



# CHANGE EVERYTHING

A decorative white wavy line with small leaf-like shapes, located at the bottom right of the title box.

**12-13 December, 2015, Te Whanganui-A-Tara**

**Change Everything is happening on colonised and occupied Māori land. We pay respect to the iwi and hapū of the Wellington area, who are the traditional custodians of the land, and we support the ongoing struggle of Māori for land rights, self-determination and justice.**



# Foreward

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This reader is a compilation from the *Change Everything* gathering and day of action that took place in Te Whanganui-A-Tara Wellington on December 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup>, 2015. Speakers were asked to submit presentations, papers or conference notes. This is not a complete record as not all speakers had written or graphic materials to contribute. In some cases, we have simply included the powerpoint presentations and no further information.

# Table of Contents

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## **Saturday, 12 February 2015 Gathering**

Introduction.....	3
Plenary One <i>Resist: Capitalism, Colonialism &amp; the Climate</i>	
Jean Kahui.....	7
Pala Molisa.....	18
Trish Tupou.....	23
Plenary Two <i>Build: Anti-Capitalism, Decolonisation &amp; the Climate</i>	
James Barber.....	29
Frances Mountier.....	36
Emily Bailey.....	40
Workshop: <i>Work Poverty &amp; Housing</i>	
Conor Twyford.....	57
Workshop: <i>Tino Rangatiratanga, Oil Claims &amp; Resistance</i>	
Catherine Murupaenga-Ikenn.....	60

## **Sunday, 13 February 2015 Day of Action**

Conor Twyford.....	87
Kassie Hartendorp.....	88
Fi Gibson.....	90

# Introduction

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## Change Everything

Jessie Dennis & Zoe Deans for Oil Free Wellington

We want to start by acknowledging that this hui takes place on colonised and occupied Māori land, and the the place of local Iwi and hapū as tangata whenua. Thank you Mark Ormsby for welcoming us into this space.

We also want to acknowledge everyone who has travelled, from near or really far, to be here with us today, like folks from groups like Climate Justice Taranaki (CJT), Frack Free Kapiti, Climate Justice Aotearoa, Auckland Action Against Poverty, Oil Free Otago, Oil Free Outatahi, Oil Free Auckland, Greenpeace, as well as more local groups represented or helping with today like Public Service Association, Renters United, Transition Towns Lower Hutt, Hutt South Timebank, Savings Pool, Mechanical Tempest, Common Unity, Wunderbikes, Food not Bombs, and sorry if I've forgotten anyone. Thank you so much to all of you.

We also want to thank everyone who contributed on our Give-a-Little to make tomorrow's action happen.

And to everyone here today, thanks for spending your Saturday with us.

A quick little intro on who we are: Oil Free Wellington was formed in 2012 when oil permits were granted off Wellington's coast. A bunch of us got together, many who had been involved in various other climate and social and climate justice stuff over the years, and decided to form Oil Free Wellington to fight deep sea oil off our coast, acknowledging the importance of working on our own frontlines of the climate struggle. We also formed knowing that we wanted to work on this issue in a way that puts climate justice front and centre.

For us, that means starting with acknowledging that climate change is not only a problem of too much CO<sub>2</sub> in the atmosphere, and won't be fixed by working for change based on seeing that as the problem. But rather, climate change is a symptom of the deep, fundamental and unequal economic and social power relations that exist and drive our world as it is. It also acknowledges that those who are bearing the brunt of climate change already, the poor, indigenous communities and women, did not create it. We're not 'all in this together.'

We organised today knowing it would take place as the climate talks in Paris finish and knowing they would fail, and knowing that we can find a lot of hope and resilience elsewhere and in the kōrero we're going to have today. We think its vital that as a movement we don't empower a failed and corporate captured process of government's catching up every year by asking them to do better. We organised today instead to create a space where we can talk about how we can work together to buld a movement that empowers each other across our struggles, connects the dots of the opressions that fuel

climate change, and take the power we need for change rather than ask those in power for change they have no interest in implementing.

We acknowledge that it has been indigenous peoples and movements who have been leading the way on rejecting solutions to climate change that use the same logic that created the problem, and also leading the fight to keep fossil fuels in the ground.

While the ideas around climate justice may be seen as radical, and are certainly a bit more complicated to communicate in a 30 second media soundbite, the idea that we have to address an economic system built on growth in order to address climate change, at least, is catching on.

We have organised today to create a space where hopefully we can begin to have some conversations about climate justice that can continue, to strengthen our analysis of what climate justice is and what it means for all of us, to bring together diverse movements struggling for justice, and also to promote the use of direct action as an empowering tool for social change. We know that we need to work across struggles, get louder, and be more ready to break the rules if we want to build resilience to or limit climate change.

We are excited to have many of you joining us tomorrow for the on-water flotilla and rally and show of strength - this is great practice for us as a community to resist drilling companies this summer and in the seasons to come.

## **HOUSEKEEPING**

Within our group, we try to work across struggles to mitigate power structures inherent in society. This means when we organise events, we try to do so in a way that is inclusive and accessible to all. We aim to make this a welcoming space where everyone can feel comfortable sharing their views, and we acknowledge that we all come from different backgrounds, with different ideas, knowledge and beliefs. There's so much knowledge in the room and we're excited to hear from you and see the discussions you spark.

With that in mind, our facilitators will try to ensure everyone is included and heard from. This is a collaborative effort, though - we ask that you please be respectful in your conversations. As facilitators and people who are keen to hear the diverse opinions in the room, we reserve the right to ask anyone dominating the conversation, not allowing others to speak, repeatedly speaking over others or derailing the conversation to hold back and allow space for others to participate.

Please respect others' physical and emotional boundaries, and know that everyone is different in these regards. If someone is acting in an unsafe way or putting others at risk, physically or emotionally, we will ask you to leave, including if it's made known to us that anyone's presence is excluding someone else's participation.

As I said, this will take effort from all of us in the room, and we trust that you understand your roles in helping make this space as accessible as possible for everyone. If you do need to seek help, we have two people today who are on hand to help deal with situations that arise. They're Jessie and Arthur.

If you can't find these guys, or if you need help or clarification with anything else, look for the Oil Free Wellington crew - I'll ask them to stand up - they have orange dots on their nametags.

Our schedule for today is here and in your printed booklets - we have our first plenary and a website launch this morning, which we'll all be in the room for, then we'll break for morning tea. We'll then come together for our second plenary before lunch, then in the afternoon we'll break off into some streams of panels and workshops. You don't need to register - just pick a stream by turning up in the room.

Since we've got so many amazing speakers, we're going to try to run to schedule as best we can. We'll hold up a sign when our speakers have five minutes left and again when they have two minutes left.

This is our main room where we'll hold the plenaries, and over here is...and over here is ..., which we're using for childcare. If you need childcare for the day or have any questions, please ask Chrissy or Michelle.

As I said, we'll be providing morning tea, lunch and afternoon tea. Feel free to help out if you have capacity. The kitchen is over here, please help yourself to hot drinks.

Toilets are here, fire exits are here and hopefully we won't need them.

We'll have a briefing on tomorrow's day of action for everyone, at 4pm. Thanks again for coming and for all that we know you'll contribute.

# Plenary One

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Resist. Capitalism, colonialism and the climate

Jean Kahui (Frack Free Kapiti)



The Oil and Gas Industry is a dirty and dangerous business – many lives are lost every year and the toll on the environment and life itself is immeasurable.

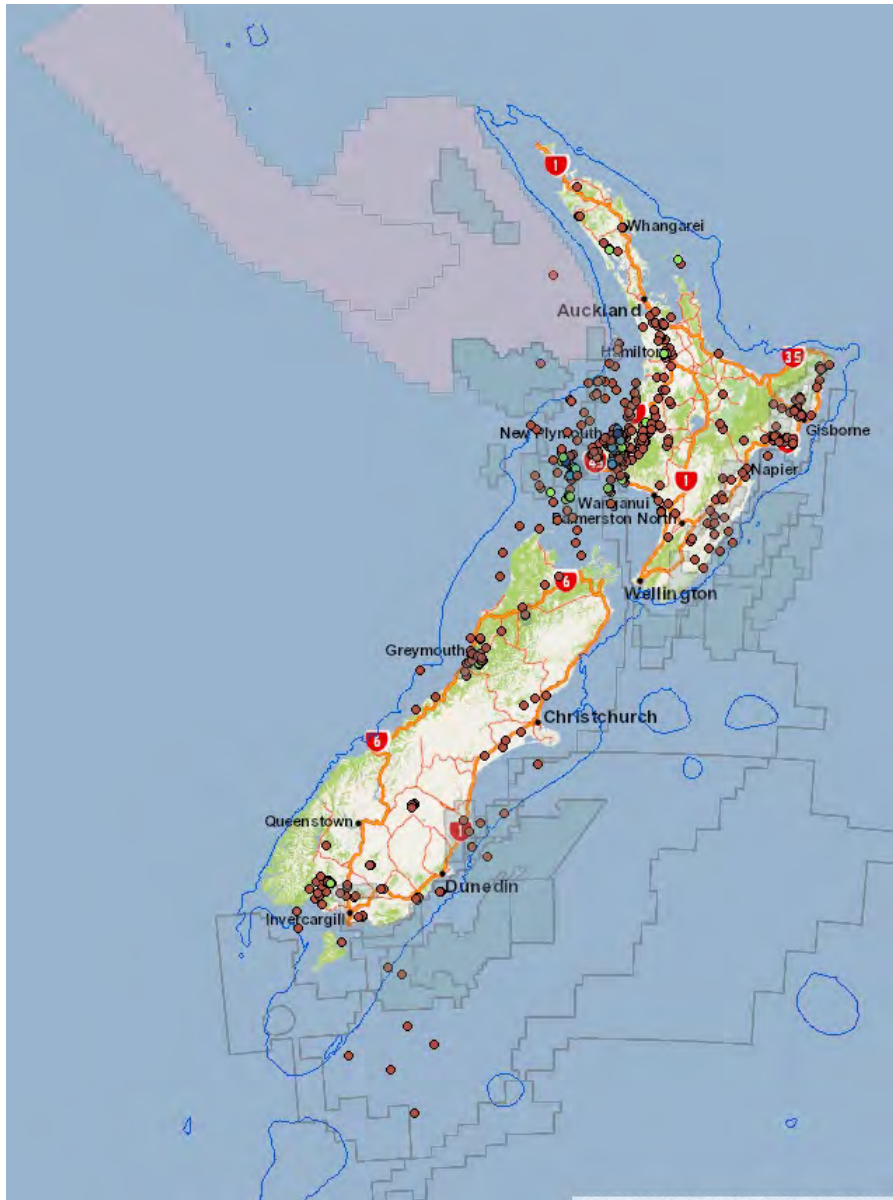
Our “Government aims to increase the value of New Zealand petroleum exports ten-fold from \$3 billion to \$30 billion a year by 2025” NZ Trade and Enterprise website.

Not about a secure National energy supply, most of the coal, oil and gas produced is exported.



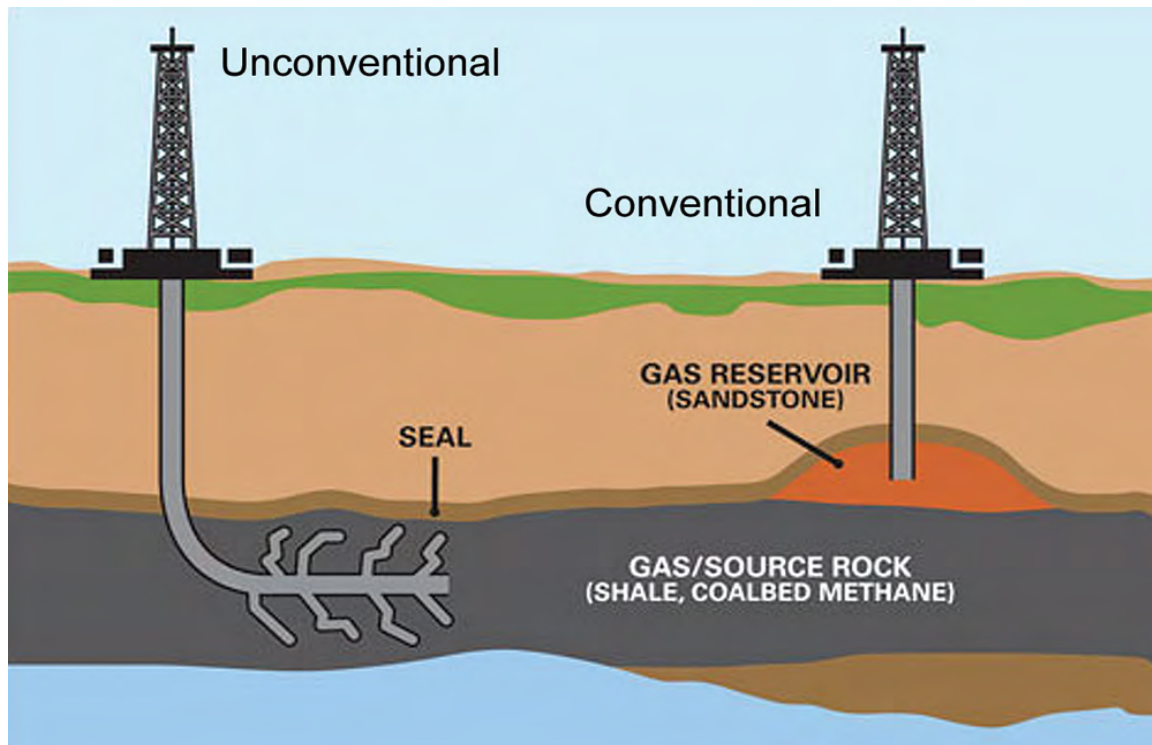
Shell Todd have gained consent this year to operate at the Maui gas field for a further 35 years and to drill another 22 wells. The EPA is required by law to NOT CONSIDER the effects on the industry on Climate change. Exclusive Economic Zone and Continental Shelf (Environmental Effects) Act 2012





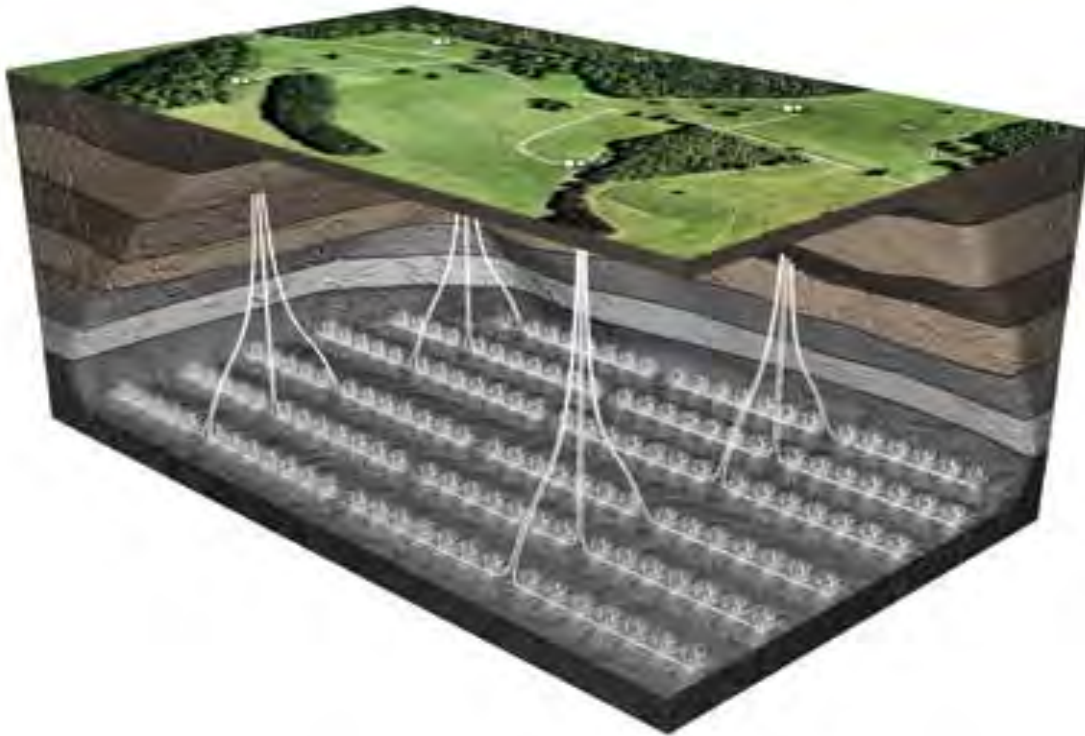
- 200 off-shore wells
- 10 are 'deep sea' (300m)
- Wells leak methane
- Methane is a *climate change- fuelling* greenhouse gas

34 x more potent than carbon dioxide (over 100 year span) No meaningful monitoring or research = no problems.



this slide shows the difference between a conventional and an unconventional well. On the right is an old fashioned well. The well is drilled directly down into a pool of oil or a reserve of gas that has collected there over thousands of years. This is called a sweet spot and when a sweet spot was struck, it was celebrated because the well could produce oil and gas for the next 20 or 30 years.

