawthorn. Alternatively you can purchase online from the resources page at http://community.borderlands.org.au

Mohamed Mouelhy 7/9/2018 (some basic reminders for 'us' when 'we' want to talk about peace...)

- The West always forgets that the two world wars were started by it and the atrocities committed in Europe, the Middle East, the Far East and Africa were committed by the West.
- The rape and pillage of the natives in Australia and the Americas were committed by the West.
- All the battles that have taken place in the Middle East over the last two hundred years were either instigated or started by the West in an effort to destroy the Islamic Ottoman Empire.
- It was the Western Sykes-Picot who divided the Middle East into small dictatorships.
- It was the West who plotted to replace the Multi-religious Palestine with the apartheid state of Israel who refuses to define its borders.
- It was the British who paid Al Saud 30,000 Pounds a year to fight the Sherif of Macca, yet when he dared to attack the Burami Oasis, which was inside the Saudi Kingdom but occupied by Britain, the alliance was terminated.
- It was the West who attacked Iraq because it wanted to sell its oil for Euros, the same took place in Afghanistan because of the gas pipe that the Taliban Government requested \$10 billion for.
- The destruction of Libya was carried out by the West because It dared to suggest selling oil for Gold.
- It was the West that created the war in Syria and the Yemen via their Saudi vassals.
- The Democratically elected government in Egypt was replaced by a military dictatorship again by the help of the Saudis who paid the Ex-Egyptian military Attaché in Saudi and now strong man of Egypt \$12 Billion to remove the elected government.
- It was the West who created the trumped up charge that Iran is trying to build a nuclear bomb when in reality it was a warning because Iran was thinking of selling oil for local currency, while the West does not castigate Brazil who is making the same nuclear research because they have no oil to sell for Euros, gold or local currency! The West remains tacitum about Israel's 200 Nuclear bombs.

Non-Western countries should withdraw from dialogue with the West since the West is using this farce only to continue to exploit the poorer countries. The West has always spoken from both sides of its mouth.

# The Australian Living Peace Museum (ALPM)

ALPM is an online museum presenting Australian narratives of peace-making, non-violent social change and alternative forms of resistance to war and violence. The ALPM is committed to sound scholarship, a participatory framework and community-oriented perspectives. The Museum aims to foster a culture of peace reflecting the multidisciplinary nature of peace efforts made personally by individuals and by organisations past and present. It does so in accord with a range of local, national and international contexts relating to disarmament, human rights, ecology, reconciliation (including Indigenous responses to colonisation), education and the growth of international humanitarian law. The Australian Living Peace Museum is a volunteer-led, community based organisation. The Museum is a registered cooperative which meets on a monthly basis. Membership of the cooperative is open to individuals and organisations that agree with its aims. The rules of the cooperative including the aims and to make an application for membership can be found on <a href="http://livingpeacemuseum.org.au/ALPM/index.php">http://livingpeacemuseum.org.au/ALPM/index.php</a>



The Earthworker Cooperative is strongly progressing in their mission to establish renewable energy manufacturing through community-owned cooperatives

The project is a powerful, positive and unifying endeavour to:

- revitalise & empower local economies
- address climate change
- support local manufacturing jobs
- assist a 'just transition' from fossil fuel to clean renewable energy while producing high-quality sustainable products.

#### Being a member of Borderlands is great.

Not only do you get to support one of the most down-to-earth, ecologically healthy, sustainably conscious, social theory drenched, community focused, participatory / democratically in-tune and generally wonderful place, you also get **membership goodies**.

#### Membership goodies include:

- Reduced subscription rates to New Community Quarterly (the only Community Development Journal in Australia)
- Variable discounts on lectures and workshops
- Use of Borderlands Spaces for your events, meetings, chats\*
- Broadened borrowing opportunities at the 14,000 volumes (and counting) Borderlands Library.

Now is the time to renew your membership — or become a brand-shiny-new member (or shareholder) of this wonderful independent network for holistic community activism, sustainability and action research.

We'd particularly love your membership if you have been receiving newsletters and correspondence from Borderlands for a while and haven't yet renewed your membership.

Please help keep Borderlands vibrant and active!

Membership is easy; just fill out the

'Membership, Shareholders and Subscribers Form' at the back of this newsletter and send / email it to us!



# Borderlands Cooperative: Independent network for holistic community activism, sustainability and action research

#### Be a part of a sustainable future!

By making a gift in your will to Borderlands Cooperative you are sustaining your values and ideals into the future.

Planned financial amounts can be donated for charitable purposes tax-free. And you do not need a great deal of wealth to make a difference. Every dollar helps to keep this non-profit organization alive and vibrant.

Your will is a very important document – it may be difficult to think of preparing it now – however, it protects your family and your assets for the future. A will gives you the opportunity to decide where your assets and possessions will go and how they are to be used. Preparing a legal will can potentially remove unnecessary stress, expense, and legal problems in future times.

However, we believe your will can do even more – it can also be your legacy, passing on not only physical assets, but also your values and ideals. A bequest is as simple as it is powerful; with a few words in your will, you can continue to be an advocate for community activism, healthy ecologically, sustainability and participatory democracy.

A bequest is a gift nominated in your will to one or more non-profit organizations. Your bequest can take any (or a combination) of the following forms:

- Cash
- A percentage of the overall value of your estate
- Retirement plan or life insurance beneficiary designation
- Securities
- Personal property (artwork, jewellery, etc.)

Due to the complexity of planned giving, we strongly suggest that you contact your tax advisor and/or legal advisor to begin the process. We encourage you to provide us with a copy of the relevant pages of your will, trust, or beneficiary designation form. All information will be kept in our secure files.

For membership, donations or any other purpose, please contact us:

Borderlands Cooperative

PO Box 3079

Auburn 3123

Tel: 03 9819 3239 or: 03 9819 3439

borders@borderlands.org.au

Please return your completed form to Borderlands Cooperative, PO Box 3079, AUBURN 3123

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