On the other side, the well on the left shows a present day unconventional well. There is no reservoir, but new age technology now allows the drills to go straight to and through the source rock, fracking will blow it apart and some oil and gas will be released from the rock. Unfortunately this new method of extraction uses 100 times more chemicals than a conventional well and produces 100 times more waste than a conventional well. And that is per well. (Prof Ingraffea)



Unconventional wells are drilled in clusters. This is an example of multiple wells, on clustered pads, with long laterals.

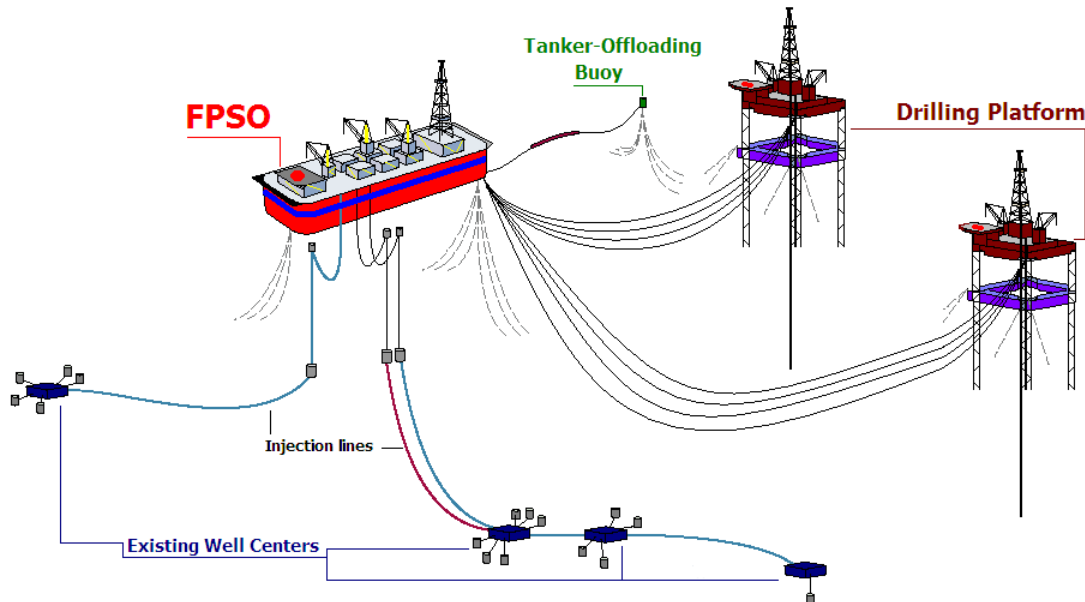
I found this picture on the **Waterworld.com** website. They are a company in Europe looking at the opportunity of making billions of dollars profit from treating billions of cubic meters of contaminated water-frack fluid and produced water. They also acknowledge the drawbacks and say "With respect to water usage, pumping fracking fluid into the well is the easy part. Approximately 10-40% of the fluid returns to the surface. This flow back fluid is lucrative yet pretty nasty stuff..." They also mention "Fracking, however, is highly controversial and there are bans in France, Bulgaria and in some regions of the US, Australia, South Africa and Canada. They suggest the cost to treat the water to the standard required for US drinking would be about \$20 per bbl (similar to one cubic meter). As a comparison, Kapiti Coast District Council are charging a little more than \$1 per cubic meter for drinkable water.

Waterworld.com went on to say that over and above the \$20 per cubic meter treatment there was another concern being radiation. They said "Although the concentration of radioactivity is low, the total volume of return fluids is large..."

**Our Parliamentary Commissioner** for the Environment Dr Jan Wright has said that levels of radiation from the east coast shale will almost certainly be higher than the levels in the Taranaki waste.

(Water Contamination: Six years into a natural gas boom, Pennsylvania has for the first time released details of 243 cases in which companies prospecting for oil or gas were found by state regulators to have contaminated private drinking water wells.

The 243 cases, from 2008 to 2014, include some where a single drilling operation impacted multiple water wells. The problems listed in the documents include methane gas contamination, spills of wastewater and other pollutants, and wells that went dry or were otherwise undrinkable. <http://triblive.com/mobile/6696428-96/wells-released-gas> )



The OMV Discharge Management Plan reports “The Raroa discharges produced water and turbine cooling water to the ocean via outlets in the bottom of the hull approximately amidships. The produced water discharge rate is 37m<sup>3</sup> per hour of slightly saline water (density 1.03g.cm<sup>-1</sup>) at a maximum temperature of 50 degrees C. The cooling water discharge is 2000m<sup>3</sup> per hour of seawater with a maximum temperature of 30 degrees C.”



**BOOST FOR WILDBASE FUNDRAISING** The Massey University Foundation has announced a major ten-year partnership between Shell New Zealand and Wildbase Hospital. The partnership sees Shell contributing \$800,000 to the Hospital expansion project (\$400,000 towards the build and \$40,000 per annum in operational costs for the next ten years). This major contribution takes fundraising for the \$1.47 million build to around half way.



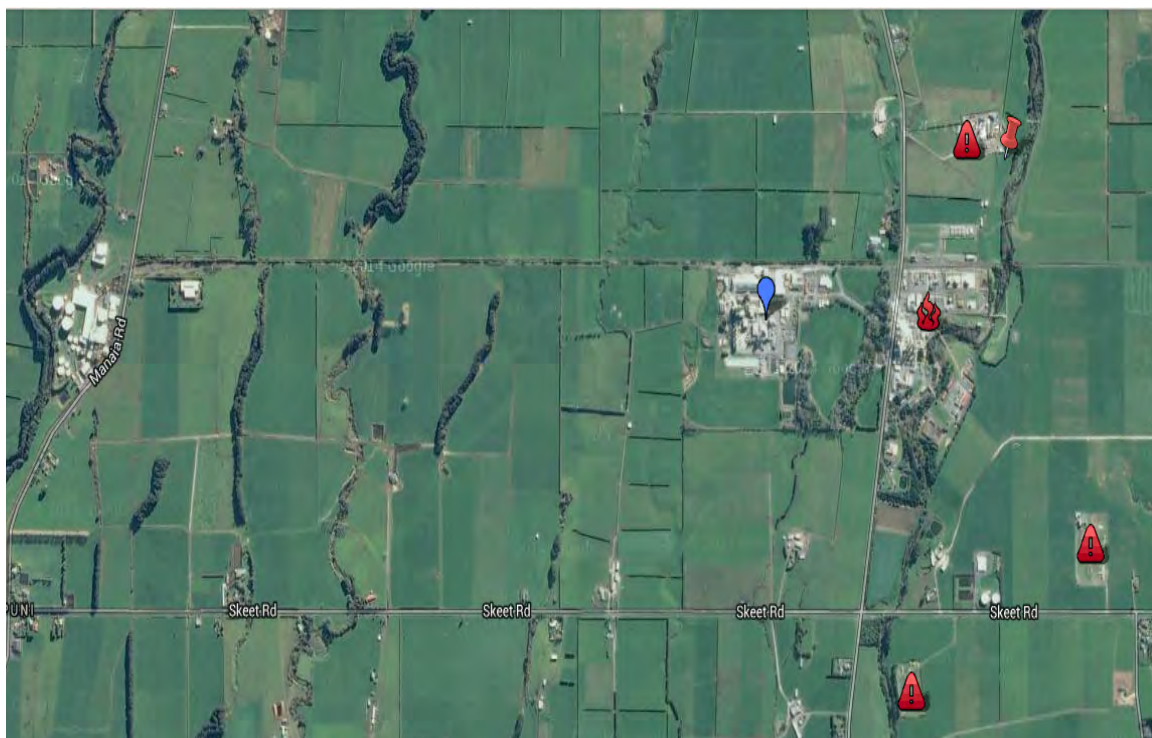
A green sea turtle found on the brink of death a long way from home.



It's not just the oil and gas industry responsible for human-caused methane emissions. Grazing animals – like cows- are close behind. Methane is a by product of their digestion process of the grass. And the manure from these animals also produces methane.



Oil Industry 'partners' with the education sector, local authorities, Dept of Conservation and any group that could have a say about their activities who will have them.



**Kapuni is a** heavily industrialised area. The oil and gas industry produce fertilizer for the farms and the gas is used to power the milk stations. The farms are used to dump the petroleum waste (offshore too). groundwater has been recorded as unfit for drinking, stock-use and irrigation since 2004.) Groundwater under some Kapuni well sites has been contaminated since 2004

The US Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) reports that nearly 29% of all methane emissions in 2012 came from oil and gas industry activity. It is the largest source, followed by enteric fermentation, at 25%, which is the digestive process used by grazing animals, such as cattle, producing methane as a gassy by product. Those animals also produce manure, which is responsible for an added 9% of methane emitted

rural ( heavily industrialised area where groundwater has been recorded as unfit for drinking, stock-use and irrigation since 2004.) Groundwater under some Kapuni well sites has been contaminated since 2004



**Toxic Smog Puts Cancer as Leading Cause of Death in China (Beijing). The global atmosphere is being loaded with the sum of all nations' activities.**



The methane that leaks from 40,000 gas wells near the desert trading post of Cuba, [New Mexico](#), may be colourless and odourless, but it's not invisible. It can be seen from space.

Satellites that sweep over the north of the energy-rich state can spot the gas as it escapes from drilling rigs, compressors and a pipeline snaking across the badlands. In the air it forms a giant plume: a permanent methane cloud, so vast that scientists questioned their own data when they first studied it three years ago...(<http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2015/jan/04/leaking-methane-gas-plume-us>)





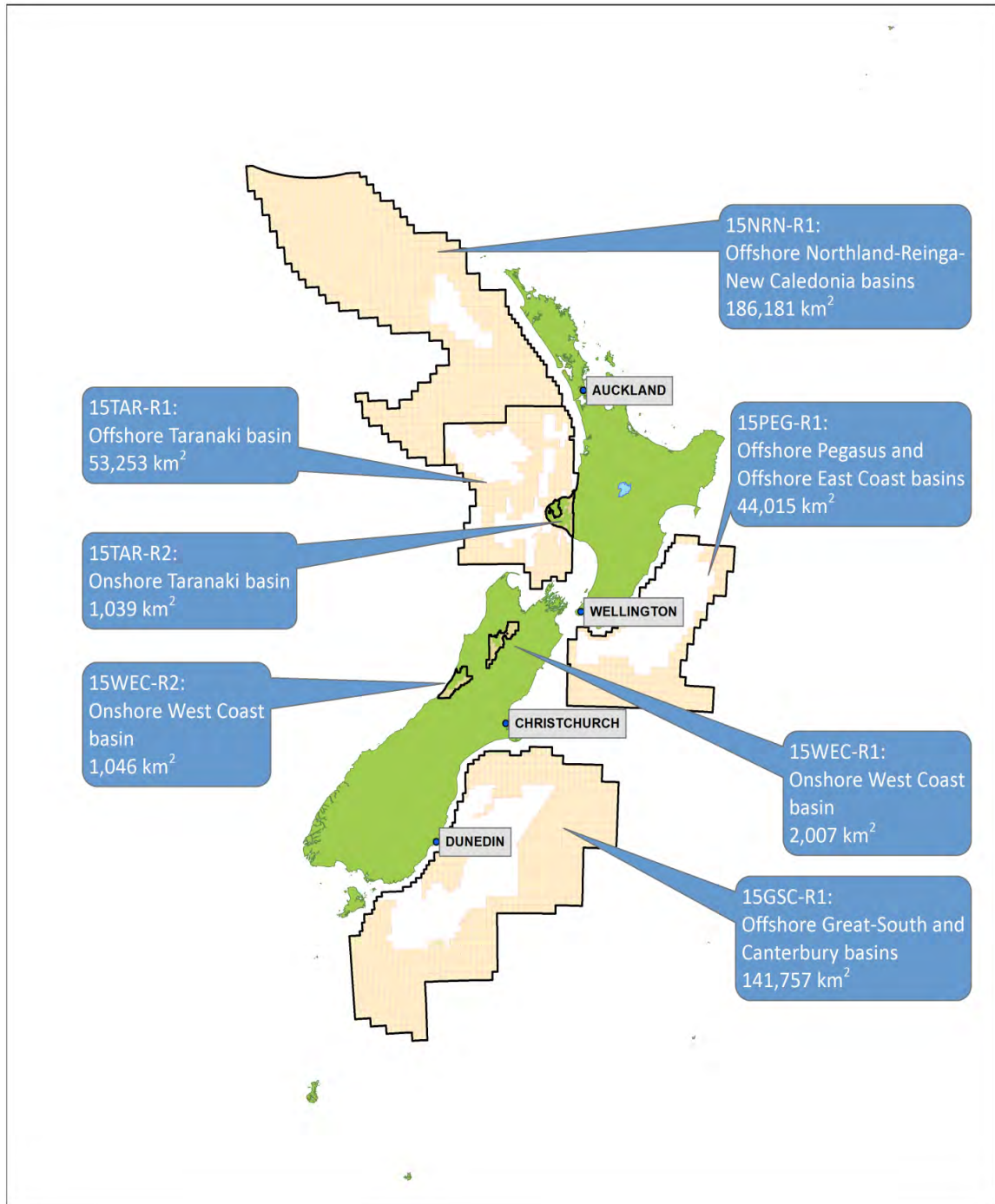
enough group of determined and passionate people with sufficient public sympathy on their side. Climate change is now so serious – and so urgent – that thousands were willing to risk arrest in Paris today to stand up for that cause, with the support of millions of observers around the world. In the event, there was little that the French state could do to prevent this – at least for the five hours that I was out on the streets observing the protests unfold.



Indigenous peoples and their allies in the human chain. Danny Chivers / New Internationalist

Having succeeded in forming the human chain, many people flooded back to Place de la République, to assemble with their placards and banners (again, in apparent infringement of the protest ban). Groups of

Frack-Free Kpaiti takes the message to COP21 in Paris, Dec 2015



Block offers. Areas of NZ on and off shore are identified in blocks, numbered and then the exclusive rights to explore and/or mine the area is GIVEN to applicants. The applicant must have a plan to explore or mine and is charged an administration fee.

## Pala Molisa, Victoria University Wellington

- The situation we find ourselves in today
  - Social
  - Ecological
  - Post-COP 21
  - Why we're in this situation
- What we can do about it

### OUR COLLECTIVE SITUATION: THE SOCIAL

- DEEPENING SOCIAL INEQUALITY:
  - New Zealand:
    - Mid 1980s – mid-2000s: gap between rich and other groups widened faster than in any other developed country (Rashbrooke, 2013, p. 1).
    - Today, the top 1% owns three times more than bottom 50% (Rashbrooke, 2013, p. 2).
      - Bottom 50%, 1.45 million people, own five per cent of New Zealand's wealth (ibid.).
      - Widest income gaps since detailed records began in the early 1980s.
    - 1 in 4 children in poverty (Child Poverty Monitor, 2014)
- DEEPENING SOCIAL INEQUALITY:
  - Global:
    - If trends persist, by next year, the global 1% will own half of the world's wealth by the end of next year (2016) (Oxfam, 2015)
    - At the other end, 1/3 of people live on less than \$2 a day,
    - 50% – some three billion people – live on less than \$2.50 a day (World Bank, 2008).
    - 21,000 people die every day from poverty-related causes – 18,000 of these are children (UNICEF, 2014)
- A RACE-BASED CRISIS
  - NZ:

- Maori and other Pasifika people are over-represented in those unemployed, suffering from ill-health and unemployed: one in ten Pākehā (ethnic Europeans) lives in poverty; compared with one in five for Māori and Pacific Island peoples (Mila, 2013).
- Global:
  - The vast majority of those who live in poverty – the one-third of the planet living on less than \$2 a day and one-half living on less than \$2.50 a day (World Bank, 2008) – live in the non-white countries of the global South (the “developing” or “Third World” nations) (World Bank, 2008)
- A GENDER-BASED CRISIS
  - NZ:
    - Still a gender pay gap (14%), discrimination in education, over-represented in casualised labour, nurturing professions, and those in poverty (Statistics NZ, 2014)
    - Worst rate of domestic violence in OECD (UN Women, 2013)
    - 33%-39% of women experience physical or sexual violence from an intimate partner in their lifetime (Farnslow and Robinson, 2004).
  - Global:
    - Women make up half the global population, do two-thirds of the work, but receive only 10% of world’s income, and own only 1% of world’s wealth (Banyard, 2010)
    - 70% of those living on \$1 or less/day are women; 2/3 of 780 million illiterates are women (ibid.)
    - 1 in 3 women – 1 billion and rising – are sexually abused (Banyard, 2010)

## **OUR COLLECTIVE SITUATION: THE ECOLOGICAL**

- If we looked at any crucial measure of ecological well-being the news is not good
  - Global ecological overshoot: 1.5 planets (Global Footprint, 2014)
  - Overpopulation: 7.3 billion people
  - Mass extinction: 200 species per day (UNEP, 2010)
  - Increasing toxicity: 57,000 deaths/day (Science Daily, 2007)
  - Planetary boundaries: 4 out of 9 are violated (Klein, 2015)

- Climate disruption: Under 350ppm (carbon emissions) are required to avoid “catastrophic disruption of the climate” (UNEP, 2012; Klein, 2015)

### WHY IS THIS HAPPENING?

- “All through human history, there have been terrible, cruel wrongs. These wrongs were not committed on a small scale. These wrongs were not rarities or oddities. These wrongs have raged over the earth like wind-swept fires, maiming, destroying, leaving humans turned to ash. Slavery, rape, torture, extermination have been the substance of life for billions of human beings since the beginning of patriarchal time.” (Dworkin, 1988)
- Crises are structurally rooted:
  - Political, economic and cultural systems
  - An important aspect of our social systems is the ideological dimension:
    - “Whether through indifference, ignorance, or brutality, most people, oppressor and oppressed, have apologized for atrocity, defended it, justified it, excused it, laughed at it, or ignored it.” (Dworkin, 1988)
  - So we need to look closely at these social systems...

### INTERSECTING SYSTEMS

- CAPITALISM
  - WHAT IS CAPITALISM?
  - WHY IS IT UNSUSTAINABLE?
- COLONIZATION
  - HOW IS CAPITALISM ROOTED IN COLONIZATION?
- “If money, according to Augier, “comes into the world with a congenital blood-stain on one cheek,” capital comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt.” (Karl Marx, 1867)
- “Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery, agony of toil slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole, *i.e.*, on the side of the class that produces its own product in the form of capital.”
- “The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society.
- Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered form, was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes. Constant revolutionising of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions,

everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones.

- All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.” (Marx and Engels, 1848)

#### COLONIZATION

- IT'S AN IDENTITY BASED ON A PROFOUND DISCONNECTION FROM NATURE
- IT IS BASED ON MASCULINITY'S "VIOLATION IMPERATIVE"
- IT IS PREDICATED ON:
  - GENOCIDE/WAR
  - WHITE SUPREMACY/ORIENTALISM
  - SLAVERY/CAPITALISM
- ECONOMIC
  - LAND
  - LABOUR
- POLITICAL
  - GOVERNANCE
  - LAW
- CULTURAL
  - EDUCATION
  - ART
  - MUSIC
  - SPORTS
  - RELIGION AND SPIRITUALITY

#### WHAT CAN WE DO?

- “Not every problem that is faced can be changed, but nothing can be changed unless it is faced”
- (James Baldwin)

#### DECOLONIZE

- WHAT DOES DECOLONIZING TRANSFORMATIVE CHANGE INVOLVE?
  - Individual and collective
  - Community-building and frontline resistance

## Trish Tupou (Co-convenor Pasifika Greens Network)

Colonisation & Climate change in the pacific



Kohai, Koau, ko Momo by Lingikoni Vaka'uta, 2004 (below)





KANALOA By ANNA FEURENSTEINER  
(below)



We sweat and cry salt water, so we know  
that the ocean is really in our blood

Teresia teaiwa, 1998







## Plenary Two

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Build: Anti-capitalism decolonisation and the climate

James Barber (OFW)

## Green Capitalism: Pushing the repelling magnets together

An essay based on a talk by James Barber for Oil Free Wellington's Change Everything

Green capitalism is an important issue for social and environmental justice groups to discuss because it is, unfortunately, the way in which most countries and corporations are claiming to address climate change. This is even the case here in New Zealand with the two main political parties, and to a lesser extent the Green Party. If green capitalism is not discussed and critiqued then we risk limiting our thinking to within its perimeters.

At face value, green capitalism is an attempt to twist capitalism towards a more sustainable direction. I would compare this with trying to push two repelling magnets together. Green capitalism is pushing against capitalism's driving forces, the pursuit of profit and the need for growth. The profit motive is a fundamental aspect of capitalism, and growth is needed for businesses to out compete each other within the marketplace.

While it is broadly acknowledged that we cannot grow infinitely on a finite planet, one illustration of this is the Swiss 2,000 Watt Society. This group has determined that in order to sustain a population of 6 billion people, we would need to limit energy use to 2,000 Watts per person per day. For Germany this would mean halving energy consumption and for the United States of America this would require cutting consumption by three quarters (Roger, H. 2010).

One could try to regulate the profit motive by putting a high price on limited resources, or a charge for actions we want to restrict (such as pollution). This would be to put a price on aspects outside of the market, commonly called market externalities. However, this poses first a logistical nightmare and second a massive ethical dilemma. The first is that it would be impossible to accurately put a price on all "market externalities." For example, how does one represent the intricate complexities of the bio-sphere as a financial price? The second is, should we do this? Do we really want to start putting a price on every aspect of life?

I will cover three aspects of green capitalism. First I will discuss green consumerism, the illusion of consumer power and the use of green wash as a marketing tool. Second I will discuss carbon capture and carbon sinks, and finally I will discuss how emissions trading acts to maintain the status quo.

### Green Consumerism

Green consumerism is the notion that through buying the right products we will steer businesses towards sustainability. Two simple examples of this are the slogans, "think globally, act locally" and "vote with your wallet." This fits with green capitalism because it allows our levels of consumption to continue and only requires the types of products and methods of production to change, if they change at all. Unfortunately, of course, it doesn't work.

Green consumerism has created the illusion of choice, and allowed for businesses to simply diversify their products to pick up new environmentally conscious consumers, rather than

fundamentally change their business practices. Of course there is nothing wrong with thinking about the impact of our lives, and purchases, on the world and other people. But, we should not fool ourselves into thinking that buying fair trade or organic is a holistic solution to the myriad of problems we face as a planet.

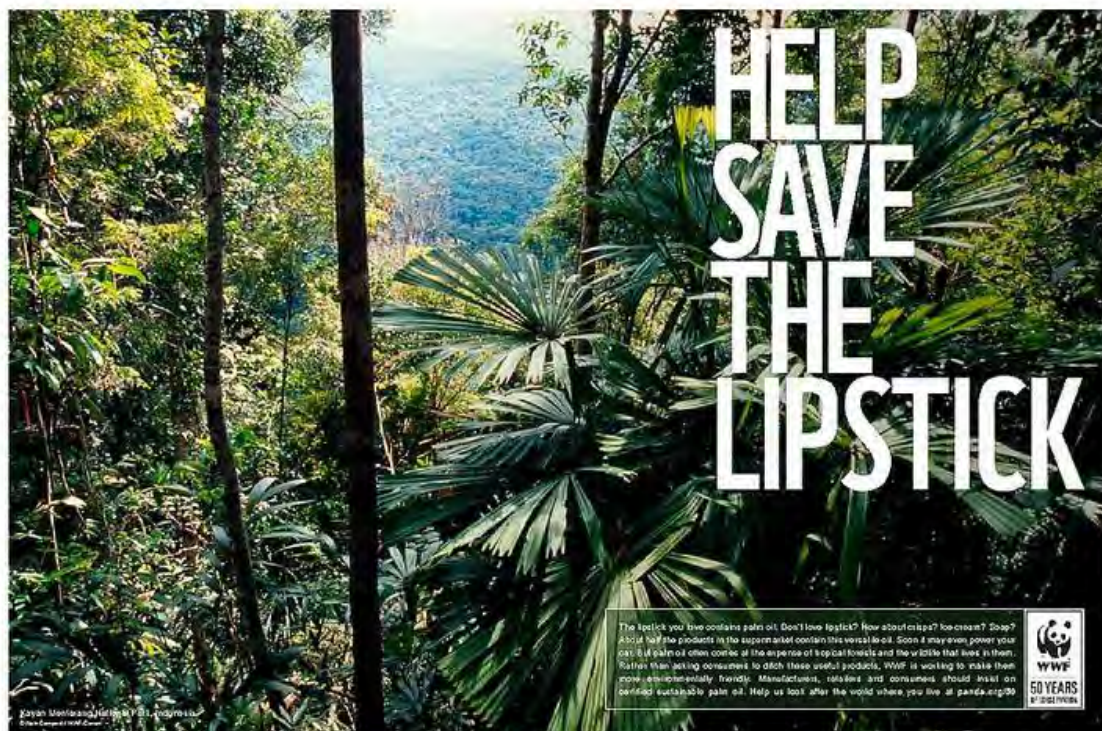
One simple example of the illusion of choice and consumer power is the issue of caged eggs. I choose this one for the sake of simplicity and familiarity. Personally, I see nothing wrong with buying free range eggs and do so myself. However, the growing desire and support for free range has not ended the caged egg industry. In some cases companies have simply diversified their products to engage these new animal welfare conscious consumers. For example, Woodlands Free Range Eggs are owned by Mainland Poultry one of the largest caged egg producers in Aotearoa. Instead of changing their bad practices the company has simply introduced a new product. This has also happened in other areas. One example is the growth of a big organics industry. An influential book which mentions this is Heather Rogers' *Green Gone Wrong*.

In addition our purchasing choices are determined by our means and where we live. For example, one may not live near a shop which sells free range eggs, and if one is supporting a large family on a small income the tray of three dozen cheap caged eggs would probably look very attractive.

One other change which green consumerism has brought about is the establishment of large green wash organisations. One example is the Round Table for Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). The RSPO has established criteria for sustainable palm oil production and provides sustainability certification. It also represents every business in the palm oil industry, from production to transportation. The conflict of interest is immediately obvious and there are many examples of this.

One such example of this is the company Wilmar and its operations in Borneo. These were investigated by the RSPO and the bank which funded the operations, the International Finance Corporation (IFC), for “logging of protected areas, use of fire to clear trees, coercive and forced displacement of indigenous people and small farmers, and inadequate or non-existent permits” (Rogers, 2010). These were acknowledged and then dismissed by both the RSPO and the IFC. When I initially discovered this I assumed that Wilmar was only a member of the RSPO but I later discovered that their plantations in Borneo hold RSPO certification and this will last until 2020 ([rspo.org](http://rspo.org)). Recently calls for the company to be investigated for similar violations have been renewed by indigenous communities.

This is just one example of how the developing market in “green products” can lead to market opportunities for the companies which are part of the problem. However, in this circumstance it is even worse because the RSPO was founded with the help of the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF). In fact the WWF continues to endorse the RSPO and even runs advertising campaigns to endorse sustainable palm oil. One example is their “save the lipstick” campaign. Although partly tongue in cheek it does demonstrate everything which is wrong with green consumerism. Rather than encouraging fundamental change we are encouraged to simply buy from companies a big NGO tells us to. Like those displacing indigenous communities in Borneo as long as they have RSPO sustainability certification.



## Carbon Capture and Carbon Sinks

Carbon capture and carbon sinks are another way green capitalism allows us to avoid fundamental change. They provide a way to deal with carbon emissions, at least on paper, without stopping the burning fossil fuels.

Carbon capture and storage (CCS) is the pinnacle of the wacky, but also frightening, schemes of green capitalism. It involves carbon emissions being captured at their source, such as a power plant. They are then compressed, transported and finally stored in underground reservoirs; which often used to be oil and gas wells. The origins of these underground reservoirs nicely demonstrate the whole purpose of CCS. Instead of ceasing to burn fossil fuels we can just pump the carbon underground. This provides a way for companies to rationalise the continued exploration for oil and gas in the face of dire climate science. A very telling quote about this comes from the International Energy Agency's Executive Director Maria Van der Hoeven,

IEA analysis has shown that without significant deployment of CCS more than two-thirds of current proven fossil fuel reserves cannot be commercialized before 2050 if the increase in global temperatures is to remain below 2 degrees celcius. (IEA, 2014)

Without CCS fossil fuel companies have no future in a sensible world.

While once dismissed as wacky, these technologies are now being given credence by organisations such as the UN. In their 2014 climate report the IPCC included CCS as part of a



package of tools which would be needed to mitigate climate change. This is very worrying and even contradicts statements by other UN organisations. For example, Greenpeace, the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), have all stated that CCS will not be available on the large scale it would be needed until the 2030s, which would be well after substantial emissions reductions need to happen.

Also, these stored emissions would need to be held for perpetuity in order to be effective. Unfortunately leaks are certain. A Queens Policy Review from 2011 says that there is, “90-99% certainty that well designed reservoirs will hold 99% of CO<sub>2</sub> injected for 100 years” (Burgess, C. 2011). This contains a lot of conditionals and shows that leaks will happen.

It should also be remembered that CO<sub>2</sub> is harmful to human health in concentrations above 3% and deadly in higher concentrations. It also tends to pool in areas. Anyone who has experienced smog can attest to both of these aspects. As such large underground reservoirs of CO<sub>2</sub> which are also leaking would be dangerous for multiple reasons.

It is quite telling that the main supporters of CCS are organisations representing large oil, gas and coal companies. Two of these are the Carbon Capture and Storage Association and the WBCSD. Both of these organisations have membership pages which can be accessed online. The CCSA has 14 oil, coal and gas companies as members. These include BP, Shell, Chevron and Statoil. This makes sense since the CCSA describes itself as, “not a technical forum, professional institute or an environmental or climate campaign group” (ccsassociation.org). The same companies represented by the CCSA are also represented in the membership of the WBCSD in addition to companies such as Coca Cola, Pepsi and Monsanto. It should come as no surprise then that the WBCSD is also aggressively campaigning for CCS. In fact, at the start of the same conference in which the IPCC report endorsing carbon capture was released, the WBCSD released a video describing how we need CCS to prevent catastrophic climate change. It was a sobering and surreal experience to watch their video knowing that those who made it could easily change the chilling facts it presents if they wanted to. However their profits do not lie in changing these facts, instead they rely in maintaining the status quo seen in their video.

Carbon sinks operate in a similar way, but rely on natural processes rather than wacky technology. Carbon sinks work by planting trees or, more realistically, paying somebody else to plant trees. Over their lifetime these trees then absorb the equivalent CO<sub>2</sub> the payer was trying to cover, therefore neutralising it; hence the term “carbon neutral.” Even in countries without formal carbon markets, there is a lucrative business for optional carbon neutrality through paid for carbon sinks.

Carbon sinks pose huge problems of scale and often horrible consequences for those living in the developing countries where they are usually planted.

The issue of scale comes from the fact that in order to cover our increasing global emissions an ever increasing number of trees would need to be planted. We would simply run out of space for carbon sinks.

Also, the massive financial incentive created by this market for carbon sinks has led to horrific consequences. For example, the UN carbon sink scheme Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation (REDD+) has created a new industry affecting the livelihoods of many indigenous peoples through the privatisation of forests. Carbon Trade Watch says that this has happened in Kenya, the Congo, Papua New Guinea and Brazil. The Oakland Institute provides one further example in its disturbing report, *The Darker Side of Green*. This describes the forced relocation of Ugandan indigenous people when a forest is bought as a carbon sink. The report describes how up to 40,000 people were affected by the privatisation of what used to be a communal resource (Oakland Institute, 2014). While this scheme was not a REDD+ approved scheme it was approved for carbon credits through another UN scheme called the Clean Development Mechanism. This scheme is part of the patchy international framework for emissions trading which will be discussed next.

### Emissions Trading Schemes

Emissions Trading Schemes, to continue with the magnet analogy, are the point where instead of pushing the two magnets together they click and stick at the edges; not flipping but also not achieving what you wanted. Emissions trading is the pinnacle of green capitalism as not only does it enable the status quo to continue, best seen through the expansion of oil and gas exploration under emissions trading schemes, but it also expands capitalism by creating another market, the carbon market. Climate change and the need for action is effectively co-opted by capitalism through emissions trading.

Emissions trading schemes (ETS) are hugely complicated. When I presented this talk I asked people to raise their hands if they felt they clearly understood emissions trading. One person raised their hand, and that was as a joke. When the former NASA scientist James Hansen proposed a redistributive carbon tax one of the arguments was simplicity. One carbon tax bill put to the US Congress was a simple 21 pages long, in contrast the emissions trading bill was a staggering 1,500 pages (Bellamy Foster, J. 2013). Put as simply as possible ETS involve a government distributing carbon credits to businesses. If the businesses' emissions exceed a threshold they use these credits to pay for these emissions. Businesses which are under the threshold can trade their credits with businesses which are dramatically over the threshold. Businesses can also earn credits through schemes like the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) which I mentioned earlier. These usually involve large, and usually dodgy, projects in developing countries. In order for any emissions reductions to take place the threshold above which trading occurs is gradually lowered. In addition, many schemes have alterations made frequently. It is no surprise then that only one joker claimed to understand emissions trading.

The creation of a carbon market through ETS comes with all the problems of a market. For example, supply and demand. If the price of credits is floating then it is subject to these pressures. This means that the more credits are earned, for example through actions which we presumably want to encourage like planting trees or building wind farms, the more their value decreases. This provides a perverse incentive to continue fossil fuel production and limit renewables in order to maximise profit within a carbon market. An example of this

happened to the European market when an over-supply of carbon credits collapsed their price.

ETS function as money-go-rounds where projects which earn credits are used to support the existing fossil fuel industry. One example is the Spanish oil giant Repsol. Repsol is exploring for oil off the Canary Islands and has recently had approval for twenty wells in the Amazon rainforest within a reserve for an extremely isolated tribe of indigenous people. When the European ETS was established Repsol deliberately over-estimated future emissions in order to be given several million more carbon credits than they actually needed. This has meant that the implementation of an ETS had no effect on one of the largest European oil and gas companies for several years. However, when they needed to get more carbon credits they found a way to do so while further increasing their profits. This was through their Peru based subsidiary, Rycopesa. Rycopesa produces LPG which it convinces local businesses to lock themselves into purchasing. This changes these businesses from a heavier dirtier fuel to Rycopesa's LPG and so this counts as an emissions reduction and earns carbon credits under the CDM. These carbon credits are then "sold" in-house to the parent oil company which uses them to cover their fossil fuel business (Carbon Trade Watch. 2013).

There are other examples showing that despite, or because of, emissions trading the business of fossil fuel exploration is still going strong in Europe. For example, the UK is experiencing a massive deep sea drilling boom. Over the past decade 150 wells have been drilled in UK waters and most recently a survey of 20,000 km has been completed in the Rockhall Trough north west of Ireland (gov.uk). There is also a strong coal industry in Europe. Much of Poland's economy is based on its coal production, and Germany produces and uses very large amounts of dirty lignite coal. However, the strongest indication of this is a quote from the World Coal Association saying, "day by day decisions within the energy sector in Europe prove that unavoidable decline or phase out of coal remains in the sphere of rhetoric not reality" (Carbon Trade Watch, 2013).

Emissions trading also provides an incentive for large renewable energy projects, usually in developing countries with few labour laws and little protection for indigenous people. I have already described one way in which the incentives for profit led to the displacement of indigenous people to create carbon sinks. Another consequence of the CDM incentive is the creation of mega dams. This can be clearly seen in Brazil. Since the CDM process began there have been over forty dams to receive approval in Brazil to earn carbon credits (cdm.unfccc.int). Four of these have been built along the Madeira River, home to 900 species of fish and essential for the survival of many species. The two largest are the Jirau dam (8km) and the Santo Antonio dam (3km). Both of these dams were built without consultation with nearby indigenous communities and have displaced or affected hundreds of local communities (The Guardian. 2013 & Carbon Trade Watch. 2013). In addition, workers on these projects faced dangerous conditions and poor pay. The average wage for a construction worker on these projects was roughly \$525 per month. There has been industrial action at each site and the largest, in 2011, involved a 26 day long strike only broken by the Brazilian army (Carbon Trade Watch, 2013).

This can also be seen in different projects in other countries. For example, eleven wind projects and five solar projects are planned for construction in occupied Western Sahara. Six large wind projects have already been completed. In all of these cases the indigenous Sahrawi were not consulted and oppose the occupation of their territory for these projects. With no consultation these projects are in violation of UN legal opinions on the matter. Despite this at-least two of these projects are being considered by the CDM to qualify for credits (Western Sahara Resource Watch 2013) and one has already qualified. A project in occupied Haouma, by the Moroccan business Nareva Holdings, has been approved by the CDM to earn carbon credits ([cdm.unfccc.int](http://cdm.unfccc.int)).

Examples such as those in Western Sahara are example of what happens when the aim is to meet a certain standard regardless as to the reality of the project. This demonstrates the failure of green capitalism to push these forces of profit and growth together with the value of ecological sustainability. This market-based approach allows the west to avoid radical change while also claiming to address climate change. Unfortunately, in most circumstances, these “attempts” to address climate change are just making the problem worse.

With all this in mind, what happens when the magnets flip and attract each other rather than repel? I would assert that this is when communities begin providing for their essential needs. When policy, such as the Green Party's Clean Investment Bank, is turned towards small scale, locally owned and locally controlled, sustainability rather than pursuing ideas of “green business” or the “green economy.”

In the short term we will need to be opposing fossil fuel exploration using all non-violent methods available to us, from divestment to direct action, as well as discussing and progressing alternatives to the consumer capitalism which exists today. Many of these exist already and what excites me about Change Everything is the bringing together of people and groups to continue these discussions of opposition and creation which are essential to achieving this view of the future.

Frances Mountier (OFW)

## State-centric solutions and community-centric solutions to the climate crisis

Introduction

Kia ora koutou. I am also from Oil Free Wellington. Today I will traverse one possibility of what a real, state-centric solution to climate change could look like, and one possibility of what a real, community-centric, transformative solution to climate change could look like. Both threads run through Naomi Klein's book *This Changes Everything*. I will touch on some arguments in favour of each.

My intention today is to raise many questions, and one of the questions is whether these – the community and the state – are in opposition or not. And depending on our answers to that question, what it means for our organising. How best can we move the climate movement in Aotearoa away from false solutions and towards more radical, climate justice solutions?

Leipzig

In September last year, I got to attend the Fourth Ecological Conference on Degrowth for Ecological Sustainability and Social Equity in Leipzig, Germany. One of the keynote speakers was Haris Konstantatos from Harokopio University of Athens, on the social-ecological crisis and the crisis of democracy.

He pointed to three models which are proposed as 'solutions' to the crisis – and he means the economic crisis as well as the ecological and climate crisis, which is the same crisis, as we've heard this morning – In Greece the connections between these crises are very apparent. These three models are:

- 1) Agressive neoliberalism
- 2) Progressive productionism
- 3) Social-ecological transformation.

Agressive neoliberalism

When I heard this, over a year ago, it struck me how much of the political debate in New Zealand is stuck within neoliberalism – including the climate change debate. Agressive neoliberalism is the logic of austerity, cutbacks, privatisations, foreign investment, a fall in the quality of life to stimulate development, and further acts of violent land alienation. Haris spoke of the 'double devaluation of labour and the environmental commons. This has catastrophic consequences on the environment' as we see with the climate crisis. In New Zealand, neoliberalism defines so much of the discourse, from the selling off of state housing to the components of the climate movement that promote the 'green capitalism solutions' James has just outlined for us [in his speech on why Green Capitalism is not the solution]; an insistence that somehow companies can keep making a profit while we address climate change.

Thank goodness there are two other models. We need to push the debate out of neoliberalism and into the other alternatives. Jane Kelsey talked about the need for new ideological parameters in her *FIRE economy* tour.

## Progressive Productionism

The second model proposed as a solution to the crisis is the traditional left answer; progressive productionism. This includes:

- State regulation
- Investment and regulation allowing the development of community projects
- A carbon tax for businesses that is evenly redistributed to everyone in the population. I.e. a genuine price on carbon
- Public divestment from oil, gas and coal
- Indeed, a moratorium on new fossil fuel projects
- Clean Communities Investment Fund
- State funding and projects that ensures a just transition for those working and living in communities reliant on the fossil fuel sector (e.g. mining, transportation)
- Repeal of the State Owned Enterprise Act so that there are citizen reps, elected reps. E.g. a decade ago, Jeanette Fitzsimons used to talk about Solid Energy transforming into a renewable solid energy company.
- Genuine public transport
- Nationalised or community-owned sustainable projects.
- The People's Climate March and other pushes for a binding UN agreement on emissions, where developed countries pay reparations to developing countries so as to ensure people everywhere have a good quality of life
- Work inside political parties and the institutions of the state to push for a just transition.

As Naomi Klein writes in *This Changes Everything*, "The measures we must take to secure a just, equitable, and inspiring transition away from fossil fuels ...[require] visionary longterm planning, tough regulation of business, higher levels of taxation for the affluent, big public sector expenditure, and in many cases reversals of core privatisations in order to give communities the power to make the changes they desire."

In the UK, they have the One Million Climate Jobs project. This is a joint union environmental campaign pushing for a million climate jobs in the clean energy, public transport, and refurbishing buildings sector through a National Climate Service, just like they have the National Health Service. It is explicitly anti-austerity because you cannot have billions of dollars of investment in a National Climate Service at the same time as cutting back spending on health, education and housing. This would create a million new jobs (plus flow on jobs for services etc). And everyone who loses their job in the transition away from fossil fuels would be ensured a job for life at the same pay, employed by the National Climate Service. The state is the only way to ensure that those new jobs are genuinely there for life. Indeed, in this movement in the UK, they only fight for the closure of a given fossil fuel project when they – at the same time – call for the assurance of these new jobs. To achieve this we will need a really strong union movement working intricately with the climate movement. We don't say that here publicly much, but there is no way we could get these changes by relying on private capital. These projects would have to be nationalised.

I think this is so worth thinking about here. Also while I was overseas last year, one tranche of the layoffs from Solid Energy were announced. 600 people lost their jobs overnight. That was an immediate crisis, and those mining communities and their supporters across the country didn't have the industrial power to stop this. Let alone the slow attrition of jobs due

to a transition away from fossil fuels over 20 years. If we want our assurances of a just transition to mean anything we will need to ensure that our community and industrial power is way stronger.

However this model of progressive productionism is also criticised because of its connection to a growth and productionist narrative. E.g. in Latin and South America where Progressive Productionism is again popular, we see the promotion of oil and brown coal, sometimes as transition fuels. It also tends to overlook qualitative questions – like the job quality of these ‘green jobs’ and is sceptical of decentralisation.

Decolonisation and critique of the state

Moreover, the state doesn’t exist as neutral. With the state comes all the institutionalised racism and sexism. Capitalism relies on colonisation. Capital could not have had the success that it has had in destroying the environment unless it also destroyed and continues to destroy indigenous people’s lands. These are intricately connected. The state is built on this dispossession, which is why decolonisation is critical to the struggle for climate justice.

Social-ecological transformation

So now, I will turn to the third model proposed as a solution to the climate crisis is a social-ecological transformation. This says, if we are going to change everything, let’s genuinely change everything. Let’s transform society. If we see the state as an expression of class society then lets build a transformative solution.

The transformation model, to quote Haris:

- *Builds on the experience of the antiglobalisation movement and the squares and the indignados.*
- *Alternatives for inclusive and meaningful democracy and human wellbeing*
- *Radical forms of political engagement, here and now*
- *Diverse initiatives to set up parallel socioeconomic structures*
- *Work cooperatives and occupied factories, social clinics, direct producer to consumer networks, struggles against privatisation, explorations of the commons, solidarity against evictions, local exchange networks*
- *These movements adopt anti-capitalist stance. They take social needs as their starting point. Collective organisation can change things.*

Also on transformative solutions, we have:

- Struggles against the appropriation of land, e.g. Patricia Grace
- Incredibly strong unions, fighting to control the means of production
- Strong local community based solutions which model a sustainable and fair society, worker and community run
- Ensuring just transitions including through worker self-organisation
- Movements against fossil fuel exploration and extraction, e.g. Te Whanau-a-Apanui, Te Rarawa, Ngati Purou, all the oil free groups here today
- Getting out of the state e.g. the water pressure campaign against water privatisation taught people how to turn their water back on. This model wants the state to crumble – and people make it crumble.
- Defending ourselves e.g. against the TPPA, against cuts to Labour Laws, against terrible housing

- A commitment to equality, freedom and justice. And to the Good Life for all. Defending the commons. A movement of the working class, a movement of indigenous peoples. Ensuring the cost is carried by those who have benefited from the carbon economy, not by workers, indigenous and other frontline communities and those in the Global South who are already bearing the cost of climate change.
- It does not mean a return to peasant lifestyles, primitivism, with all the gender relations and inaccessibility entailed. Technology has a key role to play in modern society.
- It means building our community resilience ourselves. This also bodes much better for surviving the next state crisis
- One framework I heard from the Solidarity Network in Seattle in deciding how we organise, is our organising self-activity? Does it strengthen our movements?

As the London-based Wretched of the Earth said recently, “The fight for climate justice is the fight against white supremacy, against male domination, against capitalism, against colonialism. The only way to fight the oppression we face is through connecting our struggles.”

### Commoning

I also want to give a plug to commoning. In Europe this was talked about a lot – ‘the commons,’ those shared resources that are created and sustained by communities, and also ‘to common’ – the social process that creates and reproduces the commons [definitions from: <http://www.e-flux.com/journal/on-the-commons-a-public-interview-with-massimo-de-angelis-and-stavros-stavrvides/>]. We’ll hear more about these types of projects in the Local Radical Solutions workshop this afternoon. People getting together and collectively organising gardens, timebanks, food boxes, bike shares. ‘Commoning,’ then, is the linking up of these projects, federating these projects, and thinking of them as a commons, struggling together for their protection and expansion, so that all these many projects become a strong part of the climate justice struggle together.

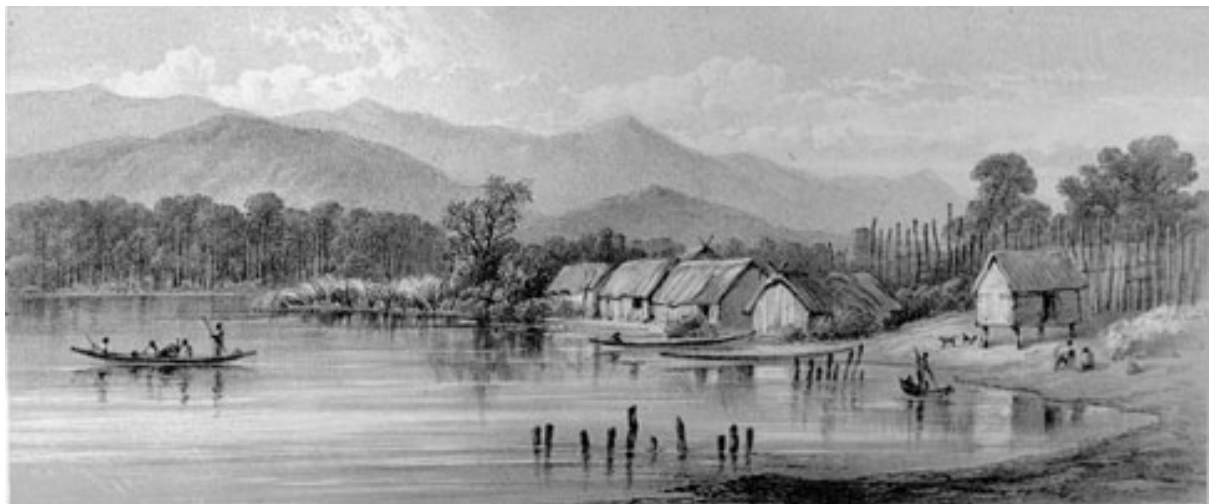
### Rebecca Solnit

And finally, one last quote. In her incredibly hopeful book about communities’ response to disasters, *a Paradise Built in Hell*, Rebecca Solnit writes, “This is the only paradise that is possible, and it will never exist whole, stable, and complete. It is always coming into being in response to trouble and suffering. Making paradise is the work that we are meant to do.”



Emily Bailey (Climate Justice Taranaki)

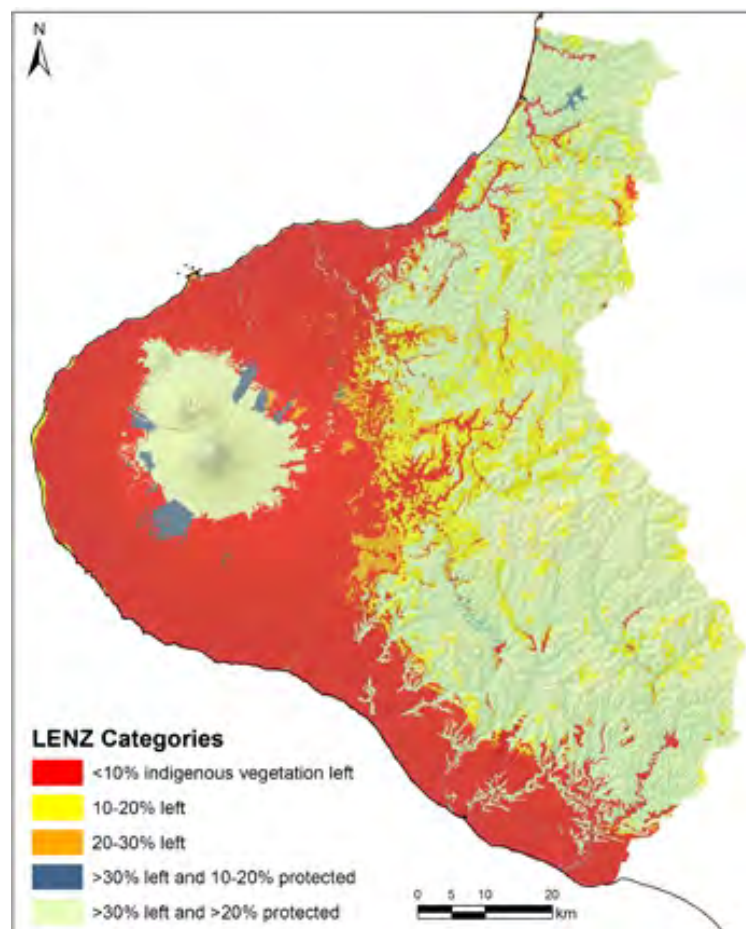
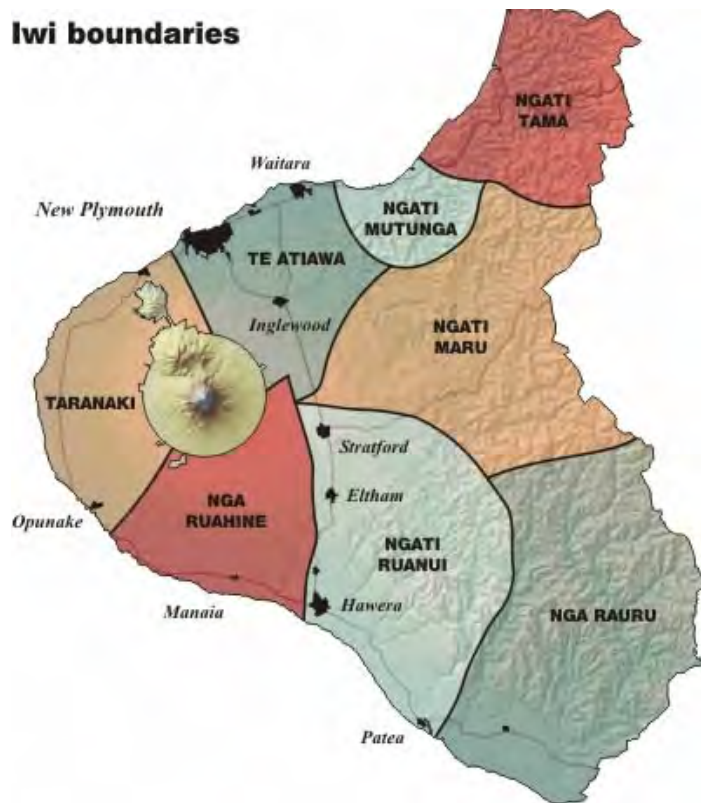


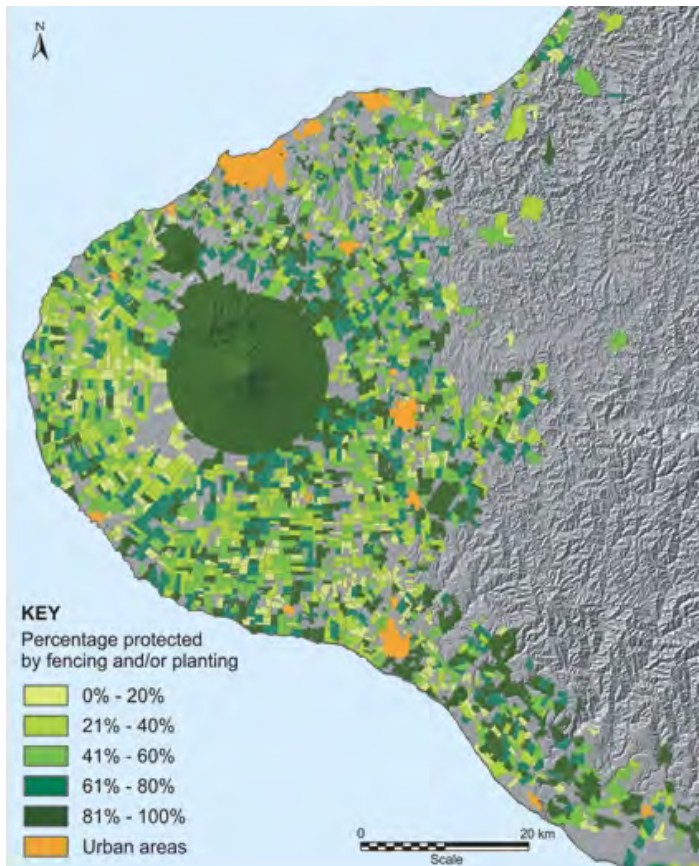


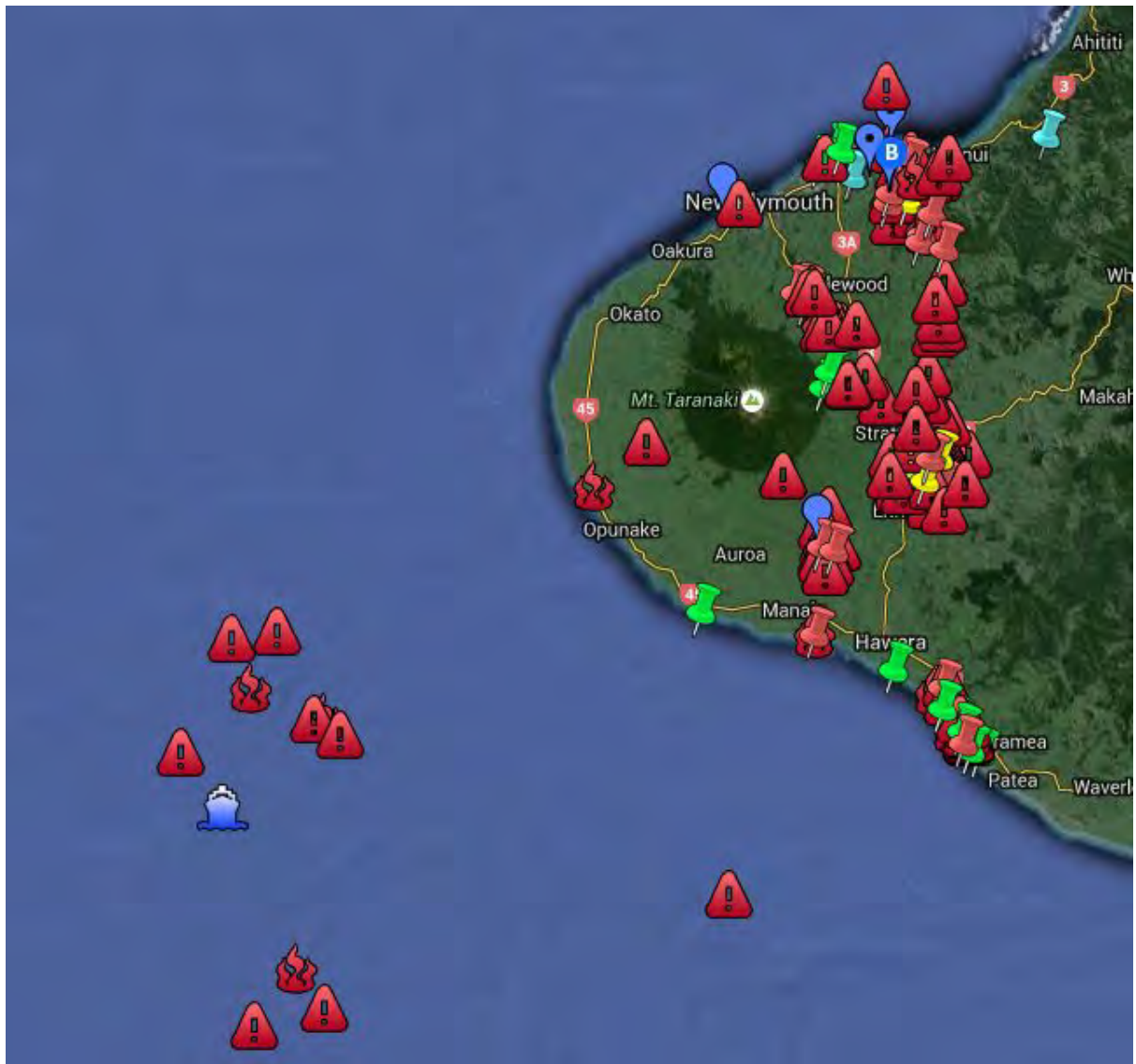


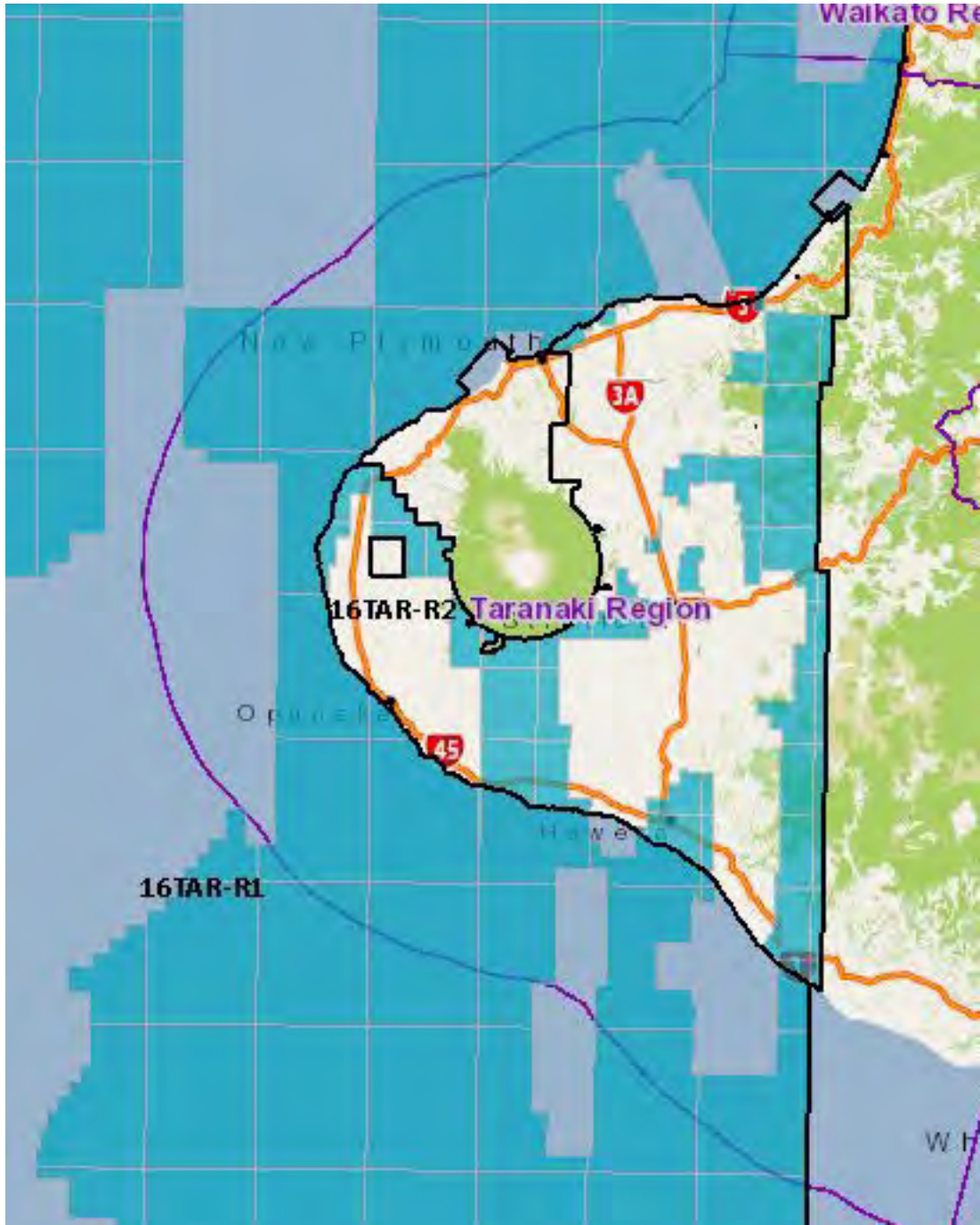


## Iwi boundaries



















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# Climate Justice Taranaki

Committed to justice, action and true solutions to climate change

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## One point five to survive, one point five to strive

06/12/2015



Youth delegation at COP21. Source: New Internationalist

Growing up in foothills of the Himalayas, Sagar Aryal from Nepal was 10 years old when he realised the urgency of climate action. [He](#)

**WELCOME TO OUR WEBSITE**

Kia ora, Climate Justice Taranaki is a community group dedicated to justice, resistance, education and positive action at the front lines of climate change.

**WHAT'S HAPPENING HERE ?**



Right click on image to see full map and text.



What is Para Kore? Benefits Why Zero Waste? Mission Our Story **Para Kore Programme**  
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# Workshop

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Work, poverty and housing

## Conor Twyford (Union Climate Action)

What does a radical solution to that issue for your group look like and how does that fit into the idea of climate justice?

*First, let's talk about being radical – what does that mean in a union context?*

First we have to think about climate change and unions – where are we at.

Climate change is a union issue. Climate change is ultimately about power, about shaking capitalism's grip on our lives, our communities, our earth. It's the stuff that unions, at the most basic level, fight all the time – and like any change process – if we don't look after the most vulnerable we fail in our jobs. An injury to one is an injury to all.

Union folk are starting to get the need to be active on climate. Groups have self-organised in each main centre to pull together a union presence for these climate marches.

And others in the progressive movement are getting that it's good for unions to be involved. We are the largest organised public interest movement in the country. We have resources! Organisation. Experience. But beyond that we want and need to work together.

We've come a long way since 2009 – when I took my union banner on the climate march (as it was then) and was challenged for having it there. And did not know how to respond.

It's great that this time unions have been involved from the start with organising the climate marches. Some leadership is now coming through the union movement – people dedicated to building a just transition. It's great that people are seeing us as part of the progressive landscape now fighting on this issue.

**BUT**

The landscape is diverse – some unions very supportive, for some climate change is not on the agenda.

How to address this? From the ground up. Members need educating. In truth there has been very little pushback but members need a deeper understanding. Union officials even more so. Therein lies radical change.

So what does a radical solution look like?

Staying in place

Being the sand in the oyster that creates the pearl

Showing leadership

Working with those leaders who don't understand. Treading the line between being disruptive and building trust.

Building from the ground up

Think about where we want to be – where we need to go. As Naomi Klein says – climate change is the greatest opportunity we've ever had to deal with capitalism.

We need to continue to work within the union movement, and across the progressive movement - so that climate change becomes top of mind for all union members

And also part of union agenda at highest levels (as high as the International Trade Union Confederation and all the way back down)

Because being radical in a union context means working in ways that mean union members see it as a workers' issue - something they want to do something about

Because we need those people – to get beyond the bubble – to normalise the conversations we've starting to have

Union members are ordinary people – we need them on board to win his fight

But they are also joiners and activists – the best messengers we can have

*How does that fit into the idea of climate justice?*

Just Transition for workers – necessary components

1. Sound investments and policies
2. Research and early assessment of impacts of emission reduction scenarios.
3. Social dialogue/engagement with workers and their unions
4. Training and skills
5. Social protection
6. Local analysis and economic diversification: each community needs its own plan

There are many references to this in the international literature but we also need to be able to articulate - what does that look like in day to day practice?

**Climate Justice Aotearoa** is one answer to this – and its project, Beautiful Solutions, being launched this weekend: <http://www.climatejusticeaotearoa.org/>

# Workshop

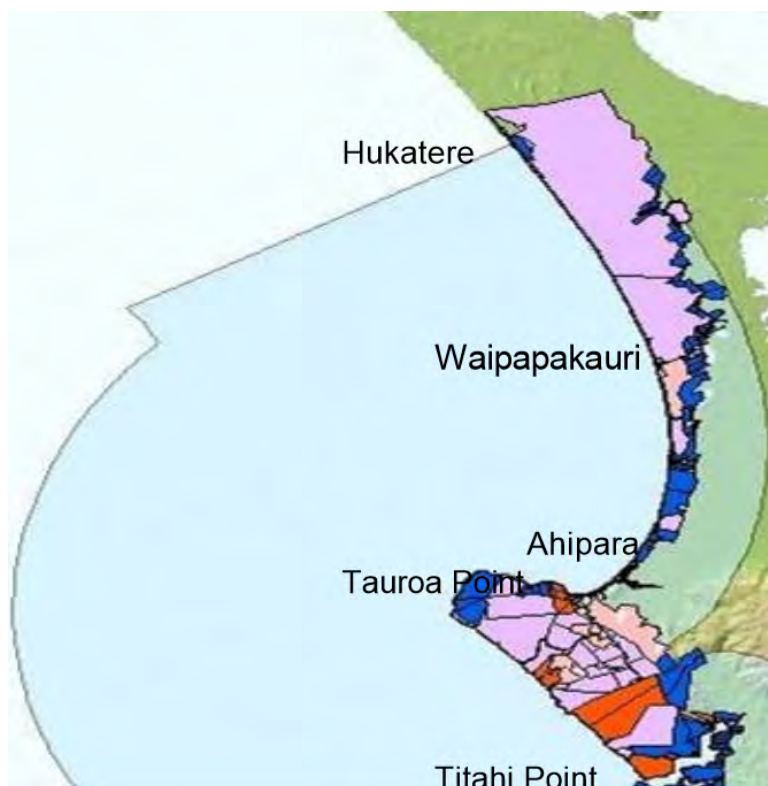
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Tino Rangatiratanga, oil claims and resistance

1. The Komiti was established in 2009, mandated by the affiliated marae in the local Ahipara area.<sup>2</sup> The Komiti manages, and is part of the local kaitiaki (Steward, Guardian<sup>3</sup>) network for, the takutaimoana (coastal and marine) interests of the local affiliated hapū.

**Intro: Ahipara Komiti  
Takutaimoana**

1. Established in 2009, mandated by the affiliated marae in our area
2. Kaitiaki group who manage the takutaimoana (coastal and marine) interests of hapū affiliated with Ahipara:
  - ✓ Establish and monitor rāhui (restricted) areas;
  - ✓ Protect and maintain wāhi tapu and other cultural/ heritage areas;
  - ✓ Implement and practice our kaitiaki tikanga / traditions;
  - ✓ Support environmentally responsible initiatives (e.g. puaa re-seeding, community education);
  - ✓ Engage with responsible Agencies.



<sup>1</sup> Intended to be read in conjunction with the presentation slides.

<sup>2</sup> For website, see <http://www.taiao.terarawa.iwi.nz/ahipara-komiti-takutaimoana.html>; for Facebook see <https://www.facebook.com/groups/1395236060802178/?fref=ts>

<sup>3</sup> Approximate translation only.



## CULTURAL AND POLITICAL BACKDROP [Slides 8-11]

2. The more fundamental mana (authority) underlying the Komiti's mandate originates from our hapū whakapapa (genealogy) that connects us as kin to the divine Source Energy, the Universe, and all of Nature. This is where we derive our mana tangata (human authority) as tangata whenua (people of our traditional lands). As with all authority, specific rights also come with responsibilities.
  - 2.1. So prior to Māori and the Crown signing Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840 (English version known as the Treaty of Waitangi), Tangata whenua were already people with authority, exercising "tino rangatiratanga" (self-determination, sovereignty). So Te Tiriti didn't give Māori anything new. It merely affirmed our authority (with associated rights and responsibilities implied) and clarified the Crown's obligations to tangata whenua within that context. This understanding is supported by the precursor to Te Tiriti, "He Whakaputanga" - the 1835 Declaration of Independence by Māori chiefs. So, when my people are facing a challenge, this knowledge about our core identity is where we get our conviction and power from to act. We're compelled.



*Te Korekore* (Source Energy, pure potential)  
*Io Matua-Kore* (The Parentless One)  
*Ranginui & Papatūānuku* (Sky Father & Earth Mother)  
*Tānemahuta, Tangaroa, Tāwhirimātea* (Gods of the forest & humans, the sea, the wind and weather...)  
*Tangata* (humankind)



***Tangata whenua*** (people of the land)

***“Kaitiaki”*** (Steward, Guardian)

“Tiaki” = care, nurture, protect

## Cultural & Political

### Backdrop



- ✓ Prior to Māori and the Crown signing Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840, tangata whenua were already people with authority, exercising “tino rangatiratanga” (self-determination, sovereignty)
- ✓ 1835 Declaration of Independence by Māori chiefs

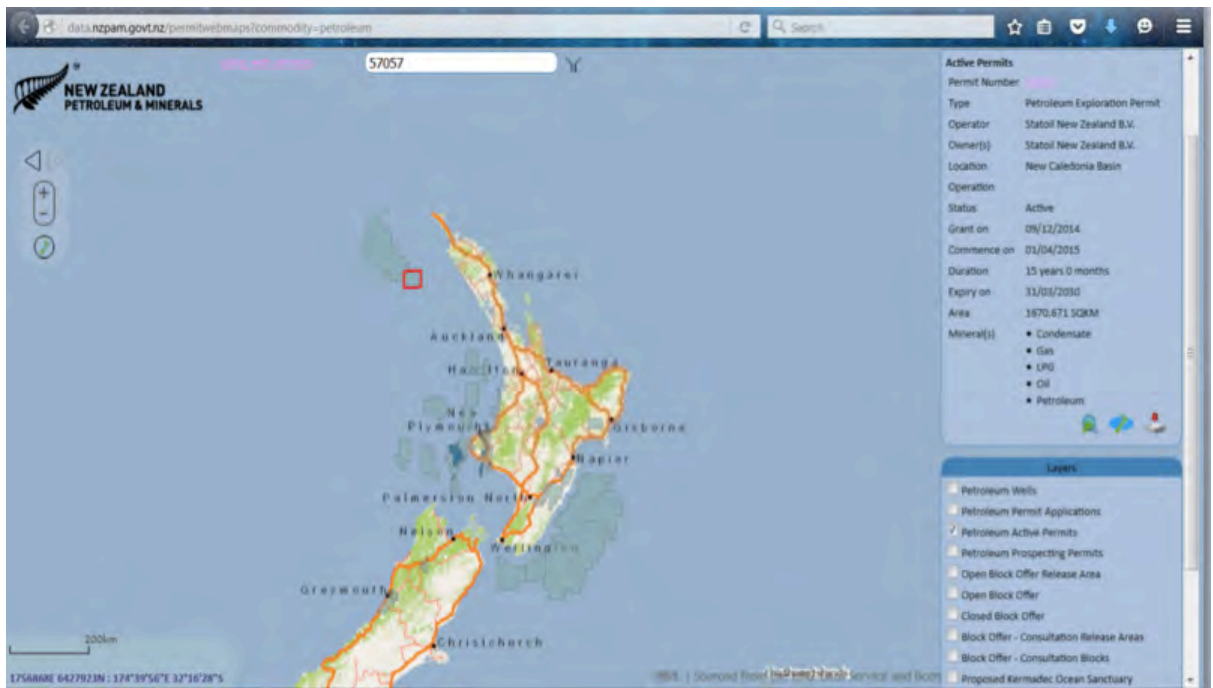
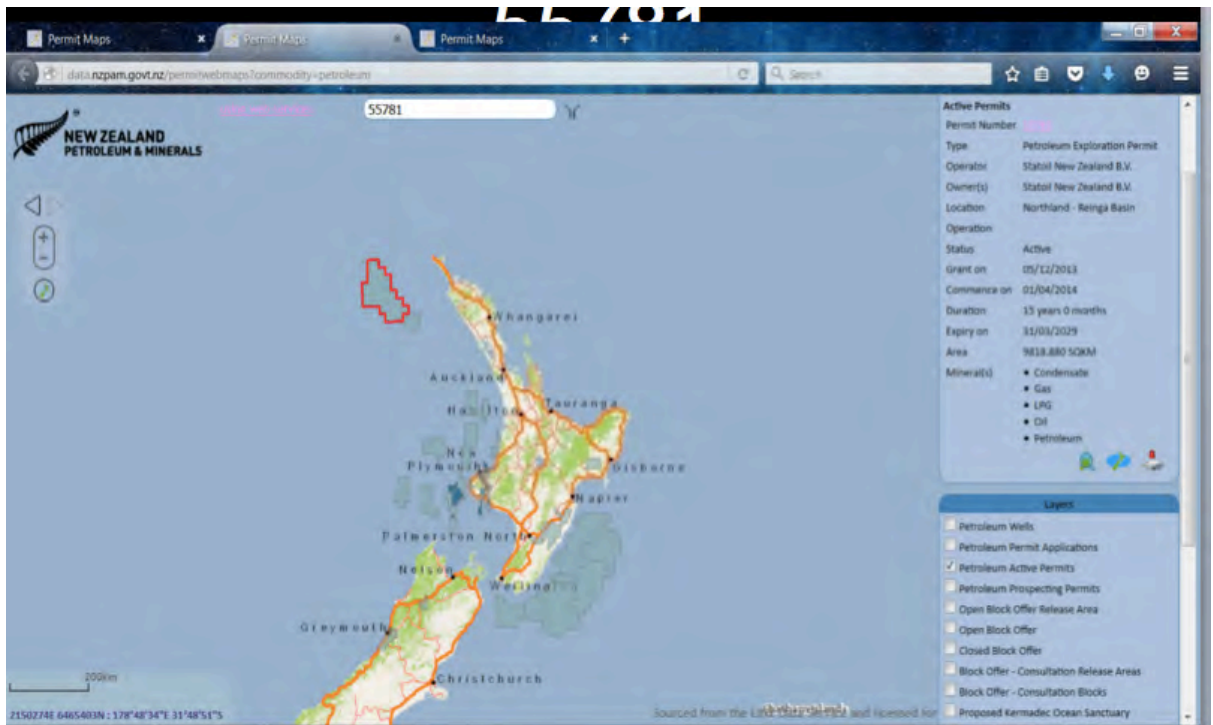
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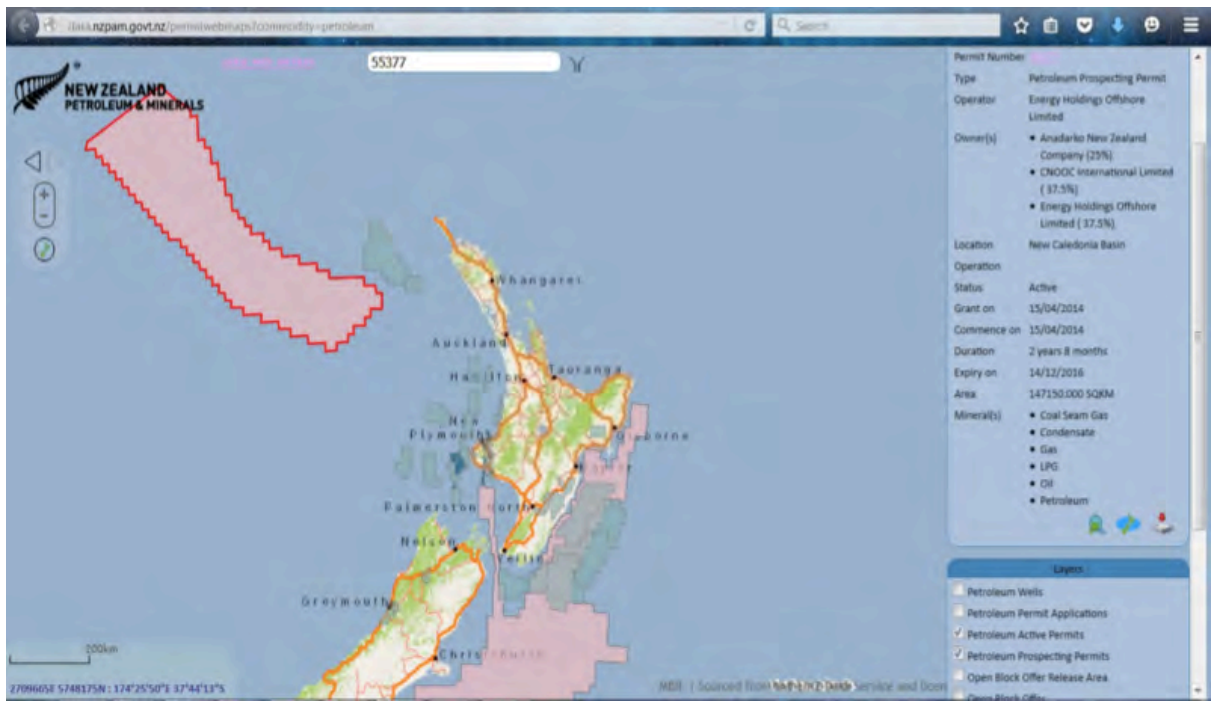


## OIL EXPLORATION [Slides 12-16]

3. On 5 December 2013, the Government granted Statoil a 15-year petroleum exploration permit (55781) in the Te Reinga basin. The permit area is 9,818 km<sup>2</sup>, with depths over 2,500m.
- 3.1. On 9 December 2014, the Government granted Statoil a 15-year petroleum exploration permit (57057) in the New Caledonia basin. The permit area is 1,670 km<sup>2</sup>.
- 3.2. Also, on 15 April 2014, the Government granted Anadarko NZ/ CNOOC International Ltd/ Energy Holdings Offshore Ltd a 2-year 8-month petroleum prospecting permit (55377) in the New Caledonia basin. The permit area is 147,150 km<sup>2</sup>.
4. The difference between petroleum “prospecting” and “exploration” is:
  - 4.1. Prospecting = “low impact”, “reconnaissance and general investigation” work (e.g. acquisition of geological and geophysical data by mapping, aerial surveys, seismic surveys). Applications may be made at any time over any available area and there are no size limits.
  - 4.2. Exploration = gathering of greater detail to identify deposits and determine whether mining is economically feasible and viable (e.g. geological, geophysical or seismic surveying, exploratory drilling, and testing of petroleum discoveries). Applications may only be made through the annual Petroleum Block Offer.








IMPACTS OF THESE ACTIVITIES ON OUR HAPŪ, MARAE AND IWI? [Slides 17-18]

5. The extractive activity in the deep sea has implications for our mahi (work) as kaitiaki, and for everything we hold dear in that environment:
- a. Our coastal environment and marine biodiversity (remembering that they are our relations too – they’re not just “things” in the ocean, they’re our extended family);
  - b. Our kaimoana (the ocean food that sustains us);
  - c. Our culture associated with that environment, keeping in mind that culture is a dynamic living thing: language, traditional practices and knowledge...that all exists in a physical context. Without that healthy context, the culture might well fade away into obscurity. And a lot of our local hapū seafood-gathering practices, social traditions, storytelling – is associated with the takutaimoana, the coastal and marine area; and
  - d. Our “Ara Wairua” (path of the departing spirits).

Therefore, any harm to those values would be devastating for us.



# Impacts on whānau, hapū, iwi?



COURTESY	CARE	CONSIDERATION	CLEAN
<p>maimai ki Te aroa a Tohe</p> <p>considerate for safety and payment of fers</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Care for the beach environs. Your visit may be fleeting but the adverse effects may last forever.</li> <li>Respect wāhi tapu, driving too close or over them is abhorrent.</li> <li>Walk to the water, avoid driving to the intertidal zone.</li> <li>Leave oil dripping vehicles at home.</li> <li>Vehicle damage may open up scars in the land that may never recover.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>SLOW DOWN</b></li> <li>Allow everyone to enjoy the tranquility of the beach</li> <li>Be thoughtful and / slow down for walkers and bathers.</li> <li>Noisy screaming vehicles are dangerous and will be reported</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Keep our seashore clean</li> <li>Kohia ō rapiti ki te kairi</li> <li>Take your rubbish home</li> </ul>

**COURTESY - CARE - CONSIDERATION - CLEAN**

AHIPARA KOMITI TAKUTAIMOANA




## IMPACTS OF THESE ACTIVITIES ON OUR ABILITY TO EXERCISE OUR TINO RANGATIRATANGA? [Slides 19-23]

6. In many ways, the extractive industry is just another aspect and manifestation of colonization, so for us it's just another day at the office defending our rights, responsibilities and everything we value. Being the people of natural status in Aotearoa that we know we are (with divine ancestry) we are compelled to continue to exercise our authority. And this is our home, we'll remain and endure here for as long as there is life in us.
- 6.1. On that basis, our Komiti declared in November 2014 that we find no compelling reason to support deep sea oil drilling; and we will maintain this position unless and until there are compelling reasons to change it.<sup>4</sup> This was independent of, but aligned with, our Te Rarawa iwi position the previous year opposing deep sea oil drilling.<sup>5</sup> But, recognizing the words of famed Māori leader, Te Kooti (1832-93) "Only the law can be pitched against the law", we considered legal or quasi-legal processes to leverage our tangata whenua rights, responsibilities and status.

# Impacts on exercise of tino rangatiratanga ?

**AKT: Position – deep sea oil drilling Position Statement (2014)**

- ✓ **Precautionary principle**
- ✓ **Climate crisis - must reduce Greenhouse Gas emissions**



Patau Teapania  
Chairman  
Ahipara Komiti  
Takutaimoana

<sup>4</sup> AKT Declaration regarding deep Sea Oil Drilling\_p1 (with access to p2)

<https://www.scribd.com/doc/248845156/AKT-Declaration-regarding-deep-Sea-Oil-Drilling-p1>

<sup>5</sup> "Te Rarawa decide to say no to drilling" (31 December 2013)

[http://www.nzherald.co.nz/northland-age/news/article.cfm?c\\_id=1503402&objectid=11179759](http://www.nzherald.co.nz/northland-age/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503402&objectid=11179759)

# Impacts on exercise of tino rangatiratanga ?

**AKT: Position – deep sea oil drilling Position Statement (2014)**

- ✓ We find no compelling reason to support deep sea oil drilling; and
- ✓ We will maintain this position unless and until there are compelling reasons to change it.



# Impacts on exercise of tino rangatiratanga ?

**Te Rarawa iwi position:  
December 2013**

Te Rūnanga o Te Rarawa publicly announced its opposition to deep sea oil drilling within its iwi area of interest.



Impacts on exercise of tino  
rangatiratanga ?  
“Maa te ture anoo  
te ture  
e aki”

“Only the law can be pitched against the  
law”

THE TRIBUNAL CLAIM [Slides 24-27]

7. The Komiti made a Waitangi Tribunal claim (registered 3 June 2015 as WAI 2520)<sup>6</sup> as a public declaration and reminder – but especially aimed at the Crown, Government Agencies with regulatory responsibility and Statoil – that the Crown has obligations to obtain our free, prior and informed consent before it purports to:
  - a. Permit or enable deep sea oil exploration activity in our traditional ocean territories; and
  - b. Extract natural resources associated with those territories.
- 7.2. We have yet to receive confirmation of when the substantive Tribunal inquiry will be scheduled.
- 7.3. We filed the claim with Greenpeace’s help and support also as a strategic move to complement the “Taikaha” campaign (May 2015) to Norway to oppose Norwegian company Statoil from undertaking its deep sea oil exploration activities in the Te Reinga Basin.<sup>7</sup> Our members were Sonny Otene (Komiti member), Hinekaa Mako (Ngā Ruahine) and Mike Smith (Ngāpuhi/Ngāti Kahu) with endorsements from the northern iwi of Ngāti Kuri and Ngāti Kahu.

<sup>6</sup> “Ahipara Kōmiti Takutaimoana attempt to stop Statoil” (22 May 2015)

<http://www.maoritelevision.com/news/regional/te-ahipara-komiti-takutaimoana-attempt-stop-statoil>

<sup>7</sup> “Taikaha” Briefing paper concerning the campaign of the Maori delegation to Norway (May 2015) to stop energy company, Statoil, from undertaking its deep sea oil drilling activities in the Te Reinga Basin

<https://www.scribd.com/doc/264775353/Taikaha-Briefing-Paper-Norway-Delegation-may2015>

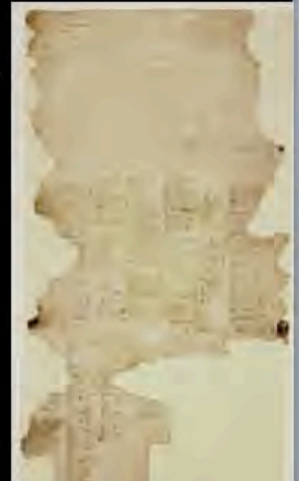


- 7.4. During our campaign, we addressed Statoil's AGM about our concerns,<sup>8</sup> instigated formal relationships with the Parliament of the indigenous Saami peoples, and conducted an awareness-raising media campaign. The relationship that we developed with the Saami is very important to us in terms of building solidarity as one tangata whenua to another, but also because of the pressure that the Saami can bring to bear on its Government, because the majority shareholding of the Statoil company is owned by the Norwegian Government.

## Waitangi Tribunal Oil Claim (2015)

Our AKT filed the "Petroleum Exploration Permit" claim in May (registered with the Tribunal 3 June 2015 as WAI 2520).

- ✓ It alleges Crown breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi due to Government failure to seek the informed consent of iwi Māori in relation to the issuing of deep sea oil permits.
- ✓ Inquiry yet to be scheduled.



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<sup>8</sup> Video notes from the Statoil Annual General Meeting held 19 May 2015 relating to Taikaha's submission to that AGM

<https://www.scribd.com/doc/290596744/Video-Notes-Statoil-AGM-2015>

# Waitangi Tribunal Oil Claim cont'd...

“Taikaha” campaign (May 2015)

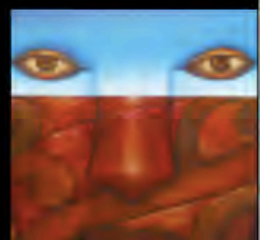


# Waitangi Tribunal Oil Claim cont'd...

“Taikaha” campaign (May 2015)

Māori delegation to Norway to oppose Statoil from undertaking its deep sea oil exploration activities in the Te Reinga Basin:

- ✓ Sonny Otene (AKT member), Hinekaa Mako (Ngā Ruahine), Mike Smith (Ngāpuhi/Ngāti Kahu), Ngāti Kuri, Ngāti Kahu & Greenpeace support
- ✓ Spoke at Statoil AGM
- ✓ Instigated formal relationships with the Parliament of the indigenous Saami peoples
- ✓ Awareness-raising media campaign



# Waitangi Tribunal Oil Claim cont'd...

## “Taikaha” campaign (cont'd...)

Immediately after the Statoil AGM, Sami Parliament President, Aili Keskitalo, released a statement calling for Statoil to respect Māori rights.

Future engagements and relationship-building activities are planned.



Other legal mechanisms [Slides 28-35]

8. For many years our Komiti (often in association with our local iwi) has been advocating our rights at the United Nations, primarily using the UN **Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples** as our benchmark.<sup>9</sup> Now, the value of the UN is hotly debated – it’s good for getting our truth on the record about our Government’s violations of our rights, but with climate crisis it’s arguable that the UN is too slow to respond to the threat that’s facing us (the latest climate change agreement reached at the Paris conference has been widely deplored by many indigenous peoples, scientists and social justice commentators).
  - 8.1. In addition, Governments are sovereign, which means generally speaking the UN can only apply moral force when Governments go feral on its citizens, UNLESS there’s a Treaty or some other legally binding instrument a Government’s signed up to (and a declaration is a “soft” instrument, not in and of itself legally binding – although it’s still a part of international jurisprudence and if it’s mentioned by the common law courts it can gain some punch that way).
  - 8.2. None the less, airing our grievances at the UN is an important part of raising the collective consciousness, and the DRIP is jam packed with Articles that relate to deep sea oil drilling. But EVERYONE has human rights, whether indigenous or not. And there are international standards and treaties on social, cultural, economic, political, children’s, women’s and other rights which any human (or bunch of humans) can rely upon to take their Governments to task. For example, in relation to deep sea oil drilling the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (2011)<sup>10</sup> includes:
    - a. The State duty to protect against human rights abuses – especially those of indigenous peoples - by third parties, including business enterprises, through policies [and] regulation; and
    - b. Corporate responsibility to respect human rights.
  - 8.3. The International Court of Justice is also available to citizens. In June 2015, 886 citizens sued their Dutch Government for failing to introduce adequate policy to tackle climate change. The ruling is expected to inspire citizens in other countries to sue their Governments.
  - 8.4. So it’s important to learn about our human rights, because you can only defend what you know about (I also encourage folks to call on your schools to teach our children about their rights too). Like a Waikato law student, Sarah Thomson, has done by instigating High Court judicial review proceedings against our Government this November.<sup>11</sup> Her focus is our government’s greenhouse gas emissions target which was to be announced at the COP21 UN climate meeting in Paris - that target being an 11% reduction on 1990 levels by 2030. She’s saying the 11% target is ILLEGAL because the Government failed to follow due legislative process in setting the target, and also

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<sup>9</sup> See the UN Declaration at [http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS\\_en.pdf](http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf)

<sup>10</sup> See [http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/GuidingPrinciplesBusinessHR\\_EN.pdf](http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/GuidingPrinciplesBusinessHR_EN.pdf)

<sup>11</sup> See “Sarah vs the State: Government’s climate targets ‘illegal, unreasonable, irrational’”  
<http://www.nzgeographic.co.nz/atlarge/sarah-vs-the-state>

that its UNREASONABLE because the target is inadequate in terms of what experts say is needed to prevent a 2°C average global temperature rise.

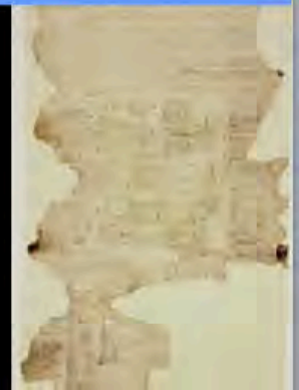
## Miscellaneous Legal action... International

### United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007)

Elaborates on Te Tiriti guarantees.

Endorsed by NZ 2010.

Sets the standard for tangata whenua  
(indigenous peoples) rights and Governments'  
treatment of those peoples.



## Miscellaneous Legal action... International

### UN DRIP cont'd... Standards

Relative to deep sea oil drilling:

Māori have the right to determine and  
develop priorities and strategies for  
the development or use of their **lands**  
**or territories and other resources** (Art 32).



## Miscellaneous Legal action... International

### UN DRIP cont'd... Standards

States shall consult and cooperate in good faith with Māori concerned...in order to obtain our **free and informed consent** prior to the approval of any project affecting our **lands or territories and other resources**, particularly in connection with the **development, utilization or exploitation of mineral, water or other resources** (Art 32).



## Miscellaneous Legal action... International

### UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (2011)

Includes:

- ✓ The **State duty to protect** against human rights abuses – **especially** those of **indigenous peoples** - by third parties, including business enterprises, through policies [and] **regulation**.
- ✓ Corporate responsibility to respect human rights.



## Miscellaneous Legal



**I THINK  
THEREFORE  
I AM  
DANGEROUS**

## Miscellaneous Legal action...

International Court of Justice (the Hague, the Netherlands)



## Miscellaneous Legal action...

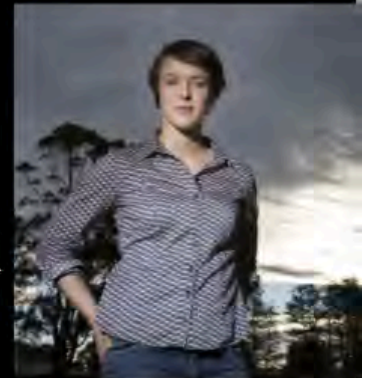
### International Court of Justice

- ✓ June 2015: 886 citizens sued their Dutch Government for failing to introduce adequate policy to tackle climate change.
- ✓ The Court ruled that the Government's behaviour was illegal, and ordered them to take specific greenhouse gas reducing action.
- ✓ The ruling is expected to inspire citizens in other countries to sue their Governments.

## Miscellaneous Legal action...

### High Court action against the NZ Government re climate change

- ✓ Judicial review proceedings instigated in November.
- ✓ Focus = Government's greenhouse gas emissions target (11% reduction on 1990 levels by 2030) which was to be announced at the UN COP21 climate meeting, Paris.
- ✓ 11% target = illegal: due legislative process not followed; and unreasonable because insufficient.



HOW CAN PEOPLE HELP TO CHANGE EVERYTHING? [Slides 36-42]



9. Here's my picks for action (and if any of you are doing this already, which I suspect many of you are, then consider this an exercise in showing our support and solidarity for your efforts):
  - 9.1. Firstly, Māori often lobby our iwi authorities to advocate high level or strategic issues on our behalf. And Pākehā can do the same with your **local governing authorities** – i.e. Regional, Local and City Councils. Ratepayers have made great progress with councils in recent months – on oil drilling, the Trans Pacific Partnership and more - so this is very encouraging. People must persist in lobbying Government – whether its iwi governance, business and industry, central, local, Government – we have to direct our energy and call on them all to do the right thing. We can't rely on any Government to voluntarily do what's right.
  - 9.2. Secondly, synergize aspirations and action across different sectors of civil society. i.e. Scale up the People Power in terms of numbers, in terms of the noise we make, regarding smart focused action, and in terms of convergence (synchronization). Our corrupt Government may be spending our taxes on enabling pathological fossil fuel agendas, and transnational corporations might have way more money to spend on furthering their agendas than we have, but collectively we have "the numbers", and "the moral high ground" on our side.
  - 9.3. Next, join the dots. See the bigger picture and the interconnectedness of the multiple imperatives (crises) confronting us right now of which fossil fuel extraction is just one aspect. Seeing the bigger picture helped me appreciate how urgent our situation really is, and that helped me to find the courage to get out of my comfort zone in terms of speaking out, standing up and being more disciplined with the choices I make about where I put my energies. All negative emotion (e.g. feeling angry, betrayed or disturbed) if constructively channelled can be a powerful force for change.
  - 9.4. Tell a new story. Vaccinate yourself against the false, disempowering narratives of our corrupt Government, or corporates and others, by seeking out a more empowering narrative and truth. E.g. remember:
    - a. Our Government was created to serve the will of the People, not as an end in itself and certainly not to oppress The People or violate our inalienable human rights and freedoms to the point of enslaving The People! The sooner more people remember and feel their power, the sooner they will find the courage to act.
    - b. We're in a fight not just for restoring good governance and protecting our domestic sovereignty and freedoms in Aotearoa, but for Life itself insofar as climate crisis threatens the very survival of humanity.
  - 9.5. When participating in any campaign, or more generally in your day-to-day Life, take more responsibility for your choices. This will often mean doing what you know is needed or right, even in the face of resistance from others. But to know what's right for you means frontloading the effort to be more fully informed so you understand situations to the best of your ability. This helps us make the best choices in Life, choices where we clearly see what must be sacrificed to achieve anything, to evolve past "what is" and beyond our fears. Sometimes the choice is obvious, even if the consequences are confronting and challenging.


- 9.6. Finally, and aligned with the theme of “Change Everything” which implies pretty radical transformative action, we must remember that every moment is precious, so we must use our time wisely with every thought, word and deed. In this Fractal Universe, everything is Energy creating and destroying – and this includes everything you think, speak and do. Everything is somewhere on the spectrum of order/disorder. As Children of God, as Divine Sparks of the Originating Life Force, We are all, at our very core, powerful Light Beings, Powerful Co-Creators. But there are Natural Laws to Co-Creating in this dense molecular reality we call Earth, located in this Solar System, in this Milky Way Galaxy in this Universe. Prioritize learning about these Natural Laws of conscious creation, then commit to practising them to the best of your ability starting right now.
- 9.7. Because, ultimately, we’re experiencing not an economic crisis, not a social crisis, not even a climate crisis – but a spiritual crisis. It’s a cliché, but the truth is obvious: we are spiritual beings having a physical experience. Our physical bodies were created as mechanisms to experience what we have created with and through our emotions and thought. So begin by strengthening your connection to God; align your values, thoughts, words and deeds with Natural Law. When You do this, you will recover your True inherent power to Change Everything.

## How to Help

**Lobby local Government to take a position on deep Sea Oil Exploration and drilling:**

**Councils opposing oil drilling:**

- ✓ District Councils: Kaikoura, Gisborne
- ✓ City Councils: Christchurch, Wellington,
- ✓ (Auckland City Council – submitted environmental concerns to Government subsequent to strong, sustained citizens’ lobbying to oppose)
- ✓ (Dunedin = 1<sup>st</sup> City Council to divest from fossil fuels)





# How to Help?

NOTHING IS SO EMBARRASSING  
AS WATCHING SOMEONE DO SOMETHING



THAT YOU SAID COULDN'T BE DONE

OSCAR WILDE

# How to Help?



First they ignore you,  
then they laugh at you,  
then they fight you,  
then you win.

-Mahatma Gandhi

# How to Help?



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# Day of Action

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Speakers

## Conor Twyford

### Speech to Oil Free Seas Flotilla, Sunday 13 December

In the last two weeks, the world has reached an agreement. This is a massive shift from previous attempts. This is because governments are finally starting to take climate change seriously.

And I say STARTING.

The only way we could have got this far is PEOPLE POWER.

We saw this two weeks ago, on that glorious day when we marched through the streets of Wellington.

But you know – WE know - this is not enough.

Less than 2 degrees does not save our Pacific Island whānau from having to leave their island homes.

It doesn't resolve who will pay for climate change and who will take the brunt.

The pressure is on now but politicians have short concentration spans. The media has an even shorter one.

All around the world the call is going out to step up our actions.

We're going to need to keep on talking to each other, working with each other.

From activists working in the union movement to raise awareness about climate change, to those campaigning for animal rights; from organisations working for international development to those who work every day to preserve our threatened species. From activists in the queer community to those supporting survivors of sexual violence and fighting colonisation. All of our causes are linked.

Workers need a just transition to a better world; but we are all workers. We all need safe and affordable housing; but ultimately we are all renters. We all need to pay the rent.

We all need to become more brave. Wherever we stand in the world, we're going to need to link hands together and stand in the way of the insanity that says further fossil fuel exploration and extraction is the way to go.

Today, we mark a line in the sand – a line in the water! We say to the world that we will be linking hands together, we will be standing in the way.

Kia kaha and go forth good people. Because we have to win this struggle. And together we will



Extract of a speech originally delivered by Kassie Hartendorp at Oil Free Wellington's Change Everything flotilla & rally, December 13th 2015.

We can no longer act like each of our struggles are single causes

Tēnā koutou, talofa lava, malo e leilei, kia orana, bula vinaka, aloha!

Tēnā koutou ki te whenua, ki te moana, ki te hunga mate, ki te tipuna.

Ko Ngāti Raukawa te iwi, nō Te Whanganui-a-tara ahau. Ko Kassie tōku ingoa.

Tēnā koutou katoa.

I acknowledge our land, our waters, our ancestors, our past. Kia ora to the organisers, fellow speakers and to all of you here today. A special shout out to those on the water – you are more coordinated than I and I appreciate it!

My name is Kassie Hartendorp, and I am speaking here on behalf of Fightback, a group that is based on ecosocialism and socialist feminism. Like others here, I want to speak past the talks in Paris, past surface level solutions to a deeprooted crisis.

If there's one thing socialists love to hate – besides bosses and landlords, it's conspiracy theories. But it is not a conspiracy to say that the wealthiest 1% have control over the resources and production that has accelerated climate destruction. It is not a conspiracy to say that the demands of profit are currently centred over the needs of people, and of the world around us. It is not a conspiracy to say that the richest Western powers have made decisions that have benefited their position, and destroyed areas they deemed as unworthy. The poorest, remotest and least resourced people of the world have been the first to be affected by these decisions – and narratives around racism and colonialism secure the structural demise of indigenous communities, people of colour and super exploited areas of the world. These aren't conspiracies, they are just the everyday truths of our existence.

We can no longer pretend that the impacts of capitalism and colonisation are benefiting or even neutral to our planet. We have a system that is based on limitless growth, of unceasing accumulation with the destruction of natural resources and communities being the consequence of this. There have been many arguments made by ecosocialists and activists worldwide that a healthier planet cannot go hand in hand with the logic of the market and endless private profit.

We can no longer act like each of our struggles are single causes, existing in a world of their own. Our fights for social justice, the rights of women, sexuality and gender minorities, beneficiaries and low paid workers are all interconnected with the need for systemic and sustainable change.

We can no longer place all our faith into individually merely recycling more and driving less. These small changes aid us on our way, but they cannot measure up to the structural damage being caused by mass producers and players – which will continue to undo our everyday work.

We need change. We need change that meaningfully acknowledges the kaitiakitanga and mana of tangata whenua in Aotearoa, as well as indigenous people of the world. We need widespread decolonisation that unlearns the language of our colonisers and tears down the

systems that have overwritten our ancestors' knowledges. I am hopeful and romantic that we could have prevented environmental catastrophes earlier, had those knowledges not been destroyed. We need practical action around the idea of interconnectedness. Of us to our environment of us to one another. We need bold challenges to the machines of capitalism – brave actions towards harmful companies and defiant stands against complacent governments. As a well-resourced country, we need solidarity with those who are in danger of their communities being uprooted, flooded and displaced.

Our power doesn't come from talks in closed meetings, among the elite. It doesn't come from spineless world leaders, biased corporate interests, or parties that propose to 'green' capitalism. It comes from a groundswell of collective desire for a world outside of the narrow confines of capitalism. It comes from feet planted firmly on the ground, buckled into boats, refusing to move, on behalf of our unborn grandchildren. It smells like the leaves of Tāne-mahuta, and feels like the waves of Tangaroa. It sees us as a connected Te Moana-nui-a-kiwa, of likeminded islands that must nurture and protect each other. Our power comes from manaakitanga and tino rangatiratanga. We cannot undo what has been done, but we have the power to change what happens next – and that power is in all of you, in all of us together.

He taura whiri kotahi mai anō te kopunga tai no i te pu au

From the source to the mouth of the sea all things are joined together as one

## **Fi Gibson, Oil Free Wellington**

We have just surpassed a global 1°C temperature rise. We are therefore halfway to a widely agreed 2° limit, the so called upper 'safe limit,' of warming to prevent dangerous interference with the climate system, a limit that still condemns our Pacific neighbours to inundation due to rising sea levels.

As policy makers wrap up their climate change talks in Paris it is difficult not to be cynical about how committed they are to actually creating the fundamental political change necessary to address the gathering environmental storm. These leaders have met before...they met 23 years ago in Kyoto, they met in Copenhagen and many times in between and each and every time they have come up short.

The Paris documents point to a lack of ambition and a lack of focus on the root causes of climate change and its framework of market based mechanisms and carbon accounting actually do little to reduce emissions and prevent climate change. The voluntary INDC targets to come out of COP21 are inadequate and could allow global temperatures to rise by 3-4°C. This much touted deal to 'save the world' from the climate crisis will most likely end up burning the planet.

Needless to say the process of COP is highly flawed and this year has never been so evident in Paris. COP21 has been the most corporate sponsored COP in UN climate talk history. Corporations and oil business have been allowed to show off their fracking solutions for tackling climate change yet activists were put under house arrest, climate marches were shut down, restrictions were placed on civil society, megaphones were literally taken away from social movements and essentially given to corporates who were literally given priority seating inside at the negotiating table. The USA has been fighting legally binding emissions agreements and its very definition in ways that will allow corporations and markets to determine course of action.

Climate change will never be solved through negotiations dominated by corporate interests. It is imperative that we reject these false solutions that have become instruments of the corporate agenda and push for the promotion of real solutions that are coming from grassroots and frontline communities. The climate crisis must be understood as one of many elements of the deep crisis of capitalism and has always been both an ecological and social problem. Our narrative is one which has a context wide enough to contain the solidarity needed for systemic change.

Unlike corporations we look beyond the market value and humanise the issues. We send a strong message that this is about people and people working together are the answer. We are about facilitating serious dialogue about clean energy employment while transitioning off dirty fossil fuels and are about looking after communities not corporate companies, exercising leadership, showing that it can be done. We're interested in forging and facilitating relationships and networks with others wanting to work towards climate justice with a critique of capitalism and false solutions and in a way that empowers communities and builds resilience.

It is more important than ever that we empower each other to work for climate justice from the ground up. Let's look within and across our communities and struggles. We want to deepen the understanding of the structural causes of climate change and the big picture solutions, make stronger links between diverse groups and build capacity for a commitment to direct action.

One of the real solutions is a large cut in emissions and ending the use of fossil fuels will not be easy but there is no other way. Emissions reductions will require stopping the extractive economy at the source. The global climate movement starts at the frontlines of fossil fuel extraction, where communities fight back against corporate sanctioned climate change. We are calling for mass civil disobedience to provide resistance to any fossil fuel company that comes to our shores.

We've taken the responsibility to do something here and now to bring people together in a positive environment to unleash optimism and hope as a way forward, to build resistance and empower people in our community. By taking to the water we're rejecting the negotiations to come out of Paris and our government's very weak climate targets. We acknowledge that community effort and continued resistance is now essential. We are the ones we've been waiting for! We are the resistance movement! We are the climate movement! We will do what our government and policy makers fail to do and we will keep the fossil fuels in the ground!

Commitments and good intentions if backed by inappropriate steps will not deliver the right and just solutions needed to even begin to address the huge challenge that is climate change. Whether and how the world responds to climate change ultimately depends on which of us prevails in this continuing struggle to shape how the rest of the world's people should understand what the fight is about and who we are fighting against and what we are fighting for. That is why we all need to take to the streets and become involved. The success of a campaign isn't dependant on one action alone but a succession of actions. So take direct action, make a noise, unite, move forward together and make your voices heard. Together we're going to continue. We're going to be in the streets, we're going to be on the front lines, we're going to make sure that actually our climate future is in the hands of the people and not big business!

## Contacts for Groups

Transition Towns Lower Hutt  
[www.transitiontowns.org.nz/lowerhutt](http://www.transitiontowns.org.nz/lowerhutt)

Wellington Timebank  
[www.wellingtontimebank.org.nz](http://www.wellingtontimebank.org.nz)

Living Economies (Savings Pools)  
[www.le.org.nz](http://www.le.org.nz)

Kete Kai  
[www.ketekai.com](http://www.ketekai.com)

Te Rito Gardens  
[www.terito.org](http://www.terito.org)

Mechanical Tempest Bike Workshop  
[www.mechanicaltempest.co.nz](http://www.mechanicaltempest.co.nz)

Wellington Wunderbikes  
[www.wunderbike.blogspot.com](http://www.wunderbike.blogspot.com)

Food Not Bombs Wellington  
Drop in to 128 Abel Smith St, Wgtn

It's Our Future - stop the TPPA  
[www.itsourfuture.org.nz](http://www.itsourfuture.org.nz)

The Free Store  
211 Willis St, Mon-Fri 6-7pm  
[www.thefreestore.org.nz](http://www.thefreestore.org.nz)

Sustainable Whanganui  
[www.sustainablewhanganui.org.nz](http://www.sustainablewhanganui.org.nz)

Auckland Action Against Poverty  
[www.aaap.org.nz](http://www.aaap.org.nz)

State Housing Action Network  
[www.shan.org.nz](http://www.shan.org.nz)

Frack Free Kapiti  
<http://frackfreenz.org/regions/wellington.php>

Pasifika Greens Network  
<https://home.greens.org.nz/pasifika-greens>

Climate Justice Aotearoa  
<http://www.climatejusticeaotearoa.org/>

Beautiful Solutions  
<http://beautifulsolutions.org.nz/>

Climate Justice Taranaki  
<https://climatejusticetaranaki.wordpress.com/>

Union Climate Action

<http://unionclimateaction.org.nz/>

Renters United

<http://www.rentersunited.org.nz/>

Ahipara Komiti Takutaimoana

<http://www.taiao.terarawa.iwi.nz/ahipara-komiti-takutaimoana.html>

# Oil Free Wellington Contacts

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Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/OilFreeWellington/>